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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ix

ABSTRACT xi

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

Thesis 1

Introduction to the Research Problem 3

Delimitations and Limitations 6

Definitions 7

Survey of the State of Research 11

Research Methodology 15

Conclusion 18

CHAPTER 2: THE BIBLICAL BASIS FOR APOSTOLIC CONTEXTS AND WORK 20

The Apostles' World 22

First Century Unreached Context 24

The "Economies" of Christendom and the Unreached World 26

An Apostolic Hermeneutic 29

The Significance of the Acts Narratives in Determining the Apostolic Work 30

Coalescence and Recurrence 36

Paul's Definitive "Work" 40

The Apostles' Work 44

"The Work" 45

Preaching the Gospel 50

Laying the Foundation 52

Itinerating 58

Entrusting the Work to Others 64

The "Work" as the Missionary Paradigm for the Church 72

Conclusion 78

CHAPTER 3: THE DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBAL DIFFUSION OF WESTERN, PROTESTANT TE 80

Thematic Survey of Western Protestant TE in the Modern Era 80

The Reformation and Western TE 82

Protestant TE in the American Colonies 84

Academic Formalization and Professionalization in American Protestant TE 97

Professionalism in 20th Century American TE 113

The Bible College Movement 118

Evangelical Evaluation of the Development of American TE 122

The Global Spread of Western Protestant TE 125

20th Century Missionary Efforts toward Theological Education 126

Western Hegemony in Global TE 129

The Continued Diffusion and Formalization of the Western Paradigm 132

Protestant TE in North India 135

Serampore College and the Roots of Formal TE in India 136

Accreditation in India 141

TE in North India 144

Conclusion 146

CHAPTER 4: FORMAL WESTERN TE IN UNREACHED CONTEXTS 148

The Formal, Academic Nature of Anglophone Protestant TE 149

Curriculum 150

Classroom Schooling and Credit hours 152

Accreditation 157

Assessment and Credentialing 161

Institutionalization and Residency 164

The Western Paradigm of TE in Pioneer Contexts 165

Scholarly Critiques of Western TE 168

Critiques of Western TE from Mission Contexts 170

Theological Education by Extension (TEE) as a Critique of Western TE 173

An Evangelical Economy as a Mediating Factor in Western TE 178

The Negative Effects of the Western Paradigm of TE in Unreached Contexts 182

Lack of Accessibility 183

Academic Orientation and Isolation 189

Incoherence from Theory to Practice 195

Conclusion 197

CHAPTER 5: APOSTOLIC THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION 199

Proximate Proposals for Mission-Centered TE 202

Robert Banks' Missional Model 203

BILD International and Church-Based Theological Education 206
Apostolic Theological Education 211
Teaching and Strengthening 211
In-Mission Orientation 218
Practice-Orientation 224
Transference-Orientation 235
Healthy Doctrine Orientation 245
Conclusion 251
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION 252
Brief Summary of Chapters 252
Implications of this Study 253
Areas for Further Study 255
Conclusion 257
APPENDIX 1: SURVEY OF NT APOSTLESHIP 258
The Twelve and Paul 259
Other "apostles" 263
Conclusion 270
BIBLIOGRAPHY 272

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Analytical Lexicon of Testament Greek	ALNTG
Early Christian Mission	ECM
Evangelical Review of Theology	ERT
Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament	EDNT
Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament	GELNT
International Critical Commentary	ICC
International Review of Mission	IRM
InterVarsity Press New Testament Commentary	IVPNTC
Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society	JETS
New International Commentary on the New Testament	NICNT
New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Exegesis	NIDNTTE
New International Greek Testament Commentary	NIGCT
Pillar New Testament Commentary	PNTC
Southern Baptist Journal of Theology	SBJT
Southwestern Journal of Theology	SJT
Theological Education	TE
Theological Education by Extension	TEE
Theological Dictionary of the New Testament	TDNT
Word Biblical Commentary	WBC

Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament ZECNT

ABSTRACT

The argument of this dissertation addresses theological education (TE) undertaken in pioneer missions contexts. Chapter 1 presents the thesis that the current mode of Western TE constitutes a paradigm that is ill-equipped to train church planters and missionary workers in contexts of pioneer mission. This dissertation offers apostolic TE as a biblically-informed alternative paradigm of TE that is aptly suited to those pioneer contexts. The remainder of Chapter 1 sets the terms of the argument, the state of the research, and the research methodology.

The argument of Chapter 2 begins with an exposition of an "unreached" context as one in which Christianity is a fledgling enterprise, just beginning to emerge within a given context. First century Christianity, the context in which the NT was written, existed in just such an "unreached" context. With the unreached nature of the NT world in place, the chapter offers an argument for the biblical concept of apostolic "work" as the missionary pattern of the NT church. Chapter 2 concludes with the argument that this conception of apostolic "work" as pioneer church planting is the paradigm for the ongoing missionary work of the church among the unreached. Chapter 3 presents a thematic survey of the formal heritage of modern, Western TE and the diffusion of that paradigm of TE throughout the world. First, the argument traces the development of Western Protestant TE as a formal, scholastic model of TE, making note along the way of some major (primarily American) exceptions to the predominance of the formal paradigm

of TE. Second, the argument details how Western missionaries and mission organizations exported and adopted this formal structure of TE into the mission fields of the world throughout the 20th century, including North India.

Chapter 4 begins with a survey of the primary elements of the Western, formal paradigm of TE. The survey serves as the basis for the detailed analysis that comprises the rest of the chapter. The analysis of the Western, formal TE concludes with commentary on the primary ways in which that paradigm of TE can potentially inhibit apostolic "work" in pioneer, unreached contexts. Chapter 5 proposes apostolic TE as an alternative paradigm of TE in unreached contexts. That section first overviews the NT concept of "teaching" as an essential part of the apostolic "work." With that overview in place, the argument then outlines the rudimentary elements of apostolic TE. Apostolic TE, oriented in these four distinct ways, serves as the paradigm for TE in unreached contexts. Chapter 6 concludes the argument with a brief survey of the chapters, implications of the apostolic paradigm for how TE is undertaken in pioneer missions contexts, and suggestions for further study of the topic.

For Shanee,
Then they said among the nations,
“The LORD has done great things for them.”
The LORD has done great things for us;
we are glad.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Thesis

As the church grows in the Majority World, the problem of providing appropriate theological education to leaders in those contexts has become increasingly acute. Current estimates put the number of theologically trained pastors and leaders in Majority World churches at low rates, from 5–15%.[1] The issue is, broadly speaking, how to most effectively provide theological education in unreached contexts. Prior to that question are more fundamental issues of the nature of and biblical basis for theological education.

Western theological education (TE) as normally practiced constitutes a "paradigm" of ministerial training. According to Kuhn, a "paradigm" is "[T]he entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community."[2] The Western paradigm of theological training is, generally speaking, formal and scholastic in nature, "…a constellation of beliefs filled with rules about professors, students, courses, classrooms, testing, degrees, and the very powerful

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[1] Exact statistics on the prevalence of theological education in the Majority World are notoriously difficult to come by. Several sources reference the following datum that comes from the Iguassu Consultation of the World Evangelical Alliance in 1999: "An estimated 85% of the 2.2 million evangelical churches worldwide are led by pastors with little to no training." This statistic is cited by David A. Livermore, *Serving with Eyes Wide Open* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2006), 41; also by the Gospel Coalition, among others. See the Gospel Coalition, International Outreach, "Theological Famine," http://legacy.thegospelcoalition.org/io/theological-famine/.

[2] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions: 50th Anniversary Edition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 174.

accrediting associations."[3] This dissertation argues that this Western paradigm of TE—for a variety of reasons—is ill-suited to prepare leaders for ministry in pioneer missions contexts. Sherwood Lingenfelter, a lifelong theological educator in intercultural studies at Biola University and then Fuller Seminary, articulated this concern when he wrote,

> I have concluded that formal education is ill suited and cannot effectively equip evangelists, church planters, and apostolic leaders for ministry …. The skills and work of the evangelist, church planter, and apostolic foundation-layer can be understood and mastered only through practice, through experiential learning. Some formal study may be helpful, but it cannot take up the larger time frame of the student. Students who spend most of their time in formal theological education become teachers and scholars, which is precisely what the educational program is designed to produce.[4]

Lingenfelter's claim summarizes the core concerns of this dissertation. As such, this dissertation offers an in-depth evaluation of the phenomena Lingenfelter identified and then makes an initial proposal for an alternative paradigm of TE— "apostolic TE"—derived from the NT pattern of ministry training. This apostolic paradigm takes account of the biblical implications for theological education found in the teaching and example of the New Testament apostolic workers, and primarily Paul. The result is a method of TE that is distinctly apostolic in in its four primary "orientations," referred to here as its

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[3] Jeff Reed, "Church-Based Ministry Training Which is Truly Church Based," Presented to ACCESS 30th Annual Conference at Moody Bible Institute, Jan 19, 2001, 2. https://www.bild.org/download/paradigmPapers/Truly_Church_Based.pdf

[4] Paul R. Gupta and Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, *Breaking Tradition to Accomplish Vision: Training Leaders for a Church-Planting Movement: A Case from India* (Winona Lake, IN: BMH Books, 2006), 23.

In-Mission Orientation, Practice-Orientation, Transference-Orientation, and Healthy Doctrine-Orientation.[5]

Introduction to the Research Problem

Christianity is making historical strides in the Majority World.[6] As stated above, however, estimates of the proportion of trained pastors stand at 5–15% of the 2.2 to 3.4 million pastoral leaders currently serving the global church.[7] Speaking to the evident shortage of properly trained pastors, Ramesh Richard, a global theological educator based out of Dallas Theological Seminary, identifies "…pastoral training as a necessary complement to, and the highest priority for, implementing all ministry initiatives globally and locally."[8]

This lack of access to theological training is the operating rationale for a variety of organizations that focus on providing pastoral training in the Majority World, including unreached contexts. Organizations of this type include World Hope Ministries International,[9] Training Leaders International,[10] Reaching and Teaching,[11] Teaching

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[5] "Healthy doctrine" refers to adherence to the "apostles' teaching" (Acts 2:47) as formulated generally in the orthodox creeds of the church. More specifically, in this dissertation the "doctrine" adhered to will be Protestant and Evangelical in nature, as expressed (for example) in the statement of faith of the World Evangelical Alliance, found at: http://www.worldea.org/whoweare/statementoffaith.

[6] The Center for the Study of Global Christianity, *Christianity*, 14, records that "The global South [Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania] was home to 76% of the world's total population in 1970 but only 43% of all Christians. By 2010 the figure for each had risen, but the gap between them had narrowed: 84% of all people, and 59% of all Christians, lived in the global South. Those percentages are expected to increase to 85% of all people and 66% of all Christians by 2020."

[7] Ramesh Richard, "Training of Pastors: A High Priority for Global Ministry Strategy," *Lausanne Global Analysis* 4 (2015). https://www.lausanne.org/content/lga/2015-09/training-of-pastors#_edn2

[8] Ibid.

[9] http://www.whmi.org/bible-institute/

[10] http://trainingleadersinternational.org

[11] http://reachingandteaching.org

Truth International,[12] the Gospel Coalition International Outreach: Theological Famine Project,[13] the Global Proclamation Commission for Trainers of Pastors,[14] the Bible Training Center for Pastors,[15] BILD International,[16] and The Timothy Initiative.[17] Additionally, the International Mission Board (IMB) of the Southern Baptist Convention has recently re-emphasized involvement in formal global theological education by commissioning new missionaries to serve as teachers in theological seminaries.[18]

This activity of American-based organizations directed at Majority World TE prompts questions about the nature of TE in general and more specifically its implementation in unreached contexts, those places where the Christian population is minimal. Historically, Western involvement in TE in the Majority World has tended to follow the Western paradigm of theological schools, degree programs, and specialized curricula. A 2009 global survey conducted by the Programme on Theological Education of the World Council of Churches summarized this dynamic, reporting,

> [T]he missionary movement of the 19th and 20th century while initiating and demanding (for) several indigenous models of theological education in its beginnings has predominantly globalized a western pattern, methodology and framework of theological education which only gradually (and partially) became

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[12] http://teachingtruthinternational.org

[13] https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/international

[14] http://www.gprocommission.org

[15] http://bibletraining.com/get-to-know-us/

[16] http://www.bild.org

[17] http://www.ttionline.org

[18] As Nick Moore, "Theological Famine in the Majority World," *B & H Academic Blog*, July 2016, points out, "[T]he board [IMB] has begun moving back toward this task [TE] by not reducing seminary personnel overseas and even appointing new personnel (like us!) to such posts with the hope of revitalizing these institutions and emphasizing theological education throughout our organization as a whole." http://www.bhacademicblog.com/theological-famine-majority-world/. For background on the IMB's departure from formal theological education, see John D. Massey, "Theological Education and Southern Baptist Missions Strategy in the Twenty-First Century," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 57.1 (2014): 5–16.

> challenged and critically enlarged (or replaced) by contextualized patterns of theological education after the 70s and 80s in the last century.[19]

While innovators have launched alternative models and "contextualized patterns" of the Western paradigm of TE,[20] the Western paradigm has had an abiding influence on those models as well. As Jeff Reed, a global theological educator and founder of BILD International, stated in 2001,

> Over the last three decades, almost all the creative attempts of Western formal educational institutions to extend their training—TEE, field education, middler years, distance education, etc.—have, in one form or another, been an extension of the formal theological education paradigm and its enterprises. In addition, almost all the attempts by churches to assume major responsibility for training their own leaders have been dominated or overshadowed by the formal theological education paradigm.[21]

The historical trend toward the predominance of the Western paradigm indicates that it will be an ongoing issue within the growth of global TE. Furthermore, the recent growth and prominence of organizations focusing on pastoral training lends additional urgency to the core questions of this argument. Of particular concern in this regard is the assumptive nature of the adoption of the Western paradigm. As Allan G. Harkness, a theological educator in Singapore, has noted, "[T]he adoption of this model [the Western TE model] is not usually consciously considered."[22]

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[19] International Study Group on Theological Education, *Challenges and Opportunities in Theological Education in the 21st Century: Pointers for a New International Debate on Theological Education, Edinburgh 2010* (ETE/WCC Programme on Theological Education of the World Council of Churches, 2009), 17.

[20] Chapter 4 of this dissertation presents a detailed discussion of one of the major global alternatives, Theological Education by Extension.

[21] Reed, "Truly Church Based."

[22] Allan Harkness, "De-schooling the Theological Seminary: An Appropriate Paradigm for Effective Ministerial Formation," *Teaching Theology and Religion*, 4 (2001):141–54, 143.

The global pervasiveness and potential assumptive adoption of the Western paradigm of TE raises important questions for current and future models TE in unreached contexts. Is the Western paradigm the appropriate model of TE for those who undertake church planting ministry in unreached contexts? If not, what does a viable alternative entail and what, if anything, does the Bible contribute to the construction of that alternative paradigm? These are the driving questions of this dissertation. They are questions addressed ultimately to a practical issue—the implementation of theological education among church planters and pastors in unreached missions contexts. The argument of this dissertation frames an initial theoretical response to this practical question by outlining the apostolic paradigm of TE as a potentially appropriate alternative of TE for just those contexts.

Delimitations and Limitations

This dissertation proceeds under the following major delimitations. First, this study addresses only Protestant TE. Given the theological emphasis of this dissertation and the missiological context of the evangelical Modern Missions movement within broader Protestantism, Protestant TE is the proper focus of the argument. Second, the thematic survey of Chapter Three restricts its focus to American TE as a legitimate representative of the broader paradigm of Western, formal TE exported throughout the Majority World in the 20th century. The argument of Chapter Three enumerates the rationale for that delimitation. Third, the critique of Western TE is restricted to the application of that paradigm to "unreached" missions contexts as defined below. Fourth, the argument delimits the critique of the Western paradigm to the literature that reflects upon Western

TE and its implementation. While an empirical study of the "outcomes" of Western TE is warranted, it lies beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The limitations of this study relate primarily to the location in which the research was undertaken—India. Travel limitations restricted the availability of data and research resources, and extant libraries in this context were often limited in the quality of resources.

Definitions

To address the research questions, the argument of this dissertation employs a variety of missiological terms along with some terms that carry a distinct articulation in the argument. The following definitions govern this dissertation.

"Theological education": the process of training and equipping leaders in doctrine and practice for leadership within local churches and ministries. The definition follows Harkness' summary of the "common purpose" of theological schools and seminaries, which he identified as "… the effective equipping of men and women for appropriate leadership and ministry within churches and associated organisations [sic] and institutions."[23] For the purposes of this argument, the definition of TE intentionally focuses upon leaders, though Christian education in its broader sense legitimately

[23] Harkness, "De-Schooling," 142. Harkness, however, refers to this throughout his paper as "ministerial formation."

encompasses all believers.[24] The focus on training leaders accords with the traditional understanding of TE as "the work of educational institutions dedicated to training for the ordained ministry,"[25] though the present argument does not require prospective ordination in order to satisfy the definition. Finally, though Miller has defined TE as an academic enterprise, as "education in the arts and sciences of Christian scholarship,"[26] the present definition of TE encompasses modes of theological and ministerial training outside of the scholastic model.

"Unreached/pioneer context": any "people group" with a population less than 2% evangelical.[27] In 1982 the Lausanne Committee on World Evangelization defined a "people group" as "the largest group within which the Gospel can spread without encountering barriers of understanding or acceptance."[28] While this definition of "unreached" technically applies only to specific "people groups," it is also appropriate to speak of unreached *contexts* encompassing many different people groups whose

[24] Havilah Dharamraj, "We Reap What We Sow: Engaging Curriculum and Context in Theological Education," ICETE International Consultation for Theological Educators Nairobi, Kenya, 2012, 2, spoke to this dual focus in TE, writing, "Theological education serves first to train those who lead the Church as pastor-teachers, equipping the to teach the truth of God's Word with faithfulness, relevance and clarity; and second, to equip all God's people for the missional task of understanding and relevantly communicating God's truth in every cultural context."

[25] Justo L. González, *The History of Theological Education* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2015), x.

[26] Glenn Miller, "Does a Secular Age Need a Seminary?" *TE* 46, (2011): 47–66, 52.

[27] According to the *Joshua Project*, "Definitions," "The original Joshua Project editorial committee selected the criteria [for "Unreached"] less than 2% Evangelical Christian and less than 5% Christian Adherents." http://joshuaproject.net/help/definitions.

[28] Center for the Study of Global Christianity, *Christianity in its Global Context, 1970–2020: Society, Religion, and Mission* (South Hamilton, MA: Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2013), 80.

populations comprise, aggregately, less than 2% evangelical. Throughout this dissertation the two terms “unreached” and “pioneer” will be used interchangeably.

Apostle/apostolic: “Apostle” is employed throughout the argument as the biblical articulation of the idea of “missionary.”[29] The NT community included not only a “closed” group of eyewitness and uniquely authoritative apostles, but also a class of missionaries who served as church-planters among new peoples and places. These missionaries were, like Paul, “sent out” to evangelize and establish churches in new areas.[30] Unlike the “official” apostolate of the Twelve, membership in this class of apostles was not limited to eyewitnesses to the resurrection.[31] The argument shows that the corps of missionary apostles was open to recruitment and growth as more people were called and sent to fulfill this role. The accompanying adjective, “apostolic,” refers to issues pertaining to the work and environment of the pioneer church-planter.

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[29] For a survey of contemporary missiologists who view the NT apostolic role as relevant, to varying degrees, to modern missionary identity, see Don Dent, *The Ongoing Role of Apostles in Missions: The Forgotten Foundation* (Kindle Edition: Cross Books, 2011); Craig Ott and Stephen J. Strauss, *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues* (Kindle Edition: Baker Academic, 2010), 231; Daniel Sinclair, *A Vision of the Possible: Pioneer Church Planting in Teams* (Waynesboro, GA: Authentic Media, 2005), 4; and Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Paul the Missionary: Realities, Strategies and Methods* (Kindle Edition: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 22–31.

[30] Ott and Strauss, *Encountering,* 233, summarized this assessment of NT apostleship, writing, “This brief survey demonstrates that the term *apostolos* was used flexibly in the New Testament for people beyond the Twelve and Paul. Most if not all of them were Paul's missionary coworkers with limited authority in the churches they planted, but none of them (apart from perhaps the false apostles) claimed authority similar to the Twelve or Paul. It is thus fair to say that the Bible uses the term *apostolos* in such passages to refer to itinerant evangelists, church planters, and helpers in the spread of the gospel to the nations. This is quite similar to the traditional usage of the term *missionary*.”

[31] Outside of Paul and the Twelve, five others are explicitly referred to as apostles, none of whom appear to have been eyewitnesses to the Resurrection: Barnabas in Acts 14:4, 14; Andronicus and Junias in Rom 16:7; James in Gal 1:19; and Epaphroditus in Phil 2:25. Furthermore, 1 Thess. 2:6 implies that Silas and Timothy are to be considered “apostles” alongside Paul; and Paul appears to regard Apollos as an apostle in 1 Cor 3:4–8, 4:6–9. For a survey of NT apostleship, see Appendix 1 of this dissertation.

"Apostolic work": Apostolic work refers to the apostolic missionaries' paradigmatic pattern of work recorded in the NT. The "work" consisted of four primary elements, namely preaching the gospel, laying the foundation of new churches, itinerating, and entrusting the work to the newly formed local churches. The argument of Chapter 2 defines the hermeneutical approach that governs the identification of this pattern of work, namely the principles of *coalescence* and *recurrence*.

Proximate proposals for a pattern of Pauline work include Hesselgrave's "Pauline Cycle,"[32] Steffen's five stages of a "comprehensive, phase-out oriented church planting model,"[33] Payne's "Church Multiplication Cycle,"[34] and Ott and Wilson's "Developmental Phases of Pioneer Church Planting."[35] Each of these proximate proposals carries its own emphases,[36] and share demonstrable affinities with the present proposal for apostolic "work." The present approach, however, is distinctly derived from the hermeneutical process described in this dissertation and thus focuses more strictly upon the recurring practices of Paul and his associates.

"North India": North India refers broadly to the area of India from the western state of Gujarat, northward to Jammu and Kashmir, southeastward to Bihar, and

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[32] David F. Hesselgrave, *Planting Churches Cross-Culturally: North America and Beyond*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000), 47–48.

[33] Tom A. Steffen, *Passing the Baton*, Revised edition (La Habra, CA: Center for Organization & Ministry, 1997), 6.

[34] J. D. Payne, *Apostolic Church Planting: Birthing New Churches from New Believers* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, 2015), 78.

[35] Craig Ott and Gene Wilson, *Global Church Planting: Biblical Principles and Best Practices for Multiplication* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 158.

[36] See Ott and Wilson's summary evaluation of Hesselgrave and Steffen, Ibid., 155–56.

terminating roughly at the southern border of Madhya Pradesh. It includes the Indian states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh. This area comprises the homeland of the North Indian (Indo-European) languages of which Hindi is the major representative.[37] Compared to South India (where the dominant languages are Dravidian, or non-Indo-European),[38] Christianity in North India is of more recent origin and has been much slower-growing.[39] The current Christian population in North India represents a tiny minority of the overall population, estimated at .2 to .5% of roughly 610 million people.[40]

Survey of the State of Research

While there have been ample treatments of the aims and purposes of theological education in the Western context and in the emerging Majority World contexts, research

[37] See Colin P. Masica, *The Indo-Aryan Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9.

[38] For the geographic distribution of Dravidian (non-Indo-European) languages, see Bhadriraju Krishnamurti, *The Dravidian Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 18.

[39] As Godwin R. Singh, "Empowering God's All Peoples: Concerns for Theological Education in North India," *Indian Journal of Theology* 36.1 (1994), 87, notes, "In the North Indian reality Christian Church is of recent origin and therefore the whole enterprise of imparting theological education as it concern is relatively in its early stages, mainly founded upon the result of the missionary endeavours [sic] of the last one hundred years."

[40] Census of India 2011, "Provisional Population Totals," vii, http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/data_files/bihar/Provisional%20Population%20Totals%202011-Bihar.pdf. *Operation World* lists the evangelical percentage of India as a whole at 2.2% with a 3.9 percent growth rate: "India," *Operation World*, n.p. http://www.operationworld.org/country/indi/owtext.html. The evangelical percentage for North India was derived from 2001 Indian Census data (religion was not tabulated in the 2011 census) and extrapolated at a 2.4% to 3.9% annual rate of increase: http://censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_data_finder/C_Series/Population_by_religious_communities.htm.

that addresses the implications of TE for apostolic "work" in pioneer fields is comparatively rare. In the Western context, Edward Farley sparked the debate on the need to re-unify Western TE around a common purpose with his book *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education*.[41] A variety of commentators have offered responses and alternative proposals for unification of theological study in response to Farley, including Stackhouse,[42] Hough and Wheeler,[43] Kelsey,[44] Wingate,[45] Ott,[46] Cannell,[47] and Nessan.[48]

From a Majority World perspective, the literature on TE includes a growing chorus of Western educators teaching in the Majority World and Majority World educators that have formulated proposals for "renewal" or "transformation" in global TE. Robert Ferris summarized some of the concerns of Western evangelical educators in missions contexts in his book, *Renewal in Theological Education*.[49] Several collaborative volumes collect the contributions of educators concerned with various aspects of reform

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[41] Edward Farley, *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1983). See the discussion on Farley and his influence in Chapter 4, 22–23.

[42] Max L. Stackhouse, *Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization, and Mission in Theological Education* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988).

[43] Joseph C. Hough and Barbara G. Wheeler, *Beyond Clericalism: The Congregation as a Focus for Theological Education* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988).

[44] David Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin: The Theological Education Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993)

[45] Andrew Wingate, "Overview of the History of the Debate about Theological Education," *IRM* 94 (2005): 235–47.

[46] Bernhard Ott, *Beyond Fragmentation: Integrating Mission and Theological Education: A Critical Assessment of Some Recent Developments in Evangelical Theological Education* (Oxford, UK: Oxford Center for Mission Studies, 2001).

[47] Linda Cannell, *Theological Education Matters: Leadership Education for the Church* (Newburgh, IN: EDCOT Press, 2006).

[48] Craig L. Nessan, "Mission and Theological Education—Berlin, Athens, and Tranquebar: A North American Perspective," *Mission Studies* 27.2 (2010): 176–93.

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

within global TE, including *With an Eye on the Future*,[50] *Contextualizing Theological Education*,[51] and *Theological Literacy in the Twenty-First Century*.[52] Additionally, a number of recent studies published through the Langham Partnership[53] address different aspects of renewal and revitalization within global evangelical TE, including Shaw's *Transforming Theological Education*,[54] Hardy's *Excellence in Theological Education*,[55] and Ferenczi's *Serving Communities*.[56]

Among the various proposals for renewal or transformation in TE, a select few authors have proposed "mission" as the unifying center of theological study. Building from Bosch's seminal work on missiology,[57] Robert Banks proposed his "missional" approach to TE in *Reenvisioning Theological Education*,[58] and other contributors have appropriated Banks' insights.[59] This "missional" family of approaches share a notional

[50] Ted Warren Ward, Duane Elmer, Lois McKinney, and Muriel I. Elmer, eds. *With an Eye on the Future: Development and Mission in the 21st Century: Essays in Honor of Ted W. Ward* (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1996)

[51] Theodore Brelsford and P. Alice Rogers, eds. *Contextualizing Theological Education* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2008).

[52] Rodney L. Peterson and Nancy M. Rourke, eds. *Theological Literacy in the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002).

[53] http://us.langham.org

[54] Perry Shaw, *Transforming Theological Education: A Practical Handbook for Integrative Learning* (Kindle Edition: Langham Global Library, 2014).

[55] Steven A. Hardy, *Excellence in Theological Education: Effective Training for Church Leaders* (Kindle Edition: Langham Global Library, 2016).

[56] Jason Ferenczi, *Serving Communities: Governance and the Potential of Theological Schools* (Kindle Edition: Langham Global Library, 2015).

[57] David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 20th Anniversary edition (New York, NY: Orbis, 2011).

[58] Robert J. Banks, *Reenvisioning Theological Education: Exploring a Missional Alternative to Current Models* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).

[59] Proposals for a "missional" approach to TE that reference Banks include Harkness, "De-schooling," and Peter F. Penner, ed., *Theological Education as Mission* (Schwarzenfeld, Germany: Neufeld Verlag, 2005).

affinity with the current proposal for apostolic TE, though many, following Bosch, articulate "mission" in broader terms than the apostolic "work" argued for here.[60]

Gupta and Lingenfelter's *Breaking Tradition to Accomplish Vision* depicts the effect of Western TE upon evangelism and church-planting in pioneer contexts through a case study of the Hindustan Bible Institute (HBI), a theological school in India of which Gupta is currently the President.[61] Gupta and Lingenfelter's work provides a substantial descriptive contribution to the question of Western TE undertaken in unreached contexts. As such, that work serves as a recurring resource throughout the argument.

Among those proposals that address TE in missions contexts, Jeff Reed's church-based theological education (C-BTE)[62] presents a self-consciously paradigmatic proposal for TE that approximates the approach of this dissertation. As such, the argument of Chapter 4 examines Reed's proposal in detail. Reed's proposal, along with Banks', serves as a theoretical precursor to the present argument. The present dissertation draws together the critiques of the Western paradigm and contributions toward an alternative offered by Gupta and Lingenfelter, Banks, Reed, and others. The argument consolidates these critiques and contributions with a distinct articulation toward the apostolic "world" and "work" outlined in Chapter Two, resulting in the initial proposal for apostolic TE in Chapter Five.

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[60] Bosch, *Transforming*, 10, is emblematic of a broader approach to the "missionary task" of the church, writing "The missionary task is as coherent, broad, and deep as the need and exigencies of human life …. Various international missionary conferences since the 1950s have formulated this as 'the whole church bringing the whole gospel to the whole world.'"

[61] http://www.hbionline.org.

[62] See Reed's "Paradigm Papers" on C-BTE, available at: http://www.bild.org/download/paradigmPapers

Research Methodology

The argument of this dissertation is fundamentally a missiological argument. Missiology is, in the words of Escobar,

> [A]n interdisciplinary approach to understand missionary action. It looks at missionary facts from the perspectives of the biblical sciences, theology, history, and the social sciences. It aims to be systematic and critical, but is starts from a positive stance towards the legitimacy of the Christian missionary task as part of the fundamental reason for the church's 'being.' … Missiology is a critical reflection on praxis, in light of God's Word.[63]

In keeping with this concept of missiology, the present argument is a critical reflection on the "praxis" of theological education specifically within pioneer missionary contexts. The dissertation evaluates the practice of TE within pioneer contexts through an interdisciplinary approach comprising exegetical, theological, and comparative research methodologies.

The arguments of Chapters 2 and 5 employ exegetical surveys to formulate an initial biblical-theological account of apostolic "work" and apostolic TE. The exegetical surveys seek to identify recurring patterns within the missionary practice of Paul and his apostolic colleagues, following the exegetical guidelines of recurrence and coalescence defined in Chapter 2. These recurring patterns constitute the first steps toward a missiological account of apostolic "work" and then apostolic TE as an element within that "work." The method at this point approximates the progression toward biblical

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[63] Samuel Escobar, "Evangelical Missiology: Peering into the Future at the Turn of the Century," in William D. Taylor, ed., *Global Missiology for the 21st Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000): 101–22, 101.

theology described by Osborne, who writes, "The exegete studies the author's meaning on the basis of literary considerations (grammar and thought development) and historical background (socioeconomic), then the biblical theologian works with the results and compiles patterns of unity behind the individual statements."[64] The argument here employs the two-step process described by Osborne within the missiological approach of this dissertation. Specifically, the argument seeks to compile the "patterns of unity" into an initial missiological account of the apostolic "work" and TE. These proposals for apostolic "work" and TE frame the comparative analysis of these NT realities with the prevailing paradigm of Western TE. This complex of context and task serves as the theoretical background for the examination of TE that follows in Chapters 3 and 4.

A comparative analysis of that Western paradigm comprises the bulk of the argument in Chapters 3 and 4. The comparative analysis of those chapters appropriates Bosch's approach in *Transforming Mission*, where he followed Küng's categorization of historical theology into 6 epochs, or "paradigms."[65] Bosch's goal was to "…reflect on what mission meant in successive periods up to the present and then … to draw the contours, in broad strokes, of a contemporary paradigm for mission."[66] Bosch's stated goal for his project adequately summarizes the approach of this dissertation, though the

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[64] Osborne, *Spiral*, 350–51.

[65] Bosch, *Transforming*, 169, outlined his approach, writing, "In discussing the manner in which the Christian church has, through the ages, interpreted and carried out its mission, I shall follow the historico-theological subdivisions suggested by Hans Küng (1984:25; 1987:157). Küng submits that the entire history of Christianity can be subdivided into six major "paradigms." These are: 1. The apocalyptic paradigm of primitive Christianity. 2. The Hellenistic paradigm of the patristic period. 3. The medieval Roman Catholic paradigm. 4. The Protestant (Reformation) paradigm. 5. The modern Enlightenment paradigm. 6. The emerging ecumenical paradigm."

[66] Ibid.

present argument works on a much smaller historical scale and compares only two paradigms—modern, Western, Protestant TE and the proposed apostolic paradigm of TE.

The first part of this comparative analysis entails a thematic survey of the historical development of Western, Protestant TE as a formal, scholastic paradigm of TE beginning in the 18th century that subsequently diffused throughout the world up through the latter 20th century (the argument of Chapter 3). The survey makes note of alternative models within the development of the paradigm, though each of those alternatives eventually conformed to the formal paradigm. The second part of Chapter 3 outlines the diffusion of that paradigm of TE into Majority World contexts over the course of the 20th century. That thematic survey shows that Western, and primarily American, missionaries and mission societies addressed TE in missionary contexts largely by importing the Western paradigm of TE. The argument of that chapter concludes with an examination of that importation into the unreached context of North India. The situation of the Protestant ministry in North India serves as a notable example of the critical question with which this dissertation is concerned—the application of the Western paradigm of TE to a largely unreached environment.[67]

The argument of Chapter 4 examines the constituent parts of that Western paradigm to properly "classify" it as a distinct paradigm of TE. This section serves as a summary description of the thematic survey of Chapter 3, showing how the development

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[67] Thomas Philip, "Context-Based Theological Education in India," *Journal of Theological Education and Mission (JOTEAM*) (2010), 41, notes the un-contextualized nature of Western TE, writing, "The imported Western theology is alien to meet the needs of the Indian situations because the context is multi-religious …. [T]heological students in India are constrained to learn western Christianity without learning their own history."

of the Western paradigm has consolidated into its predominant contemporary form. The latter part of Chapter 4 summarizes and consolidates critiques of the Western paradigm into a comprehensive argument for how the Western paradigm can impair apostolic "work" in unreached contexts. The aim of this comparative study is, ultimately, to answer the question of whether or not the Western paradigm of TE is suited to train apostolic workers in unreached contexts.

In light of the critique of Chapter 4, the argument of Chapter 5 returns to the exegetical/theological approach of Chapter 2 and outlines an initial foray into a proposed alternative paradigm—apostolic TE. First, the chapter notes two proximate proposals for paradigms of TE that self-consciously frame themselves as alternatives to the predominant Western paradigm. Building from the biblical theological background of the apostolic "world" and "work" described in Chapter 2, the argument of Chapter 5 then compiles the results of an exegetical survey into a missiological paradigm of TE placed within the broader apostolic "work" in pioneer contexts. This proposal operates at the level of a conceptual "paradigm" and stands in contrast to the prevailing Western paradigm of TE.

Conclusion

The argument of this dissertation addresses fundamental questions on the nature and practice of TE within contexts of pioneer mission work. Specifically, it seeks to critically reflect on missiological issue of the suitability of the Western paradigm of TE to the work of equipping apostolic workers in pioneer missions contexts. Given the results of that

analysis, the argument then offers an initial proposal for a biblically-derived paradigm of TE located within the biblical pattern of apostolic “work” in unreached contexts.

CHAPTER 2
THE BIBLICAL BASIS FOR APOSTOLIC CONTEXTS AND WORK

This dissertation argues that Western modes of Theological Education (TE) are ill suited to equip those who go about the task of planting churches in unreached environments. To assess that claim, it is necessary to examine the Biblical nature of pioneer church planting. Specifically, it must be shown whether and to what extent the type of work ("church planting") undertaken in that type of environment ("unreached") constitutes a distinct context in which to ultimately evaluate TE. This chapter, then, attempts to re-create the Biblical-theological space for pioneer church planting (referred to throughout as "apostolic" church planting) as distinct from the prevailing ministry model of Western, established-church contexts.

First, the argument will address the biblical reality of unreached contexts. A "pioneer" environment is one in which Christianity is a fledgling enterprise, an environment that fits the missiological definition of an "unreached" population as 2% or less evangelical.[1] The arguments made throughout this thesis will address specifically those types of environments. In describing the context of the New Testament (NT) world,

[1] According to the Joshua Project website, "The original Joshua Project editorial committee selected the criteria [for "Unreached"] less than 2% Evangelical Christian and less than 5% Christian Adherents." "Definitions," *Joshua Project*. Online: http://joshuaproject.net/help/definitions. The 2% threshold has not been adopted without controversy. Hadaway argues that the threshold should be raised to at least 10%. Robin Hadaway, "A Course Correction in Missions: Rethinking the Two-Percent Threshold," *SJT* 57, 2014:17–28.

the argument will demonstrate that 1st century Christianity existed in a clearly "unreached" context and the NT was written in the midst of pioneering efforts in an overwhelmingly non-Christian context.[2] Furthermore, the argument will contrast this unreached environment with the reality of Christendom that has typified Western Christian society for the past 1,000 years.[3] The point here is not to dichotomize needlessly between unreached and Christendom environments, it is simply to say that if distinctive Biblical arguments for apostolic theological education apply anywhere, they apply especially to unreached contexts.

With the unreached nature of the NT world in place, the argument will turn to a Biblical picture of apostolic "work"—a distinct set of activities—as the missionary pattern of the NT church. The argument will employ an exegetical method to outline a biblical picture of the apostolic "work." The chapter will give particular attention to Paul's conception of the "work" as demonstrated in his recorded pattern of missionary labor in Acts as well as his Epistolary statements. According to Paul's formulation, the primary elements of the apostolic work were: a) preaching the gospel; b) laying the foundation of new churches; c) itinerating; and d) entrusting the work to the newly formed local churches. These comprised the core elements of apostolic work as demonstrated in the thought and practice of the apostle Paul. Finally, the chapter will

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[2] See Christopher J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God: Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2006), 49.

[3] While many commentators acknowledge the Western trend toward "post-Christendom," Christendom has a strong vestigial presence in European and North American society. See Stuart Murray, *Post-Christendom: Church and Mission in a Strange New World* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2004), 3. See also Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12–17.

argue that this conception of apostolic "work" as pioneer church planting is the paradigm for the ongoing missionary work of the Church among the unreached. Following the NT pattern, the church expresses its mission through this type of work (apostolic church-planting) when at work in these types of environments (unreached).

As shown in later chapters, these apostolic dynamics carry profound implications for the way that theological education is undertaken within this complex of work and context. Those implications are often overlooked in traditional Western Christendom patterns of leadership training and theological education, a point that will be made throughout the course of this dissertation. The question, then, is whether those apostolic dynamics are indeed distinct enough to warrant the TE proposal this dissertation presents. An examination of the unreached nature of the NT world is necessary in order to bring the appropriate context to that question.

The Apostles' World

The need for a "re-creation" of the Biblical-theological space for the apostolic world and work arises out of the fact that most Western theology assumes the vast infrastructure—both material and ideological—of Western, established Christianity.[4] That is, it perpetuates a theological perspective that assumes an extensive Christian "economy" comprised of, among other things, church buildings, a professionalized pastorate, government sponsorship of or at least tolerance of Christianity, and a common culture of

[4] See Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967) for an examination of how the Christendom worldview serves as the "plausibility structure" of Western Christian self-understanding.

Christian thought and practice.[5] This established Christian "economy" has often been referred to as Constantinian Christianity or, more simply, Christendom.[6]

Within Western Christendom, missionaries and missiologists, those most in-tune with the realities of unreached environments, have long worked on the margins of Christendom theological scholarship.[7] Bosch has pointed out,

> [T]he modern missionary enterprise was born and bred outside the church. The church—especially the Protestants—did not regard itself as called to mission. The Reformation definitions of the church were concerned with what happened inside the church: on preaching, the Sacraments, and discipline …. Consequently when the missionary flame was eventually kindled, it burned on the fringes of the institutional church.[8]

As Christianity has rapidly expanded in the non-Western world throughout the 20th century,[9] the greater part of theological scholarship—even that emanating from the new, non-Western sources of Christianity—tends to perpetuate the theological methods of Western Christendom.[10] The Christendom assumptions of Western theology have, in turn, indelibly shaped patterns of ministry and theological education. For theological

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[5] Craig L. Nessan, "After the Deconstruction of Christendom: Toward a Theological Paradigm for the Global Era," *Mission Studies* 18.1 (2001): 78–96.

[6] Murray notes the shortcomings of the term "Constantinian" in that it gives inordinate weight to Constantine's influence and is often used pejoratively of Western Christian society. "Christendom" is a more neutral term, and will therefore be employed throughout this argument. Murray, *Post*, 4.

[7] See Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), 144; also A. J. Köstenberger and P. T. O'Brien, *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001), 19.

[8] David Bosch, "Theological Education in Missionary Perspective," in *Missiology: An International Review,* X (1982): 13–36, 17. See also Walls, *Missionary*, 144.

[9] Jenkins, *Next*, xi, writes, "In 2050, 72 percent of Christians will live in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and a sizable share of the remainder will have roots in one or more of those continents."

[10] Jeffrey P. Greenman and Gene L. Green, eds., *Global Theology in Evangelical Perspective: Exploring the Contextual Nature of Theology and Mission* (IVP Academic: Kindle Edition, 2012), 238, report, "The center of gravity in Christian vitality has shifted decisively to the Majority World, and Global South theologies emerging from regions such as Africa, Asia and Latin/South America are blossoming, but the power and prestige of academic institutions, scholars and publications from Europe and North America continue (at least for now) to exercise a powerful influence on the global theological landscape."

education and ministry training, the dominance of Western theology means that ministerial training tends to follow Western patterns of theological education that are, as will be shown in the next chapter, ill-suited to the apostolic world and work.

First Century Unreached Context

The apostolic world of the 1st century Mediterranean Basin typifies an "unreached" environment. With regard to Christian population, the Book of Acts offers figures for the initial growth of Christianity.[11] After Jesus' Ascension, the believers in Jerusalem gathered together, 120 in number according to Acts 1:15. Peter's sermon at Pentecost resulted in the addition of 3,000 to the church in Jerusalem (Acts 2:41), after which "the Lord added to their number day by day those who were being saved" (Acts 2:47). Soon, the "number of the men came to about five thousand" (Acts 4:4).[12] As a result of the continued ministry of the church and the work of the Holy Spirit, "the word of God continued to increase, and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly in Jerusalem" (Acts 6:7).[13] With the martyrdom of Stephen and subsequent scattering of the Jerusalem

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[11] Commentators who uphold the general historicity of the numbers in Acts 2:41 and 4:4 include C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. Vol. 1: Preliminary Introduction and Commentary on Acts I–XIV*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 221–22; Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 146, 148; and David G Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 159, 188.

[12] Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries* (San Francisco, CA.: Harper, 1996), 5, dismisses the figures presented in Acts 2 and Acts 4 as "not really meant to be taken literally," especially because he accepts Jeremias' estimate for the population of Jerusalem at the time as only 20,000. One plausible explanation for the veracity of the Acts accounts is that there was an influx of Pentecost pilgrims who joined the other inhabitants of Jerusalem "from every nation under heaven" (Acts 2:5). Bock, *Acts*, 146, suggests that the population of Jerusalem during Pentecost could have "swelled to somewhere between 55,000 and 200,000."

[13] Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Acts*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012), 335, points out, "The continued increase noted in 6:7 must have brought the number of Christians in Jerusalem to well over 5,000 believers, perhaps to 10,000."

believers, the church "multiplied" throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria (Acts 9:31). When the Holy Spirit commissioned Paul and Barnabas in Acts 13, the early church began a concerted effort to carry the gospel beyond Palestine. When Paul visited James in Jerusalem at the end of his third missionary journey, James told him of "… how many thousands there are among the Jews of those who have believed" (Acts 21:20).[14]

By the end of the account in Acts, Paul and his co-workers had made significant inroads into many of the prominent cities of the northern Mediterranean region of the Roman Empire. With regard to reliable numbers, however, outside of the book of Acts (and therefore after 62 CE), commentators are left to speculate on the Christian population of the 1st century.[15] Kreider estimates the Christian population to have been a miniscule percentage of the overall population.[16] While Stark's estimates are conservative,[17] even the most generous figures for Christian population still render them a fraction of a percent of the estimated 60 million subjects of the Roman Empire in the 1st century.[18] The point here is that the world of the NT church, the Mediterranean basin of the Roman Empire, was an unreached or pioneer environment for Christianity. Even in

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[14] The word translated as "many thousands," *myriades*, literally means "tens of thousands." Paul McKechnie, *The First Christian Centuries: Perspectives on the Early Church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 57.

[15] Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1986), 268, writes, "The scale of pre-Constantinian Christianity is notoriously difficult to quantify as available evidence comes as 'scraps of information' from which significant extrapolation is the only option."

[16] Alan Kreider, *The Patient Ferment of the Early Church: The Improbable Rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), 37, writes, "In certain places they were no doubt growing at a rapid pace. Nevertheless, they were statistically insignificant, marginal to the life of most Romans."

[17] Stark, *Rise*, 7, places the Christian population at no more than 10,000 by the end of the First Century. Cf. McKechnie, *Centuries*, 57.

[18] Stark calls the 60 million figure the "most widely accepted estimate," Stark, *Rise*, 6.

the relatively "established" centers of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, and then Rome, Christians represented a tiny proportion of the population.[19]

The "Economies" of Christendom and the Unreached World

This description of the unreached NT world illustrates the basic lack of a Christian "economy" within the Roman Empire of the 1st century. Throughout this dissertation, the Christian "economy" will serve as shorthand for the societal infrastructure that is tacit to modern Western Christendom.[20] A Christendom economy consists of mostly paid "professionals" (ministers) who seek out "placement" at pre-existing "firms" (churches or denominational bodies) that the existing government tolerates, sanctions or even supports.[21] This economy will manifest itself to varying degrees of strength and visibility given the particular context, but with the rise of Christendom the trend in the West has been for this infrastructure to increase in scale and complexity. This picture allows for different "types" of economies to account for the historical realities of different periods and regions of Christendom, such as the monopoly of the Holy Roman Empire, the localized monopolies of the princely states after the Peace of Westphalia, the "liberalizing" economy of 19th century England as the Church gradually tolerated

[19] Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 31, estimated that, "By the early part of the second century …. The total number of Christians within the empire was probably less than fifty thousand."

[20] The use of economic language in sociological descriptions of religion has a storied history, see Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (transl. H. C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop; Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *The Churching of America, 1776–2005* (Kindle Edition: Rutgers University Press, 2005); Peter L Berger, "Religious Establishment and Theological Education," *Theology Today* 19.2 (1962): 178–91. For a historical survey of usages of economic terminology to describe religious phenomena, see Stark and Finke, *The Churching of America*, 8–12.

[21] Nessan, "Deconstruction," 78.

Dissenters, and the relatively "free" market of the United States from the mid-19th century onward.

An unreached context, in contrast, exists largely apart from this economy. For a variety of reasons Christianity has not been established, recognized, or accepted to the point of warranting the infrastructure spoken of above. While a multitude of factors serve as potential limiters to the establishment of this economy—for example, persecution, isolation, cultural resistance, insufficient resources—the net effect is a minimal Christian presence and a corresponding lack of Christian witness. This lack of a Christian economy is most succinctly summarized by use of the "unreached" nomenclature as used above—less than 2% evangelical in a given population.

The 1st century Mediterranean Basin was, then, an unreached environment. Christianity consisted exclusively of a limited number of local churches and some traveling itinerants. Outside of those local churches were no supporting structures, organizations, formal associations, or theological schools to form the beginnings of a Christian "economy."[22] The Roman government was, in turn, indifferent, intolerant, and then brutally opposed to Christianity.[23] The church nevertheless grew and multiplied by evangelizing, converting, and discipling new believers. Leaders were appointed, trained, and supported *ad hoc*.

The dynamics of the unreached environment of the 1st century meant that the following hallmarks of the Christendom economy were absent: a system of "open"

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[22] W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1984), 120.

[23] Robert M. Grant, *Early Christianity and Society: Seven Studies* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1977), 2–3. See also McKechnie, *Centuries*, 58.

pastorates to which a newly-trained minister could aspire; a separate realm of training academies to which aspiring ministers could be sent; legal means of recognition for new church bodies; and visible church buildings where congregations could gather.[24] The aim here, however, is not to cast ministry in the unreached world and that within Western Christianity in a radically disjunctive light; it is rather to show that the ministry dynamics in unreached environments are sufficiently distinct from those within Christendom to warrant the treatment given here.

The unreached dynamics of the 1st century Roman Empire shaped the mission of the early church, just as the Christendom dynamics of the Western world shape contemporary approaches to mission. The arc of NT mission bent toward apostolic church planting, what will be called the "work" of the Church's first missionaries. This "work" is the inherent shape of the Church's mission in unreached contexts, a necessary result of gospel ministry where none has been previously undertaken. Within that mission, then, the further question of this dissertation is how to effectively train those who go about that "work." If the primary mode of mission in unreached contexts (apostolic church planting) is sufficiently distinct from what is normally found in Western Christendom, then the method of training workers to that mission may likewise be distinct from the methods generally employed. The question immediately at hand,

[24] The early church's reliance on homes as places of meeting is regularly attested in the NT. See, for example, Acts 5:42, 16:32–4; Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19; Col 4:15; Phlm 1:2. For a comprehensive discussion of the centrality of the house to incipient Christianity, see Roger W. Gehring, *House Church and Mission: The Importance of Household Structures in Early Christianity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004).

then, is whether the NT texts validate that distinctive mission, the answer to which requires a proper hermeneutical approach.

An Apostolic Hermeneutic

In the NT record, the apostles' understanding of their work is expressed both in the Epistolary statements and in the narrative of apostolic activity found in the book of Acts. These two sources form the basis for the NT understanding of the unreached world and the apostolic work of pioneer church planting. Both the narratives of Acts and the teaching of the Epistles are critical in determining the NT perspective. A relevant hermeneutical approach must adequately account for both of these genres of source material.

Of the two available genres, the narrative sections of the book of Acts offer a considerable exegetical challenge. Indeed, some argue that the narrative of Acts is so indeterminate with regard to the practices of the NT missionaries that they undercut any attempt to draw out a discernible pattern of missionary "work."[25] Other missiologists have, on the other hand, advocated for a more directly applicable approach to the Acts narratives, arguing at varying degrees for the normativity or at least exemplary nature of the apostolic pattern.[26] The interpretive approach to the NT documents outlined here

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[25] David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission (*20th Anniversary Ed., Kindle Edition: Orbis Books, 2011), 11, typified this perspective, noting that "… there are no simplistic or obvious moves from the New Testament to our contemporary missionary practice. The Bible does not function in such a direct way."

[26] See, as examples, Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?: A Study of the Church in the Four Provinces* (London: World Dominion Press, 1927); Christopher R. Little, "Mission in the Way of Paul: With Special Reference to Twenty-First Century Christian Mission" (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, 2003); Eurvin Elbert Smith, "Biblically-Normed Theological Method in Relation to Missionary Practice: An Examination of Roland Allen's Theological

lands in the latter camp. While the argument here is not for strict "normativity" with regard to the apostolic texts, the proper exegetical approach reveals the record of the apostles' activity to be an exemplary paradigm of missionary work.[27]

The Significance of the Acts Narratives in Determining the Apostolic Work

Gordon Fee and Douglas Stuart, in their book *How to Read the Bible for All Its Worth*, offer an extended exegetical argument for how to approach the narratives of the book of Acts. In examining Acts, they argue that most of the particulars of the narrative are not normative for the church at large "basically because most such details are *incidental* to the main point of the narrative and because of the *ambiguity* of details from narrative to narrative."[28] In interpreting and applying the Acts narrative, Fee and Stuart write,

> What is incidental to the primary intent of the narrative may indeed reflect an inspired author's understanding of things, but it does not have the same teaching value as what the narrative was intended to teach. This does not negate what is incidental or imply that it has no word for us. What it does suggest is that what is incidental must not become primary, although it may always serve as additional support to what is unequivocally taught elsewhere.[29]

While Fee and Stuart's approach seems, at first blush, exegetically responsible, the practical result is a hermeneutical approach to Acts that is inordinately restrictive. In the first place, more interpretive options exist for the ongoing relevance of a narrative

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Method," (Ph.D. diss., Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013); Daniel Sinclair, *A Vision of the Possible: Pioneer Church Planting in Teams* (Waynesboro, GA: Authentic Media, 2006); among others.

[27] Michael Pocock, "Paul's Strategy: Determinative for Today?" in *Paul's Missionary Methods: In His Time and Ours*, Robert L. Plummer and John Mark Terry, eds. (Kindle Edition: IVP Academic, 2012): 146–59, 159, summarizes this approach, writing, "We have shown that narrative or historically descriptive portions of scripture are always to be taken seriously. They may not be normative in the sense that they should be slavishly replicated, but the patterns and principles derived from scriptural example are definitely meant to guide our practice in contemporary ministry."

[28] Gordon D. Fee and Douglas Stuart, *How to Read the Bible for All Its Worth: Third Edition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2003), 120. Emphasis in the original.

[29] Ibid., 121.

text than simply “normative” or “non-normative.” Fee and Stuart summarize their findings as follows, “*Unless Scripture explicitly tells us we must do something, what is only narrated or described does not function in a normative (i.e. obligatory) way—unless it can be demonstrated on other grounds that the author intended it to function in this way.*”[30] As will be shown below, the level of “obligation” entailed in a given Biblical narrative is not simply a binary selection of “obligatory” or “non-obligatory.” It is rather the case that shades of narrative applicability depend on the proper exegesis of the passage in question.

Furthermore, while Fee and Stuart are correct to require that any narrative’s interpretation derive from the overall purpose of Acts, they treat lightly those very narratives in Acts that most closely accord with the purpose of the book. The “Exegetical Sampling” for their hermeneutical approach consists of two texts used historically in well-worn arguments about particular modes of church government (Acts 6:1–7) or Spirit baptism (Acts 8:5–25).[31] This rather small sampling is useful, but misses the true test of their exegetical criteria, which is that the teaching value of any narrative is determined in relation to the main purpose of the book. The problem with their choice of only the passages in Acts 6 and 8 is that they have neglected other narratives that align more directly with the overall purpose of Acts.

Fee and Stuart correctly suggest that the purpose of the book of Acts is to “…show how the church emerged as a chiefly Gentile, worldwide phenomenon from its origins as a Jerusalem-based, Judaism-oriented sect of Jewish believers, and how the

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[30] Ibid., 118–19. Emphasis in the original.
[31] Ibid., 114–18.

Holy Spirit was directly responsible for this phenomenon of universal salvation based on grace alone."[32] Schnabel, too, notes,

> The narrative structure of Acts demonstrates that the theology of Acts is a theology of mission. Immediately after the prologue, Luke relates Jesus' commission to his disciples to be his witnesses—to explain his life, death, resurrection, exaltation, and continued involvement in the affairs of his people—to the Jews living in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, and to the Jews and Gentiles living outside of the Holy Land to the ends of the earth (1:8).[33]

The more critical exegetical question, then, is how to evaluate those narratives that more closely align with the stated purpose of the book, like the "commissioning" of Paul and Barnabas from the Church of Antioch (Acts 13:1–3), the appointing of elders at the end of the "first journey" (Acts 14:23), the "planting" of the church in Thessalonica over "three Sabbath days" (Acts 17:1–10), and many others.

What is required are more hermeneutical categories for how one can potentially interpret and apply narratives. Fee and Stuart's insistence that the narratives must conform to a given command in order to be authoritative ("*unless Scripture explicitly tells us we must do something*") carries a potentially troubling implication for a verbal plenary view of inspiration. The narratives are, though difficult to interpret, equally inspired parts of Scripture.[34] In this regard, Mark Thompson issues a salient warning

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[32] Ibid., 120.

[33] Schnabel, *Acts*, 1084. For similar arguments for the purpose of Acts derived from 1:8, see also I. Howard Marshall, *Acts*, TNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 25 and Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig, eds. *Mission in Acts: Ancient Narratives in Contemporary Context* (New York, NY: Orbis Books, 2004), 8.

[34] Craig S. Keener, *Gift and Giver: The Holy Spirit for Today* (Kindle Edition: Baker Publishing Group, 2001), 210, writes, "Although few would dismiss the doctrinal value of narrative altogether, many suggest that one should find in narrative only what is plainly taught in 'clearer,' more 'didactic' portions of Scripture. Although some of these scholars are among the ablest exegetes regarding other portions of Scripture, I must protest that their approach to Bible stories violates the most basic rules for biblical

when he writes, “Differences of genre within the biblical materials do not necessarily suggest different degrees of authority or different levels of divine involvement with the text.”[35] David Clark, in discussing the interchange between narrative and propositional hermeneutics, has pointed out the North American tendency toward abstraction and “principlizing” portions of Scripture when he writes,

> A North American cultural proclivity toward the abstract principles may actually keep us from seeing the Bible itself as authoritative. The temptation is to invest supreme authority in the theological propositions or principles that we think we are deriving from the Bible, not in the Bible itself. This temptation arises because we have a greater, culturally grounded sense of comfort with propositional forms of communication.[36]

This proclivity toward abstraction carries a latent preference for the propositional portions of Scripture. As a result, Western interpreters are prone to give narrative portions of Scripture short shrift in exegetical and theological discussions. Biblical narratives, however—though potentially challenging to interpret—are just as significant as propositional statements in formulating proper theological assumptions. In particular, narratives are especially significant in determining proper Christian behavior, a category that would include the “apostolic work” spoken of here.

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interpretation and in practice jeopardizes the doctrine of biblical inspiration. Did Paul not say that all Scripture was inspired and therefore useful for ‘doctrine,’ or teaching (2 Tim. 3:16)?”

[35] Mark D. Thompson, “The Missionary Apostle and Modern Systematic Affirmation,” in *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul's Mission*, Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000): 365–82, 375–76.

[36] David K. Clark, *To Know and Love God: Method for Theology: Foundations of Evangelical Theology* (Kindle Edition: Good News Publishers, 2003), 64.

In articulating a hermeneutic of normative ethics from the NT, Richard Hays emphasizes the importance of narratives in the interpretive process.[37] Hays states that, when evaluating the normative value of any Scripture, the genre of the passage in question must first be understood. Scripture can be normative in the following ways: by providing rules; principles; paradigms of exemplary conduct; or by displaying "a symbolic world that creates the perceptual categories through which we interpret reality."[38] The third "way" to which Hays refers—Scripture providing paradigms of exemplary conduct—applies most directly to the interpretation of narrative portions of Scripture.

In fact, Hays argues that among the various modes of potential normativity found in Scripture, the paradigmatic mode derived from narratives may be the most significant. In his view, "*narrative texts in the New Testament are fundamental resources for normative ethics*."[39] Hays argues that the preponderance of narrative texts in the Scriptures means that "[A] Christian community that is responsive to the specific form of the New Testament texts will find itself drawn repeatedly to the paradigmatic mode of

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[37] Here the discussion follows Schnabel in his reliance on Hays to determine paradigmatic significance in the apostolic example. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Paul the Missionary: Realities, Strategies and Methods* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008), 376–7.

[38] Richard Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: Community, Cross, New Creation, A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (Kindle Edition: HarperOne, 1996), 209.

[39] Ibid., 295. Emphasis in original.

using the New Testament in ethics."[40] Narrative sections of Scripture serve a key exegetical role in the proper interpretation and application of Scripture.[41]

The "apostolic work" in question here is just such a case of outlining proper Christian behavior for those in an unreached context. Narratives, then, play an indispensable role in determining the apostolic work. The NT material regarding the apostolic work rarely comes in the form of rules or even principles. Rather, much of the material related to the apostolic work comes as narratives of the apostles' activities in Acts. As such, the record of the apostles' work in the book of Acts forms an essential source for determining the nature of the apostolic role in the New Testament. In determining how Paul conceived of his apostolic work, the record of his ministry in Acts is just as indispensable as his epistolary statements on the issue.

This position militates, it should be clear, against the claim of Fee and Stuart that much of the Acts narrative is "incidental" and therefore of limited teaching value. Particularly with regard to the questions of the apostolic world and work, the narratives in Acts are foundational. That is not to say that every piece of the Acts narrative is equally relevant in determining the apostolic work. How, then, to determine which aspects of the narrative are exemplary instances of the apostolic work and which were truly "incidental" to the purposes of the author? In the absence of clear Scriptural injunctions about how

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[40] Ibid.

[41] See a related argument from narratives in Bobby Jamieson, "Why New Testament Polity Is Prescriptive" *9Marks*, Jul-Aug 2013, https://9marks.org/article/journalall-churches-saints-why-new-testament-polity-prescriptive/. Though Jamieson employs narratives to argue for a view of church polity, his method and conclusions are applicable to the argument here for the importance of narratives.

and where to follow the example of Paul and his associates, one must look for Scriptural guideposts that direct the reader toward the proper interpretation and application.

Coalescence and Recurrence

Exegetically, then, one must look for those places where Paul's epistolary reflections on his apostleship correspond to certain practices as displayed in the Acts narrative. In several places throughout his writings Paul gives a defense of his apostleship or a summary statement on his work up to that point (e.g. 1 Corinthians 3, 4, 9; Romans 15). These passages are significant in that they reveal the apostolic rationale that lay behind the specific manifestations of Paul's apostolic practice. Both of these elements—Paul's work and his stated reasons for working—must be taken into account in identifying the "apostolic work." When these two elements *coalesce* in the NT record—when Paul's apostolic rationale is clearly demonstrated in repeated patterns of work—then one can be reasonably certain that the practice in question forms a definitive part of the apostolic role. This coalescence of thought and practice lies at the heart of the exegetical approach outlined here.[42]

Furthermore, the *recurrence* of certain practices across multiple contexts, even in the absence of epistolary "affirmation," points to their relevance as part of the apostolic work. This recurrence serves as a reliable indicator of those practices that the apostles

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[42] Paul S. Minear, *The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1971), 102, wrote about this idea of "coalescence" as the intersection of the "apostolic task" of the Church and Paul's intention in writing his Epistles when he notes, "When therefore, the exegete deals with the apostle Paul, and when missiology accepts Paul's apostolic work as normative for the continuing mission of the Church, then those two aims coalesce."

considered essential to their work.[43] The recurrence of certain practices across different contexts points to the fact that they address not one specific situation, but were rather the regular practice of the apostles as they carried out their mission. Bold gospel proclamation, for example, occurs consistently across almost all contexts in the Acts narrative. This degree of recurrence makes a convincing case that bold gospel proclamation is a fundamental piece in the apostolic mission. In this instance, the assertion is supported by the fact that Paul regularly attests to gospel proclamation as a fundamental part of his apostolic calling.[44]

These two exegetical markers—coalescence and recurrence—serve as reliable guides to assessing the potential elements of apostolic "work." One further point of clarification with regard to both of these markers is that recurring practices in the NT must demonstrate consistency. That is, it is not enough just that certain patterns recur, but that those patterns must also recur in the same manner in order to satisfy the exegetical tests of recurrence or coalescence. Consider, for example, a particular "practice" that recurs within the Acts narratives of Paul's missionary experience—signs and wonders (e.g. healings, demonstrations of power). Given its recurrence in the narrative, the practice of pursuing signs and wonders could potentially serve as a fundamental element in the apostolic "work" argued for here. To satisfy the exegetical tests, however, the specific practice must recur consistently throughout the narrative.

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[43] Fee and Stuart, *Read*, 131, acknowledge the importance of "recurrence" in determining on-going relevance for missionary practice: "First, the strongest possible case [for on-going applicability] can be made when only one pattern is found (although one must be careful not to make too much of silence), and when this pattern is repeated within the New Testament itself."

[44] 1 Cor 9:16, 15:1–4; Gal 1:11; Col 1:25–28; 1 Thess 2:2.

Luke reported signs and wonders in Paul's ministry in the following passages: Acts 13:11 (Elymas the magician was struck blind on Cyprus); 14:3 (Paul and Barnabas did many signs and wonders at Iconium); 14:8 (Paul healed the crippled man at Lystra); 16:18 (Paul cast the demon from the slave girl in Philippi); 16:26 (the earthquake in the Philippian jail occurred); 19:11–12 (in Ephesus "God was doing extraordinary miracles by the hands of Paul, so that even handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his skin were carried away to the sick, and their diseases left them and the evil spirits came out of them."); 19:13–17 (the possessed man beat the sons of Sceva in Ephesus); 20:10 (Paul raised Eutychus from the dead in Troas); 28:3–6 (Paul suffered the viper bite with no harm on Malta); and 28:8 (Paul healed the father of Publius on Malta).[45]

Signs and wonders definitely recurred throughout Paul's ministry, though to satisfy the test of recurrence the practice in question must not simply recur, but recur consistently. For the sake of the argument, we will set aside the requirement that a specific "type" of sign or wonder must recur, as that would render the question moot from the start. Rather, the argument will allow that any of the potential signs or wonders (healing, exorcism, etc.) could have occurred in order to satisfy the test of consistency.

Even with that allowance, however, "signs and wonders" as an element of apostolic "work" fails the consistency test because there are many places Paul undertook his work where signs and wonders played no demonstrable part. Luke's accounts of

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[45] Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary, Vol. II: 3:1–14:28* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 2123, writes, "It is possible that we can read the narrative in Acts as presenting a progression of faith, moving from prophecy (Acts 13:1) to the blinding of Elymas (13:9–11) to many signs here; Paul's first recorded exorcism is in 16:18, but by 19:11–12, healings and exorcisms occur on a wider scale than in previous reports (and again widely in 28:8–9)."

Paul's apostolic ministry in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:13–52); Derbe (14:21); Thessalonica (17:1–9); Berea (17:10–15); Athens (17:22–34); and Corinth (18:1–17) portray no trace of the signs and wonders that occurred in other places. Paul did say to the Corinthian church, "The signs of a true apostle were performed among you with utmost patience, with signs and wonders and mighty works" (2 Cor 12:12).[46] Even with the admission of Corinth into the list of locales for signs and wonders, however, five places of Paul's ministry exhibited none.[47] The recurrence of signs and wonders, then, was not consistent across Paul's apostolic work, and therefore fails the tests of recurrence and coalescence.

To sum up, when determining the core of Paul's concept of the apostolic work in the NT, one must adopt an exegetical approach that effectively addresses both Paul's propositional statements on that work as well as the narrative accounts of his apostolic ministry. More specifically, the instances where these two overlap—where Paul's affirmation of his work coalesces with his demonstrated practice—point to the fundamental aspects of the apostolic work. Furthermore, the consistent recurrence of certain practices of the apostles across contexts in the narrative, even in the absence of epistolary affirmation, also serves as an indicator that they form an essential part of the apostolic work. The result of this hermeneutical approach applied to Acts and the Epistles

[46] Ralph P. Martin, *2 Corinthians*, WBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2014), 632, notes that the dative case of signs (σημείοις), wonders (τέρασιν), and mighty works (δυνάμεσιν) mean that they "accompany" Paul's apostleship, though not as necessary elements of it. He adds, "The conclusion is that Paul does not consider the miraculous as the main criterion by which to judge apostleship. Rather, 12:12a suggests that there are other criteria by which any apostle should be evaluated." *Contra* Harris, *Corinthians*, 875.

[47] Cf. Keener, *Acts*, 2123.

is a unified picture of the fundamental apostolic work within the life and ministry of Paul and his apostolic colleagues.

Paul's Definitive "Work"

Among those identified as "sent out" ones in the NT, Paul stands out as one who fulfilled all the potential "qualifications" for apostle found in the NT.[48] The risen Lord personally commissioned him (Acts 9:1–19),[49] Paul was active in proclaiming the gospel (Acts 9:20–31, 13:1 onward), and he pursued his apostolic work among the Gentiles over the course of his recorded missionary journeys in Acts (Acts 13–21). The record of Paul's apostleship—in both deed (Acts) and word (Paul's Epistles) is the most extensive account of apostleship in the NT.

Luke chronicled this apostolic work in the book of Acts. In the latter half of the book of Acts, Luke depicted the proclamation of the gospel and expansion of the church almost exclusively through Paul and his co-workers. While the twelve Apostles figure prominently in the first stages of the growth and development of the Christian community, they fade rather quickly from the historical account once the gospel crosses decisively into the Gentile world (beginning in Acts 10 and 11).[50] With the exception of

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[48] For a survey of NT apostleship, see Appendix 1.

[49] On the agreement of Luke's account with Paul's own testimony, Keener, *Acts*, 1598, states, "Although Luke naturally includes many details that Paul does not, since he is writing historical narrative rather than narrative example of points in epistles, his claims are confirmed at numerous points by Paul's own writings. Luke claims that Jesus revealed himself to Paul unexpectedly near Damascus and called him to preach to Gentiles. Paul makes the same claims."

[50] See Andrew Clark, "The Role of the Apostles" in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998): 169–90, 176, who writes, "Following Peter's preaching to Cornelius and those assembled in his house, and his sharing of table-fellowship with the newly Spirit-filled and baptized Gentiles (10:48), a change in the apostles' role may be seen. From this point on Luke gradually marginalizes them."

the Jerusalem Council depicted in Acts 15, after Chapter 11 of Acts the Twelve play no significant part in the *recorded* spread of the gospel "to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8). This is not to say that they were uninvolved in the mission, it is simply to point out that Luke saw fit to transfer his attention from the work of the Twelve almost exclusively to that of Paul.[51] The exegetical consequence of this progression is that as the Twelve fade from view Paul and his co-workers stand as the sole representatives of the apostolic role.[52]

Paul himself detailed and defended his apostolic work in his epistolary writings. He frequently spoke of and defended his apostleship, often making explicit his "qualifications" for the role. In the defense of his apostleship in 1 Corinthians 9, for example, Paul appealed to all possible means of qualification when he asked, "Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are you not my workmanship in the Lord? If to others I am not an apostle, at least I am to you, for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord" (1 Cor 9:1–2).[53] Here Paul defended his apostleship by

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[51] See Appendix 1 of this dissertation for further discussion of the Apostles' role in the spread of the Gospel.

[52] This is not, again, to claim that the Twelve were historically uninvolved in the mission. As Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*. 2 vols. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 1546, has pointed out, "The early tradition that the Twelve left Jerusalem twelve years after Easter, around A. D. 42, embarking on the international missionary work that Jesus had commissioned them for, probably is based on reliable historical information."

[53] Fee regards Paul's second question, "Am I not an apostle?" as a clear sign that his apostleship had been called into question. It was the "[F]irst direct statement in the letter indicating that his apostleship itself is at stake in Corinth; but such has been hinted at several times before this (1:1, 12; 4:1–5, 8–13, 14–21; 5:1–2)." Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *NICNT* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 436. Cf. Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGCT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013), 666.

appealing both to his eyewitness status as well as his apostolic "work" of preaching the gospel and, in this case, establishing a church at Corinth.[54]

For these reasons, Paul's concept of and practice of his apostleship are particularly salient in determining the NT meaning of apostolic work.[55] By embodying the various meanings of "apostle," Paul served as an intermediary figure between the Twelve Apostles; the other, non-eyewitness apostles (Barnabas, Epaphroditus, Silas, Timothy, Apollos, Andronicus and Junias); and the apostolic "band" that appear in the early church.[56] Paul exemplified both the unique, and therefore non-repeatable, aspects of apostleship (eye-witness testimony, revelatory authority) as well as the elements that could be applied to the more general class of apostolic missionaries (pioneering missionary work).[57]

The point here is that, given all the reasons outlined above, Paul's articulation of and practice of his apostolic work serve as the crux of that idea in the NT. In applying the title "apostle" to his missionary co-workers, he oversaw the transition of the term from

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[54] F. F. Bruce, *I & II Corinthians*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971), 83. See further discussion on 1 Corinthians 9 below.

[55] Rengstorf, "ἀπόστολος," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament: Abridged in One Volume*, Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 73, writes, "Paul offers the classical case of an apostle because of the information he leaves, his unusual position, his special labors, his strong sense of calling and office, and his need to vindicate his apostolate against objections."

[56] Ralph Winter, "The Two Structures of God's Redemptive Mission," in Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne, eds. *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 3rd ed. (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1999): 220–30, 221, identified the "missionary band" as "a prototype of all subsequent missionary endeavors organized out of committed, experienced workers who affiliated themselves as a second decision beyond membership in the first structure [the New Testament church]." Cf. Robert Lewis Plummer, "The Church's Missionary Nature: The Apostle Paul and His Churches." (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001), 205.

[57] D. A. Carson, *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians, 12–14* (Kindle Edition: Baker Books, 1996), 88.

the closed group of specially commissioned eyewitnesses to a more general class of those who did the "work" as missionaries and church-planters.[58] Concerning this "transitional" feature in Paul's apostleship, Sinclair writes,

> It would seem, then, that Paul was sort of a bridge between the first apostles—the Twelve—and the later, broader group of apostles. He had broad foundational authority, especially appreciated by the fact that he wrote so much of the New Testament. Nonetheless, most of the references to his apostleship were in the context of his calling to take the gospel to new, unreached people groups.[59]

Furthermore, by including in his "work" a substantial number of "co-workers," none of whom are called apostles, Paul opens the possibility for others to be involved in the apostolic "work."[60]

Paul's understanding of the apostolic "work," then, grounded in his demonstration and explanation of it, serves as the formative NT perspective on the matter. More specifically, Paul's understanding of his *own* apostolic "work" serves as the definitive conception within the NT. For that reason, when approaching the question of the apostolic "work" in the NT, one can justifiably be "concerned with *Paul's understanding* of the apostles' mission—revealed primarily through Paul's understanding *of his own mission.*"[61]

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[58] Andrew C. Clark, "Apostleship: Evidence from the New Testament and Early Christian Literature," *ERT* 13 (1989): 344–82, 363–4.

[59] Sinclair, *Vision*, 254–55.

[60] Craig Ott and Stephen J. Strauss, *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues* (Kindle Edition: Baker Academic, 2010), 233.

[61] Plummer, "Missionary," 67. Emphasis in original.

The Apostles' Work

To arrive at Paul's seminal conception of the apostolic "work," the argument of this section will employ the exegetical guideposts outlined above—coalescence and recurrence—to Paul's epistolary reflections on his apostleship as well as the record of his apostolic work in Acts. When applied to the relevant passages, the apostolic hermeneutic leads to the core of NT apostolic work as church planting in unreached contexts. Furthermore, apostolic *work* is spoken of here to distinguish it from the question of apostolic *strategy*. Others have examined the question of whether and how Paul conceived of his "strategy."[62] This discussion is important, but perhaps somewhat secondary to the more immediate question of the apostolic "work." While Paul never spoke explicitly to a broader strategy in his work, Luke records plainly what Paul actually *did*. This narrative record of his "work," combined with Paul's declamations on the topic, provides a substantial exegetical foundation from which to derive the apostolic "work."

Within this "work" of pioneering church planting were several recurring elements, examples of which are seen throughout Acts and the rationale for which is described in the Epistles. These elements are: proclaiming the gospel, "laying the foundation" of new churches, itinerating by moving from place to place, and "entrusting" the work to the new communities. While this does not, perhaps, exhaust the potential elements of the apostolic work, it does address the most prominent aspects following the exegetical guidelines of coalescence and recurrence.

[62] See, for example, David J. Hesselgrave's "Pauline Cycle," in *Planting Churches Cross-Culturally: A Guide for Home and Foreign Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1980), 158. See also Schnabel, *ECM*, 1293, who writes, "Paul planned his missionary initiatives in the context of a general strategy that controlled his tactical decisions."

“The Work”

A significant exegetical indicator of a unified picture of the apostolic work in the NT is the consistent usage of the phrase “the work” (τὸ ἔργον) to describe this apostolic pattern. Paul invokes the term in some of his seminal statements on his own apostleship, as will be shown below. In Acts 13–15 Luke uses ἔργον to describe the missionary activity of Paul and Barnabas in Acts 13:2; 14:26; and 15:38.[63] Luke’s use of ἔργον appears to be an *inclusio* for Paul and Barnabas’ first “mission” in Acts 13–14.[64] It occurs in the Holy Spirit’s very words of calling in Acts 13:2 (“Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the *work* to which I have called them”).[65] And at the end of their journey they return to Antioch, “where they had been commended to the grace of God for the *work* that they had fulfilled” (ὅθεν ἦσαν παραδεδομένοι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν, Acts 14:26). Significantly, the later reference in Acts 15:38 is Paul’s reluctance to take John Mark on the second journey, as Mark “had not gone with them *to the work*” (εἰς τὸ ἔργον) when he left the apostles in the first journey. Here again the term refers to the body of activities depicted in Acts 13–14.[66]

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[63] As Peter Bolt, “Mission and Witness” in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998): 191–210, 194, points out, “Three times it [ἔργον] refers to the ‘first missionary journey’ (13:2; 14:26; 15:38). In Pisidian Antioch, Paul cites Hab 1:5, adding another ἔργον (13:41), referring to God's astonishing work. The citation places the ‘first missionary journey’ in the context of a larger work for God, for which it became a test case (Acts 15).”

[64] Keener, *Acts*, 1994.

[65] Schnabel, *Acts*, 555, writes, “The term “work” (τὸ ἔργον) refers to the missionary work that they will jointly undertake in the cities of Cyprus and southern Galatia, described in the next two chapters.”

[66] R. Heiligenthal, “ἔργον,” *EDNT* 2:49, writes, “The prep. phrase εἰς ἔργον refers in Acts 13:2; 14:26; 15:38 to the missionary task (cf. Phil. 1:22; 1 Thess. 5:13; 2 Tim 4:5).”

Though “the work” (τὸ ἔργον) itself does not reappear in the later “journeys” recorded in Acts, Luke’s prominent use of the term in the first “missionary journey” likely points to the paradigmatic nature of this “work” for the ministry that would follow.[67] Luke depicted the pattern of this “work”—broadly speaking—in Acts 13 and 14. Paul and Barnabas would travel to a new place, preach the gospel, gather new believers and teach them, and then travel to another new place to repeat the process. They followed this pattern of “work” in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:13–52), Iconium (Acts 14:1–7), Lystra (Acts 14:8–19), and Derbe (Acts 14:20–21); and concluded the work by having elders appointed in all those churches (Acts 14:23). Their “work,” then, was that of the pioneer church planter.[68]

In Paul’s letters, “the work” appears amid crucial affirmations of his own apostleship. In Romans 15:17–23, Paul gives a summary account of the results of his “missionary journeys.” Writing from Corinth toward the end of his third journey (Acts 20:1–4),[69] Paul describes in the letter to the Romans the extent and outcome of his missionary work “from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum” (Rom 15:19). While *ergon* appears in the Greek only in v. 18 (λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, “by word and deed”), Paul’s “work” is implied throughout the passage. The ESV translators include “work” to convey

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[67] Sinclair, *Vision*, 33.

[68] Schnabel, *Acts*, 615.

[69] Many evangelical commentators are agreed upon the Corinthian setting for the composition of Acts. See for example, F. F. Bruce, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans: An Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 13; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 3.

Paul's idea in both Rom 15:17 and 15:23.[70] Paul refers here to his ministry as recorded in Acts as the "work for God" of which he has "reason to be proud" in Christ Jesus (Rom 15:17).[71] Apparently, Paul's conception of the apostolic mission in any given locality included a prospective finish-line, when the apostolic worker could conceivably say, as Paul did, that "I no longer have any room for work in these regions" (Rom 15:23)."[72]

Given Paul's claim to have "fulfilled" the gospel in those regions (Rom 15:19), the "work" in question here cannot be simply a general term for ministry. The reason is that gospel ministry in its broad sense—the ongoing responsibilities and activities of local church bodies—could not possibly have been "fulfilled" in that region in the 10–12 years of Paul's ministry.[73] This sense of "fulfilment," of completion, makes sense only if "the work" refers to a discrete set of activities and not those that are enjoined upon the church at large.[74] That Paul proclaims the gospel "fulfilled" in the midst of recounting his missionary journeys is significant and points decisively to "the work" as defined set of activities that could, in a given geography, be considered complete. This set of activities

[70] NRSV renders "work" in v. 17 but not in v. 23; NASB does not include "work" in either vv. 17 or 23; NIV: "service" (v. 17) and "work" (v. 23). In reference to v. 23, Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1998), 769, writes, "[H]e means that his work of preaching the gospel is completed in the area from Jerusalem to Illyricum.".

[71] The "work" to which Paul refers is implied in the Greek: ἔχω οὖν [τὴν] καύχησιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν (Rom 15:17).

[72] Again, "work" is implied in the Greek: νυνὶ δὲ μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς κλίμασι τούτοις (Rom. 15:23a). Regarding Paul's statement in this verse, James D G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* WBC (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), 871, comments, "The claim is a strong one … but the reference is to the strategic vision and policy sketched out in vv 19–20."

[73] F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979), 314–15, writes, "The statement that he "no longer has any room for work in these regions" throws light on Paul's conception of his task. There was certainly much room for further work in the area already evangelized by Paul, but not (as he conceived it) work of an apostolic nature. The work of an apostle was to preach the gospel where it had not been heard before and plant churches where none had existed before."

[74] Benjamin L. Merkle, "The Need for Theological Education in Missions: Lessons Learned from the Church's Greatest Missionary," *SBJT* 9, (2005): 50–61, 50.

is, in accord with Paul's argument in Rom 15, the pattern depicted in Acts of proclaiming the gospel in new places, gathering disciples into new churches, teaching them to be faithful followers of Christ, and then entrusting to them the leadership of the church.

Some of Paul's strongest epistolary defenses of his apostleship come in 1 Corinthians 3 and 9, both of which feature the idea of "the work" prominently. In 1 Corinthians 3 Paul is chastising the Corinthian church for their divisiveness, as they have apparently placed Apollos' and Paul's influence in opposition to one another.[75] In response, Paul joins his work together with Apollos'. Indeed, Paul implies that Apollos is an apostle alongside him in the next chapter (1 Cor 4:9).[76] In Paul's reckoning, "He who plants [Paul] and he who waters [Apollos] are one …. For we are God's fellow workers (θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί)" (1 Cor 3:8–9).[77]

Specifically, Paul pictures this "work" as foundation-laying, or founding new churches.[78] Paul claims, "… like a skilled master builder I laid a foundation, and someone else [Apollos] is building upon it" (1 Cor 3:10a). While the argument below looks in more detail at the "foundation-laying" aspect of Paul's apostleship, the point at present is to note how prominently "the work" figures here in Paul's description of his

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[75] Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 142.

[76] See the arguments for Apollos' apostleship in Appendix 1.

[77] Ciampa and Rosner, *Corinthians*, 147–8, cite the surrounding context as evidence that Paul's meant to equate his and Apollos' "status," writing, "… in the previous three verses Paul's point has been that although he and Apollos performed different tasks with respect to the Corinthians (planting and watering respectively), they shared the same status as 'servants' of the Lord: in v. 5 they are both servants; in v. 6 neither is ultimately responsible for the growth; and in v. 7 neither is anything (to speak of, in comparison with God). In v. 9 both are fellow workers. The clear emphasis is that Paul and Apollos have the same rank; one is not to be preferred over the other."

[78] Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 437.

and his co-workers' ministries. As Thiselton points out, "Foundational work is apostolic work in Paul and in other parts of the NT, especially in Luke—Acts."[79]

In 1 Cor 9, though Paul uses "work" only once, it nevertheless comes in a significant juncture in his argument for his own apostleship. In the midst of a rhetorical defense of his apostleship ("Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?"), Paul calls the Corinthian church his "workmanship in the Lord" (1 Cor 9:1). The Greek text translated in the ESV as "my workmanship" is, simply, τὸ ἔργον μου.[80] Paul calls the believers his "work," the "seal of my apostleship in the Lord" (1 Cor 9:2).[81] Paul seems to be referring to his apostolic efforts to evangelize, disciple, and gather these new believers over the course of an eighteen-month ministry in Corinth (Acts 18:1–11).[82]

In addition to Paul's references to "the work" in relation to his own apostleship, he also used that term to refer to the ministry of his apostolic colleagues. In 1 Corinthians 16 Paul reminded the church there to put Timothy "at ease among you, for he is doing the *work* of the Lord, as I am" (1 Cor 16:10). Paul refers here to the unity of his and Timothy's work ("he is doing the work … as I am"). Given the fact that 1 Corinthians as a whole, and particularly chapters 3, 4, and 9, contains some of Paul's most extended reflections on his apostleship, it is fair to assume that his reference to Timothy's *work* here has significant apostolic undertones as well.[83]

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[79] Thiselton, *Corinthians*, 309.

[80] NIV: "the result of my work in the Lord"; NASB, KJV, HCSB: "my work." See fn. 173 in Fee, *Corinthians*, 437.

[81] Thiselton, *Corinthians,* 674.

[82] Fee, *Corinthians*, 437.

[83] Ibid., 907, notes that Paul's phrase here, τὸ ἔργον κυρίου ἐργάζεται, refers to the "ministry of the gospel" throughout 1 Corinthians.

To sum up, Paul, and to a lesser extent Luke, used τὸ ἔργον in seminal ways to refer to the apostolic "work" argued for here. Paul's and Luke's usage of τὸ ἔργον points to a concept of missionary activity that is, broadly speaking, consistent across the examples cited above. The set of activities to which both Luke and Paul referred is identifiable throughout the book of Acts and the Epistles, the outlines of are explored below. The first and most clearly demonstrable activity within this pattern of "work" was regular, bold gospel preaching.

Preaching the Gospel

Among the elements of the apostles' "work," gospel proclamation holds pride of place.[84] Because Paul typified the apostolic goal to "reach as many people as possible with the Gospel," he "went to any locale in which people would be willing to listen to the message of Jesus Christ."[85] The apostolic community made gospel proclamation a clear priority as they moved out into new areas and new communities (Acts 6:7; 11:20). Gospel proclaimers abounded in the early church, from recognized apostles to nameless believers: Peter (Acts 2:14–36; 3:11–26; 4:5–12; 10:34–43), the community of believers (Acts 4:31), Stephen (Acts 7:1–53), Philip (Acts 8:5–8; 8:26–39), believers scattered by persecution (Acts 8:4; 11:19–20) and Paul and his apostolic associates from Acts 9 onwards. In every place where Paul and his associates undertook apostolic ministry over the course of the journeys, they began by preaching the gospel boldly. They did so at Salamis (Acts 13:5); Pisidian Antioch (13:16–42); Iconium (14:1); Lystra and Derbe

[84] Schnabel, *Missionary*, 34.
[85] Ibid., 35.

(14:6–7); Philippi (16:13, 32); Thessalonica (17:2–3); Berea (17:10–11); Athens (17:17); Corinth (18:4); and Ephesus (19:8–10). In terms of “recurrence,” then, Luke supplies ample evidence in Acts that bold, verbal proclamation of the gospel was the consistent pattern of the apostles, indeed the church as a whole, across all contexts.

Paul’s commitment to gospel proclamation runs throughout his correspondence with the churches. As Bowers points out, “In those contexts throughout his writing where Paul directly alludes to his vocation, a sense of involvement with the gospel is conspicuous.”[86] In support of this claim, Bowers offers a brief survey of Paul’s statements on his commitment to gospel proclamation, observing,

> He tells the Thessalonians that he has been "approved by God to be entrusted with the gospel" (1 Thess 2:4). To the Galatians he recounts how the Jerusalem leaders recognized that he had been "entrusted with the gospel for the uncircumcision" (Gal 2:7). He does all things "for the sake of the gospel" (1 Cor 9:23). He goes to Troas "in the gospel" (2 Cor 2:12) and as far as Corinth "in the gospel" (2 Cor 10:14). The Philippians he thanks for their partnership "in the gospel" (Phil 1:5,7). He commends Timothy to them as one who serves with him "in the gospel (2:22) and he mentions others who have been fellow laborers with him "in the gospel" (4:3). To the Colossians he identifies himself as one who has been made a servant of the gospel (Col 1:23).[87]

The accounts of Paul’s thought and activities are suffused with statements about his commitment to gospel proclamation and brimming with vivid demonstrations of it in his ministry. While it has been briefly noted that Paul’s conception of “gospel ministry” included not just evangelism but also discipleship and church planting, Paul remained steadfast in his commitment to the proclamation of the good news of Jesus’ death, burial, and resurrection. This essential message he took to be of “first importance” (1 Cor 15:3–

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[86] Bowers, “Fulfilling,” 186.
[87] Ibid., 185–86.

6). And yet he was not satisfied to simply preach and move on. In his apostolic work, his evangelistic preaching moved consistently toward starting new congregations.

Laying the Foundation

Paul frequently pictured his role as a "foundation-laying" ministry. Paul spoke of himself as explicitly laying a foundation (θεμέλιος) in both Rom 15:20–21 and 1 Cor 3:10–11. This "foundation-laying" concept points to the central apostolic impulse: *church planting where no work has been previously done.* Dunn called church-planting a "fundamental aspect of Paul's apostolic mission" along with a "commitment to pioneer evangelism, to pursue his mission only in virgin territory."[88] That is, Paul's "foundation-laying" metaphor communicates not only church planting but also planting in pioneer contexts.[89] According to Bowers, "The planting of churches is so integral a feature of the Pauline mission that one may rightly conclude that Paul experienced his mission in principal part as an ecclesiological undertaking."[90]

Paul refers to this pioneer element explicitly in the Romans passage cited above, speaking of his desire to "preach the gospel, not where Christ has already been named, lest I build on someone else's foundation" (Rom 15:20).[91] Paul's statement here falls

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[88] James D. G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem, Christianity in the Making Volume 2* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 544.

[89] Bowers, "Fulfilling," 187, points out that Paul used other metaphors to describe the "initiatory" nature of his church-planting work: "That Paul perceives his role as initiatory in nature is apparent as well in the specific metaphors he applies to his vocation: He plants (1 Cor 3:6–9; 9:7, 10, 11); he lays foundations (Rom 15:20; 1 Cor 3:10); he gives birth (1 Cor 4:15; Phlm 10); he betroths (2 Cor 11:2)."

[90] Paul Bowers, "Church and Mission in Paul," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 44 (1991): 89–111, 89.

[91] Moo, *Romans*, 896, writes, "Paul here indicates that he believed that God had given him the ministry of establishing strategic churches in virgin gospel territory."

within his summary of his missionary work "from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum" (v. 19).[92] As recounted in Acts, Paul consistently labored in this area to proclaim the gospel and start new churches. Furthermore, he focused on places where no previous communities of believers existed.[93] In Rom 15, then, "foundation-laying" meant proclaiming the gospel and planting churches where there was no gospel witness.[94]

Paul also spoke in 1 Corinthians 3–4 of "planting" and laying a "foundation," referring to his planting the church in Corinth. Paul says, "According to the grace of God given to me, *like a skilled master builder I laid a foundation* …." (ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα, 1 Cor 3:10). This points to Paul's self-understanding as "pioneer missionary, called by God to 'plant' and to 'lay the foundation' (1 Cor 3:6,10), that is, to establish new churches."[95] The foundation that Paul laid is "Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 3:11), alluding to gospel teaching as the foundation for any church-planting work and, more specifically, to his gospel ministry in Corinth (Acts 18:11).[96] For Paul and his associates, then, "foundation-laying" work was planting churches in pioneer areas like Corinth, a point he reiterated in 2 Corinthians 10.

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[92] As Schreiner, *Romans*, 769, makes clear, Paul is not claiming to have personally preached in either Jerusalem or Illyricum. Rather, "Paul is thinking generally of the area extending from Jerusalem to Illyricum."

[93] See Schreiner, *Romans*, 770, who writes, "A claim to have fully preached the gospel of Christ is understandable in this sense, for Paul's point is that he has finished planting churches where Christ has not been named in the area extending from Jerusalem to Illyricum."

[94] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1993), 716, writes, "Paul knows, of course, that he has not yet converted all of the Gentiles in the eastern Mediterranean area, but he regards his function as that of pioneer preacher who must lay foundations."

[95] Schnabel, *Missionary*, 132.

[96] J. D. M. Derrett, "Paul as Master-Builder," *Evangelical Quarterly* 69 (1997): 129–37, 130.

While the explicit "foundation-laying" language is found in the two passages cited above, the pioneer church-planting aspect appears prominently in 2 Corinthians 10 as well.[97] There Paul refers to the fact that "[W]e were the first to come all the way to you with the gospel of Christ" (2 Cor 10:14b).[98] Furthermore, Paul's expressed desire in this passage is that "[W]e may preach the gospel in lands beyond you, without boasting of work already done in another's area of influence" (2 Cor 10:16).[99] Paul's concerns here echo those found in Romans 15, where he wrote of his desire not to build on another's "foundation," but to move beyond Rome to Spain as an area of pioneer gospel work (Rom 15:20, 24, 28).[100] In this passage, then, Paul again defines his apostleship in terms of starting churches in places where work has not yet been done. This orientation toward pioneer places operates at the center of Paul's concept of "apostle," a point Fee makes clear, noting, "Itinerant workers founded churches by evangelizing and built them up through prophetic utterances. There can be little question that this is the understanding of the term 'apostle' in Paul's letters."[101]

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[97] Bowers, "Fulfilling," 187, notes that Paul was "devoted for his part to the unconverted regions, to introducing the gospel where as yet no one has invoked the name of Christ (Rom 15:20–21; 2 Cor 10:13–16)."

[98] Harris, *Corinthians*, 718, writes, "Not only did his "assignment (κανών) reach all the way to Corinth (v. 13); he was the pioneer evangelist in Corinth, the first to come there with the good news." Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 718.

[99] George H. Guthrie, *2 Corinthians*. BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 495, writes, "However, given the context, Paul's emphasis clearly rests on the work being expanded beyond the Corinthians, not among them, and their *role* in that expansion seems to be in play at this point.".

[100] Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 715, commenting on Rom 15:20, noted the parallel with 2 Corinthians 10: "What he says [in Rom 15:20] is in part explained by what he wrote in 2 Cor 10:14–16."

[101] Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 707.

In turning to the narrative accounts of Paul's work in Acts, Luke depicts Paul consistently fulfilling this "foundation-laying" work of church planting in pioneer contexts. In the first place, Luke reports groups of believers in every place Paul and his companions undertook apostolic work in Acts 13–21, with the exception of Cyprus, where Luke recorded that only the proconsul believed (Acts 13:12).[102] With that possible exception, Luke reported believers left from Paul's work in every other city of the three missionary journeys: Derbe (Acts 14:21, 16:1); Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch (14:22); Philippi (16:40); Thessalonica (17:4); Berea (17:12); Athens (17:34); Corinth (18:8–11); and Ephesus (20:1, 17).

These groups of believers formed the genesis of new churches in those locations, though Luke explicitly mentioned "church" only in Acts 14:23 and 20:17. In the Acts 14 citation Luke depicted Paul and Barnabas appointing elders in "every church" (κατ' ἐκκλησίαν) of the Galatian journey (Acts 14:23).[103] In Acts 20:17, Luke records that Paul sent for the elders of the church (τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας) in Ephesus to meet him at Miletus. While these are the only explicit mentions of "church" in the Acts account of Paul's apostolic work in chapters 13–21, the epistles to the churches of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth show that the groups of believers had coalesced into churches in those locations as well.

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[102] There are two good reasons to believe that a church or churches existed on Cyprus: 1. Believers scattered from the persecution in Jerusalem had previously settled there (Acts 11:19); and 2. Barnabas returned to Cyprus in Acts 15:39 after Paul had suggested that they "return and visit the brothers in every city where we proclaimed the word of the Lord." Barnabas subsequently chose Mark and departed for Cyprus after the split with Paul. Schnabel, *ECM*, 2:1079–80.

[103] Barrett, *Acts*, I: 688.

The only locations where the presence of “church” was not explicit were Berea and Athens. In the case of Berea, Luke mentions a “Sopater of Berea” as Paul’s travelling companion on his voyage to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4). Sopater was part of a larger group that joined Paul on his journey, the purpose of which was, at least in part, the delivery of the collection to Jerusalem.[104] These “local representatives” served as emissaries of the churches from Paul’s ministry, and so Sopater evidently served as the representative of the church in Berea.[105]

The explicit case for a church in Athens is more difficult to make, though two reasons make it plausible. First, Paul addresses 2 Corinthians to “the church of God that is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia” (2 Cor 1:1b). Murray explains the reference to the “saints who are in the whole of Achaia,” writing,

> If, then, “Achaia” denotes the Roman province of that name, “all God’s people who are in the whole of Achaia” will include believers at Corinth’s eastern port of Cenchreae, such as Phoebe (Rom. 16:1), and those at Athens, such as Dionysius the Areopagite and Damaris (Acts 17:34). Precisely where other Christians resided “in the regions of Achaia” (11:10) is not known, and apart from Corinth and Cenchreae, we have no evidence of churches in Achaia. But Luke’s allusion to οἱ μαθηταῖ in Achaia (Acts 18:27a), while having primary reference to the Corinthian Christians (Acts 18:27b – 28; 19:1; cf. 1 Cor. 3:5 – 6), may have included believers throughout Achaia. Certainly the combination of πᾶσιν and ὅλῃ suggests that a substantial number of Achaian believers resided outside of Corinth and its environs.[106]

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[104] As Barrett, *Acts*, 2:947, points out, “According to 1 Cor. 16:3f., it was Paul’s intention that local representatives should convey the money to Jerusalem, perhaps in his company.”

[105] F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 382, writes, “But when Paul, shortly before leaving Corinth, sent the Roman Christians greetings from “all the churches of Christ” (Rom. 16:16), he had good reason to do so, because representatives from those churches were joining him at the time.”.

[106] Harris, *Corinthians*, 134.

While Harris contends that there is no evidence for a church in Athens, the reference to the two believers in Athens—Dionysius and Damaris—makes it at least plausible that there was a church start in Athens.[107] A possible church start in Athens is made more probable by the fact that Paul's pattern in ministry was to group new believers into churches, as demonstrated paradigmatically in Luke's record of the "work" of Acts 13–14 and the consistent presence of churches in all the locations listed above.

This pattern of "foundation-laying"—church planting in pioneer contexts—operates at the center of the apostolic "work." It is evident in both the actions and the affirmations of the apostles, and thus satisfies the exegetical standards of coalescence and recurrence. Paul is not pictured as one who stays to build once he has laid the foundation, as the section below on itinerancy will show. It should not be inferred, however, that Paul and his colleagues were unconcerned with the longevity and doctrinal health of the churches they planted. Rather, "foundation-laying" work carried with it a vivid concern for the on-going maturity of those congregations.

This concern for on-going maturity and health is the focus of Chapter Five of this dissertation. Suffice it to say for now that Paul and his colleagues devoted themselves to teaching the new churches right doctrine and Christian living, as is demonstrated in the Acts narratives and in epistolary affirmations. This teaching was not a separate concern for the apostolic workers; it was rather an integral part of the "foundation-laying" efforts of Paul and his colleagues. Their concern for teaching and the maturation of new churches did not, however, lead them to establish themselves among these churches as

[107] Cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 344.

permanent elders or teachers. Rather, in accordance with apostolic impulses that point to the unreached, they continually looked to pioneer fields to start again. This desire is evident in the next major aspect of the apostolic "work"—itinerancy.

Itinerating

The record of Paul's work in Acts shows that he conceived of his work as itinerant in nature.[108] In his work as a "foundation-layer," Paul moved to places where the gospel had not yet been announced in order to found new churches. Once a church was established in a place, Paul moved on to both strengthen existing churches and, ultimately, to pioneer churches in new places. Luke demonstrates Paul's consistent itinerancy in the Acts account. Furthermore, Paul spoke of the underlying motivations within his apostolic "work" that drove him to this itinerant pattern, and particularly the issue of gospel urgency.

Paul's Itinerancy in Acts

While Paul's movements from one place to another were sometimes the result of persecution and therefore outside his direct control, itinerancy formed a central pillar in his own understanding of the apostolic work. Paul moved regularly from place to place, often after just a brief stay. As Terry has pointed out, "He [Paul] travelled from city to city, planting churches. In some cities he only stayed a few weeks or months, but he

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[108] Ott, et. al., *Encountering*, 235, write, "In short, apostolic ministry was focused on the planting and expansion of kingdom communities among all the peoples of the earth. Those performing such ministry were generally itinerant, and they exercised only limited authority in the churches." Craig Ott, Stephen J. Strauss, and Timothy C Tennent, eds. *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues* (Kindle Edition: Baker Academic, 2010), 235.

clearly functioned as an itinerant church planter. In fact, he never stayed more than three years in any city during his missionary journeys."[109]

On Cyprus, when Paul and Barnabas "had gone throughout the whole island as far as Paphos," they set sail for Perga in Pamphylia (Acts 13:6, 13). Upon their release from the prison in Philippi, Paul and Silas visited the believers there and "they encouraged them and departed" (Acts 16:40). After his speech at the Areopagus, Paul left Athens and went to Corinth, where he stayed for eighteen months, "teaching the word of God among them." (Acts 18:1,11). After the persecution of the believers in Corinth, Paul "stayed many days longer and then took leave of the brothers and set sail for Syria" (Acts 18:18). After a brief stay in Syrian Antioch, "he departed and went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples" (Acts 18:23). Soon he found himself in Ephesus, where he ministered for two years, and then "resolved in the Spirit to pass through Macedonia and Achaia and go to Jerusalem" (Acts 19:21). Luke makes the pattern of Paul's itinerancy clear in the Acts narrative. As evidenced by his continuous movement from place to place, Paul was intentionally itinerant.

Pioneering and Gospel Urgency

Paul's pattern of moving around was not simply itinerancy for its own sake. Rather, Paul regularly attested to the motivations that lay beneath his movement from place to place. As shown in Romans 15, Paul was concerned to take the gospel where it had not yet been preached. He was leaving his missionary field in order to go to Spain, a pioneer area with

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[109] John Mark Terry, "Paul and Indigenous Missions," in *Paul's Missionary Methods: In His Time and Ours*, Robert L. Plummer and John Mark Terry, eds. (Kindle Edition: IVP Academic, 2013), 161.

respect to the gospel ministry (Rom 15:20, 24).[110] Paul's evident motivation in moving on—if not *the* central motivating desire—was to take the gospel to where it had not been proclaimed. This focus on pioneer areas was at the heart of his calling as an apostle and thus drove him to an itinerant ministry.[111]

A palpable sense of urgency ran throughout Paul's mission to proclaim the gospel and plant churches in pioneer areas. Apostolic urgency, for Paul, flowed primarily from the realization that people were cut off from salvation. Paul was clear throughout his writing about his zealous desire that people be *saved*. In speaking of his Jewish brethren, he said "my heart's desire and prayer to God for them is that they may be saved" (αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν, Rom 10:1),[112] even to the point that he "could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brothers . . ." (Rom 9:3).[113] The fate of the "unsaved," and the in-gathering of the "saved," were crucial pieces in Paul's thinking about his gospel ministry.[114] Those who had not been saved were cut off from Christ (Gal 5:4), unreconciled (1 Cor 5:20), and dead in their trespasses and sins (Eph 2:1).

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[110] Moo, *Romans*, 3.

[111] Schnackenburg, "Apostles," 298, writes, "The concept of apostle, then, as a (charismatically effective) herald of Christ and itinerant missionary is confirmed through Paul's polemic against those people who caused trouble in Corinth." Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Apostles Before and During Paul's Time," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday*, W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1970): 287–303, 298.

[112] See Schreiner, *Romans*, 542, on Paul's desire in Rom 9–10: "The desire of Paul's heart and his prayer on behalf of Israel is that they would experience salvation. These words evoke 9:1–3, reminding us that the issue that informs these chapters is the salvation (or lack thereof) of Israel."

[113] On the meaning of v. 9, Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 544, wrote that, "Paul would willingly undergo the worst possible fate that he could imagine for the sake of his fellow Jews."

[114] 1 Cor 9:22; 10:33; 15:2; 2 Cor 2:15; Eph 2:8; 1 Thess 2:16; 2 Thess 2:10; 1 Tim 2:4; 4:16.

The crucial practical consequence of this concern for the lost was not simply the need to "implore" people to be reconciled to God (2 Cor 5:20), but also to take the gospel to those who had never heard it (Rom 15:20). Those without access to the gospel were in a particularly dire situation, as Paul makes plain in his keynote teaching on the state of the unevangelized in Romans 10. In Rom 10:13–14, just after affirming that "everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved," Paul then asks, "How then will they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without someone preaching?" In sum, Paul notes that, "Faith comes from hearing, and hearing through the word of Christ (ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ)" (Rom 10:17).

On this critical passage, Schreiner comments,

> What is communicated in Rom. 10:14–15 and 17 is a principle that applies equally to both Jews and Gentiles: the steps of the chain must be realized if people are going to call on the Lord and be saved…. We have already seen that Paul does not contemplate the possibility that people will be saved by responding positively to natural revelation (see the exegesis and exposition of 1:18–32) …. When one combines 1:18–32 and 10:14–17, it seems fair to conclude that people are not saved apart from the preaching of the gospel.[115]

The state of those without the gospel is particularly critical as they have no hope to "hear" the word of Christ and so be saved.[116] In light of this reality, the apostles had an acute sense of urgency, both to preach to those around them and to take the gospel into

[115] Schreiner, *Romans*, 567–8.

[116] It should be clear here that the present position is that of an exclusivist or particularist evangelical perspective on religious pluralism, one that affirms "… that salvation comes through repentance and faith in Christ's work on the cross; thus, no one can be saved without an explicit act of repentance and faith based on the knowledge of Christ." Timothy Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions: A Trinitarian Missiology for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2010), 197.

new territory. In both cases, the dire situation of those cut off from Christ impelled a sense of urgency within the work of the apostolic community.

This element of urgency has been a topic of some debate within the literature on NT mission. Schmithals, for instance, claimed that "Paul's missionary work is hardly characterized by any special urgency …. At no point in his missionary activity does one gain the impression that Paul was in very much of a hurry."[117] Schnabel, also, is hesitant to affirm any sense of "haste" within Paul's missionary strategy.[118] According to Schnabel, "Paul's main concern was evidently not to reach as many people as quickly as possible with the gospel."[119]

In response, it is worth distinguishing here between urgency and haste. Schmithals' and Schnabel's objection to the idea of a "special urgency" or "speed" is well founded—Paul did not work as quickly as he possibly could have. In all things, he was working ultimately toward the "obedience of the faith" of the nations (Rom 1:5, 16:26). This work included the establishment of legitimate communities of faith under the direction of local leadership. In carrying out this mission, however, Paul displayed a sense of urgency. While it is true that he did not move from one place to another as quickly as possible, it is also true that, after his commissioning from Antioch, he never stayed in any one place longer than two years. Thus, while his work was never hasty, he

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[117] Walter Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church (*Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1969), 45.

[118] Schnabel, *Early*, 1452, writes, "There is no evidence that Paul's conviction that Jesus' return might be imminent influenced his missionary strategy, at least not with regard to the 'speed' of his missionary initiatives."

[119] Ibid., 1547.

nevertheless pursued it with a sense of urgency to continually move the gospel into new territories.

As shown above, a straightforward concern for the condition of those who were "unsaved" was a clear motivating element in the work of the apostles. As Schnabel himself points out, "Paul's missionary work was motivated by the burning desire to 'win as many as possible' to faith in Jesus Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles (1 Cor 9:19–21 NIV)."[120] The reality of people dying without Christ was enough to drive the apostle's desire to get the gospel to those who had not heard it. As Peter O'Brien points out in his analysis of Romans 15,

> His deep-seated concern [for those who had never heard of Christ], which found expression in his pioneer missionary endeavours [sic], was consistent with the kindness and compassion of the Lord himself who sent his Servant to the Gentiles. Paul was *consumed by a passion* which mirrored the character of the Lord himself.[121]

Luke captured Paul's urgent passion in his portrait of Paul's "ceaseless" labor in Ephesus. In Acts 19 Paul's ministry in Ephesus had been "reasoning *daily* in the hall of Tyrranus" for two years (vv. 9–10). Bruce described the realities of what this daily reasoning would entail,

> But Paul, after spending the early hours at his tentmaking (cf. 20:34), devoted the burden and heat of the day to his more important and more exhausting business, and must have conveyed something of his own energy and zeal to his hearers, who had followed him from the synagogue to this lecture hall.[122]

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[120] Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Paul the Missionary," in *Paul's Missionary Methods: In His Time and Ours*, Robert L. Plummer and John Mark Terry, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012): 29–43, 43.

[121] Peter T. O'Brien, *Gospel and Mission in the Writings of Paul: An Exegetical and Theological Analysis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 50 (emphasis in original).

[122] Bruce, *Acts*, 366.

In Paul's later testimony to the Ephesian elders, he called them to remember that "for three years *I did not cease night or day to admonish every one with tears*" (νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην μετὰ δακρύων νουθετῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον, Acts 20:31).[123] Paul's unflagging labor in the gospel demonstrated his urgency to get the gospel to those who were lost. His passion manifested itself in constant, indefatigable labor in his church-planting work.

Paul's itinerancy did not, however, lead him to hastily abandon the churches that had been established. Instead, he focused on building them up to the extent that he could leave them with some degree of confidence that the work would continue in his absence. When Paul spoke of having "fulfilled the ministry of the gospel of Christ" (Rom 15:19), he evidently had in mind some threshold of sustainability that had been crossed in the character and work of the new churches.[124] That threshold was the active participation of the new churches in the gospel ministry; a reality most clearly evidenced in the ownership of the mission by those churches and subsequent emergence of local leaders to fulfill that mission.

Entrusting the Work to Others

This element of entrusting the work to local churches serves as the final pillar in the "work" of the apostles. Paul entrusted the work to the new churches as he journeyed on to

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[123] Barrett, *Acts,* 2: 980.

[124] In modern missiology, this threshold of sustainability is referred to as "viability." According to the Center for the Study of Global Christianity, a viable church is "… an ethnolinguistic group or indigenous community of believing Christians with adequate numbers and resources to evangelize their own people group without needing outside cross-cultural assistance." World Christian Database, "Glossary of Terms," www.worldchristiandatabase.org, quoted in Tennent, *Invitation*, 372.

strengthen believers and to pioneer in new areas. The most explicit way in which new churches warranted this "entrusting" from Paul was through their evident participation in the gospel ministry—both by putting forward local ministry leaders (pastors) and by continuing apostolic work by releasing apostolic workers. In both cases, it was the churches' active participation in the ministry—as evidenced by the production of leaders and workers for the work—that enabled Paul to entrust the work and move on.

Entrusting Leaders

Luke pictures this "entrusting" in Acts 14:23 and 20:32, the two narrative passages where Paul is shown explicitly commissioning elders of newly-founded local churches.[125] In the first instance, Paul and Barnabas are returning from the South Galatian journey, visiting the newly-established churches on their way back to Syrian Antioch. On their journey, "[T]hey returned to Lystra and to Iconium and to Antioch, strengthening the souls of the disciples, encouraging them to continue in the faith, and saying that through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:21–22). Then, in v. 23, Luke records, "And when they had appointed elders for them in every church, with prayer and fasting they committed (παρέθεντο) them to the Lord in whom they had believed." In this passage Luke employed a cognate of παρατίθεμί to communicate the "committing" of the elders to the Lord.[126]

[125] On the "appointing" of elders in 14:23, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 31 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1998), 535, comments, "The verb *cheirotonein* actually means to "choose or vote for someone (something) by raising the hand," but it came to mean generically "choose, appoint," as here."

[126] Louw and Nida, "παρατίθεμί," *GELNT*, 35:47.

Keener notes the distinct similarities between the manner in which Paul and Barnabas were "sent out" from the church in Antioch and the "committing" of the elders that took place here.[127] Just as Paul and Barnabas were sent off with prayer and fasting (Acts 13:2–3), so it is with the appointment of the Anatolian elders (Acts 14:23). Furthermore, upon Paul and Barnabas' return to Antioch, Luke refers to that city as the place "they had been commended (παραδεδομένοι) to the grace of God for the work that they had fulfilled" (Acts 14:26). Keener suggests that the two "entrusting" terms here—one used for the elders in v. 23 (παρέθεντο) and one used for Paul and Barnabas in v. 26 (παραδεδομένοι)—were "probably employed basically synonymously."[128] In other words, just as Paul and Barnabas had been "commended" to the work by the Spirit through the Antioch church, so now they too "commended" the leaders of the new churches to the Lord.

Luke depicted this "entrusting" again in Paul's interaction with the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:32. Here, at the end of Paul's "farewell address" to the Ephesian elders gathered at Miletus, Paul declared to them, "And now I commend (παρατίθεμαι) you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you the inheritance among all those who are sanctified" (Acts 20:32).[129] This practice of entrusting local church ministry into the hands of local elders is central to the apostolic

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[127] Keener, *Acts*, 2183–84. See also Bock, *Acts*, 483.

[128] Ibid., 2184, fn. 1973.

[129] Bock, *Acts*, 631, notes, "In the middle voice, when this [*paratithemei*] concerns God, it is to commend someone to divine care and protection (Rom. 8:17; Eph. 1:14; Col. 1:12; Deut. 33:3–4; Ps. 16:5; Wis. 5:5)."

"work,"[130] a fact made clear not only in the Acts narratives but in Paul's instructions to his co-workers to ensure that local leaders are in place.

In the Pastoral Epistles, Paul gave specific instruction to both Timothy (1 Timothy 3:1–7) and Titus (Titus 1:5–9) concerning the qualifications for elders.[131] While Paul addresses his instructions to Timothy more generally in 1 Tim 3:1 ("if anyone aspires to the office of overseer"), he tells Titus explicitly to "appoint elders in every town [of Crete] as I directed you" (Titus 1:5). Paul's concern in this command to Titus was to consolidate the work in Crete, to "put what remained in order."[132] This appointment of elders within a local church is a key benchmark in assessing apostolic "fulfilment" within a given locality. Paul practiced this appointment early in the journeys (Acts 14:23) and enjoined upon his co-workers as a general principle throughout their work (Titus 1:5). With respect to local churches themselves, elder appointment functioned as a kind of "capstone" in the identity of a given local church. As Roland Allen observed about Paul's pattern from the book of Acts, "With the appointment of elders the churches were complete."[133]

[130] Throughout the argument ascribes to the view that "elder," "overseer," and "pastor" are functional equivalents in the NT, referring to the office that exercises pastoral oversight in a local church. Acts 20 demonstrates this equivalency, as the leaders from Ephesus are called *elders* (v. 17) and as *overseers* (v. 28) are called "to care for" (*poimainō*, "to pastor, serve as shepherd of") the church (v. 28). See John S. Hammett, *Biblical Foundations for Baptist Churches: A Contemporary Ecclesiology* (Kindle Edition: Kregel Publications, 2005), 160–62.

[131] For a full description of the "lists" of qualifications in 1 Timothy and Titus, see William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC 46 (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 2000), 155.

[132] Mounce, *Pastoral*, 386, argues that the church in Crete was relatively young, writing, "When Paul says that he ἀπέλιπόν, "left," Titus in Crete, it suggests that Paul was with him, had left, and is asking Titus to finish the work and to appoint elders as was Paul's custom (Acts 14:21–23). Paul must have left before he could appoint any elders."

[133] Allen, *Methods,* 111.

While the appointment of elders was a crucial part of the emerging viability of churches in their local context, Paul apparently had another important benchmark in mind as he "entrusted" the work to the local churches. In order to rightly consider the gospel "fulfilled," Paul had likely recognized that the new churches had grasped the outlines of the apostolic "work" and were actively participating in it by sending workers into pioneer areas. That is, new churches were commissioning and/or "releasing" their own members to the task of church planting. As Schnabel points out, "The majority of Paul's coworkers came from the new churches that he had established ... The 'home churches' of these coworkers acknowledge that they share in the responsibility for the expansion of the kingdom of God by providing missionary workers who help Paul."[134]

This commissioning is evident in a brief survey of some of Paul's apostolic co-workers. Epaphras, for instance, was from Colossae (Col 4:12), evidently planted the church in Colossae (Col 1:7–8), and was active in ministry throughout "Laodicea and Hierapolis" (Col 4:13).[135] Paul "recruited" Timothy from the church at Lystra (Acts 16:1), and from then onward he served as Paul's co-worker in his church-planting work.[136] Titus, a Greek and therefore necessarily a product of one of the new Gentile churches (Gal 2:3), also played a vital role in the early missionary community. Titus

[134] Schnabel, *Paul*, 255.

[135] James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGCT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 63.

[136] Keener, *Acts*, 2330, observes, "Although Paul came to Derbe and Lystra (Acts 16:1), the report about Timothy comes from the believers in Lystra and Iconium rather than Derbe (16:2) …. Thus it is likely that Timothy had been involved with the churches of Iconium and Lystra and was from Lystra."

exercised an authority akin to Paul's own, as he was commissioned to "appoint elders in every town" in Crete (Titus 1:5).[137]

Second, the make-up of Paul's travelling group on his final journey to Jerusalem is of particular interest in this regard. In Acts 20:4, his co-travelers are listed as Sopater the Berean, Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica, Gaius of Derbe, Timothy of Lystra, and Tychicus and Trophimus from Asia. Significantly, this group represents almost all of Paul's major church plants recorded in Acts, with the exception of Corinth and Philippi.[138] While many scholars have assumed that these were simply representatives bearing the collection for the Jerusalem church,[139] it is worth noting that three of the seven men—Timothy, Tychicus, and Aristarchus—reappear elsewhere in the NT with significant roles in Paul's apostolic "work."

Timothy appears throughout the record in Acts and Paul references him in the Epistles as a co-laborer in the missionary task.[140] Paul called Tychicus a "beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow servant in the Lord" (Col 4:7).[141] According to Dunn, "in the rank of close associates he is numbered only behind Timothy and Titus."[142] Aristarchus was Paul's "fellow prisoner" (Col 4:10), his "co-worker" in Phlm 24, and a

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[137] I. Howard Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 77, writes, "In the PE Timothy and Titus perform functions similar to those of Paul himself and his missionary colleagues."

[138] Schnabel, *Acts*, 834, suggests that perhaps Paul considered himself the representative of either Philippi or Corinth.

[139] Ibid., 833.

[140] See, for example, Acts 16:1–3; 17:14; 19:22; Rom 16:21; 1 Cor 4:17; 16:10; 2 Cor 1:1, 19, Phil 2:19, 22, among others.

[141] See also Eph 6:21: "Tychicus the beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord will tell you everything."

[142] Dunn, *Beginning*, 568.

fellow traveler on the trip to Rome (Acts 27:2).[143] In addition to elders for the churches arising from within their ranks, then, the newly planted churches had become sources of apostolic workers as well.[144] these workers furthered the "work" through planting and strengthening churches, allowing Paul to entrust the apostolic task to the new churches.

Entrusting the "Work"

The "fruit" of these apostolic workers—the evidence of continued planting of churches in pioneer areas—comes mostly by inference from the biblical data. Explicit statements concerning the new churches' planting ministries are lacking. However, several references to the nature and work of the new churches strongly imply an on-going church-planting mission carried out by the new communities.[145] In the first place, Paul praised the church at Thessalonica for its apparent faithfulness in gospel ministry. In addressing the church there, Paul affirmed that "… the word of the Lord sounded from you in Macedonia and Achaia" and that "your faith in God has gone forth everywhere" (1 Thess 1:8).[146] Paul's work in planting the church in Thessalonica followed his pattern of planting in urban centers that "provided a natural centre from which gospel missionaries could go out to the surrounding towns."[147]

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[143] Ibid.

[144] See the table on Ott and Wilson, *Global*, 51, for a summary account of the origin of many of Paul's co-workers.

[145] The discussion that follows relies heavily upon Dunn, *Beginning*, 556–7.

[146] See Plummer's argument that this verse denotes the Thessalonians' "evangelistic proclamation." Robert L. Plummer, *Paul's Understanding of the Church's Mission: Did the Apostle Paul Expect the Early Christian Communities to Evangelize?* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 61–62.

[147] Dunn, *Beginning*, 556.

Paul refers also to the “churches of Galatia” in 1 Cor 16:1 and Gal 1:2, the “churches of Asia” in 1 Cor 16:19, and the “churches of Macedonia” in 2 Cor 8:1. Paul wrote the letter of 2 Cor to “the church of God that is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia” (2 Cor 1:1).[148] Each of these refers to a plurality of churches in regions where Paul is recorded as having planted only one or two churches.[149] In this regard, “Perhaps the most striking is the evidence of Rev 2–3 and the letters of Ignatius that several other churches had been successfully planted in Asia Minor, presumably from the bases established by Paul—Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (Revelation 2–3) ….”[150] Taken together, these various references to multiple churches imply that the new church communities were actively engaging in the apostolic work of planting churches in new places.

These lines of evidence indicate that the churches Paul planted were active in producing church “offspring.” That is, newly planted churches participated in the mission to plant new churches in pioneer areas. Suffice it to say for now that Paul’s consistent pattern was to “entrust” the leadership of local churches, and the accompanying apostolic work, to those churches themselves. As the churches he and his colleagues founded became active in the apostolic mission, Paul could say with some measure of assurance that he had “fulfilled” the gospel ministry in a certain place.

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[148] See discussion above on the possible “churches” of Achaia.

[149] Dunn, *Beginning*, 557, notes, “This last point is probably reflected in Paul's frequent references to ‘all the churches’: particularly ‘the churches of Galatia’ (1 Cor. 16.1; Gal. 1.2–only the four cities of Acts 13-14?), ‘the churches of Asia’ (16.19–not only Ephesus), ‘the churches of Macedonia’ (2 Cor. 8.1–only Philippi and Thessalonica?).”

[150] Ibid.

The "Work" as the Missionary Paradigm for the Church

The argument has shown that the NT provides a unified picture of apostolic "work," the elements of which have been detailed above. This section will draw together the threads of this chapter to argue that apostolic "work" serves as the ongoing paradigm for the missionary work of the Church in unreached contexts. This paradigmatic proposal traces its heritage to Roland Allen's missiology. While Allen framed his argument in terms of missionary *methods*, his driving impulse was to critique and evaluate contemporary patterns of mission against the standard of the NT.[151] Hesselgrave summarized Allen's missiology, commenting that, "… Allen's methods are ultimately reducible to a single Method (capital M) …. It can be called 'Generational Resubmission.'"[152] According to Hesselgrave, "… Newbigin says that it was never Allen's intention to convince missionaries of the rightness of this or that 'method' but, rather, to urge 'the resubmission in each generation of the traditions of men to the Word and Spirit of God.'"[153]

The paradigmatic approach of this dissertation is a methodological extension of Allen's "generational resubmission." The present argument offers apostolic "work" as a paradigm that faithfully reflects Paul's exemplary conduct as a pioneer church planter in the NT. Hays classifies Scriptural "paradigms" as, "stories or summary accounts of characters who model exemplary conduct."[154] As such, to the extent that the "work" presented here faithfully reflects that biblical pattern, it serves as a paradigm of

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[151] Allen, *Methods*.

[152] David J. Hesselgrave, "Paul's Missions Strategy," in Robert L. Plummer and John Mark Terry, eds. *Paul's Missionary Methods: In His Time and Ours* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012): 127–45, 129.

[153] Ibid., Quoting Lesslie Newbigin, "Foreword," in Roland Allen*, Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1961), ii.

[154] Hays, *Moral*, 208.

exemplary missionary activity and therefore a potential standard by which one can evaluate contemporary missionary practice.

This chapter has already laid out the rudiments of this paradigmatic approach in the affirmation of the “unreached” context of the apostle’s world, the exegetical method outlined above (“coalescence” and “recurrence”), and the recognition of an identifiable apostolic “work” in the NT. This section will further articulate and apply those elements to affirm the apostolic “work” as the paradigm for contemporary missions in unreached contexts. This chapter began by showing how the church of the NT operated in an exclusively “unreached” context. That survey was designed to set the proper contextual stage for the examination of apostolic “work” that would follow. It also served to highlight the contrast between the “unreached” world of the NT and the Christendom context of Western Christianity. Christendom assumptions have indelibly shaped the theology, both theoretical and practical, of the Western church.

Those Christendom assumptions, however, do not apply in “unreached” environments, those types of environments with which this thesis is concerned. Unreached environments elicit a decidedly non-Christendom approach to ministry, the apostolic “work” outlined above. That work, far from assuming even the rudiments of a Christian “economy,” focuses rather on pioneering in places of little to no Christian presence. For the purposes of the present argument, the crucial question is whether modern unreached contexts constitute a significant contextual parallel to support the claim that apostolic “work” is paradigmatic in contemporary contexts of that type.

As pointed out above, some missiologists, Bosch most prominently among them, have argued that the dissimilarity between Paul's world and ours is as an insurmountable barrier to the direct application of Paul's practice. Bosch wrote, "We are easily tempted to draw hasty conclusions and apply these to our contemporary situation, forgetting that Paul developed his missionary theology and strategy in a very specific context."[155] Arthur Glasser wrote also of the "sheer impossibility of using his [Paul's] methods in today's world. The first century world no longer exists."[156]

To answer objections of this type, this argument must determine whether the contextual distance is enough to effectively undercut the present proposal. Roland Allen offered the first answer to this question in his seminal work *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* In that book Allen challenged the assumption that Paul was "… an exceptional man living in exceptional times … and that he enjoyed advantages in the peculiar constitution of society at the moment of his call such as to render his work quite exceptional."[157] Allen addressed the "exceptional" character of both Paul and his context, concluding that, "… it is, I think, impossible to argue that St. Paul's converts had any exceptional advantages in the moral character of the society in which they were brought up, which are not given to our converts today."[158] In other words, there are no biblical indications that the unreached environment of the early church offers a context so

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[155] Bosch, *Transforming*, 159.

[156] Arthur Glasser, *Kingdom and Mission: A Biblical Study of the Kingdom of God and the Worldwide Mission of His People*, Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, n.d. quoted in Christopher R. Little, "Mission in the Way of Paul: With Special Reference to Twenty-First Century Christian Mission" (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, 2003), 106.

[157] Allen, *Methods*, 4–5.

[158] Ibid., 51.

“exceptional” as to render the present account of the apostles’ world and work inapplicable to contemporary missions.

Moreover, modern missions contexts offer a potential affinity with the NT world because they share a distinctive trait that Paul himself identified as significant in his conception of his apostolic work. That trait is the reality of minimal to no gospel presence, the “unreached” factor referred to throughout this argument. Paul self-consciously targeted his work toward “unreached” contexts, a point demonstrated above through his characterization as a pioneer church planter. Paul’s focus on places where “Christ had not been named” operated at the center of his conception of his own apostleship. He pursued those “unreached” contexts in order to “lay the foundation” of new churches. The markers of recurrence and coalescence furthermore demonstrate that he pursued a consistent set of practices *across unreached contexts* in which he worked. That is, the primary elements in the “work” did not differ from situation to situation.

The “unreached” character of modern pioneer contexts, then, is a mitigating factor in the contextual distance between the NT world and modern missionary contexts—an important hermeneutical point as questions of application often hinge upon a proper assessment of cultural distance. Grant Osborne outlined the difference between Scriptural normativity at the surface level (universally applicable commands or practices) and the principial level (where the specific practice was confined to the NT context, but the underlying principle is universally applicable). He states, “All biblical statements are authoritative; some, however, are so dependent on the ancient cultural setting that they

cannot apply directly to today since there are no parallels (such as foot washing or meat offered to idols)."[159]

Osborne's point is that an evaluation of the contextual "distance" is crucial to the proper application of Scripture. In the proper application of a biblical passage, the interpreter must "contextualize it in terms of parallel situations in our current context."[160] The argument of this section is that modern unreached environments present a legitimate "parallel situation" to the unreached contexts in which Paul and his associates undertook their apostolic "work." Contexts toward which Paul intentionally directed himself in his apostolic "work"—places "where Christ has not been named"—still exist today.[161] That is not to say that they are contextually equivalent at every point or that narrative paradigms or scriptural injunction can be simply transferred into modern unreached contexts.[162] They are, however, parallel in a way that Paul repeatedly identified as significant through his statements on prioritizing places with no gospel access.

The guidelines of *recurrence* and *coalescence*, furthermore, constrain over-application by limiting potential paradigmatic elements to those that occurred consistently across different contexts in the narrative. With those guidelines in place, the

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[159] Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Kindle Edition: IVP Academic, 2006), 421.

[160] Ibid., 431.

[161] There are approximately 6,800 people groups with a combined population of over 4 billion that are currently categorized as "unreached." Global Research Department, "Global Status of Evangelical Christianity," *IMB.* http://grd.center/Research-Data-GSEC-Monthly.

[162] Though Jenkins, *Christendom*, 148 has pointed out the cultural affinity among the NT context and that of many Majority World contexts, writing, "For Southern Christians [in contrast to Northern/Western Christians], and not only for Pentecostals, the apostolic world as described in the New Testament is not just a historical account of the ancient Levant, but an ever-present reality open to any modern believer, and that includes the whole culture of signs and wonders."

hermeneutical approach argued for here seeks to minimize the initial assumption of cultural distance, especially as it pertains to applying the apostolic pattern of "work" in unreached areas. When considering the contemporary application of the apostles' example in unreached contexts, the operative principle when approaching the NT text should be an assumption of affinity with the early Church and environment.[163] With that hermeneutical assumption in place, the exegetical markers of *coalescence* and *recurrence* lead to a compelling picture of apostolic "work" that serves as the paradigm for the work of missions among the unreached today.

To be clear, the paradigmatic approach asserts Scriptural authority by offering an exemplary pattern of conduct to the modern church. It is not necessary to argue for strict "normativity" with regard to the apostle's work, as that would mean deviation from absolute adherence to the apostolic example amounts to active disobedience. Fee and Stuart themselves recognized this non-normative category of Scriptural compulsion, arguing that "biblical precedents may sometimes be regarded as *repeatable patterns*—even if they are not understood to be normative. That is, for many practices there seems to be full justification for the later church's repeating of biblical patterns."[164]

This section has argued that the paradigmatic approach—the apostolic "work"—serves as just such a *repeatable pattern* for missionaries in unreached contexts. As the Church carries out its mission in the modern unreached world, it should, following the

[163] George W. Knight, "From Hermeneutics to Practice: Scriptural Normativity and Culture, Revisited," *Presbyterion* 12 (1986): 93–104, 101, argues, "The Apostolic activities, for example, except when indicated to be wrong or unique, are the acts of those who are called to lay the foundation of the church. The burden of proof should be placed on those who would negate their normative role rather than on those who would affirm it."

[164] Fee and Stuart, *Read*, 124. Emphasis in original.

elements outlined above, approximate the apostles' example as closely as possible. Pocock characterizes this approach well when he states, "[P]atterns of ministry like that of Paul are applicable and recorded precisely because they are of value in formulating ministry approaches. They constitute benchmarks against which we can and should evaluate contemporary missionary practice."[165] The "work" of this chapter serves as a biblical "benchmark" for missionary work in unreached contexts.

Conclusion

This chapter has articulated a biblical-theological space for an "unreached" environment as a particular context for ministry with direct implications for the implementation of theological education. The social context of the NT provided just such a context, and Paul's recorded pattern of missionary work and teaching outlines a unified picture of apostolic "work" in that type of context that comprised the following primary elements: a) consistent gospel proclamation, b) "laying the foundation" of new churches, c) moving from place to place, and d) "entrusting" the mission to the newly formed local churches. Furthermore, this apostolic "work" serves as the paradigm for the ongoing missionary work of the Church among the unreached. The "work" as the paradigm for contemporary missions serves as the subtext for the discussion of theological education that will follow. The paradigmatic nature of the "work" carries important implications for how TE is carried out in contemporary unreached contexts, and so the next chapter will begin to

[165] Pocock, "Strategy," 155.

unfold those implications by exploring the nature of Western TE and how it has been adapted to missionary contexts up to the present

CHAPTER 3
THE DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBAL DIFFUSION OF WESTERN, PROTESTANT TE

The argument of this dissertation is that Western modes of theological education (TE) are ill suited to prepare those who do apostolic "work" in unreached contexts. This chapter will provide a thematic survey of Western, Protestant TE as a formal, academic paradigm of ministry preparation that is rooted in post-Enlightenment Christendom. The argument will furthermore trace the general trend of the growth and diffusion of that formal paradigm into the mission fields of the 20th century. Finally, the survey will give special attention to North India as an unreached context that has served as a recipient of Western modes of TE.

Thematic Survey of Western Protestant TE in the Modern Era

This chapter will offer a thematic survey of contemporary Protestant TE. A comprehensive historical survey of Western TE is far beyond the scope of the present chapter, and so this account does not attempt to be exhaustive.[1] Western, Protestant TE

[1] For a standard historical survey of American TE from the early 19th century onward, see Glenn T. Miller's three-volume work: Glenn T. Miller, *Piety and Intellect: The Aims and Purposes of Ante-Bellum Theological Education* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990); Glenn T. Miller, *Piety and Profession: American Protestant Theological Education, 1870-1970* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007); and Glenn T. Miller, *Piety and Plurality: Theological Education Since 1960* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014). For a survey of ministry preparation from the beginnings of the church, see H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, eds., *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1956).

constitutes a distinct paradigm of theological training, and the proper understanding of that paradigm is crucial to the present argument. The aim of this chapter is to trace the development of that paradigm. Furthermore, the survey will focus on American Protestant TE. Two reasons justify this focus.

In the first place, American Protestant TE has been the model most consistently exported globally.[2] In the worldwide expansion of theological schools in the 20th century, denominational and mission society models of TE have tended to follow the North American pattern of seminaries and Bible colleges, and to a lesser extent the Continental models of university divinity schools and religion departments.[3] The second reason for this focus is that modern Western Protestant TE constitutes a paradigm of education, and as such portrays a sufficient degree of affinity across its various manifestations (Continental, British, American) to justify a representative treatment of this type. The next chapter will demonstrate this affinity as it outlines the shared constituent elements of the paradigm of Western Protestant TE.

This survey will also examine some major (primarily American) exceptions to the academic, collegiate model of TE. These alternatives were often non-collegiate in nature and carried an explicit concern for "practical" learning in the sense of involvement in the work of ministry. Significantly, most of these non-formal approaches were birthed in the

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[2] Perry Shaw, *Transforming Theological Education: A Practical Handbook for Integrative Learning* (Langham Global Library: Kindle Edition, 2014), 94.

[3] International Study Group on Theological Education, *Challenges and Opportunities in Theological Education in the 21st Century: Pointers for a New International Debate on Theological Education, Edinburgh 2010*, *World Study Report 2009* (ETE/WCC Programme on Theological Education of the World Council of Churches, 2009), 20–21. This will be further detailed in the argument below.

evangelical revivals or as adaptations to relatively “unchurched” environments.[4] That is, they arose out of socio-religious contexts that were, in important ways, deviations from the normal economy of Western Christendom. The survey below, then, will not only explore the formal, Christendom heritage of Western Protestant TE, it will also begin to illustrate the central tension between formal modes of education and the realities of unreached environments, the dynamics of which will be detailed in the next chapter.

The Reformation and Western TE

The Reformation was born in the world of the Christian academy. According to Muller, “It can easily be argued that one of the primary roots of the Reformation was curricular reform in the university, specifically the reform of the theological curriculum.”[5] Luther’s “insistence on the study of Scripture in the original languages, his attacks on late medieval scholastic theology, and his demand for the liberation of theology from Aristotle rested, of course, on theological premises, but their most immediate impact was on the reshaping of the theological curriculum at Wittenberg.”[6] From its inception, then, the Reformation was indelibly linked with theological education. A keystone of

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[4] By “evangelical,” is meant that brand of Trans-Atlantic evangelicalism conceived initially in the First Great Awakening and then sustained through the 19th and 20th centuries by a variety of like-minded personalities, movements, and organizations. Bebbington’s well-known “evangelical quadrilateral” serves as a time-tested summary of Anglophone evangelicalism’s essential emphases: “conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed; activism, the expression of the gospel in effort; biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called crucicentrism, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.” D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2–3.

[5] Richard A. Muller, “The Era of Protestant Orthodoxy,” in R. Albert Mohler and Darryl G. Hart, eds. *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996): 103–28, 103.

[6] Ibid.

Reformation leadership was a liberal education, including Biblical literacy, and particularly facility in the original languages.

This Protestant emphasis on theological education served an important social function within the movement. Summarizing the social impact of the Reformation on theological study, Marsden stated,

> [T]he Reformation brought important changes in the social *function* of education. Protestantism promoted a well-educated clergy, which quickly became the backbone of the international revolutionary movement …. In villages throughout Protestant lands for centuries to come, the clergyman would be the best educated citizen and education would be a key to his authority.[7]

Universities served as the primary locales in which this Protestant education took place. Throughout Protestant Europe the course of study in the Universities was an "amalgam of the theological and the classical," in which the Greco-Roman classics of literature were studied alongside the Bible and theology.[8] To be educated for the ministry, indeed to be educated in general in Reformation-era Europe, was to have received this mix of Christian and "pagan" learning.

During the Reformation, this university education became a common requirement for ordination in the princely Protestant states of Continental Europe.[9] While in Reformation-era England college education was not technically a pre-requisite to ordination, college education had, by the late 16th century, become a "normal

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[7] George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994), 37.
[8] Ibid., 42.
[9] Justo L. González, *The History of Theological Education* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2015), 77.

expectation" for aspirants to orders in the Anglican church.[10] Accession to the ministry in England, as in the rest of Protestant Europe, was the assumption of an important civic role. Regarding this social function within English society, Miller states,

> Classical Protestantism (including most Puritans) hoped to transform society by forming an alliance between the ministry and the ruling classes. In this way, Christian standards of thought and behavior might become the norms of society and of law. The English college was part of this larger strategy. The holder of a Bachelor of Arts was a gentleman and a scholar who could influence other gentlemen.[11]

The well-educated Protestant ministry served as the basis for a discernible system of social organization, in which the local minister played a key part.[12] In this way formal theological education reflected the Protestant Christendom from which it had emerged. Vocational ministry and the training required to enter it were deeply integrated into the European Christian "economy" of state and society.

Protestant TE in the American Colonies

When Europeans began settling the North Atlantic seaboard, they brought with them the ideal of the Christendom economy, including the pattern of collegiate ministerial preparation. Most of the first wave of the colonial clergy received their in the

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[10] Winthrop S. Hudson, "The Ministry in the Puritan Age," in H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, eds., *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1956): 180–207, 203. In England, Dissenters (non-Anglican Protestants) were excluded from English universities beginning with the Conformity legislation of the mid–17th century. Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England: Their Rise and Progress and Their Place among the Educational Systems of the Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 46–7.

[11] Miller, *Intellect,* 298.

[12] For a survey of the complexities of state-church relationships in Protestant Europe, see Wilhelm Pauck, "The Ministry in the Time of the Continental Reformation," in H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, eds., *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1956): 110–48, 122–3.

colleges of England or the Continent before coming to the New World.[13] Colonial leaders would turn to these educational roots as they established their own institutes of higher education. The English-American founders of Harvard, the first American Colonial college (1636), intentionally modeled their curriculum after that of Oxford and Cambridge.[14] The preponderance of English settlers in the colonies meant that the English mix of classical and theological learning would predominate in the founding of the seminal Colonial colleges.[15]

Following the establishment of Harvard in Massachusetts, the other colonies began establishing their own colleges.[16] Many reflected the sectarian theological emphases of their given colonial populations, just as Harvard did in Puritan Congregationalist Massachusetts. Some colonies, like Massachusetts (Congregationalist), Connecticut (Congregationalist), and Virginia (Anglican), were organized with a system of religious "establishment," where the predominant "sect" of the colony was recognized and supported by the respective colonial government.[17] Consequently, the colleges in

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[13] See the account of the educational level of the first colonial clergy, William Orpheus Shewmaker, "The Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States of America, Before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries," in Frederick William Loetscher, ed. *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, Vol. VI (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), American Society of Church History, 1915): 71–202.

[14] Shewmaker, "Training," 101–102. See also Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 44.

[15] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 24–6.

[16] The other pre-Revolution Colonial colleges were the College of William and Mary in Virginia (Anglican, 1693); Yale in Connecticut (Congregationalist, 1716); the College of New Jersey, later Princeton (New Light Presbyterians, 1746); King's College, later Columbia in New York (Anglican, 1754). These were followed by two non-sectarian colleges: The College of Philadelphia, later Univ. of Pennsylvania (1755), and the College of Rhode Island, later Brown (1764). Queen's College, later Rutgers (Dutch Reformed, 1766) and Dartmouth (Congregationalist, 1769) were the last of the nine pre-Revolution Colonial colleges.

[17] Rudolph, *American*, 13.

those colonies (Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary, respectively) had strong ties to the local government. In the words of collegiate historian Frederick Rudolph, these were best thought of as "state-church colleges."[18]

Among the other colonial colleges was a considerable variety in the relationship of the college to the church and the state. None of the rest were as closely allied to the state as the three mentioned above, but they were nevertheless seen as public institutions that served the common good.[19] They did this by educating not only the prospective clergy but also the political leaders of the colony. In this regard Harvard was representative of the broader colonial educational ideal of cultivating a leading class of gentlemen. Geiger notes this dynamic at play in Harvard's self-conscious attempts to "initiate" entrants into that strata of society:

> This gentleman's culture was the implicit content of a Harvard education for ministers as well as laypeople. It permeated status relationships and everyday life in Puritan society. It was explicitly celebrated on special occasions like Harvard's annual commencements, where educated men from throughout the colony gathered to ritually induct graduates into the culture of gentlemen.[20]

Central to the founding of each of these colleges was the assumption that an established colonial clergy, and indeed a civilized society at large, required academically qualified men.[21] Like their predecessors in Europe, then, well-trained clergy served an important

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Richard Hofstadter, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the College* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1961), 145.

[20] Roger L. Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Kindle Edition: Princeton University Press, 2014), 8.

[21] Rudolph, *American*, 7, noted, "Of course a religious commonwealth required an educated clergy, but it also needed leaders disciplined by knowledge and learning, it needed followers disciplined by leaders, it needed order."

civic purpose and comprised, along with their fellow gentleman-graduates, the upper strata of colonial society.

By the eve of the American revolution there were approximately 3,000 graduates of the Colonial colleges, many of whom entered into the ministry.[22] In her survey *Ministerial Training in Eighteenth–Century New England*, Gambrell noted that of the 250 ministers known to have been ordained in New England between 1640 and 1740, only 25 are known to have been without a college degree.[23] Furthermore, of the 800 ordained between 1740 and 1810, Gambrell calculated that fewer than 20 did not have a college degree.[24]

TE Outside of the Colonial Colleges

The story of the established Colonial colleges is not, however, the complete picture of ministerial preparation during the period in question (from the founding of Harvard in 1636 to the American Revolution). While a college education was prevalent among the Colonial clergy, it was usually accompanied by a period of post-collegiate preparation in which a recent graduate and aspiring clergyman took an apprenticeship under an experienced minister. Within Congregationalism, the largest of the Colonial denominations, Kling noted, "This pattern of supervision, developed early within the Puritan movement, became widespread in England, was transported to America in the seventeenth century, and continued throughout the eighteenth and into the early

[22] Rudolph, *American*, 22.

[23] Mary Latimer Gambrell, *Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England* (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1967), 21–2.

[24] Ibid., 52.

nineteenth centuries. Thus, training for the ministry followed a two-step process of formal education and brief apprenticeship."[25]

This two-fold pattern was not exclusive to the Congregationalists, as the pattern of apprenticeship training was common among other denominations as well.[26] Kling, outlining the general pattern of training, wrote,

> In some cases, private teachers or academies were denominationally appointed, created, and regulated; in others, they emerged spontaneously as a means of addressing the need of an educated ministry. Depending upon a student's prior preparation, as well as the educational demands of a particular religious group, the length and nature of study ranged from several months of informal reading to a prescribed four-year curriculum. Following this "seminary" training, such as it was, a student became eligible for ordination into the work of the ministry.[27]

Beginning in the mid-18th century, two dynamics at play in the Colonial situation began to disrupt this accepted pattern of collegiate education and apprenticeship, and the associated European ideal of state and church integration: the outpouring of evangelical fervor often referred to as the First Great Awakening (ca. 1730 through 1750) and the expanding Western frontier.

The Great Awakening and Colonial TE

The First Great Awakening, according to Kling, "challenged long standing practices of ministerial education. Indeed, as scholars have reiterated, the Awakening proved to be a watershed not only in theological training, but an important moment in the history of

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[25] David W. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets" in Mohler and Hart, *Theological*, 129–47, 132.

[26] For a comprehensive survey of the training patterns of the Colonial Denominations, see Shewmaker, "Training," 75–90.

[27] Kling, "New Divinity," 133.

American higher education."[28] The Awakening had riven Colonial Protestantism, with those sympathetic to the evangelical zeal of the Awakening on one side (called the "New Light" or "New Side" faction) and those opposed to what they took to be the emotional excesses and radicalism of the movement on the other (the "Old Lights" or "Old Side").[29]

According to Kling, "The stinging criticisms of [New Light leaders] Gilbert Tennent, George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, and others, who contended that colonial colleges offered 'light but no heat,' knowledge but no piety, resulted in a profound reordering of ministerial education throughout the colonies."[30] That reordering took place in a variety of ways as the two parties vied for influence among the churches of the Colonies. The New Light leaders sought to establish their own colleges, beginning with the College of New Jersey (later Princeton).[31] Other colleges whose founders sympathized with the New Light movement were the College of Rhode Island (later Brown), Queens (Rutgers), and Dartmouth, though their impact on the Awakening was mitigated by the fact that they were established only in the 1760s and 1770s and therefore outside the main period of the Awakening.[32]

The New Light (Congregationalist) and New Side (Presbyterian) leaders sought not only to institutionalize their theology through Awakening-friendly colleges, but they also adopted the Puritan apprenticeship model to suit the needs of the burgeoning pro-

[28] Ibid., 134.
[29] Miller, *Intellect*, 87.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1973), 285.
[32] Ibid., 285–87.

Awakening movement. These leaders established local "schools of the prophets"—localized groups of training gathered around an experienced, revivalist pastor—as supplements to collegiate education and to preserve the spirit of the Awakening among a new cadre of ministers.[33] The institutional predecessor to these "Schools" was the famous "Log College" founded in 1726 by the Irish Presbyterian minister William Tennent, Sr. in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, 20 miles north of Philadelphia.[34]

In a 20 foot-square log home Tennent, a committed evangelical pastor and eventual friend of the Awakening,[35] tutored several young men in theology and pastoral work in the humble setting of the Pennsylvania frontier. In doing so, he worked according to Presbyterian predilections toward a well-trained pastorate. As Alexander noted,

> The first Presbyterian ministers in this country were nearly all men of liberal education. Some had received their education in the universities of Scotland; some in Ireland; and others at one of the New England colleges. And though there existed such a destitution of ministers in this new country, they never thought of introducing any man into the ministry who had not received a college or university education, except in very extraordinary cases.[36]

Tennent upheld this tradition of a well-trained Presbyterian clergy, mentoring his students in theology but also imbuing them with the evangelical zeal of the Awakening.[37]

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[33] Kling, "New Divinity," 136.

[34] Certain "enemies" had devised "Log College" as a derisive name for Tennent's project. Archibald Alexander, *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College. Together with an Account of the Revivals of Religion under Their Ministry* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1851), 11–12. http://archive.org/details/biographicalsketcheso00alex.

[35] William Tennent, Sr., the founder of the College, was an advocate of the Awakening. He allied himself with George Whitefield while Whitefield was on an American preaching tour. According to Alexander, *Biographical*, 21–22, Tennent was "held in high esteem by this distinguished preacher and devoted servant of God [George Whitefield]."

[36] Ibid., 10.

[37] Thomas Murphy, *The Presbytery of the Log College: Or, the Cradle of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath–School Work, 1889), 79. http://archive.org/details/presbytec00murp.

In twenty years of operation, Tennent's Log College trained a generation of "New Side" Presbyterian leaders, many of whom would become the founders of their own "schools of the prophets." As just one example, the Rev. Samuel Blair, one of the original ten students of the Log College, took charge of Fogg's Manor Seminary, a "classical and theological seminary similar to that of the Log College."[38] From this seminary graduated one Rev. Robert Smith, who would then establish the Pequa Academy, "which was a child of Fogg's Manor Seminary, which was the child of the Log College."[39]

It was not only the graduates of the Presbyterian Log College who perpetuated this apprenticeship paradigm. In largely Congregationalist New England, "There emerged, then, a self-conscious desire among New Light clerical aspirants to complete their ministerial preparation under sympathetic ministers."[40] New Light ministers such as Jonathan Edwards adopted the apprenticeship pattern into their own systems of training. According to Kling, "With the emergence of the New Divinity schools of the prophets a movement was born. And as more New Divinity pastor-teachers opened their homes to prospective ministers, the movement increased in number and expanded its local and translocal ties."[41] As a result, Kling estimated that, "From 1750 to 1825, over five hundred men passed through the schools of the prophets, imbibed Edwardsean theology, and thus collectively established the most powerful theological movement in New England."[42] Between the expansion of the New Light, Edwardsean schools and the

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[38] Ibid., 88.
[39] Ibid., 89.
[40] Kling, "New Divinity," 135.
[41] Ibid., 136.
[42] Ibid.

influence of Tennent's Log College, the apprenticeship paradigm of private, residential tutoring by a practicing pastor would "to a large degree set the pattern for higher education on the frontier."[43]

The "New Side" adoption of the apprenticeship model followed their dissatisfaction with the existing collegiate preparation for ministry. Indeed, Tennent and his mentees "had their doubts concerning the efficacy of the scholastic training then in vogue to produce the ministry that they deemed demanded by the times."[44] According to Shewmaker, "The whole effect may be summed up, with at least approximate accuracy and completeness, as consisting in the encouragement of men to seek their preparation for the immediate work of the ministry elsewhere than at the colleges, and to shorten that preparation."[45] To be clear, this did not, especially for the New Light Congregationalists, lead "to a wholesale rejection of existing institutions."[46] The New Divinity schools of the prophets often served in the place of what would now be viewed as a seminary education, or a post-graduate study.[47] The evangelical leaders did, however, actively pursue ministerial training as a supplement to and sometimes outside the college system. As they pursued these apprenticeship models of preparation, they had in mind not only to preserve the spirit of the Awakening, but also to meet the needs of a growing Colonial population along an ever-expanding frontier.[48]

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[43] William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 269.

[44] Shewmaker, "Training," 145.

[45] Ibid., 147.

[46] Kling, "New Divinity," 135.

[47] Ibid., 144.

[48] Murphy, *Cradle*, 71.

The Colonial Frontier and Religious Involvement

It is significant that these schools of the prophets arose not only in the context of the Awakening but also, more generally, in the frontier context of the American Colonies.[49] The American Colonies, including the ever-expanding Western frontier, exhibited low levels of religious (Christian) adherence. According to William Warren Sweet, "from the very beginning of American colonization church membership among the colonists constituted only a small proportion of the population."[50] Stark and Finke, in their book *The Churching of America*, synthesized historical estimates to place the Colonial rate of religious adherence at 20 percent.[51] In the Colonial period leading up to the American Revolution, "the vast majority of Americans had not been reached by any organized faith."[52]

The relatively low level of religious adherence in the Colonies was indicative of the distinctive Christian "economy" of Colonial America.[53] The frontier environment of the Colonies was a novel development within the heritage of Western Christendom. As Sweet pointed out, "The small number of church members in eighteenth century colonial

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[49] In 1923, Prof. Peter G. Mode noted the pervasive "frontier" character of American Christianity, writing, "A much clearer insight into what constitutes the Americanizing of Christianity is to be gained by realizing that our civilization thus far has been largely the civilization of a frontier …. It is the one unifying feature in all the vicissitudes of our national development." Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York, NY: The MacMillan Company, 1923), 11.

[50] William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth, and Decline* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 13–14.

[51] Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 34. For a brief survey of the consensus among historians of American Colonial religion (almost all estimate the adherence rate between 10 and 20 percent), see Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 27–34.

[52] Ibid., 34.

[53] Sociologists have noted the phenomenon of lower rates of religious adherence in frontier societies due to a variety of factors related to societal dislocation. For a survey of the research in this regard, see Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 35.

America was in great contrast to the general situation in the countries in western Europe from the American colonies had come. There, everywhere were State Churches, and becoming a church member was simply a matter of living to maturity."[54] The religious economy in America, on the other hand, was becoming increasingly more "free" as denominations proliferated and the "established" church system began to wane. During this Colonial period, "both the conception of the ministry and the practical life of the minister were metamorphosed into ways of thinking and doing that were different from anything previously known in Christendom."[55]

It was within this distinctive American Colonial environment that the advocates of the Awakening pursued their schools of the prophets. For the purposes of this thematic survey, the crucial point is that these Colonial dynamics constitute a significant departure from the European Christendom that the Colonists had left behind. In particular, the low level of Christian adherence offers a rough approximation to the "unreached" dynamics of apostolic contexts as described in the previous chapter, especially when considered in contrast to the European Christendom of the period. The Christian "economy" of the frontier existed at an underdeveloped state, particularly in comparison to the settled Christendom of the Continent.

Furthermore, the evangelical emphases of the Awakening, when applied to this relatively unchurched environment, offer a rough approximate to the "work" outlined in

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[54] Sweet, *Revivalism*, 17.

[55] Sidney E. Mead, "The Rise of the Evangelical Conception of the Ministry in America (1607–1850)" in *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives*, H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, eds. (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 207–49, 208.

the previous chapter. Revivalists preached the gospel and started new churches, resulting in an influx of new believers and new church starts, as was the case with the "New Side" Presbyterians. The Presbyterians were the greatest beneficiaries of the gains made during the Great Awakening. In the midst of the Awakening and into the period following the number of Presbyterian churches in the colonies grew from 37 in 1720 to 588 by 1776, a fifteen-fold increase over the course of 50 years.[56] This expansive growth served as an explicit rationale for the Log College founders as they sought to fill new pulpits, teach new converts, and establish new churches.[57]

The distinctive nature of Awakening-era Colonial America, then, had a formative effect on the apprenticeship model of the schools of the prophets. When faced with a relatively unchurched (quasi-"apostolic") context, the revivalists undertook evangelism and church planting ("work") and trained others to do so through apprenticing in the schools of the prophets. These dynamics, then, led them outside of the traditional pattern of collegiate education, sometimes in direct protest, to more effectively minister within their environment.

The End of the Schools of the Prophets

Throughout the initial period of the First Great Awakening and up to the American Revolution, the "New Divinity" schools sufficed as centers of theological and practical training. As the Awakening progressed and eventually began to flag, Presbyterian leaders were keen to consolidate their advances. As noted above, they founded the College of

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[56] Sweet, *Religion*, 259. Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 29.
[57] Shewmaker, "Training," 144–5.

New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1746, as the first institutional receptacle of the energies of the evangelical Awakening.[58] Princeton was a descendant of Tennent's original Log College (it was founded 6 months after his death), and some of the original Log College graduates staffed and even presided over it.[59]

The establishment of Princeton signaled the end of the Log College era. As the Presbyterians grew in numbers and prominence in the colonies (their 588 congregations in 1776 were second in number only to Congregationalists), the Log College ideal was eventually abandoned in favor of collegiate education and, eventually, university divinity schools or theological seminaries.[60] Kling's summary of the end of this era serves as a fitting conclusion to this section:

> According to the standard histories of theological education in New England, the story of the New Divinity schools of the prophets concludes with the opening of Andover Seminary in 1808. This first seminary, after all, had New Divinity men among its founders and first professors, and thus siphoned off potential students from schools of the prophets. The professional seminary filled the obvious need of training the growing number of male converts from the Second Great Awakening who felt called into full-time Christian service. And so the overworked New Divinity pastor-teacher with his meagre collection of books and desultory educational requirements happily yielded to seminary professors, well-stocked theological libraries, and formal curricula. Coincident with the professions of law and medicine, the study of divinity went the way of general professionalization. Together, these developments betokened the final chapter in the history of the schools of the prophets.[61]

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[58] Ibid., 134.
[59] Sweet, *Religion*, 313.
[60] Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 29.
[61] Kling, "New Divinity," 144.

Academic Formalization and Professionalization in American Protestant TE

With the close of the Revolutionary period and the dawning of the 19th century the schools of the prophets gave way to a growing number of formal divinity schools and theological seminaries as centers of pastoral training. The early 19th century witnessed the dawn of a new breed of higher education that, when combined with the extant collegiate patterns of theological training, emerged as the genesis of the Western formal paradigm of Protestant TE.[62] This section will trace the primary elements in that development, beginning with the introduction of the German university model into the American situation, and then considering the rise of seminaries as the institutional manifestations of the new paradigm. Finally, this section will highlight the sizeable alternatives to this paradigm—the ministry training of the Methodists and Baptists—and chart the eventual conformity of those alternatives to the predominating formal paradigm.

The Eminent German University

The founding of the University of Berlin in 1810 marked the dawn of the global influence of the German University ideal and its associated "scientific" approach to higher education.[63] According to Marsden, "Eighteenth-century German universities had taken the lead on the European continent and, especially after the establishment of the

[62] Cannell, *Matters*, 106, wrote, "Out of the intertwined processes of institutionalism, rationalism, professionalism, and the desire to know God, and mingled effects of the English college and German research university models, emerged the now-familiar structures and curricula of universities and Protestant theological education."

[63] Farley, *Theologia*, 103, noted, "The nineteenth–century authors agreed that theology was a science …. Theology is not itself a religion, but a science, a scholarly enterprise directed at religion. Christian theology is the science of the Christian religion. With very few exceptions this is the standard definition of theology in the encyclopedic introductions through the nineteenth century."

University of Berlin by Prussia in 1810, had moved to world pre-eminence."[64] The architects of this new paradigm in higher education were committed to the educational ideal of *Wissenschaft*—disciplined, unfettered academic inquiry at the highest levels of research.[65] Friedrich Schleiermacher, himself one of the founders of the University of Berlin, heralded the application of *Wissenschaft* to theological studies in his seminal *Brief Outline of the Study of Theology* (1807).[66] Schleiermacher cast TE in a decidedly academic and "scientific" mold. Schleiermacher's proposal for theological education centered on his formulation of theology as a "positive science."[67]

For Schleiermacher, the study of a "positive science" was meant to "give cognitive and theoretical foundations to an *indispensable practice*," a vocation that served the good of the community, such as law or medicine.[68] Theological study therefore mirrored studies in law and medicine as an "aggregate of sciences which contribute to the education of a special leadership" within a given vocation, in this case the clergy.[69] Schleiermacher stated explicitly that theology "is not the business of all who belong to a particular Church, nor in so far as they belong to it; but only when and in so far as they have a share in the Guidance of the Church."[70] Those who aspired to the

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[64] Marsden, *Soul*, 104.

[65] Cannell, *Matters*, 139.

[66] Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Brief Outline of the Study of Theology*, Trans. William Farrer (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1850).

[67] Ibid., 91.

[68] Edward Farley, *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1983), 86 (emphasis in the original).

[69] Ibid., 94.

[70] Schleiermacher, *Outline*, 92.

ministry would pursue this "aggregate of sciences" through a disciplined, university-level course of study.

Schleiermacher's formulation of TE encapsulates for most historians the broader ideals of the German University system, which were quite influential indeed.[71] The German University ideal made an indelible impact on Western higher education, including TE. In the 19th century, the German universities served as "America's graduate schools."[72] According to Marsden, in 19th century America, "It would be rare to find either a university leader or a major scholar who had not spent some years studying in Germany."[73] Commentators on the development of modern TE consistently point to the German University model—with its ideals of *Wissenschaft*, rational inquiry, and academic specialization—as the harbinger of Enlightenment ideals of rationalism and intellectual freedom to the world of TE.[74]

Following the German university principle of unfettered research at the highest levels, university education moved toward greater and greater degrees of specialization that, in turn, called for higher levels of expertise. Marsden calls this focus on professional expertise "the most fundamental lesson that Americans absorbed from studying in

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[71] For a survey of the founding and influence of the University of Berlin, see Howard A. Thomas, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern German University* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 142–54.

[72] Marsden, *Soul*, 104.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Bernhard Ott, "Mission Oriented Theological Education: Moving beyond Traditional Models of Theological Education," *Transformation* 18: 2 (2001): 74–86, 79; David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Kindle Edition: Orbis Books, 2011), Kindle Loc. 8897–905; Edward Farley, *The Fragility of Knowledge: Theological Education in the Church and the University* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988), 91; Craig L. Nessan, "Mission and Theological Education—Berlin, Athens, and Tranquebar: A North American Perspective," *Mission Studies* 27.2 (2010): 176–93.

Germany ….”[75] Professionalization bred specialization that, in turn, bred greater degrees of professionalization. This specialization was reflected in one of the most visible, and enduring, material artifacts of the German university legacy—the theological encyclopedia. Farley summarized the rise of the theological encyclopedia movement,

> In the last third of the eighteenth century, theological study was promoted in a new agenda and a new literature. Appropriating a nomenclature already applied to works in law and medicine, it called itself "theological encyclopedia." …. The *problem* addressed by the special encyclopedia is the intellectual problem of discerning the sciences proper to a field of knowledge, and two things must happen for that problem to occur. First, the overall field itself must come into the foreground as a distinctive area in its own right; thus law, medicine, theology. Second, particular sciences or disciplines must be established within the overall field. Once this happens, questions arise as to what these sciences are, why the field requires just those sciences and not others, and how they are related to each other. In a nutshell, this is the encyclopedic problem.[76]

To manage the increasingly complex fields of theological study, theological educators had proposed a theological encyclopedia to organize the branches of theological knowledge for extended study.

In theological study, "[A] scheme of four basic disciplines became more or less standard. There have been occasional departures from that scheme, but, for the most part, it has been the standard classification of theological sciences throughout the whole period and after."[77] The four basic disciplines of the theological encyclopedia were: Philosophical Theology, Historical Theology, Exegetical Theology, and Practical

[75] Marsden, *Soul*, 107.
[76] Farley, *Theologia*, 73–4.
[77] Ibid., 74.

Theology.[78] As shown below, this basic four-fold pattern still serves as the organizational underpinning for Western TE curricular organization. The categorization of theological study into discrete "disciplines," and the associated specialization that followed with it, were evident marks of German influence and the "scientific" approach to TE.

Histories of contemporary Western TE cast Schleiermacher as the central actor in the turn to the academic, professionalized approach to TE.[79] In particular, several commentators have noted the fundamental "tension" at the heart of Schleiermacher's "scientific" proposal for TE—whether TE is supposed to "prepare clergy for their distinctive profession (practical preparation for pastoral ministry) or to investigate the truth of Christian theological claims (entailing rigorous academic research)."[80] This tension in the emerging paradigm of TE would resurface throughout its development and indeed persists to the present, a point that Farley and his interlocutors in the TE debate have covered extensively.[81] The culture of academic professionalism in TE would play a crucial role in the rise of a distinctly American contribution to the landscape of theological institutions—the seminaries.

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[78] The mid–19th century saw prominent proposals for theological encyclopedia from Germans Karl Hagenbach and August Tholuck, as well as Americans George Crooks and John Hurst, and the eminent Philip Schaff. They all, however, tended to locate around the four-fold structure referenced here. Miller, *Profession*, 49.

[79] Farley focused his critique of TE on Schleiermacher in *Theologia* (1983), and ensuing commentators have followed him. See discussion below in Ch. 4, 21.

[80] Nessan, "Tranquebar," 179.

[81] Ibid.

The Rise of the Seminaries

From the start of the 19th century, theological educators increasingly sought to institutionalize and formalize theological education. Part of the impetus behind the founding of seminaries as separate theological schools were internecine theological debates.[82] This was nothing new to higher education in America, as the founding of the first few New England colleges reflected this ongoing sectarian tension. A perceived drift toward unorthodox ideas at Harvard had led theologically conservative Congregationalists to establish Yale.[83] Later, in the waning years of the First Great Awakening, a perceived lack of sufficient evangelical spirit at both Harvard and Yale led New Side Presbyterians to establish Princeton.[84]

These issues of theological orthodoxy and sectarianism continued to simmer throughout the 19th century, leading ultimately to the rise and growth of the denominational seminary movement. The most prominent of the first seminaries was established by Congregationalists who, disenchanted with Harvard's insistent theological liberalism (a professed Unitarian named Henry Ware was elected a professor of Divinity in 1805), founded Andover Seminary in 1808.[85] Similarly, conservative Presbyterians, bothered by a perceived drift in the teaching at Princeton, established a seminary on the grounds of the College in 1812.[86]

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[82] Miller, *Intellect*, 200.
[83] Marsden, *Soul*, 52.
[84] See above, 9, 16.
[85] Marsden, *Soul*, 74. The first seminary was established in Long Island, New York by the Dutch Reformed church in 1774. Kelly, *Theological*, 25.
[86] Miller, *Intellect*, 206.

Four years before the founding of the Princeton seminary, Archibald Alexander, the retiring moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly and later first professor of the seminary, had outlined the need for the seminary in a sermon before the Assembly. In that speech, Alexander clarified his concerns as follows: "I apprehend the danger to evangelical truth which will now arise will be from two opposite points: From what is called *rational Christianity*, and *enthusiasm*."[87] Given the threat from these two dangers, Alexander proposed,

> In my opinion, we shall not have a regular and sufficient supply of well-qualified ministers of the gospel, until every presbytery, or at least every synod, shall have under its direction a seminary established for the single purpose of educating youth for the ministry, in which the course of education from its commencement shall be directed to this object: for it is much to be doubted whether the system of education pursued in our colleges and universities is the best calculated to prepare a young man for the work of the ministry.[88]

Significantly, the Princeton seminary was considered part of the college but officially under the oversight of the Presbyterian Church.[89]

Throughout the early 19th century, similar theological controversies, as well as more general concerns for concerted efforts at ministerial preparation—like those

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[87] Archibald Alexander, *A Sermon Delivered at the Opening of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. May 1808* (Philadelphia, PA: Hopkins and Earle, 1808), 10–12, quoted in Mark A. Noll, *The Princeton Theology, 1812–1921: Scripture, Science, and Theological Method from Archibald Alexander to Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1983), 53. Emphasis in original.

[88] Ibid., 54.

[89] Noll, *Princeton*, 55, points out, "The plan left full authority over the seminary in the hands of the General Assembly, which was to appoint a board for the actual supervision of the institution. This board was to supervise a faculty which, in its turn, was to be sworn defenders of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms."

expressed by Alexander—led several denominations to start their own seminaries.[90] By 1832 the fledgling American Republic could boast of twenty-two theological seminaries and divinity schools.[91] Though the seminaries stood separately from the universities, in form and function they adopted the German ideals of a professionalized, specialized system of ministerial education. As Farley described,

> Not only did the seminaries begin to consider German theological scholarship, the German system itself began to influence the very conception of a program of theological study. Hence, after the middle of the nineteenth century, the standard German fourfold division of theological sciences (Bible, dogmatics, church history, practical theology) was widespread. These developments eventuated in a new paradigm for ministerial study. The divinity approach is largely replaced with a plurality of "theological sciences" requiring specialist teachers.[92]

In establishing seminaries, then, denominational leaders adapted the university structure—a specialized teaching faculty, academic administration and curriculum—into a confessional context that upheld their theological convictions.[93]

From just twenty-two in 1832, the number of seminaries in America boomed throughout the remainder of the century. The number of denominational seminaries expanded to 80 in number in 1870 to 142 in 1880 to 184 in 1910.[94] As American TE developed throughout the 19th century, theological schools—university divinity schools

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[90] Miller, *Intellect*, 200.

[91] New Brunswick (1784, Reformed); Andover (1808, Congregationalist); Princeton (1812, Presbyterian); Hartwick (1815, Lutheran); Bangor (1816, Baptist); General (1817, Episcopalian); Pittsburg (1818); Hamilton (1820, Baptist); Auburn (1820, Presbyterian); Maryville (1821, Presbyterian); Union Va. (1823, Presbyterian); Yale (1823, Congregationalist); Harvard (1824, Unitarian); Mercersburg (1825, German Reformed); Newton (1826, Baptist); Gettysburg (1826, Lutheran); Western (1828); Kenyon (1828, Episcopalian); Gilmanton (1830, Congregationalist); New Hampton (1830, Baptist); Canonsburg (1831); Virginia Baptist (1832, Baptist); Southern (1832, Presbyterian). Lawrence Arthur Cremin, *American Education, the National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1980), 400.

[92] Farley, *Theologia*, 10.

[93] Cannell, *Matters*, 149.

[94] Kelly, *Theological*, 174.

like those at Harvard and Yale and the denominational seminaries—would primarily follow the professional, academic structure of the universities.[95] That is not to say that American theological schools had simply adopted the formalized German university model, with all of its intellectual assumptions, *in toto*. As Marsden observed of early 19th century American Christianity,

> The Calvinists tended to stress intellect, the importance of right doctrine, the cognitive aspects of the faith, and higher education. On the other hand, more pietistically and emotionally oriented groups, such as the Methodists, tended to shun intellectual rigor and to stress the practical and experiential aspects of faith. Yet many groups in America stressed both the intellectual and the experiential–practical aspects.[96]

There was, then, significant variety within the educational impulses of the various denominational bodies and their theological schools. Regardless of the theological or pietistic emphases of a given school, however, in form and function they reflected, or at least aspired to, the professionalized, academic model, a point to which the discussion below will return. Alongside this formalizing tendency, however, were some significant efforts at ministerial training that occurred outside the pattern of formal academic schools.

Alternatives to the Formal Paradigm in 19th Century America

Just as the Presbyterians and other advocates of the Awakening of the 18th century had depended upon the "schools of the prophets" to train their ministers, so the Methodists and Baptists in the early 19th century looked outside of the schooling model to prepare

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[95] Cannell, *Matters*, 149.

[96] George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980), 44.

their leaders. Along the American frontier, the Methodists and the Baptists were especially active during what has become known as the "Second Great Awakening." During the first four decades of the 19th century, the Awakening mirrored the dynamics of the revivals from the century before.[97] As the Presbyterians had experienced rapid growth in the First Awakening, it was now the turn of the Methodists and the Baptists. And just as Presbyterians had prepared their ministers through the Log Colleges, so the Methodists and Baptists adapted their own means of alternative preparation.

For the Methodists, training of the clergy initially resembled a mobile school of the prophets. In the early days of the American movement,

> Methodism did its theological education and preparation for ministry on the road. The individual was "on trial," learning while doing, but also under supervision and frequently traveling with an experienced itinerant, a mentor, a sage, capable of giving instruction. The pattern was well established by the first decade of the nineteenth century, linking a young person with a more experienced minister.[98]

In 1817 the Methodist General Conference adopted a course of study to be pursued alongside this apprenticeship program.[99] The course involved a 4-year apprenticeship and reading schedule. The mentor would observe the apprentice at work and probe him regularly concerning his readings, which included Wesley's sermons and the Methodist *Discipline*.[100] This process culminated with an examination at one of the Conferences, the successful completion of which endorsed the candidate into full time ministry.[101] Though

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[97] Geiger, *History,* 132–33.

[98] Russell E. Richey, "The Early Methodist Episcopal Experience," in Hart and Mohler, *Theological*, 45–62, 47.

[99] Ibid., 51.

[100] Miller, *Profession*, 249.

[101] Richey, "Methodist," 52.

conducted outside of the normal collegiate system, the training program of Methodism resulted in ministers who were "among the most thoroughly trained of American clergy."[102]

Baptists, on the other hand, took a rather more haphazard approach to ministry preparation. While some Baptists—primarily those in the North—had been early promoters of theological education, many Baptist preachers and circuit-riders—especially those in the South—simply bypassed any mode of training whatsoever.[103] Baptist preachers were known, in the words of a sympathetic observer, to be "… without learning, without patronage, generally very poor, plain in their dress, unrefined in their manners, awkward in their address."[104] A published list of the 232 Baptist ministers in New England as of 1795 reveals that only 13 had collegiate education.[105] Despite their meagre educational attainments, Baptist preachers were quite successful in their efforts at evangelizing the masses, particularly among the lower social and economic classes.[106] By 1810, there were over 170,000 Baptists in America, a more than two-fold increase from approximately 65,000 in 1790.[107]

In the case of both the Methodists and the Baptists, their approach to pastoral training (or lack thereof) reflected concerns about the efficacy of formal education.

[102] Miller, *Profession*, 249.

[103] On the difference between Northern and southern Baptists, see below, 30.

[104] David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, and Other Parts of the World*, Vol. II (Boston, MA: Lincoln & Edmands, 1813), 76.

[105] Isaac Backus, *A History of New England with Reference to the Denomination Called Baptist* (Boston, 1781), 3:93, cited in Timothy George, "The Baptist Tradition," in Hart and Mohler, *Theological,* 27–44, 30.

[106] Sweet, *Religion*, 302.

[107] Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 59.

Nineteenth century Methodist and Baptist leaders expressed open disdain for the idea that an effective ministry required formally educated ministers. David Benedict, a Baptist historian writing in the early 19th century, expressed the more common Baptist sentiment about the requirement for formally-educated ministers, writing,

> The Baptists have constantly been accused of despising literature, and of teaching maxims unfriendly to its prevalence. This is an accusation in many respects groundless, in others it needs some qualification. The acquisition of the common rudiments of learning, they have certainly always encouraged; but they have so often seen Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, placed over the head of the Saviour [sic], that it is not strange if they have carried their prejudices against learned ministers to an undue extreme. But a relish for literature is prevailing, and its usefulness to ministers is more generally acknowledged than formerly, though none of our churches nor any of our ministers, whether learned or unlearned, *have adopted the most absurd of all absurd propositions*, that a man of gifts and grace, who has a dispensation of the gospel committed to him, cannot be qualified for the work, until he has gone the round of academical [sic] studies—obtained a smattering of Greek and Latin—of Euclid and Algebra—Navigation and Surveying—been constituted Master of Arts—and studied divinity six months or a year.[108]

According to George, "Baptist resistance to formalized structures of theological education, however, reflected … a nonconformist legacy of political disenfranchisement and native traditions of populism and anti-intellectualism."[109]

Similar concerns emanated from the Methodist camp, where John Wesley, a one-time Oxford don ordained into the Anglican ministry, had his own misgivings about higher educational requirements for ordination. After one of his disciples was denied ordination into the Anglican church for lack of a university education, Wesley made the following journal entry,

> Our church requires that clergymen should be men of learning, and to this end have a university education. But how many have a university education and yet no

[108] Benedict, *General*, 465. Emphasis mine.
[109] George, "Baptist," 30.

> learning at all? Meantime one of eminent learning, as well as unblameable [sic] behaviour, cannot be ordained 'because he was not at the University!' What a mere farce is this![110]

Wesley's dissatisfaction with the expectation of formal schooling would be shared by his American Methodist successors, many of whom viewed scholastic training as patently inferior to what they received through their "brush seminaries," their endearing term for the apprenticeship learning undertaken on the preaching circuit.[111] According to one circuit rider who had undertaken the Methodist instruction in Ohio in the 1830s,

> There were no Theological schools at that day, for the training of the young men of the church for the work of the ministry in the Methodist Church. Indeed, some of the fathers desired them not, believing that the circuit system, with a senior and a junior preacher, proffered the best possible advantages for theological study and for the training of the young men of the Conference to be useful ministers of the Lord Jesus.[112]

Baptist and Methodist leaders were concerned that their higher education not prove an obstacle to the supply of frontier preachers. Higher education had served since the Colonial days as a mark of gentility and had played a prominent role in the formation of a social elite, as detailed above. In the days of the Second Great Awakening, however, Peter Cartwright, the Methodist evangelist and statesman, spoke for many Methodist and Baptist leaders when he acknowledged that "our Western people want a preacher that can mount a stump, a block or old log, or stand in the bed of a wagon, and without note or manuscript, quote, expound, and apply the Word of God to the hearts and consciences of

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[110] Frank Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England* (London: Epworth Press, 2012), 257–8. Quoted in John Wigger, *American Saint: Francis Asbury and the Methodists* (Kindle Edition: Oxford University Press, 2009), 140.

[111] Richey, "Methodist," 49.

[112] Joseph M. Trimble, *Semi-centennial Address … Before the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Columbus, OH: Gazetter Steam Printing House, 1878), 11, quoted in Ibid., 50.

the people."[113] Formal education did not tend to produce this kind of minister. Stark and Finke noted the effect of formal education on ministerial preparation in the Second Great Awakening, commenting, "Genteel social origins, combined with advanced levels of education, often increased the social distance between the minister and many of his congregants, to say nothing of the barriers raised between clergy and the vast unchurched population."[114] Formally-educated ministers, then, faced considerable difficulties ministering to the peoples of the frontier.

Indeed, the existing crop of minimally-educated ministers appeared to be doing an effective job of reaching the denizens of the American Republic. Baptist growth through the early years of the Second Awakening was noted above. Methodists proved to be even more prodigious, increasing in number from just under 5,000 members in 1776 to 130,570 by 1806.[115] By 1850 Methodists accounted for 34 percent of the nation's church members, "making them far and away the largest religious body in the nation."[116] The majority of these new members and churches were added in the rural areas of the American frontier.[117] The low levels of religious adherence that had predominated in the Colonial period persisted throughout the expansion of the American West.[118] The population was rapidly expanding and, at least at the beginning of the Second Great

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[113] Mead, "Evangelical," 239.
[114] Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 79.
[115] Ibid., 59.
[116] Ibid., 57.
[117] Sweet, *Revivalism*, 128–34.
[118] Miller, *Intellect*, 417.

Awakening, this growth outstripped the churches' efforts to keep up.[119] Once again, then, a broadly "unchurched" populace was ripe for workers engaged in the foundational work of evangelizing and church planting.

Baptists and Methodists showed themselves to be uniquely fitted to this work as their ministers were largely comprised of the very people to whom they ministered. As such they related easily to those whom they evangelized and taught. Furthermore, aspirants to the ministry faced a relatively unencumbered path to their calling, as opposed to the more Mainline traditions with their higher educational standards. The Baptists and Methodists poured forth an abundant supply of circuit riding preachers—often simple yeoman farmers operating under a perceived divine "call" to preach and save souls. With the steady increase of their respective denominations, however, both Methodists and Baptist began to pursue more formalized education.

Consolidation and Formalization among Methodists and Baptists

Like the Presbyterians before them, Methodists and Baptists—rather readily in the former case, and somewhat more tepidly in the latter—eventually came to join the broader American push toward higher education in the 19th century. After a fledgling, and ultimately failed, attempt to establish Cokesbury College (1787–96) as the first Methodist College in America, the Methodists were without any official colleges throughout the

[119] Geiger, *History*, 132, notes, "The Second Awakening also endured—growing in confidence, coverage, and influence through the first four decades of the [19th] century. Two key conditions help to account for this growth. First, at the end of the eighteenth century a substantial portion of the population was "unchurched." Enlightenment influence was less responsible for this than that the establishment of churches had not kept pace with population growth, and ministers were in scarce supply."

main years of the Second Awakening.[120] As the movement grew, however, Methodists increasingly called for higher education for their growing, and progressively better-educated, ranks.[121] The first Methodist seminary opened in Newbury, Vermont in 1839.[122] Soon there was an onward rush of Methodists into higher education, such that by 1880 there were 11 theological seminaries, 44 colleges and universities, and 130 women's seminaries and schools under the aegis of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[123]

Baptists, and particularly Southern Baptists, were slower to adapt to the burgeoning movement toward higher education.[124] Once they had begun, however, they proved to be prodigious proponents of collegiate education. By the start of the Civil War Baptists had established 25 colleges throughout America.[125] When it came to seminary education, the Northern Baptists outpaced the Southerners. While Northern Baptists had Newton (1825), Rochester Theological Seminary (1851), and the Divinity School of the University of Chicago (founded in 1867 as Baptist Union Theological Seminary), among others, Southern Baptists had only the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (1859).[126]

Ultimately, the Methodists and the Baptists, despite their previously-held ambivalence toward higher learning, eventually joined in the rapid expansion of higher

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[120] John Wigger, *American Saint: Francis Asbury and the Methodists* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 253.

[121] Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 169–70.

[122] Richey, "Methodist," 60.

[123] Ibid., 165.

[124] American Baptists, previously associated through the Triennial Convention, formally split into Northern and Southern Baptists with the creation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845. See Albert Henry Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, NY: American Baptist Publication Society, 1898), 443. http://archive.org/details/historyofbaptist00newm.

[125] Donald George Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War: With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (New York, NY: Teachers College, 1932), 115–16.

[126] George, "Baptist," 35.

education across the new nation.[127] For the Baptists and Methodists, "founding colleges became a part of that apparently endless American process of coming to terms with an essentially middle-class society."[128] As higher education became more common in America, the Baptists and Methodists—the denominations of the American commoner—adapted themselves to the trend.[129] Albeit with their own distinctive theological emphases, Methodists and Baptists came to join in the push toward the university paradigm of education, including the formalized, professional model of the seminary.

Professionalism in 20th Century American TE

At the end of the 19th century, most of the basic institutional structures of American Protestant TE were in place. American TE took place in the divinity schools of universities as well as in denominational seminaries. Most of these models, however, held to the basic university structure of formalized academic TE. Regardless of the theological persuasion of a particular school, the road to theological learning ran through classrooms, qualified faculty, and written exams. In this way, TE reflected the broader patterns of higher education prevalent in the latter 19th century, including a discernable trend toward greater formalization, academic specialization, and, increasingly, professionalization.

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[127] Concerning the rise of education in general, Marsden, *Soul*, 388, records that "Between 1870 and 1940 the American population tripled, but the number of students enrolled in secondary schools increased ninety times and those in colleges thirty times."

[128] Rudolph, *American*, 57.

[129] Beginning in 1820 with Colby College in Waterville, Maine, Baptists started 24 colleges before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 (Brown University, founded in 1765, had previously been the sole Baptist college). Donald George Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War: With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia university, 1932), 115–16.

The Professionalization of TE

Though the foundations of a “professional” approach to ministry preparation had been laid with the German university model, the early 20th century brought an added emphasis on professional specialization to the system of TE. Theological educators consciously adapted the broader academic emphases on professionalization into their curricula. Professionalization of an occupation, according to Conn, “depends on several factors”:

> (1) Full time work with full financial support (2) A quasi-unique function having some social significance (3) The more specialized the profession, the more the profession itself is needed to evaluate its own capabilities (4) The discouragement of amateurism and the assumption that aspects of a vocation are best done by one person, the specialist (5) Specialist functions as interchangeable, capable of being performed by any professional, wherever you find one, and no matter who he may be.[130]

The move toward professionalization in ministry followed earlier steps taken in the fields of medicine and law.[131] Schleiermacher’s identification of these three professions–law, medicine, theology–as “indispensable practices” still held sway within Western Christendom. As the studies of medicine and law undertook a marked move toward standardization and professionalization in the early 20th century, the study of theology followed suit.[132]

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[130] Conn, “Theological,” 330.

[131] Medical training was revolutionized toward a professional, university-based system as a result of the so-called Flexner Report, Published as Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (New York, NY: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910). In the report, surveyors found a wide array of practices and varying degrees of quality in the training of professionals in their respective fields. Pelikan argues that the Flexner report presaged similar types of surveys directed at TE. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Idea of the University: A Reexamination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 104–5.

[132] Writing in 1899 about the similarity in the training among the fields, W. R Harper, “Shall the Theological Curriculum Be Modified, and How?” *The American Journal of Theology* 3, no. 1 (1899): 45–66, 61, observed, “The environment of the theological seminary includes much material which would serve the same purpose for the theological student as is served by the hospital to the medical student, or by the law courts to the law student. For lack of a better phrase, we might suggest "theological clinics.”

Within the fields of medicine and law, educators and administrators formed systems of standardization—accreditation boards, universal exams—to regulate the quality of training within their respective guilds. Theological educators took corresponding steps toward greater standardization and professionalization in the training of ministers. In the 1920's, two nationwide surveys of TE were commissioned and eventually published as *Theological Education in America: A Study of One Hundred Sixty-One Theological Schools in the United States and Canada* (1924) and *The Education of American Ministers* (1934).[133] The first report posed the question, "[S]hall the seminaries be subjected to the same type of standardization that is operating in other fields of American education and which is characterized by numerous and powerful standardizing agencies?"[134] The author of the report, having evaluated the dismal academic state of some of the surveyed seminaries, concluded that "Many seminaries could not now properly be referred to as educational institutions."[135]

The latter report (1934) placed aspirations for clergy education alongside those of the other "professions." In introducing the report on TE Brown, one of the authors, wrote,

> Comprehensive studies of high scientific value have been made in other fields of professional education, notably in law, in medicine, and in engineering, and significant changes in educational procedure have followed …. As a result, we find that the standard of requirement in the best professional schools has been very rapidly rising …. If the ministry is to hold its own with the leaders of the other professions, it is essential that the graduates of the best theological schools should be subjected to a discipline not less rigorous.[136]

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[133] Robert L. Kelly, *Theological Education in America: A Study of One Hundred Sixty-One Theological Schools in the United States and Canada* (New York, NY: George H. Doran Company, 1924). William Adams Brown and Mark May, *The Education of American Ministers*, 4 vols. (New York, NY: Institute of Social Religious Research, 1934).

[134] Kelly, *Theological*, 219.

[135] Ibid., 220.

[136] Brown and May, *Education*, 3–4.

As a result of those reports, theological educators in America moved toward greater standardization in TE. The primary way this move was institutionalized was through the establishment of an accrediting body—what would become known as the Association of Theological Schools (ATS)—to regulate the quality of TE provided throughout the U.S.[137]

TE thus followed the broader pattern of standardization in higher education by adopting similar modes of standardization within the realm of theological studies. The pressure to conform to greater specialization in training was not driven not only by theological educators and the educational environment, but also by churches calling for higher degrees of specialization and education as Americans continued to have greater access to higher education.[138] As one example, a Northern Baptist Convention survey on TE from 1945 noted that,

> Through long experience the church, by and large, has arrived at the conviction that her ministers serve best when they are professionally prepared. She has come increasingly to insist that simply a call to the ministry is not sufficient to warrant her approval for the sacred trust. This insistence finds expression in the educational requirements for ordination.[139]

Indeed, "Once the churches felt the need for professionally trained leadership, the focus of the seminary changed. Through the twentieth century, theological education was

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[137] For a more detailed discussion of the genesis of the ATS see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

[138] U.S. enrollment in higher education grew to 2,300,000 in 1951–52 from 600,000 in 1919–20 and graduate enrollment increased from 10,000 to 172,000. H. Richard Niebuhr, Daniel Day Williams, and James M. Gustafson *The Advancement of Theological Education* (New York, NY: Harper, 1957), 11.

[139] Hugh Hartshorne and Milton C. Froyd, *Theological Education in the Northern Baptist Convention: A Survey* (Philadelphia, PA: The Judson Press, 1945), 95.

tailored (consciously or unconsciously) to serve the church's felt need for specialized, professional leadership."[140] Berger noted the tension, remarking,

> But this academic self-conception of the seminary is in constant tension with the other concept of "professional education." The result, to be found on just about every seminary campus in the country, is a precarious balance between "academic" and "practical" disciplines in the curriculum, and often enough a more or less open competition between the representatives of these disciplines for the time and attention of the students.[141]

The rise of the culture of professionalism highlighted the fundamental tension within TE that had grown more prominent since the introduction of the German University model—academic specialization versus professional ministry training.

Despite this ongoing tension, American TE continued to grow throughout the 20th century. Another national survey of TE from 1957, this time headed by H. Richard Niebuhr, reported that, "[T]here were four times as many genuinely graduate schools of theology in the United States and Canada in 1955 as there were in 1923 and that such schools enroll almost eight times as many students as they did thirty-two years previously."[142] The surveyors focused on schools "which were known or were reputed to offer graduate work," and therefore intentionally excluded a large number of Bible colleges and Bible institutes.[143] Even within those limitations, however, the report found approximately 170 theological schools with an enrollment near 25,000.[144]

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[140] Cannell, *Matters*, 82.

[141] Peter L. Berger, "Religious Establishment and Theological Education," *Theology Today* 19.2 (1962): 178–91, 183.

[142] Niebuhr, et. al, *Advancement*, 9.

[143] Ibid., 7.

[144] The surveyors approximated a total as some schools did not report the required statistics. Ibid., 11.

Bible colleges and institutes, though neglected in the survey, constituted a formidable TE movement outside of the established system of seminaries and divinity schools. Beginning in the late 19th century and the early 20th, around the time that the seminaries and divinity schools were moving toward greater standardization and professionalization, the Bible College movement arose as an alternative pathway for ministerial preparation.

The Bible College Movement

The Bible College movement began in the U. K. but spread quickly to the U. S. as it coincided with the broader trans-Atlantic evangelical movement.[145] Graham Cheesman, a historian of U. K. Bible Colleges, describes the incipient movement as follows,

> Defining ideas associated with the UK Bible Colleges would include the intention to offer training for Christian service to the laity, the priority of the task of mission at home and abroad, interdenominational attitudes, and specific beliefs and practices in the areas of academic study, practical training and spiritual development of the student. This bundle of ideas came together and took institutional form in the last half of the 19th century under the influence of two historical phenomena–Revival/Revivalism and the Faith Missions.[146]

These Bible colleges were initially founded with a view toward equipping lay leaders and missionaries to fulfill their ministries.[147] According to Brereton, the founders

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[145] Brereton documented the birth and rise of the Bible College Movement in Europe and the U. S. in Virginia Lieson Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880–1940* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), 55–77.

[146] Graham Jonathan Cheesman, "Training for Service: An Examination of Change and Development in the Bible College Movement in the UK, 1873–2002," (Ph.D. diss. Queen's University of Belfast, 2004), 7.

[147] The early founders of the first notable American Bible schools were: A. B. Simpson (New York Missionary Training College for Home and Foreign Missionaries, 1882); A. J. Gordon (Boston Missionary Training School, later Gordon College, 1889); and Dwight L. Moody (Moody Bible Institute, 1889). Brereton, *Training*, 39. See also Brereton's list of 108 U.S. Bible schools founded by 1945. Ibid., 71–76.

of the early Bible schools were often critical of the existing system for educating Christian workers. They were, she wrote,

> [R]eformers, critics of the Protestant churches, whose members they accused of being lukewarm, nominal Christians, and whose ministers they attacked as unbiblical in their preaching and unevangelical in their approaches toward the unchurched …. Above all, they excoriated the churches' missionary efforts, both domestic and foreign, as feeble.[148]

Founders of these schools decried the lack of trained workers available to do the ministry, particularly in cities and in international mission fields.[149] Their goal, at least initially, was to raise up workers from the ranks of the laity. According to Brereton,

> The special advantage of such workers, in addition to their more than ordinary zeal, was supposed to be the fact that they came from "the masses"—the laboring classes—and therefore could be expected to function more effectively among their own people at home and among the unlettered and unchristian on the mission fields than the better educated, upper class missionaries.[150]

As a result of this focus on training people for missionary work, the Bible College curricula was bent toward practical training—community outreach, direct interpersonal evangelism, and various types of church and social service. According to Brereton, "At Biola and other Bible schools success was typically measured in the number of people converted, tracts distributed, or Sunday school classes taught, rather than in number of degrees earned or examinations passed."[151]

The initial period of relatively informal, field-focused training soon began to evolve toward more formal, academic patterns of credentialed training. Brereton

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[148] Brereton, *Training*, 40.
[149] Ott, "Oriented," 75.
[150] Brereton, *Training*, 58.
[151] Ibid., 80.

identified the 1940s as the beginning of an arc “Toward Academic Respectability,” when many of the Bible Colleges introduced degree-granting programs into their curricula.[152] Biola University, for example, was founded in 1908 as the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, and was originally intended “to train laypeople in how to use the Bible and how to do practical, direct Christian evangelism.”[153] After initial decades of financial struggle, including periods when the school’s viability was in doubt, Biola’s leadership sought to legitimize the school academically by pursuing and acquiring professional accreditation in 1952. Eventually, it became Biola University in 1981, offering a substantial array of undergraduate and graduate programs.[154]

The Bible Colleges were not intended to be “competition” for seminaries, in that they purportedly refrained from recruiting those on track toward formal academic training.[155] In reality, however, the cheaper Bible Colleges attracted a broad swath of those considering further training for ministry.[156] This attraction only increased once Bible Colleges started to more intentionally formalize. The cumulative effect was that as Bible Colleges drew in more and more “professionally-minded” ministry aspirants, their curricula, structure, and credentialing began to more closely resemble the academic seminaries and divinity schools. As Richard Mouw has observed, “The histories of many of these Bible institutes provide a vindication of sorts for the continuing existence of

[152] Ibid., 84.

[153] Fred Sanders, *Biola University*, “Once Upon a Time in Los Angeles.” http://100.biola.edu/index.cfm?pageid=30.

[154] Biola University, “History and Heritage.” http://www.biola.edu/about/history/

[155] Cheesman, “Service,” 54.

[156] Miller, “Profession,” 120–1.

theological seminaries. Many of them *became* seminaries: A. J. Gordon's institute, for example, is now Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary."[157]

The Bible College movement continued to exert a powerful influence on Anglophone Protestantism well into the waning years of the 20th century. Writing in 1990, Brereton noted that the Bible schools have "recently reached their peaks in regularly enrolled students—30,308 in all schools accredited by the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges."[158] In the U. K., Bible colleges witnessed a similar prominence through the 1970s and 1980s, though their enrollment began to decrease in the 1990s.[159] In addition to the seminaries and divinity schools, then, Bible colleges have provided an important, and sizeable, institutional presence within the broader patterns of American TE.

The Bible college movement was, in many ways, an explicit reaction to the growing trend toward standardization and professionalization outlined above.[160] The Bible colleges have, moreover, shown a familiar trend toward greater degrees of formalization over the course of their existence. As such, this dynamic in the growth and expansion of the Bible college movement illustrates the tension between academic specialization and professional ministerial competence that lies at the heart of the Western paradigm of TE.

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[157] Richard J. Mouw, "Challenge of Evangelical Theological Education," in Hart and Mohler, *Theological*: 284–9, 285.
[158] Brereton, *Training*, xviii.
[159] Cheesman, "Service," 8.
[160] Ibid., 85.

Evangelical Evaluation of the Development of American TE

This thematic survey has attempted to document that ongoing tension in the rise of the paradigm of Western TE. The university model of TE has pre-dominated, but notable exceptions to the formalized model of the theological school have also proliferated. These alternatives include the New Divinity schools of the prophets, the apprenticeship models of the Methodists, the variegated training models of the Baptist, as well as the Bible college movement, at least in its initial stages. In all the alternatives to the university model the initiators were driven by broadly evangelical concerns to train leaders for the basic tasks of evangelism and Christian leadership. As shown in the survey above, innovators in alternative modes of TE often appealed to some variety of Bebbington's four evangelical emphases (primarily conversionism and activism, though bliblicism and crucicentrism were latent concerns) as they struck out from the university model. In other words, the perceived shortcomings of the prevailing formal model to adequately address these evangelical concerns drove theological innovators.

Furthermore, the contexts in which these critiques were applied were often a relatively less-churched populace as typified first by the American frontier and then the industrialized cities of the West and the mission fields of the world. The argument above noted that these contexts stood as notable deviations from the prevalent Christendom economies of Western civilization.[161] In each case, however, the innovative models of training eventually conformed to the predominating trend of greater formalization in

[161] See the discussion on pp. 92–94 of this dissertation.

education, showing once again the proclivity within Western methods of education to become more formal over time.

Hart and Mohler summarized the impulse that lies at the heart of the tension within evangelical perceptions of TE, writing,

> Yet, with its stress upon the new birth, vital piety, and holy living, evangelicalism has generally been distrustful of formal learning and academic institutions. From the eighteenth-century broadsides against overly educated ministers by George Whitefield and Gilbert and William Tennent, to recent criticisms of seminaries by megachurch and parachurch leaders, evangelicals have usually been somewhat suspicious of formal theological education and an overly scholarly exposition of the Gospel.[162]

Mohler, president of the Southern Baptist Seminary, articulated this dynamic further, writing, “The history of theological seminaries, especially among evangelicals, indicates the tension between the academic and churchly worlds—a dichotomization brought about by the culture of modernity.”[163] Mohler furthermore summarized those dynamics in the differing expectations of the two primary “clientele” of the seminaries, the church and the academy: “The churches thought of seminaries as training schools for preachers. The larger academic culture, with the rise of the culture of professionalism and modern research universities, saw seminaries as graduate schools with a theological specialization.”[164] Mohler acknowledged that “The divide is now so wide that no single institution can serve both of these masters.”[165]

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[162] D. G. Hart and R. Albert Mohler, Jr., “Introduction,” in Hart and Mohler, *Theological*: 9–21, 9.
[163] R. Albert Mohler, Jr. “Thinking of the Future” in Hart and Mohler, *Theological,* 278–83, 278.
[164] Ibid., 279.
[165] Ibid.

As Hart and Mohler pointed out, however, ambivalence about formal TE has not stopped evangelicals themselves from establishing a host of theological institutions.[166] Significantly, while "[T]he ethos and style of evangelical seminaries has set them apart from the more established Protestant institutions;" it is nevertheless the case that "[E]vangelical theological education has not differed fundamentally in institutional or formal characteristics from Protestant seminaries outside the evangelical orbit."[167] That format of education—the Western formal paradigm—has continued to exert widespread influence within the world of TE.

As Allen Harkness, then a professor at Trinity Theological College (Singapore), noted,

> [D]espite the development of a number of variants to the models, it is the scholastic or seminary form which is recognized as appropriate by the majority of Protestant theological institutions world-wide for ministerial formation, thus reflecting a pre-occupation with the educational paradigm modeled on schooling. The schooling mindset is most obvious in the nomenclature used (college and seminary; students, teachers and professors; classrooms and lecture halls; exams and papers; degrees and diplomas; and graduations and commencements).[168]

At present, the Association of Biblical Higher Education (ABHE), the primary accrediting body for American Bible Colleges, comprises over 200 member institutions with an enrollment of over 50,000 students as of May 2017.[169] Seminaries and divinity

[166] Hart and Mohler, "Introduction," 10, citing the ATS Fact Book of 1992–3, noted, "While evangelical seminaries comprise only thirty percent of those schools accredited by ATS, the student body at these institutions makes up almost fifty (48) percent of the total enrollment at North American seminaries and divinity schools."

[167] Ibid., 16.

[168] Allan G. Harkness, "De-Schooling the Theological Seminary: An Appropriate Paradigm for Effective Ministerial Formation," *Teaching Theology & Religion*, 4.3 (2001): 141–54, 143.

[169] ABHE, "About," https://www.abhe.org/about-abhe/abhe-history/.

schools have also continued to grow throughout the remainder of the 20th century.[170] The 2016 report from the Association of Theological Schools reports 233 member schools in the U. S. with a combined enrollment of 67,109 students.[171]

For the purposes of the present discussion, the important point in the growth of these institutional manifestations of Western TE—whether as seminaries, Bible schools, or university divinity schools—is that they served as the primary institutional forms as Western theological educators transplanted the Western paradigm of TE into the mission fields of the world in the 20th century. The present thematic survey has brought us to roughly the middle of the 20th century, by which time the primary institutional manifestations of the Western paradigm—seminaries, divinity schools, and Bible colleges, were well-established. It was at that time also, and especially after the 1950s that Western mission organizations undertook a concerted effort to export these institutional models of TE into the mission fields of the world.[172]

The Global Spread of Western Protestant TE

In 2009, an international study group commissioned by the World Council of Churches (WCC) confirmed the trend of the global diffusion of Western TE. The report stated that, "[T]he missionary movement of the 19th and 20th century while initiating and

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[170] For a survey of American TE from 1960 to the present, see Miller, *Plurality*.

[171] ATS, "Table 2.2B—Head Count Enrollment." http://www.ats.edu/uploads/resources/institutional-data/annual-data-tables/2016-2017-annual-data-tables.pdf

[172] Jason Ferenczi, *Serving Communities: Governance and the Potential of Theological Schools* (Kindle Edition: Langham Global Library, 2016), 33.

demanding (for) several indigenous models of theological education in its beginnings has *predominantly globalized a western pattern, methodology and framework of theological education* …."[173] The proliferation of global theological institutions—particularly in the 20th century—is an "unprecedented development," as "the past hundred years of missionary work have given birth to a new spectrum of some 3000–4000 theological schools which probably (no exact counting available until now) exist in global Christianity today."[174]

20th Century Missionary Efforts toward Theological Education

The impetus for this explosive growth in global TE institutions can be traced to the seminal Edinburgh meeting of the International Missionary Conference in 1910.[175] In that meeting "the lack of adequate ministerial training in the Younger Churches was recognized immediately as an urgent and omnipresent problem …."[176] At the 1938 Tambaram meeting of the International Missionary Council (IMC, the organization formed at the Edinburgh meeting) participants described theological education as "the weakest element in the entire enterprise of Christian Missions."[177] In subsequent meetings of the IMC, missionaries and educators repeatedly raised this concern about the lack of adequate training.[178]

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[173] International Study Group, "Challenges," 17. Emphasis mine.

[174] Ibid., 13.

[175] See World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission III: Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910). http://archive.org/details/cu31924092358351.

[176] Christine Lienemann-Perrin, *Training for a Relevant Ministry: A Study of the Contribution of the Theological Education Fund* (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1981), 3.

[177] Conn, "Excellence," 311.

[178] Lienemann-Perrin, *Relevant*, 3.

In 1956, the General Secretary of the IMC, Charles Ranson, approached John Rockefeller, Jr. "with an appeal for assistance in the development of theological education in the lands of the 'younger churches.'"[179] Rockefeller requested a survey of global TE be undertaken, the results of which were delivered to Rockefeller for his consideration.[180] In 1958, the survey listed 250 theological schools in Africa, Asia, and Latin America with a combined enrollment of 6,344 students.[181] Furthermore, the survey estimated that there were also 325 Bible Schools in operation.[182] The report concluded that "an ecumenical program for the strengthening of the theological schools in Africa, Asia and Latin America is overdue."[183] As a result of the report and Rockefeller's subsequent financial support, at the Ghana meeting of 1957–58 the IMC created the Theological Education Fund (TEF), an initiative to promote and extend TE among the "Younger Churches" of the Majority World.[184] By 1966, the TEF was tracking work in over 350 theological schools around the world.[185]

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[179] Charles W. Ranson, "The Theological Education Fund," *International Review of Mission* 47.188 (1958): 432–38, 432.

[180] The survey was later published as Yorke Allen, Jr., *A Seminary Survey: A Listing and Review of the Activities of the Theological Schools and Major Seminaries Located in Africa, Asia, and Latin America Which Are Training Men to Serve as Ordained Ministers and Priests in the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Churches* (New York, NY: Harper, 1960).

[181] Allen, *Seminary*, 202, 210. According to the definitions of the survey, the term "theological schools" (called "seminaries" throughout) included "a fairly broad range of institutions at both the college and precollege level, some of which offer liberal arts courses as well as theological studies, but whose principal activity is the training of ordinands for the full-time ministry." Ibid., 4.

[182] Ibid., 217. Allen distinguished the Bible schools from the theological schools as "those institutions, usually at the precollege level, which provide a religious education … directed primarily toward the training of teachers, laymen or others, either for secular careers or for part- or full-time Christian work *exclusive of the full-time ordained ministry*." Ibid., 211. Emphasis mine.

[183] Ibid., 570.

[184] Lienemann–Perrin, *Relevant*, 20.

[185] The Theological Education Fund, *Issues in Theological Education, 1964–65: Asia, Africa, Latin America* (New York, NY: The Theological Education Fund, 1965), 61.

The IMC (and by extension the TEF project) was aligned with the World Council of Churches (WCC), a global body formed in 1948 comprised largely of mainline denominations that were increasingly theologically moderate to liberal.[186] Evangelicals formed the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF) in 1951 as an alternative body for those churches who "… did not feel theologically comfortable in the orbit of the World Council of Churches (WCC)."[187] Evangelicals had been no less active than ecumenicals in establishing theological schools throughout the world, though Ferris points out that "Evangelical schools had largely been denied access to programs of the Theological Education Fund."[188] As a result, the WEF produced its own version of the TEF, called the Theological Assistance Program (TAP), in 1969.[189]

Pioneered by Bruce J. Nicholls, a New Zealand theologian based out of Union Seminary in Yeotmal, India, the TAP of the WEF was created "to encourage the development of national theological commissions and societies and the development of regional associations … to strengthen theological education throughout the third world, with scholarships for graduate training of faculty and support for library development."[190] Initially, TAP focused on energizing regional theological commissions and advocating

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[186] On the founding of the WCC, see Willem Adolf Visser 't Hooft, "The Genesis of the World Council of Churches," in Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, eds. *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517–1948* (London: S.P.C.K, 1954): 697–724. The IMC later merged with the WCC in 1962. See Lesslie Newbigin, "The Missionary Dimension of the Ecumenical Movement," *International Review of Mission* 70.280 (1981): 240–46.

[187] W. Harold Fuller, "From the Evangelical Alliance to the World Evangelical Fellowship: 150 Years of Unity with a Mission" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20.4 (1996): 160–62, 160.

[188] Robert W. Ferris, *Renewal in Theological Education: Strategies for Change* (Wheaton, IL: Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, 1990), 21.

[189] David M. Howard, *The Dream That Would Not Die: The Birth and Growth of the World Evangelical Fellowship 1846–1986* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1986), 158–9.

[190] Bruce J. Nicholls, "The WEF Theological Commission 1969–1986: A Ministry on the Frontiers of Global Evangelical Christianity," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 26, no. 1 (2002): 4–22, 7.

for Theological Education by Extension (TEE).[191] The TAP (later re-named the Theological Commission for the WEF) also oversaw the introduction of accreditation standards into global evangelical TE. Evangelical educators founded a related but independent entity, the International Council of Accrediting Agencies (ICAA), to facilitate the introduction of educational standards into global evangelical TE. Later re-named the International Council for Evangelical Theological Education (ICETE), it now serves as an umbrella organization for evangelical theological associations throughout the world.[192]

Western Hegemony in Global TE

The net effect of this global sponsorship—both ecumenical and evangelical—was the hegemony of the Western model within global theological education. With the implementation of the TEF, for example, it became increasingly clear that the theological education promoted was almost exclusively Western and formal in nature, and primarily American in form.[193] The Fund was initially financed through an alliance consisting of the American philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and an association of eight American mission boards. The makeup of the alliance ensured that American patterns of training would be highly influential in the work of the TEF.[194]

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[191] Ibid., 8–10.
[192] http://www.icete-edu.org.
[193] The Theological Education Fund, *Issues*, 32.
[194] Ibid., 3.

This pattern of American precedence continued under the "Second Mandate" of the TEF (1965–70)[195] as American mission boards and denominations contributed two-thirds of the global fund.[196] Though "indigeneity" was a stated goal of the TEF Advisory Group, theological educators struggled to find satisfactory non-Western approaches to TE. According to Lienemann–Perrin,

> Concrete notions and alternative proposals for ministerial training were lacking because the concept of 'something other than western' education for a 'western' pastorate in a 'western' church was largely still lacking. The consultants from the Younger Churches were just as clear about the necessity of 'indigenization' as most of the representatives of the European and North American missionary societies. However, it was just as impossible for the former as for the latter to present a clear concept of 'indigenous,' since they had not yet experimented enough to collect alternates from their own experience. Such experiments were rarely made before 1962.[197]

Another indicator that the Western model provided the global norm for TE was the First Mandate's commitment to Western standards of TE. The standard of "excellence" to which the new Majority World seminaries were to aspire was "to be defined in terms of academic standards, and more specifically the patterns of the western theological institution."[198] In 1979 Lesslie Newbigin, a missionary educator and one-time Associate General Secretary of the WCC, looked back over the Three Mandates of the TEF and wrote that the effort to bring the Third World theological schools "up to the

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[195] The TEF operated under three "Mandates," or periods of administration: The First Mandate (1958–64); the Second Mandate (1965–69); and the Third Mandate (1970–77). For a survey of the three Mandates and their particular emphases, see Ferris, *Renewal,* 11–13.

[196] Of a total $3.1 million contributed from 23 countries, U. S. entities contributed $2.08 million, or 69.3 percent. The Theological Education Fund, *Issues*, 3–7.

[197] Lienemann-Perrin, *Relevant*, 119.

[198] Conn, "Excellence," 312.

standards of the best theological faculties of Europe or North America" had been "accomplished."[199]

The insistence on Western academic standards was not confined to the TEF and their associated theological schools. The July 1958 edition of the Southern Baptist Convention's *Commission* magazine focused on the global TE efforts of the SBC's Foreign Mission Board. In assessing the current state of theological education efforts in Asia, one of the authors of the report, J. Winston Crawley noted,

> There is considerable variation in the level of work at the different schools. Some of them are doing work on a Bible school level. However, we call most of them seminaries, because the goal is to lift the academic standing as rapidly as possible to full seminary level. And already some of the schools are able to grant seminary degrees.[200]

The seminary model was, again, the standard to which global theological institutions were to aspire.

As Western, mostly American, missions continued to establish theological schools throughout the world, theological educators harbored growing concern about the Western standards adopted in these institutions. Shoki Coe, an Asian theological educator and one of the principal architects of the TEF under the Second Mandate Period, described his growing unease with the Western nature of the TEF project:

> But many of us in Asia were becoming increasingly uneasy and restless, and the seeds for this were actually sown in the First Mandate, which contained a supplementary statement that the TEF should seek "to develop and strengthen indigenous theological education." This raised questions about the nature of the training we were providing, which led to our asking ourselves whether the pursuit

[199] Lesslie Newbigin, "Theological Education in a World Perspective," *Churchman* 93, 2 (1979), 105–15, 105.

[200] J. Winston Crawley, "Hope for the Evangelization of Asia," in *The Commission: Southern Baptist World Journal* 7 (July 1958):34–47, 34.

> of Western standards would necessarily strengthen indigenous theological education. Up till that time we had not questioned the suitability of the Western model; indeed, we had done our utmost to advance towards it.[201]

Western, formal TE had simply been the norm up to that point. As a result, alternative methods had not yet been conceived, much less experimented with. The Western formal paradigm, and especially the American seminary, had become the global *de facto* model of TE.

The Continued Diffusion and Formalization of the Western Paradigm

The consistent movement toward association and accreditation among Majority World theological schools is another indicator of the dominance of the Western, and distinctly American, paradigm in global TE. Accreditation as practiced today is largely an American invention, and it has become the primary method by which global theological schools assess themselves.[202] Regional associations of theological schools proliferated in the last century, many of which serve primarily as bodies of accreditation. The world survey of TE undertaken by the WCC in 2009 lists, in addition to the WCC–sponsored World Conference of Associations of Theological Schools (WOCATI), no fewer than 30 regional bodies of association.[203]

Among evangelicals, The International Council for Evangelical Theological Education (ICETE), an evangelical conglomeration of nine regional associations, coordinates accreditation and standardization across Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle

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[201] Shoki Coe, "In Search of Renewal in Theological Education," *TE* 9.4 (1973): 233–43, 235.

[202] F. Ross Kinsler and James H. Emery, eds. *Opting for Change: A Handbook on Evaluation and Planning for Theological Education by Extension* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1991), 26.

[203] International Study Group, "Challenges," 90–93.

East, and Central and South America.[204] One of these regional associations, The Asian Theological Association (ATA), for example, lists 308 member schools from 35 countries as of May, 2017.[205] A sampling of the membership of some of the other associations reveals 48 member schools in Caribbean Evangelical Theological Association (CETA);[206] 36 "accredited schools" in the European Evangelical Accrediting Association (EEAA);[207] and 17 member schools and five accredited schools in the Middle East Association for Theological Education (MEATE).[208] Like the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) in the United States, these associations serve as accrediting bodies as well, certifying the level of educational quality provided by each member institution.[209]

Today, the Western formal model of TE is not only proportionately dominant but also widely influential within the global church, such that even extension models are sometimes viewed as inferior methods of TE.[210] In the WCC's "Global Survey," when global theological educators were asked which format of TE was "most appropriate," 70 percent of all respondents chose "residential college or seminary" while only 37 percent

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[204] Those associations are: Association for Christian Theological Education in Africa (ACTEA); Asia Theological Association (ATA); Caribbean Evangelical Theological Association (CETA); European Evangelical Accrediting Association (EEAA); Euro-Asian Accrediting Association (E-AAA); Association for Evangelical Theological Education in Latin America (AETAL); Middle East Association for Theological Education (MEATE); Association for Biblical Higher Education (ABHE); and South Pacific Association of Evangelical Colleges (SPAEC). ICETE, "Sponsors," http://www.icete-edu.org.

[205] ATA, "Membership," http://www.ataasia.com/membership/.

[206] CETA, "CETA Schools," http://www.cetaweb.info/ceta_schools.

[207] EEAA, "Accredited schools," https://eeaa.eu/directory/accredited-schools/.

[208] MEATE, "About MEATE," http://meate.org/about-meate/.

[209] ATA, "Accreditation," http://www.ataasia.com/accreditation/.

[210] Jose B. Fuliga, "Problems in Theological Education: A Third World Perspective," *Asia Journal of Theology* 25, no. 2 (October 1, 2011): 279–87, 280, notes that "Unfortunately many who have been used to residential formal theological education look down on graduates of the TEE informal theological education especially if this is run by native educators rather than by western foreigners."

selected “extension degree programs.”[211] While the report acknowledges a plurality of “institutional environments” for the extension degree programs, including “non-residential, extension types of church-based theological education,” many of these exist in the form of Bible schools and catechetical courses.[212] That is, even these non-university approaches follow the “schooling” pattern of Western TE.[213]

There are, it should be noted, varieties of alternatives to the Western, formal paradigm of TE.[214] The discussion of the next chapter will show that it was only in the latter part of the 20th century with the rise of Theological Education by Extension (TEE) that an alternative of notable scale entered into global patterns of TE. Despite moderate growth in the Majority World, however, these alternatives have not come close to upending the ascendancy of the formal model. Furthermore, alternative models tend to gravitate toward methods that approximate the “academic” models they were designed to bypass. Perry Shaw, an evangelical theological educator with the Langham Partnership, an organization founded by John Stott to foster global evangelical TE, noted the cumulative effect of the predominance of the Western formal paradigm within global TE:

> As the modern missionary movement spread the gospel around the globe, it was predominantly North American missionaries who established theological colleges, European and British missionaries focusing more on medical, schooling and evangelistic ministries. It is not surprising, therefore, that in most parts of the world the theological curricula resemble the patterns of Princeton, Dallas or Fuller seminaries more than British or European patterns of ministerial training. The American Carnegie credit system predominates, with most schools delivering

[211] David Esterline, Dietrich Werner, Todd Johnson, and Peter Crossing, *Global Survey on Theological Education, 2011–2013: Summary of Main Findings for WCC 10th Assembly, Busan, 30 Oct–8 Nov 2013*. http://www.globethics.net/web/gtl/research/global-survey.

[212] International Study Group, “Challenges,” 20.

[213] Cannel, *Matters*, 140.

[214] For a sampling of some alternatives, see Andrew Wingate, “Overview of the History of the Debate about Theological Education,” *International Review of Mission* 94.373 (2005): 235–47, 244–5.

> courses of 2- or 3-credit hours. The four foundational disciplines [Historical, Biblical, Systematic, and Practical Theology] drive the curriculum, and it is normal for students to take concurrently a series of distinct courses often with little connection, moving without apparent reason from a class on Exodus to one on Reformation History, and then to a class on Pastoral Care and Counseling.[215]

Global Protestant TE, therefore, has remained remarkably consonant with its originating pattern of formal, academic schooling as it has integrated into the burgeoning Christian economies of the Majority World.

Protestant TE in North India

Western, Protestant TE diffused throughout the Majority World over the course of the Modern Missionary Movement, and increasingly so in the 20th century.[216] India, as the recipient of William Carey and his colleagues, held pride of place as one of the first mission fields of the Modern Missionary Movement.[217] As such, India reflected the global trends of that movement, including the gradual introduction of Western TE into Majority World contexts. The spread of Protestant TE in India varied dramatically between Northern India and Southern India, as will be detailed below. While the scale of the diffusion was much broader in the South, the model of TE that was diffused was rather consistent throughout the whole country. That model was the familiar pattern of formal TE, and Carey himself introduced it in the college he and his colleagues founded.

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[215] Shaw, *Transforming*, 94.

[216] For a mid-20th century summary, see the table of Protestant Theological schools, Allen, *Seminary*, 202.

[217] Bosch, *Transforming*, 270, wrote, "It has become customary to hail William Carey—the Northamptonshire Baptist who in 1793 went to Serampore in India as the first missionary of the newly constituted 'Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen'—as the architect of modern missions. Whilst there is some validity to thus singling him out, it has to be remembered that he was only one of many similar figures from this period and as much a product as a shaper of the spirit of the time."

Serampore College and the Roots of Formal TE in India

The first center of formal education in India was the famous Serampore College of Bengal, founded by the Baptist pioneers William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward in 1818.[218] Carey and his colleagues recognized the need for a well-educated clergy. As a result, they founded Serampore College to "train Indians to replace Europeans completely as missionaries, and so create a truly indigenous church."[219] Their intent was to give a general course of instruction to students, beginning with the study of Sanskrit and Arabic, the sacred languages of Hinduism and Islam. Though the course of study included arts and sciences subjects, the college "was to be considered pre-eminently a divinity school, where Christian youths, of personal piety and aptitude for the work of an evangelist, should pursue a course of instruction in Christian theology."[220]

From its inception up to the middle of the 20th century Serampore served as the flagship institution of theological education in India. The history of Serampore serves as a microcosm of the fundamental tension between practical pastoral training and academic standardization evident in Indian TE. In 1857 the College affiliated itself with Calcutta University. Over the course of its affiliation with Calcutta University, Serampore College's original intent to train Indians for the ministry became "overshadowed by the increasing numbers of non-Christian students and the development of the university

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[218] John Clark Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward: The Serampore Missionaries* (London: Alexander Strahan and Co., 1864), 281–82.

[219] E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793–1837: The History of Serampore and Its Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 47.

[220] Marshman, *Story*, 282–83.

connection."[221] This tension led to growing criticism from other supporters of the college. Critics saw the college as an unnecessary construction, even possibly an impediment, to the straightforward preaching of the Gospel.[222] Eventually, by 1884, the governing Board of the College decided to "close the university classes and the school, and proposed that the College "should revert to the work for which it was originally founded, that of training young men for the Christian ministry."[223] With that, the ties with Calcutta University were officially severed, and the College became simply a Baptist missionary school.

By this time other mission societies had established theological schools in India. According to Ranson,

> The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a most fertile growth of theological institutions …. Almost every large society made some effort, during this period, to provide organized theological education for its workers. In most cases this was done either by the establishment of a denominational seminary or seminaries, or by the use of the facilities for training offered by the institutions established by other denominations.[224]

A survey of theological institutions in India from 1900 lists 21 schools by their affiliation

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[221] C. W. Ranson, *The Christian Minister in India, His Vocation and Training: A Study Based on a Survey of Theological Education by the National Christian Council* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1946), 47.

[222] Eustace Carey and William Yates, *Vindication of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries* (London: Wightman and Co., 1828), 86; quoted in Potts, *British*, 134.

[223] Ranson, *Minister*, 47.

[224] Ibid., 54–55.

with their respective missionary societies.[225] These various institutions served a Protestant Indian Christian population calculated at 854,867 in 1900, of whom 893 had been ordained.[226]

At Serampore, with the appointment of a new president in 1906, the College eventually revived the connection with Calcutta University in 1911.[227] Four years later, the College conferred its first Bachelor of Divinity degrees under the original degree-granting Charter of 1827.[228] With the revival of the Charter, Serampore—as the only degree-granting theological institution—became the centerpiece of the Christian academy in India. In 1918, the Serampore College Act created the Senate of Serampore College, an inter-denominational council that could award degrees to affiliated Colleges and Seminaries on the basis of the Charter.[229]

Affiliation with the Serampore Senate became the path to academic legitimacy for Indian theological colleges. There was a flurry of activity among mission societies and denominations in the first decades of the 20th century, as several higher theological

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[225] John Murdoch, *Report on Theological Education in India* (Madras: S.P.C.K. Press, 1900), v–vi.

[226] Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 408.

[227] Ranson, *Minister*, 48.

[228] The area in which Serampore College was founded was a Danish colony. The founders petitioned the Danish government for official recognition of the College. In 1827 the King of Denmark issued a Charter recognizing Serampore College as a degree-granting institution on par with the Universities of Copenhagen and Kiel. See Wilma Stewart, "The Serampore Charter," in Wilma Stewart, ed., *The Story of Serampore and Its College* (Serampore: The Serampore Council, 1961), 41.

[229] William Stewart, "Training the Ministry in South and South-East Asia," *International Review of Mission* 45 (1956): 401–411, 407.

institutions were founded or re-organized following the Serampore Act.[230] By 1945, twenty-seven theological colleges and schools were training prospective ordinands in India, many of whom affiliated with the Serampore Senate.[231] The degree-granting status of the Serampore Charter proved to be a powerful draw for theological institutions seeking academic legitimization. While the Serampore Senate had sparked activity among the theological schools in India, however, questions remained about the extent to which the new activity was resulting in well-trained pastors to serve the churches of India. This question came to the forefront of the global missionary community and would ultimately lead to, as it had in the U. S., a survey to evaluate the health and breadth of Indian TE.

Tambaram and the Ranson Report

In 1938 the World Missionary Conference was held in Tambaram, near Madras in southeast India. One of the aims of the Conference was to investigate the state of theological training among the 'Younger Churches' of the world—the traditional target areas of Western missionaries.[232] A report was prepared, the general tenor of which was that,

> [N]early all the Younger Churches were dissatisfied with the way in which their pastors were being trained. The indigenous pastors were badly trained and enjoyed little respect in their congregations. They had little contact with the

[230] Samuel Amirtham, "Some Trends in the Development of Theological Education in India," *Indian Journal of Theology 25* (1976): 197–209, 198, writes, "The beginning of this century saw a great advance in higher theological education, strengthened by the passing of Serampore College Act in 1918. The United Theological College was founded in 1910; Serampore was upgraded and Bishop's College reorganised in 1918; United Theological College was affiliated in 1919. A new theological college was started by the Methodists in 1922 (since 1931 known as Leonard Theological College)."

[231] Ranson, *Minister*, 275–78.

[232] The missionary literature of the time commonly referred to the churches of Asia, Africa, and Latin America as the "younger churches." Lienemann–Perrin, *Relevant*, 3–7.

‘realities of life’ and failed to recognize the needs of the people. Everywhere, the lack of pastors was deplored.[233]

As a result of the report, the IMC formed a task-force with the express intent of evaluating and offering recommendations for the advancement of theological education, particularly among the Younger Churches. The IMC nominated Charles W. Ranson, who would later become the IMC General Secretary, to lead the task force.

After a brief interim of inactivity due to World War II, Ranson and a team of colleagues assessed the condition of theological education in India. Their findings, along with recommendations for correction, were published in 1946 as *The Christian Minister in India, His Vocation and Training: A Study Based on a Survey of Theological Education by the National Christian Council*. Ranson’s survey documented the situation of the Indian clergy and, upon the recommendations of the Tambaram council, issued proposals for how to strengthen the situation.[234]

At the All-India Conference on Theological Education in Nagpur in 1939, the attendees addressed the issue of a well-trained ministry. To the question “What constitutes an adequate ministry?”, the statement of the conference answered with the primary features of the work of the minister. According to the report, a minister “should know his communicant members personally; should be in a position to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in each congregation under his care with the frequency

[233] Lienemann-Perrin, *Relevant*, 7.
[234] Ranson, *Minister*, 200.

customary in his Church ….”[235] In sum, the council determined that, “Roughly speaking, the aim should be to have one ordained minister for each Christian community of not more than one thousand (or, say, two hundred families), in an area not too great to allow frequent and efficient ministration.”[236]

When Ranson and his team surveyed the ministerial landscape in India in 1944–45, they found an Indian ministry that was woefully inadequate according to the standards outlined at the Nagpur conference. In the first place, there were simply too few ministers: “It is improbable that in 1941 there were more than 3,000 ministers available for direct pastoral work in a community of approximately 4,000,000.”[237] Furthermore, Ranson notes that within the ministry in India, “men of limited general education and meagre theological equipment predominate.”[238] The ministry in India, then, not only suffered from a lack of numbers but also from a lack of quality. Ranson's rather pessimistic conclusion indicates the limited extent to which Serampore and its affiliated theological schools had contributed to the education of a sufficient Indian clergy.

Accreditation in India

As a non-denominational institution, the Senate did not adhere to any statement of faith and was therefore explicitly non-confessional. Christian institutions of all theological persuasions were officially welcome to apply to the Senate. By mid-century, however, the Senate of Serampore had increasingly aligned itself with the ecumenical,

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[235] Ibid., 71.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid., 72.
[238] Ibid., 75.

theologically liberal tradition. In 1956, one of the faculty members at Serampore College acknowledged this reality and the corresponding result that some of the evangelical institutions, "are suspicious of a 'Serampore theology,' which they conceive to be dangerously liberal."[239] Eventually, evangelicals partnered together to create the Association for Evangelical Theological Education in India (AETEI) in 1979.[240] The AETEI later merged with the evangelical Asian Theological Association (ATA).[241]

Up until 1990, the Serampore Senate and the ATA served as the only means of standardization for theological schools in India, monitoring academic standards and enforcing educational norms.[242] While a few schools were dually aligned, most opted to affiliate with either Serampore (Mainline/ecumenical) or the ATA (evangelical). In spite of the growing body of theological institutions, however, the needs of the Indian context continued to outpace the Indian theological schools. In the early 1980's, India-based commentators Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden made the following observation about the state of the Indian clergy,

> the professional leadership is grossly understaffed to meet escalating needs …. A survey published in 1974 found that only two per cent of pastors and church teachers in India had seminary training. This two per cent was largely involved in the cities in administering church properties

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[239] Stewart, "Training," 408.

[240] Jaison Thomas, *Church Ministry Formation in Protestant Theological Education: The Contemporary Debate in Kerala, India.* Ph.D. Diss. (The Queen's University of Belfast: 2008), 111–12.

[241] Ibid.

[242] Technically, the Serampore Senate is not an accrediting body but rather an "affiliating university" that endorses associated colleges by virtue of affiliation. Wati Longchar, "The History and Development of Theological Education in South Asia," in David Esterline, Namsoon Kang, and Joshva Raja, eds. *Handbook of Theological Education in World Christianity: Theological Perspectives, Ecumenical Trends, Regional Surveys* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Pub, 2010): 404–19, 405.

> and taking communion services to the many congregations in their charge.[243]

Samuel and Sugden noted that both church leaders from rural areas as well as urban middle class Christians were committed to the ministry, "but they have no opportunity to become suitably equipped."[244] The insufficiency of the current crop of theological schools to meet the needs of the Indian church continued to plague the prospect of effective TE throughout India.

In the last two and a half decades a number of new accrediting bodies have come into being within India to accommodate the vibrant growth of new theological schools.[245] In 2007, according to one Indian observer,

> My own survey of Christian periodicals, directories, reports from various researches and accrediting agencies from April 2005 March 2007, shows that currently there are over 400 (well-known) theological institutions in India. Ninety-one colleges among them are accredited or have earned the associate membership of ATA. The Senate of Serampore has forty-four colleges affiliated to it and the remaining 265 are either accredited by some other agencies like IIM, NATA or independent institutions.[246]

Growth in Indian TE has continued apace, as the ATA listed 160 affiliated Indian institutions as of August 2014.[247] Another Indian commentator on the state of TE has noted the "numerical explosion of Bible colleges and mission training centers in India" in the last few decades.[248]

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[243] Vinay K. Samuel and Chris Sugden, "TAFTEE: an Indian Approach to Training for Ministry," *International Review of Mission* 71 (1982): 172–78, 172.

[244] Ibid., 172.

[245] Thomas, "Formation," 117.

[246] Ibid., 102.

[247] http://www.ataindia.org/member_list.php?m=2.

[248] D, Gnanaraj, "Current Trends in Evangelical Theological Education in India," article originally published in the Journal of NATA (May 2012), 6. http://academia.edu/2041199/Current_Trends_in_Evangelical_Theological_Education_in_India.

Significantly, the growth in theological schools and training centers has also brought about a growth in accrediting institutions. In the rush to "validate" this array of new schools, theological educators have started numerous accrediting bodies to reflect theological distinctives: the National Association for Theological Accreditation (NATA) a body formed out of the National Association of Pentecostal Theological Institutions, the Pentecostal Association for Theological Accreditation (PATA), the Baptist Association for Theological Accreditation (BATA), and the International Association for Theological Accreditation (IATA).[249]

TE in North India

North India, the area of special emphasis in this dissertation, has been historically under-represented within the larger movement of TE in India. Writing in the early 1990's, an Indian observer summarized the history of North Indian TE, "In the North Indian reality [the] Christian Church is of recent origin and therefore the whole enterprise of imparting theological education as a concern is relatively in its early stages, mainly founded upon the result of the missionary endeavours of the last one hundred years."[250] Indeed, Ranson's survey in 1946 displays the disproportionate distribution of TE throughout India. Of the five higher-level "Theological Colleges" in India at the time, only one was

[249] Ibid., 7.

[250] Godwin R. Singh, "Empowering God's All Peoples: Concerns for Theological Education in North India," *Indian Journal of Theology* 36.1 (1994): 87–96, 87. http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/ijt/36-1_087.pdf

located in North India.[251] The remaining seminaries and lower-level theological schools totaled 25, of which only seven were located in North India.[252]

The concentration of Indian TE largely in the South of the country has continued into the 21st century. A recent assessment notes that,

> Most of the theological colleges are centered in the South compared to the North or North-Eastern states of India. Political instability and religious repression should be cited as reasons why the epicenter of training has moved from elsewhere to the South, where there is a much more conducive environment for Christian learning with comparatively higher Christian presence and visibility.[253]

Of the 160 affiliated schools of the ATA listed in 2014, only 14 were located in North India.[254] The reasons cited in the quotation above account for the disparity in representation between the North and the South. As detailed in Chapter I, North India has a much lower proportion of Christians than does South India, estimated at only .2 to .5 percent of the total population.[255] As such, North India constitutes an "unreached" or pioneer environment. The next chapter will take up argument that pioneer contexts like North India are particularly ill-served by the direct imposition of the Western, formal paradigm of TE.

Though less apparent in the North, the Western trend toward standardization and formalization has been a part of Indian TE from its beginning. In the cases of both the Serampore Senate and the ATA-related schools, affiliation with the standardizing bodies brought a degree of uniformity around largely Anglophone styles of TE. The ATA

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[251] Ranson, *Minister*, 114.

[252] Ibid., 115–27.

[253] Gnanaraj, "Trends," 6.

[254] ATA listed 8 listed as "accredited" and 6 as "associate" members. http://www.ataindia.org/member_list.php?m=2

[255] See Ch. 1, p. 4 of this dissertation.

accreditation manual attests to this seminal influence as it frames its requirements in the familiar vocabulary of entrance requirements, credit hours, and a specialized curriculum.[256] The situation of Protestant TE in India, then, is emblematic of the global diffusion of Western patterns of formal TE over the past century.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a thematic survey of the development of Western, primarily American, TE as a formal academic enterprise. The first section outlined the transfer of Protestant assumptions about ministerial training into the context of the American Colonies. The survey outlined the development of American TE into a professional, academic paradigm, making note of significant alternatives to that development. Even those alternatives, however, eventually conformed to the predominant paradigm.

The next section outlined the diffusion of that Western formal paradigm into the mission fields of the world. That section charted the exportation and expansion of the Western paradigm TE throughout the world, resulting in a profusion of contemporary TE institutions. Finally, the last section traced the diffusion of Western TE into the Indian context, making note of the limited extent of that diffusion in the “unreached” context of North India. Throughout, it has been shown that, despite localized alternatives, the general trend has been to conform to the Western, formal paradigm of TE. This paradigm has diffused such that its common elements are recognizable in the curricula and accreditation standards of global theological schools. The next chapter will trace those

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[256] Asian Theological Association, *Manual for Accreditation*, Rev. Jan. 2010. http://www.ataasia.com/sites/default/files/accreditation%20manual.pdf.

recognizable elements and then evaluate the application of the paradigm to unreached contexts.

CHAPTER 4
FORMAL WESTERN TE IN UNREACHED CONTEXTS

The last chapter showed how contemporary Western TE grew out from the collegiate heritage of Europe and, through the cultural and ideological accretions of the 19th and 20th centuries, emerged as the formal, academic paradigm that has diffused throughout the world, including the relatively unreached context of North India. The aim of this chapter is to examine the paradigm of formal, collegiate TE, and then to evaluate the effect of applying that paradigm in unreached contexts to train those who go about apostolic work.

The first section will examine the primary elements of the formal paradigm in some detail to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the paradigm of TE that now predominates globally. The argument of the latter section will then turn to a survey of the critiques of this paradigm, beginning with the critical literature of Western theological educators themselves. The next section will demonstrate how Majority World theological educators have appropriated and articulated those critiques from their own contexts. The concluding section will explore at length the effects of employing Western, formal TE to train apostolic "workers" in pioneer contexts.

The Formal, Academic Nature of Anglophone Protestant TE

As shown in the previous chapter, the general structure of TE in the West is markedly similar to other types of post-secondary education.[1] Furthermore, this has become the predominating paradigm of most major forms of Western TE, and as such has served as the basic pattern for global TE as well. The Western paradigm is committed to education as "schooling," that, "by its very nature, evaluates students' progress in terms of a certain quota of digested knowledge."[2] Theological students are evaluated on the basis of "cognitive mastery of biblical, theological and historical data which can be expressed on papers or in examinations."[3]

In an effort to review the formal nature of Western TE, this section will survey the primary elements of the formal paradigm of TE. The survey will cover some of the most basic building blocks of formal TE, the realities of credit-hours and exams. That most of these formal elements are tacit assumptions of Western theological educators only highlights the present argument—that Western TE in almost all of its contemporary manifestations is inextricably formal and academic in nature. In particular, the survey will cover: a) the curriculum; b) the classroom orientation; c) accreditation; d) assessment; and f) institutionalization. The comprehensive picture will bring to light the inherent formality and academic orientation of TE and, as such, will form the basis for the analysis that will follow.

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[1] Charles R. Feilding, *Education for Ministry* (Dayton, OH: American Association of Theological Schools, 1966), 93–5.

[2] Harvie M. Conn, *Eternal Word and Changing Worlds: Theology, Anthropology, and Mission in Trialogue* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), 276.

[3] Shaw, *Transforming*, 82.

Curriculum

One of the more remarkable aspects of contemporary Western TE is the near-universal adherence to the 200 yr.-old system of curricular organization—the theological "encyclopedia."[4] The last chapter detailed the segmentation of theological study into the four-fold approach of the encyclopedia: Biblical (or Exegetical) theology, Systematic theology, Historical theology, and Practical theology.[5] Schleiermacher's influence, along with the diffusion of the German university ideal, accelerated the adoption of the theological encyclopedia throughout Western Protestant TE in the modern era, such that "… it has been the standard classification of theological sciences throughout the whole period [1760s to World War I] and after."[6]

As evidence of the enduring impact of the four-fold encyclopedia, Robert Kelly, in his report from the nationwide survey of American theological schools published in 1924, noted the four "topical heads" for programs of study in the schools—Exegetical Theology, Historical Theology, Systematic Theology, and Practical Theology, an almost exact picture of the original four topics.[7] Few contemporary syllabi explicitly state the encyclopedic rationale for the division of subjects into discrete categories, but that division is latent in the curricular organization of contemporary TE institutions. As one example, the bulk of the hours in the M.Div. curriculum at Fuller Seminary (120 total

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[4] See the discussion on theological encyclopedia in Ch. 3, pp. 99 of this dissertation.

[5] Regarding these encyclopedias, Miller, *Profession*, 49, writes, "Perhaps the most important of these, at least judging by the number of English and American editions, was that of Karl Rudolf Hagenbach, *Encyclopedie und Methodolgie der theologischen Wissenchaften*. Hagenbach divided theological studies into the now familiar fourfold pattern of biblical, historical, theological, and practical and suggested ways for students to concentrate on their study."

[6] Farley, *Theologia*, 74. See also Cannell, *Matters*, 299.

[7] Kelly, *Education*, 62.

required units) are devoted to the following emphases: 20 units in "Interpreting" (an additional 12 units devoted to "Languages"); 24 units toward "Theologizing" (including both historical and systematic courses); and 32 units designated toward "Ministry" (16 units) and "Contextualizing" (16 units).[8] This categorization and sub-dividing is fundamental to Western TE curricula.[9] It was just this type of categorization that the encyclopedia was designed to foster.

Majority world theological schools adopted this basic curricular structure, with its array of specialized disciplines. Under the Second Mandate of the Theological Education Fund, "The course plans of the theological schools in the Younger Churches could be easily identified as copies of American, British, or European systems."[10] As one example of the broader international trend, the standards of the Association for Christian Theological Education in Africa (ACTEA) reflect the "normal" pattern of the four-fold curriculum:

> 4(PS)d. *Curriculum balance.* The content of the theological education curriculum of the institution must be justified in relation to the normal spread of subjects in post-secondary theological curricula, with regard to Biblical, theological, historical, practical, and general areas of study. There must also be neither

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[8] Fuller Theological Seminary, "Master of Divinity (School of Theology)," http://stage.fuller.edu/Microsites/Academic-Catalogs/2016---2017/Master-of-Divinity-(School-of-Theology).

[9] The Southern Baptist Seminary, one of the largest seminaries by enrollment in the U.S., outlines its current M.Div. core curriculum as follows: 45 hours toward "Biblical and Theological Studies" (including Old and New Testament surveys, "Greek Exegesis and Syntax," Church History, and Systematic Theology); and 24 hours toward "Missions, Evangelism, and Ministry." The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, "Master of Divinity in Christian Ministry: Program Requirements." http://www.sbts.edu/theology/degree-programs/mdiv/christian-ministry/

[10] Lienemann-Perrin, *Relevant*, 131.

> significant omission nor undue overlap in the overall body of knowledge and skills being conveyed.[11]

The ubiquity of this curricular stratification within the disciplines is evidenced by the volume of commentary it garners in the literary criticisms of TE, as shown later in this chapter.

Classroom Schooling and Credit hours

The fundamental medium for the delivery of Western TE continues to be the classroom. Even as innovators experiment with models of field-based education, the entire system of TE orbits around the classroom as its basic environment. The classroom focus lies at the heart of the "formal" paradigm of education, as Pazmiño makes clear,

> Formal education is associated most directly with the institution of the school and the actual classroom experience. Generally, a formal understanding confines education to the experiences of persons within the classroom itself with little or no reference to the students' incidental and varied experiences outside the classroom.[12]

This classroom orientation is manifested through the common unit of measure in American higher education, the credit hour. The basis for the modern credit-hour is the so-called Carnegie Unit.

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[11] The Association for Christian Theological Education in Africa, *ACTEA STANDARDS* (The Accrediting Council for Theological Education in Africa, 2011), 14. http://www.theoledafrica.org/actea/Standards/ACTEAStandardsGuideToSelfevaluation.pdf. See also the Asia Theological Association (ATA) "Areas of Study" required for the M.Div. degree: Bible, Exegesis, and Languages; Church History; Theology/Ethics; Practical Theology; Christian Education; and Religions, Culture. ATA, *Manual for Accreditation*, 2017, 48. http://www.ataasia.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/ATA-MANUAL-FOR-ACCREDITATION-JAN2017-PAGES.pdf.

[12] Robert W. Pazmiño, *Foundational Issues in Christian Education: An Introduction in Evangelical Perspective*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 87.

The Carnegie Unit is named for the American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie who, in 1905, announced that he would establish a pension fund for college professors in the U. S.[13] The pension fund, however, required a means of standardizing American post-secondary education to determine which teaching faculties could qualify as being from "legitimate" colleges. At the time colleges had no unified standards of admission and, as a result, the quality of education varied widely from college to college. To address this issue of standardization, Carnegie established the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Foundation, led by Harvard President Charles Eliot, worked to standardize educational requirements in order to determine college faculties' eligibility for the pension program.[14]

In doing so, the Foundation proposed the "Unit" as the primary standard of educational equivalence. A Unit was defined as "120 hours of contact time with an instructor, which translates into one hour of instruction on a particular subject per day, five days a week, for twenty-four weeks annually."[15] Initially applied to secondary education, the Unit system was adapted into post-secondary education as the now-familiar "credit hour," where students receive a certain number of credits per course based on "contact hours" spent in study of the subject. As secondary and university education boomed in the U. S. throughout the 20th century, the Carnegie Unit "provided a

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[13] The following historical account of the Carnegie Unit comes from Elena Silva, Taylor White and Thomas Toch, *The Carnegie Unit: A Century Old Standard in a Changing Education Landscape* (Stanford, CA: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2015).

[14] Ibid., 7.

[15] Ibid., 8.

shared metric for the many new institutions and new types of institutions emerging on the education landscape."[16]

The notable feature of the Carnegie Unit is its direct connection with "class hours." As outlined above, the Unit evaluates curricula and specific courses by the number of classroom hours devoted to the subject. The educational "value" of the class, then, is tied directly (though not exclusively) to the amount of time students spend in the classroom.[17] The credit hour, and by extension the classroom orientation, has become a central piece of American higher education, including TE. The Handbook on Accreditation from the Association of Theological Schools assumes the credit hour system as the basis for degree programs and transfer credits.[18] The required number of credit hours required for a degree is furthermore the primary way in which degrees are segregated.[19]

With the movement to provide more "professional" training in the 20th century, theological educators saw the importance of offering opportunities outside of the classroom that would more adequately equip students for their ministry.[20] Educators

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[16] Ibid., 9.

[17] It should be noted here that distance and online education are increasingly a part of the modern TE educational landscape. According to the *ATS Accreditation Manual*, "ES.4 Distance Education," 10, "Distance education is a mode of education in which a course is offered without students and instructors being in the same location."

[18] "Educational Standard, ES.7," in *ATS Accreditation Manual*, Commission on Accrediting, The Association of Theological Schools, 16. http://www.ats.edu/uploads/accrediting/documents/accreditation-documents.pdf

[19] The ATS recognizes the M.Div. as requiring 3 years of full-time study, while an M.A. requires 2 years of full-time study. "Degree Program Standards," *ATS Accreditation Manual*, 1, 7. The ATA, moreover, cites the specific number of course credits required for each degree. ATA, *Manual for Accreditation*, 29.

[20] Robert T. O'Gorman, Kathleen Talvacchia, and W. Michael Smith, "Teaching from a Community Context: The Role of the Field Educator in Theological Education," *Theological Education* 37, no. 2 (2001): 1–58, 2.

proposed innovations that allowed for assessment of student performance and program efficiency outside of class time, known most broadly as “field education” or “field work.”[21] These out-of-class allocations were framed in a variety of ways, as “personal” or “spiritual formation,” “ministry apprenticeship,” or “practicum hours.” These parallel forms of education supplemented classroom learning with personal spiritual growth and/or ministry experience.

For many institutions, however, the overall academic structure undercuts the significance of these goals within the curriculum.[22] Shaw noted this dynamic at work in international theological schools as well, writing,

> [T]he forms of learning that occur outside the classroom generally receive little or no credit allocation, despite the significant formative nature of such learning and the hours that students devote to these elements in many schools. In granting credit almost exclusively to the classroom-centred component of the curriculum, we communicate to students a hierarchy of values: what is most important is the classroom, and the formative learning of curricular elements outside the classroom is of little or no real value.[23]

The perceived need for greater integration of “field work” is borne out in the global survey on TE conducted by the WCC. The surveyors noted, “Experiential education was

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[21] Fielding, *Education*, 221.

[22] O’Gorman, Talvacchia, and Smith, “Teaching,” 37, pointed out, “Theological field educators often find themselves in a dilemma. They are members of a faculty at an institution that is involved with theological education, and they direct a significant component of its curriculum. Their work is noted in the ATS accreditation standards as essential to the curriculum of theological education. However, the work that they do, located as it is outside the school, in the ‘field,’ is often not viewed as significant and essential by their colleagues.”

[23] Shaw, *Transforming*, 108. The references to the *ATS Accreditation Manual* show that Shaw it is unwarranted to say that institutions offer “little to no credit” for outside learning opportunities, as the *Manual* outlines how credit is allocated in just those circumstances. Shaw’s broader point that such field education is often-times overlooked, however, stands.

named consistently in the narrative responses as the basic requirement in preparation for ministry. The responses contained very few calls for increased academic rigor or more time in the traditional classroom."[24] While educators have recently offered various alternatives to address the need for "practical" education within the curricula (see Ch. 5 below), the credit-hour system and the relative difficulties in implementing "field education" reinforce the formal connection with class time.[25]

Following the broader pattern of the global diffusion of formalized Western TE, this connection between credits and class time has integrated into the broader institutional manifestations of Majority World TE. The *Manual for Accreditation* of the Asian Theological Association (ATA), the largest of the Majority World evangelical theological associations, specifies the following with regard to credit hours and class time:

> F. Units and Transfer of Credits
> 1. A semester unit or one semester credit hour is equivalent to a minimum of 800 minutes of classroom instruction plus 1200 minutes outside of class.
> 2. Units from non-accredited institutions are to be accepted only on the basis of validation or a period of probationary study.[26]

The classroom, with its attendant credit hours, continues to sit at the center of the academic cosmos of global TE.

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[24] Esterline, et. al., *Global Survey*, 5.

[25] The *ATS Accreditation Manual*, "Degree Program Standards, A.2.5.3," 3, states, "The program shall provide opportunities for education through supervised experiences in ministry."

[26] ATA, *Manual*, 28.

Accreditation

Another basic element in modern TE is accreditation. Whereas the Carnegie Unit and the credit hour standardized "equivalency" among institutes of higher education, accreditation was designed to regulate "quality."[27] In the United States, regional, non-governmental boards began the movement toward accreditation in the early 20th century.[28] Initially these boards were concerned that the standard of higher education be monitored and, if needed, elevated within their respective areas. In particular, they were concerned to implement standards that distinguished secondary education from higher education.[29] In the beginning, standards of accreditation were basic, focused mostly on the size of the faculty, admission requirements, and length of course of study.[30] As higher education expanded throughout the 20th century, the system of accreditation became correspondingly more complex.

The early regional boards continued to develop the system of standardization, especially as more students began to transfer to schools in different regions.[31] The

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[27] Kenneth E. Young, "Nongovernmental Accreditation: Threats and Opportunities," *TE* 14.1 (1977): 11–18, 11.

[28] European TE uses standardized examinations as opposed to accreditation in order to ensure "quality" across academic institutions. Accreditation, however, has been the predominant mode of standardization for global TE, as will be shown below, and is therefore the focus of this section. See F. Ross Kinsler and James H. Emery, eds., *Opting for Change: A Handbook on Evaluation and Planning for Theological Education by Extension* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1991), 26.

[29] Geiger, *History*, 384.

[30] Elaine El-Khawas, *Accreditation in the USA: Origins, Developments, and Future Prospects* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2001), 30. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001292/129295e.pdf.

[31] Ibid., 36.

accrediting process became progressively more formal, as agencies tightened standards and introduced a system of periodic review to validate on-going status of accreditation. These reviews were institution-wide, involving a preliminary self-assessment by the institution followed by a site visit from an assessment team and a confidential evaluation of the results.[32]

As TE mirrored the broader trends of higher education, accreditation soon found its way into seminaries and divinity schools. The primary accrediting agency of seminaries and divinity schools, what would come to be called the Association of Theological Schools (ATS), was founded by George Horr of Newton and Abbot Lowell of Harvard as the Conference of Theological Seminaries and Colleges in 1918.[33] The organizers envisioned the Conference as a place for theological educators to trade ideas on the state and structure of TE. Initially a somewhat informal gathering of theological educators, the Conference gathered in ensuing years with representatives from some of the most prominent seminaries in the U. S.[34]

As shown in the last chapter, the eponymous Kelly Report of 1924 and the Brown-May survey of 1934 convinced the board of the need to pursue greater standardization and, eventually, accreditation. Both surveys highlighted the great variance in quality within American TE, and particularly in the denominational seminaries.[35]

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[32] Ibid., 56.

[33] Miller, *Profession*, 451.

[34] Marvin J. Taylor, "The ATS and the Regional Accrediting Commissions," *TE* 14 (1977): 27–31, 27.

[35] Miller, *Profession*, 460.

In 1936, the Conference of Theological Seminaries and Colleges re-organized as the American Association of Theological Schools and adopted its first set of standards for accreditation.[36] Miller summarizes the standards of the first Commission on Accreditation:

> The early standards were similar to those of other accrediting associations, although perhaps not as definite. They included the usual criteria: admission, degrees, length of course (residence), library, equipment, finances, and faculty. Taken together, these short statements provide a clear picture of what contemporaries felt was a good theological school: It was an institution that admitted college graduates to a three-year program of study that included biblical, historical, practical, and theological courses. This curriculum should include courses in homiletics, religious education, pastoral theology, liturgies, church administration, and the application of Christianity to modern social problems. The curriculum should be taught by a competent faculty of at least four professors who, together with the administrative officer, have control over the curriculum and the granting of degrees. In keeping with the graduate character of the institutions, faculty members should not teach more than twelve hours a week. The institution itself was to provide adequate resources for the teaching of this curriculum, both in buildings and in endowments, and was to maintain a library that was alive, adequate, well-distributed and professionally administered, with collections bearing especially upon the subjects taught.[37]

With the standards in place, assessment teams conducted site visits during the 1937–8 academic year, leading to the first list of accredited institutions.[38] In the 1960s the Association—now simply the Association of Theological Schools (ATS)—implemented periodic re-evaluation on a 10-yr. basis as a requirement for maintaining accreditation.[39] As of 2016, the ATS listed 233 member schools in the U. S.[40] The ATS is recognized by

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[36] Daniel O. Aleshire, *Earthen Vessels: Hopeful Reflections on the Work and Future of Theological Schools*. First Edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), xiv.
[37] Miller, *Profession*, 462.
[38] Taylor, "Regional," 27.
[39] Ibid., 28.
[40] ATS, "Annual Data Tables: Table 1.1-A: Total Number of Member Schools by Membership Category and Nation," http://www.ats.edu/uploads/resources/institutional-data/annual-data-tables/2016-2017-annual-data-tables.pdf.

the U. S. Dept. of Education as well as the Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA), the national body that oversees religious accrediting boards.[41]

Bible Colleges, though initially founded as alternatives to more formal academic models of training, have pursued accreditation as well. Leaders in the Bible College movement established the Accrediting Association of Bible Institutes and Bible Colleges in 1947. This accrediting body, now known as the Association for Biblical Higher Education (ABHE), currently recognizes approximately 200 Bible Colleges as accredited members throughout North America.[42] Like ATS, the ABHE is recognized by the U. S. Department of Education as well the CHEA.[43]

The net effect of accreditation is to ensure, and sometimes impose, standards of academic quality across member institutions. Through peer-review, self-evaluation, periodic site-visits and institutional assessments, accreditation bodies monitor standards of academic quality. These standards apply to admission requirements, facilities, faculty, curriculum, and library facilities. In TE specifically, accrediting bodies approve and monitor the types of degrees institutions may offer and the formats in which they may be delivered. Though educational goals and outcomes may differ, the system of accreditation within TE operates in much the same way as it does in non-religious fields.

The previous chapter of this dissertation outlined the spread of accreditation within global TE.[44] Accrediting bodies for TE have proliferated globally with the express

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[41] ATS, “Overview of Accrediting,” http://www.ats.edu/accrediting/overview-accrediting.
[42] https://www.abhe.org/about-abhe/abhe-history/.
[43] ABHE, “Association FAQ’s,” https://www.abhe.org/about-abhe/association-faqs/.
[44] See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

intent of regulating the level of educational quality within their constituent schools.[45] Those bodies of accreditation act as a homogenizing force within global TE, as "… the persisting need for recognition, status, and social power is part of the pressure on institutions to maintain familiar systems."[46] According to the WCC survey on global TE, the concerns for educational quality assurance and the institutionalization of those concerns through accrediting bodies, are likely to grow and further entrench themselves in the emerging Christian contexts of the world.[47]

Assessment and Credentialing

The assessment system—where grades are assigned largely on the basis of demonstrated performance in examinations and written class work—is a common feature of contemporary TE. Grading in Anglophone TE derives from examination systems like those of Oxford and Cambridge, where professors orally examined students to assess their learning.[48] College educators in the U. S. adapted examinations to their context early on, as evidenced by a note in the diary of Yale President Ezra Stiles from 1785. In what is likely the first report of grading in American higher education, Stiles noted that 58 students had been orally assessed and then ranked based on their performance.[49]

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[45] Study Group, *Challenges*, 72.

[46] Cannell, *Matters*, 277.

[47] Study Group, *Challenges*, 74.

[48] See Chris Stray, "From Oral to Written Examination: Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin 1700–1914," *History of Universities* 20 (2005): 76–130. http://www.academia.edu/7596135/From_oral_to_written_examination_Oxford_Cambridge_and_Dublin_1700-1914.

[49] Stiles recorded that the students had been given marks of "Optimi," "2nd Optimi," "Inferiores," and "Pejores." Ezra Stiles and Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, Vol. 3* (New York, NY: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901), 154.

Colleges carried out fledgling attempts at grading throughout the 19th century. While educators commonly employed some type of assessment throughout the country by the end of the Civil War, the various methods had not yet become standardized.[50] Colleges around the country experimented with different forms of assessment, ranging from a four-number scale at Yale (1839), to a 20-number scale at Harvard (1830), to a "pass-no pass" system at Michigan (1851).[51] The first appearance of a "letter" grade was at Harvard in 1883.[52] In 1897, Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts adopted what would later become the standard lettered grading system for American higher education, where letters were assigned to percentage of material mastered (e.g. A for 90–100 percent, B for 80–90 percent, and so on).[53] Nationwide consensus on a single grading scale, however, was far off as colleges continued to experiment with and implement a wide variety of approaches to grading up until the 1940s.[54]

A National Education Association survey in 1974 reported that 80 percent of the schools at the time used letter grades.[55] As in the case of accreditation, the sheer scope of American higher education had driven educators to move toward standardizing assessment. Increased complexity, a burgeoning student population, and an increasingly mobile populace were some of the primary factors at work in the move toward

[50] Jack Schneider and Ethan Hutt, "Making the Grade: A History of the A-F Marking Scheme," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 46 (2014): 201–24, 207.

[51] Mark W. Durm, "An A is Not an A is not an A: A History of Grading" *The Educational Forum*, 57/3: 294–97, 295.

[52] Ibid., 296.

[53] Ibid., 297.

[54] Schneider and Hutt, "Making," 15.

[55] Ibid.

standardization in assessment.[56] A uniform grading system provided "a unified and scalable mechanism for measurement and communication" in the rapidly expanding world of American higher education.[57]

Within Western TE, grading has been, and continues to be, the "common currency of barter."[58] The practice is pervasive within education at large, influencing global practices of education. As Shaw has pointed out,

> Despite the resounding and repeated critiques brought by educationalists, the giving of grades is still pervasive in education—in every country of the world and in every field of study. Moreover, many of the key gatekeepers—accrediting agencies, admission committees for advanced studies, employers, denominational leaders, even school boards—believe that "good grades" are synonymous with competency and knowledge of the field.[59]

This system of grading and assessment is furthermore the primary criteria for those who enter into the "profession" of education. The pathway to professorship is one of accumulating successively higher degrees. Within TE specifically, doctoral-level qualification has long served as the norm for aspiring professors.[60]

While Western TE has held to doctoral-level qualification as the normal prerequisite to professorship, the differing contexts of Majority World TE have engendered a more diverse approach to professor qualifications. If doctoral-level education is not, strictly speaking, a requirement in Majority World theological schools, it is nevertheless assumed that teachers will possess a degree higher than the level at

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[56] Ibid., 8.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Donald C. Houts, "Student Evaluation: Neglected Stepchild of Curriculum Revision," *TE* 7.2 (1971): 79–86, 79.

[59] Shaw, *Transforming*, 247

[60] Cannell, *Matters*, 139.

which they teach. The standards of the Asia Theological Association, for instance, dictate that "Faculty and Course Writers" adhere to the following standards: "1. Faculty should have degrees relevant to the program from recognized institutions. 2. Faculty should have one degree higher than the degree granted."[61] In sum, the system of academic assessment by grading and testing undergirds the structure of global TE, including the qualification of theological educators.

Institutionalization and Residency

The foundational context for Western TE has been, and continues to be, educational institutions—schools. From their collegiate beginnings in Europe, theological institutions self-consciously organized as learning communities centered in a particular geographical space.[62] Most seminaries and divinity schools have a definitive "space" composed of classrooms, faculty offices, and usually chapels and student dormitories.

Since its inception, the residential model of TE has predominated. In an address to the students of Princeton Seminary in 1911, B. B. Warfield mentioned that the students were "separated from your homes and all that home means; from the churches in which you have been brought up …."[63] In his survey of early 20th century TE, Kelly noted that out-of-state students comprised the majority in most student bodies, which means that students had quit their "home" place to take up residency at the seminary.[64] The campus

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[61] ATA, *Manual*, 27. See also The Association for Christian Theological Education in Africa, *ACTEA Standards 2011*, 8.

[62] The residential pattern was adopted from the English collegiate system. Rudolph, *College*, 26.

[63] Benjamin B. Warfield, "The Religious Life of Theological Students, *The Masters Seminary Journal* 6, 2 (1995): 181–95, 188.

[64] Kelly, *Report*, 157–8.

was the locus of a theological "community" comprised of students, educators, administrators and staff.[65] Defining and cultivating the "community" of a theological school was also a consistent concern for theological educators.[66]

Though the residential model has been standard throughout the history of Western TE, some forms of extension education were present from early on.[67] In the latter part of the 20th century and into the early 21st, the dominance of the residential approach to TE seems to be eroding in North America.[68] The rapid rise of online education and extension courses has modified the campus life of many theological institutions.[69] Despite the rise of non-residential forms of TE, however, the residential norm still occupies a central place within Western TE. Accreditation standards continue to frame non-residential credit in terms of equivalency to residential work.[70] While this may be the area seeing most rapid change in contemporary Western TE, the TE system is still very much tethered to its institutional past.

The Western Paradigm of TE in Pioneer Contexts

If the history of growth of TE in the 20th century is an indicator, the Western, formal paradigm of TE will continue to be the norm as the church expands into Majority World

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[65] Feilding, *Education*, 104.

[66] Charles Taylor, "Theological School as Community," *TE* 2.1 (1965): 1–46.

[67] In the Kelly Report (1924), Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary reported more students enrolled in the extension department (917) than in residence (796). Kelly, *Survey*, 30.

[68] John W. Kennedy, "The iSeminary Cometh: Online Education Is Jolting Seminaries with Rapid Enrollment Growth," *Christianity Today* 54.4 (2010): 48–51.

[69] The decade 2001–11 showed a marked increase in the availability of distance courses from ATS Member schools. Anthony Ruger and Chris A. Meinzer, "Through Toil and Tribulation: Financing Theological Education 2001–2011," *Auburn Report*, July 2014, 8.

[70] See the Commission on Accrediting, "ES.4 Distance Education," *ATS Accreditation Manual*, 2010.

contexts, including "unreached" contexts. It is just those "unreached" contexts, however, that are least suited to that particular paradigm of TE. In many ways, formal TE constrains the training and adequate equipping of sufficient numbers of those who go about apostolic "work," which is precisely the need within those unreached contexts. The section below will explore the inherent difficulties that arise when the Western paradigm of TE is introduced into an unreached context, and particularly when used to train people for apostolic "work."

The discussion will begin by surveying critical literature of the Western paradigm of TE to frame some of the critiques of the Western paradigm *across contexts*. The argument will recount critiques of commentators from both the Western world and the Majority world. Once the literary critiques are accounted for, the argument will describe one of the most prominent "institutional" critiques of Western TE that emanated from the Majority World in the 20th century—Theological Education by Extension (TEE). Once the broader context of critique has been established, the argument will then turn to a categorization of the primary critiques themselves, summarized here as: 1. Lack of Accessibility; 2. Academic Orientation and Dislocation; and 3. Incoherence from Theory to Practice. That section will examine each of these categories in light of the dynamics of unreached contexts and apostolic "work," where it will be shown how potential

weaknesses in Western, formal TE are exacerbated in pioneer fields where apostolic "work" is the primary mode of ministry.[71]

It should also be noted from the outset that contemporary TE is a complex affair, involving institutional elements as well as inherited assumptions and traditions. The above survey of the "formality" of Western TE focused mostly on the structural, organizational elements of TE. Western TE is not, however, simply the sum of these various parts—curriculum, assessment, faculty, etc. Beneath the external realities of TE run some basic assumptions that inescapably shape the way it is carried out. Farley's analysis of these latent factors is penetrating, and his summary statement is worth quoting here at length:

> Patterns of meaning, convictions, and images, confessional and otherwise, pervade the literature, curricula, and enterprises of a theological school. They provide the rationale, stated or hidden, for what the theological school is and does. Some of these concepts and images are self-consciously held and defended (e.g., the importance of Scripture) and some have rarely if ever been thematized (e.g., the nature of the distinction between the academic and the practical). The concepts are present in all sorts of modes and meanings: hidden, defended, outmoded, unformulated, disguised in modern terminology. This means that straightforward, fact-oriented description of the theological school fails to do justice to its complex character.[72]

This complex nature of TE poses particular difficulties for a broad-scale assessment like the one offered here. An ever-expanding body of critical literature, much of it written by

[71] In this first section, the criticisms of commentators on TE—almost all of whom are theological educators themselves—will serve to throw the current state of Western TE into stark relief. While this approach is an effective means of assessing the state of Western TE, it should not be assumed that the critical nature of this assessment implies an overall criticism of Western TE. There are some enduring strengths to be found within Western TE that, when applied in the appropriate context, benefit local churches and their leadership and contribute to the mission of God. An appropriate awareness of context, however, is critical, as will be shown in the course of the argument.

[72] Farley, *Theologia*, 29.

theological educators themselves, elucidates some of these underlying issues within Western TE.

Scholarly Critiques of Western TE

In recent decades, Western theological educators have offered sweeping critiques of the formal model of TE. Linda Cannell, a theological educator and commentator on the broader debate within TE, noted "The array of voices critiquing higher education today is almost without precedent. The literature is replete with calls for alternatives to theological institutions as we know them."[73] As Cannell stated in summarizing her survey of the state of contemporary TE, "It is no longer a matter of debate that conventional approaches to theological education are deficient."[74] Criticism has come from all quarters of the theological spectrum, from conservative evangelicals to progressive liberals.

In 1972, evangelical John Frame, who would later become a prominent philosopher-theologian at Westminster Theological Seminary and Reformed Theological Seminary, made the following recommendation for American TE: "I propose first that we dump the academic model once and for all–degrees, accreditation, tenure, the works."[75] Frame reasoned,

> [T]he church assumes that the seminary is doing a complete job of ministerial training. As a result, the young men receive no training at all in many crucial areas. Often, even in "practical" courses like Christian education and missions, students are trained as scholars rather than as ministers…. The academic machinery is simply incapable of measuring the things that really matter–a man's obedience to God's Word, his perseverance in prayer, his self control, his ability to rule without pride, the spiritual power of his preaching in the conversion of

[73] Cannell, *Matters*, 71.
[74] Ibid., 319.
[75] John Frame, "A New Kind of Seminary," 2012. Online: http://www.frame-poythress.org/proposal-for-a-new-seminary/

> men and the edification of the church. When a seminary puts its major effort into such things as recruiting Ph.D.'s for its faculty, maintaining "respectable" degree programs (presumably in comparison with Harvard or Yale), determining the number of "semester hours" to be required of students, it is diverting its attention from its proper purpose.[76]

In reflecting upon his recommendation in 2001, Frame remarked that while he had overstated the deficiency of seminaries and understated the practical difficulties in his revolutionary idea, his "heart was still in" his initial proposal.[77]

From the more liberal end of the theological spectrum, Edward Farley, a professor at Vanderbilt Divinity School and a theological progressive, sparked a sustained literary debate about the nature and problems of modern, Western TE with his 1983 book *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education*. In that book Farley lamented the splintering of theological study into a host of specialized disciplines and the resultant lack of a unifying purpose within Western TE, a problem he identified as beginning with Schleiermacher's "scientific" approach to the study of theology.[78] He called for a re-unification of theological study aimed at the cultivation of *theologia*, or "sapiential knowledge (understanding) which can occur when faith opens itself to

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid. For more evangelical critiques of Western TE, see Cannell, *Matters*; Shaw, *Transforming*; and Robert F. Ferris, *Renewal in Theological Education* (Wheaton, Ill.: Billy Graham Center, 1990); among others.

[78] Farley, *Theologia*, 85–88.

reflection and inquiry."[79] Farley's proposal elicited a number of responses and counter-proposals for how to "unify" modern theological study.[80]

While evangelical theologian David Clark has ably critiqued Farley's proposed solution to the ailments of TE,[81] Farley's initial diagnosis of general disarray within Western TE has garnered acceptance among ensuing contributors to the debate.[82] The critical conversation stemming from Farley's proposal is pertinent to the present argument because those recurring critiques reveal the perceived shortcomings of Western TE. Theological educators have echoed these shortcomings as well.

Critiques of Western TE from Mission Contexts

From the Majority World, the first and most consistent critique is that the Western paradigm of TE has been, for the most part, transferred into mission field contexts with little to no adaptation. Interestingly, some of the most vocal critics of this reality have

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[79] Ibid., 156.

[80] In the literature, Farley's interlocutors include Max L. Stackhouse, *Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization, and Mission in Theological Education* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988); Joseph C. Hough and Barbara G. Wheeler, *Beyond Clericalism : The Congregation as a Focus for Theological Education* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988); David Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin: The Theological Education Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993); Bernhard Ott, *Beyond Fragmentation: Integrating Mission and Theological Education, A Critical Assessment of some Recent Developments in Evangelical Theological Education* (Carlisle, UK: Regnum Books, 2001); and Cannell, *Matters*.

[81] According to David K. Clark, *To Know and Love God: Method for Theology* (Crossway: Kindle Edition, 2003), 149–50, "Farley's commitment to a critical stance toward Scripture precludes finding the unity of theological disciplines in the unity of divine revelation." As a result, "[Farley] located the unity of theology in human subjectivity and experiences," that will "… make the unity of theology all the more difficult to achieve because without theological guidance, experiences are entirely malleable and adaptable."

[82] See Nessan's survey of the state of the debate within ecumenical Protestantism, where he outlines Farley's seminal contribution. Craig L. Nessan, "Mission and Theological Education—Berlin, Athens, and Tranquebar: A North American Perspective," *Mission Studies* 27.2 (2010): 176–93.

been Western theological educators serving in Majority World contexts.[83] Bernhard Ott, a missiologist and theological educator, claims,

> The traditional models of theological education employed in western university and seminary training have been severely criticised (Farley 1983; Duraisingh: 37). Not only has it turned out to be a western model with minimal effectiveness in the Two Thirds World, but there is also an increasing awareness that this traditional model is not even adequate in the western world (Newbigin 1978b). The main limitations are (1) its heavy emphasis on detached academic reflection, (2) the one-sided deductive accumulation of knowledge, (3) the required residential presence for many years, (4) the professional orientation, (5) the limited access, (6) the institution-centeredness (7) and the high costs (Kinsler 1981:3–24).[84]

Timothy Tennent, current President of Asbury Seminary and a missionary theological educator, offered the following critique of Western hegemony within global theological studies,

> Having taught or spent time in several theological seminaries and Bible colleges around the world, I have observed the dominant role of Western curriculum and theological textbooks in these institutions. Even materials that are occasionally published in the national languages of vibrant, growing churches are often either written by Westerners or are merely translations of Western texts that are received, read, and studied as if they hold some kind of universal status.[85]

Andrew Walls, an evangelical who previously served as a missionary theological educator in Africa and then as professor of religion at the University of Edinburgh since 1986,[86] cited Western Christianity's accommodation with the Enlightenment as the key obstacle in cross-context theological training. Walls wrote that the impact of the

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[83] See, for example, R. Paul Stevens, "Marketing the Faith—A Reflection on the Importing and Exporting of Western Theological Education" *Crux* 28, no. 2 (1992): 6–18, 8; Jeffrey P. Greenman, Gene L. Green, eds. *Global Theology in Evangelical Perspective: Exploring the Contextual Nature of Theology and Mission* (IVP Academic: Kindle Edition, 2012); Harvie M. Conn, *Eternal Word and Changing Worlds: Theology, Anthropology, and Mission in Trialogue* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), 267.

[84] Ott, *Beyond*, 6.

[85] Timothy C. Tennent, *Theology in the Context of World Christianity: How the Global Church Is Influencing the Way We Think about and Discuss Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007), 11.

[86] http://www.cas.ed.ac.uk/people/associates/andrew_walls

Enlightenment resulted in "[A] Christianity shaped to the Enlightenment worldview, and this became the dominant Western expression of Christianity. Modern Western theology is Enlightenment theology."[87] The main deleterious effect of this accommodation was, according to Walls, the building of a conceptual "frontier" between the natural and supernatural worlds. According to Walls,

> It [the Christian Enlightenment] accepted the frontier between the worlds but asserted that there were identifiable crossing places: the incarnation, the resurrection, revelation, prayer, perhaps miracles. But these were recognized crossing points of a frontier that was generally closed …. So much of the Old Testament could not be accommodated within an Enlightenment universe that Enlightenment Christians developed ways of reading it at a certain distance; and even some features of the New Testament and the apostolic church—prophecy, for instance, healing, and other works of power—were designated as frontier crossings formerly in use but no longer available.[88]

Walls wrote that the net effect of this accommodation with the Enlightenment was "[T]hat Western theology is pared-down theology, cut and shaved to fit a small-scale universe."[89] Because of this Western accommodation with Enlightenment Walls noted that Western modes of TE are ill-equipped train Majority World theologians and leaders, writing,

> [M]any Western institutions are not well placed to assist in the development of theological leadership outside the West; they have neither the experience nor the expertise, and there is a sad trail of Ph.D.s across the world whose long years of study in the West have left them no better, and perhaps worse, equipped for their task than before.[90]

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[87] Andrew F. Walls, "Christian Scholarship and the Demographic Transformation of the Church," in *Theological Education for the Twenty-First Century*, Rodney L. Peterson and Nancy M. Rourke, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002): 166–184, 176.

[88] Ibid., 177.

[89] Ibid., 177.

[90] Ibid., 183.

Beyond the self-criticisms of Western theologians, indigenous Majority World theological educators have been increasingly vocal in their assessment of the inadequacy of Western modes of theological education. The state of Global TE, with its Western dominance, has been critiqued for its "irrelevance to Asia's unique and diversified social contexts;"[91] as "alien to meet the needs of the Indian situations because the context is multi-religious;"[92] and as a "rehash of historical religious controversies in the West and their response to these controversies,"[93] among other things. The most sustained of these critiques—both in literature and in implementation—came from Western educators who started Theological Education by Extension (TEE).

Theological Education by Extension (TEE) as a Critique of Western TE

Missionary educators in Guatemala pioneered the TEE movement in 1964.[94] F. Ross Kinsler, one of the founders of TEE, stated explicitly that their aim in founding TEE was the "subversion" of the traditional (Western) model of TE, particularly the "persistent dichotomy" of educated clergy and untrained laity.[95] To that end, TEE educators sought

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[91] Yau-Man Siew, "Theological Education in Asia: An Indigenous Agenda for Renewal" in *With an Eye on the Future: Development and Mission in the 21st Century: Essays in Honor of Ted W.* Ward, Ted Warren Ward, Duane Elmer, Lois McKinney, and Muriel I Elmer, eds. (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1996): 58–68, 58–9.

[92] Thomas Philip, "Context-Based Theological Education in India," *Journal of Theological Education and Mission* (JOTEAM, 2010). http://theologicaleducation.net/articles/view.htm?id=135

[93] Jose B. Fuliga, "Problems in Theological Education: A Third World Perspective," *Asia Journal of Theology* 25 (2011): 279–287, 283.

[94] F. Ross Kinsler, *The Extension Movement in Theological Education: A Call to the Renewal of the Ministry* (Pasadena, CA.: William Carey Library, 1978), xi.

[95] F. Ross. Kinsler, "Theological Education by Extension: Service or Subversion," *Missiology* 6, no. 2 (April 1, 1978): 181–96, 194–95.

to de-centralize TE structures and provide access to theological training at the local level in order to, as Kinsler wrote,

> extend (stretch, expand, spread, adapt) the resources of theological education in order to reach the people who are the natural leaders of our churches. Most of these people are mature men and women, married and with families, settled in their communities and professions. So we must extend our seminaries and institutes to where they live ….[96]

TEE educators brought theological instruction to the local churches as opposed to having students come to a centralized school for residential study.

Kinsler identified the three "essential elements" of TEE: self-study materials, practical work, and regular encounters or seminars.[97] These elements formed the common core of the various iterations of TEE that grew out of the pioneering work of the Presbyterian Seminary of Guatemala. Classes were conducted locally, often weekly, where students interacted with their teacher and processed their study materials. In between classes, students, who were already leaders in the church, were expected to continue in their local ministry. Finally, the extension centers—whether traditional seminaries or strictly TEE centers—held semi-regular gatherings for students to interact with a broader circle of peers for extended periods of time.

As pointed out above, Kinsler and his fellow TEE practitioners deliberately challenged the accepted status and machinery of formal, Western TE. Formal theological education had, in their estimation, failed the church at a number of points that TEE was specifically designed to correct.[98] Kinsler outlined his critiques of the Western paradigm,

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[96] Kinsler, *Extension*, 25.
[97] Ibid., 34–5.
[98] Ott, *Beyond*, 6.

beginning with the assertion that, "*Traditional training patterns reinforce the dichotomy between clergy and laity; they debilitate the dynamics of ministry at the congregational level; and they make the churches dependent upon highly trained, professional pastors.*"[99]

Furthermore, Kinsler noted, "The problem of traditional theological education is not only the fact that the seminaries and Bible institutes are incapable of forming leaders but that they withdraw their students (physically and socially) from the very context and processes where leadership can best be formed."[100] Kinsler furthermore argued that "*Traditional seminaries and Bible institutes tend to follow the elitist trends of our societies, and they perpetuate the image of education as the accumulation of information.*"[101] Finally, Kinsler pointed out, "*Traditional, residential theological schools are extremely expensive, especially if they attempt to reach the more mature leaders of the churches.*"[102] TEE, on the other hand, could offer training to more people, address and correct the theory/practice dichotomy in formal TE, breakdown the persistent lay-clergy distinction that plagued churches in the Third World, and more broadly engage the people of the church in God's mission.[103]

In the decades after the founding of TEE in Guatemala, regional adaptations of TEE diffused globally. According to the Theological Education Fund Report for 1976, "Theological education by extension is now clearly established as the most vigorous

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[99] Ibid., 8. Emphasis in original.
[100] Ibid., 13.
[101] Ibid., 19. Emphasis in original.
[102] Ibid., 21. Emphasis in original.
[103] Ibid., 31–2.

alternative form of preparation for ministry. It may soon outdistance residential patterns of training as the dominant form of training for the ministry."[104] As noted in the last chapter, many of the TAP's first initiatives were to introduce TEE into various countries. By 1979, Kinsler reported "about 300 programs with 30,000 to 40,000 extension students in 75 countries around the globe."[105] The rise of TEE as an alternative to formal, Western TE was not, however, without its own difficulties.

As is clear from Kinsler's quotes above about the "subversive" nature of TEE, advocates of TEE often presented it as a direct challenge to the existing formal structure of TE. As such, he writes,

> [T]he case for TEE was argued with great vehemence, almost always by contrasting the strengths of TEE with "inappropriate" and "ineffective" patterns of "residential" seminaries. As a result, the debate was polarized, and what began as a promising adventure in renewal of theological education was reduced to a sectarian debate.[106]

The debate and resulting polarization limited the impact of TEE upon existing structures of theological education. As a result, Kinsler's desire "to revolutionize not only theological education but also the ministry" remained far from complete.[107]

In the ensuing years since the introduction and spread of TEE, some commentators have noted that even TEE initiatives betray a heavy Western orientation. Somewhat ironically, critiques of TEE have pointed out that, among other things, "*TEE*

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[104] Ibid., xii.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ferris, *Renewal*, 14.
[107] Kinsler, "Subversion," 194.

has depended too heavily, too often, and for too long on expatriate leadership."[108] Lois McKinney, another commentator on TEE, claimed that TEE had ended up perpetuating the "schooling" model of ministry education, a model that promotes "values, assumptions and techniques" such as "competition, comparative evaluation, grades, credits, and degrees."[109] Again somewhat ironically, this is an apt description of the critiques of formal TE presented throughout this dissertation, the very model TEE was designed to "subvert."

Significantly, as TEE diffused throughout the world in the 1970s and 1980s, the contexts and models in which it seemed to flourish were those that retained an explicit focus on evangelism and church-planting in the midst of their educational process. As described in the book *Discipling through TEE*, some early adopters acknowledged that TEE "often results merely in education rather than in evangelization or in the starting of new churches."[110] When TEE efforts were intentionally integrated with church planting work, however, as George Patterson in Honduras and Avery Willis in Indonesia did, they "strengthened rather than weakened the school's educational capacity by broadening its scope."[111]

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[108] Kenneth B. Mulholland, "TEE Come of Age: A Candid Assessment after Two Decades," in Youngblood, *Cyprus*: 9–26, 19. Emphasis in original.

[109] Lois McKinney, "How Shall We Cooperate Internationally?" in Youngblood, *Cyprus*: 27–40, 28.

[110] George Patterson, "A Practical Approach: Theological Education in Honduras," in *Discipling Through TEE*, Vergil Gerber, ed. (Chicago, IL.: Moody Press, 1980): 119–35, 120.

[111] Ibid., 120.

The issues surrounding TEE as a renewal movement within global TE are particularly pertinent to this dissertation. In addition to being the "alternative" TE method of the largest scale, the rise of TEE also illustrates the persistent "schooling" nature of Western TE. Even in a self-consciously designed "protest" movement to formalized TE, the Western proclivity for schooling proved to be intractable. However, when TEE was framed within a broader commitment to evangelism and church planting, it mitigated the potentially detrimental elements within formal TE.

This particular aspect of TEE—integrating education with church-planting work—serves as an initial foray into the apostolic model of theological education that will be detailed in the following chapter. As this discussion turns to describe the potential ill-effects of Western TE in pioneer contexts, it will first make note of how an insistent focus on evangelism and church-planting, and indeed an evangelical commitment in general, does much to mitigate the potential ill-effects of the formal paradigm. When TE stands alone as an academic enterprise, and especially when it is distanced from these essential evangelical concerns, it shows increased susceptibility to the criticisms directed at formalized TE. When, however, those are integrated, formal TE can flourish, or at least avoid the major pitfalls described in the literature.

An Evangelical Economy as a Mediating Factor in Western TE

The last chapter noted the evangelical nature of the primary alternative methods of TE—the schools of the prophets, the Methodist internship and Course of Study, the varieties of

Baptist preparation, and the beginnings of the Bible College movement.[112] When TEE is placed alongside these alternative methods, and particularly those TEE modifications that focused on evangelism and church planting, a unifying thread of evangelical concern emerges. In the cases of the schools of the Prophets, the Methodists, and the haphazard in-ministry approach(es) of the Baptists, the Bible College movement, and TEE, one major unifying feature among them was a practically-focused desire for evangelism. As Bebbington pointed out about the broader evangelical movement, "One common feature is a stress on conversion …. A natural implication is a constant quest for fresh converts, and so a second characteristic of evangelicals is activism. The central task is normally evangelism."[113] It was, broadly speaking, these vital evangelical concerns that drove innovators to move outside of the established paradigm of TE.

As those alternative patterns of TE eventually formalized, the evangelical concerns were incorporated into more academically-oriented institutions. As Hart and Mohler summarized, "At pivotal moments in evangelical history, theological institutions came into existence whose purpose was to sustain evangelical identity …. Evangelicals, throughout their history, from Calvinists to Wesleyans, have founded theological schools because they believed the existing institutions were neglecting essential elements of Christian faith and witness."[114] These institutions formed a part of a broader "economy" of distinctly evangelical entities. Bebbington noted this trans-Atlantic economy as a basic

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[112] See Ch. 3, pp. 38–42 of this dissertation.

[113] David Bebbington, "Evangelicalism in Its Settings: The British and American Movements since 1940," in Mark A. Noll, David William Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700–1900* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994): 365–88, 366.

[114] Hart and Mohler, "Introduction," 12.

feature of Anglophone evangelicalism, writing “The plethora of parachurch bodies—societies, mission, ministries, and so on—to which the evangelical public often gave greater loyalty than to their churches was as much a feature of Britain as it was of America.”[115] In contexts in which there is an existing, robust evangelical economy, then, formalized TE operates as an auxiliary element—a useful, though not inherently necessary, complement to the health of the existing evangelical economy. Conversely, that broader evangelical economy serves as a counter-balance to the potential pit-falls of the formal paradigm of Western TE.

As Avery Willis, a Southern Baptist theological educator and TEE pioneer in Indonesia, made clear, “[T]heological education exists to serve churches rather than itself. It is an educational arm of the body of Christ and originates, flourishes, and finds its fulfillment within the framework and the life of the churches.”[116] Within such a framework, the potential detriments of formal TE are mitigated by an existing economy into which theological students can appropriately integrate before, during, and after their studies. In other words, the formal paradigm of TE can fulfill a vital role as a means of training and equipping leaders without the pressure to provide every element in leadership preparation.

While it is a common complaint of seminary graduates that, in spite of their education, they are unprepared for their ministry assignments,[117] the broader context of

[115] Bebbington, “Evangelicalism,” 371.

[116] Avery T. Willis, Jr., “Contextualization of Theological Education in Indonesia,” in *Discipling Through Theological Education by Extension: A Fresh Approach to Theological Education in the 1980s* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980): 153–64, 163.

[117] Cannell, *Matters*, 84–85.

an evangelical economy accommodates this lack through established channels of ministry acclimation—internships, student pastoring, junior staff positions, practicum hours, and any number of alternative means of leadership preparation and development. As Hart and Mohler have pointed out, "Attending an evangelical seminary as a student or being a member of the faculty at an evangelical school often involves becoming a part of a network of congregations, denominations, and parachurch organizations that subscribe to an evangelical expression of Christianity in doctrine, conduct, and piety."[118] Much like a professional school, then, TE in this view serves as a theoretical foundation upon which skills and professional competencies can be gradually built. In this way, the formal paradigm of TE is not, in an evangelical economy, the sole means of preparing qualified ministry leaders.[119]

In unreached contexts, however, it is precisely the lack of this evangelical economy that exacerbates the detrimental effects of the formal paradigm of TE. Theological schools in those contexts are not the products of a local Christian economy, they are the founded, funded, and sometimes staffed by theological educators or missionaries from Christian economies that are more established. In unreached contexts, then, theological schools—both by outward expectation and inward compulsion—come to bear primary, if not sole, responsibility for the preparation of ministers. While this

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[118] Hart and Mohler, "Introduction," 16.

[119] That is not to say that this is always an explicit recognition on the part of theological schools. As Cannell, *Matters*, 264, points out, "Often the *implicit assumptions* [in Western TE] were that the schools were best equipped to prepare leaders, that churches have little to no role to pay in the affirmation of suitability and giftedness, and that leadership is a matter of developing skills and acquiring information." Emphasis mine.

dynamic is present and potentially "problematic" in Western contexts, Stephens and Stelck note, "[O]verseas it is a debilitating confusion as new churches without an evolved history of theological education try to make their Bible schools and theological colleges perform the whole task of theological education."[120] In the absence of a counter-balancing evangelical economy, theological schools in unreached contexts are more susceptible to the institutional ill-effects outlined below.

This difference in context, and specifically the lack of an evangelical economy, does much to explain the vehemence with which Kinsler and others in the TEE movement criticized Western TE. The inherited, Western paradigm of TE was found wanting precisely because it had been transplanted into a relatively unchurched environment. It did not, therefore, have the latent evangelical economy to rely upon to supplement and counter-balance the formalities of TE. As international theological educator Robert Ferris has pointed out, "Perhaps it is not coincidental that some of the most creative innovations in ministry training have been pioneered by missionary educators."[121]

The Negative Effects of the Western Paradigm of TE in Unreached Contexts

As the missionary field—unreached contexts—is the focus of this dissertation, it is necessary to explore in some depth the specific effect of importing Western TE into those contexts. In this section, the major lines of critique will be summarized and examined in relation to unreached contexts and the equipping of apostolic workers. The argument will

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[120] R. Paul Stevens and Brian Stelck, "Equipping Equippers Cross-Culturally: An Experiment in the Appropriate Globalization of Theological Education," *Missiology* 21.1 (1993): 31–40, 35.

[121] Ferris, *Renewal*, 128.

elucidate how formal, Western TE is particularly ill-suited to provide the primary means of training workers in apostolic "work" in pioneer contexts.

Lack of Accessibility

The issue of accessibility in Western TE touches a host of related issues, the first of which is expense. It is generally acknowledged that TE is an expensive undertaking.[122] Even in established-church contexts where theological schools are patronized by denominational entities, seminaries are constantly underfunded, a reality that has resulted in rapid rises in American seminary tuition.[123] In Majority World contexts, and especially unreached contexts where Christian economies are emerging or non-existent, the financial factor can prove prohibitive. The establishment and maintenance of a Bible school, Bible college, or a seminary is a major financial and logistical undertaking. In the absence of a latent Christian economy to subsidize part of those costs, many Majority world theological institutions struggle financially.[124]

The disparity between the cost of TE and the local economies of the Majority World is a consistent critique among theological educators around the world. In the Global survey on TE issued by the WCC, surveyors acknowledged the following,

> It is increasingly difficult to financially maintain a proper institution of theological education as a) funds from the West are dwindling, b) supporting

[122] Grahame Cheesman, "Competing Paradigms in Theological Education Today," *ERT* (1993) 17, no. 4.: 484–99, 492.

[123] According to Ruger and Meinzer, "Toil," 8, "Tuition rates for the M.Div. degree have risen steadily for the past twenty years …. Students in 2011 paid an average of 150 to 200 percent more in tuition than their counterparts in 1991; in real (after inflation) terms they paid between 88 to 139 percent more."

[124] Choo Lak Yeow, "Financial Viability and Global Solidarity for Theological Education" in Dietrich Werner, David Esterline, Namsoon Kang, and Joshva Raja, eds., *Handbook of Theological Education in World Christianity: Theological Perspectives, Ecumenical Trends, Regional Surveys* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Pub, 2010): 329–34, 330.

> churches are struggling financially due to increased costs caused by global economic crisis and c) an increasing number of students come without having any sufficient funds to contribute.[125]

This cost disparity is made more acute by the trend toward greater standard-ization. The process of accreditation "forces an institution to spend money to develop systems that are 'standard' for approved institutions."[126] In the case of contemporary India, for instance, the cost of TE places it out of the reach of most Indian Christians. In 2010, according to an Indian theological educator, "[O]btaining [a] M.Div. from a reputed seminary will annually cost more than Rs 50,000/- [approx. $1,000] and the cost of residential M.Th. and Ph.D. has exceeded more than one lakh rupees (Rs 100,000) [approx. $2,000] per year."[127] In 2010 the per capita income of India, by contrast, was $4,270.[128] Given these costs, Gnanaraj concludes that, "Without the sponsorship from a church or mission organization, it is difficult for independent, middle-class candidates to pursue TE in India."[129] The problem is not limited to India. In Africa as well, "[T]he classical institutions for theological training are very expensive. So they are inaccessible and remain elitist, in the sense that they are reserved to only a few privileged who can afford it."[130]

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[125] Study Group, "Challenges," 88.

[126] Paul R. Gupta and Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, *Breaking Tradition to Accomplish Vision: Training Leaders for a Church-Planting Movement: A Case from India* (Winona Lake, IN: BMH Books, 2006), 23.

[127] D, Gnanaraj, "Current Trends in Evangelical Theological Education in India." [article originally published in the Journal of NATA (2012)], 5. http://academia.edu/2041199/Current_Trends_in_Evangelical_Theological_Education_in_India.

[128] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD?locations=IN.

[129] Gnanaraj, "Trends," 182.

[130] Daniel Bourdanne, "Supporting God's Church," 2010. http://theologicaleducation.net/articles/view.htm?id=23.

In addition to cost, language serves as a significant barrier to aspiring theological students in the Majority world. Western European languages, and especially English, serve as the primary languages in which global theological education is taught.[131] The state of the situation has changed little from the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, where it was noted that, "The [theological] schools used English text books, or text books which had been translated from the English, which were far from suitable to the needs of the students."[132] According to the WCC report from 2009,

> [T]he protestant missionary movement indirectly (but primarily) promoted English language and English forms of teaching and learning as the new dominant educational model (replacing Latin as the lingua franca of the Middle Ages and Roman Catholic Christianity) and in much of World Christianity the need to culturally and linguistically diversify teaching programmes and theological textbooks for theological education for non-western cultures still has not yet been dealt with sufficiently.[133]

Given the preponderance of English in global TE, English proficiency is a normal requirement for academic participation. One Indian theological educator estimates that, "… only 50% of the students come with the level of linguistic competency required for the degree programs in the seminaries in India, with the exception of few elite evangelical seminaries. Such students struggle to cope with English for at least two semesters before they gain the grasp of language."[134] In the sense that English proficiency is an academic pre-requisite, it reflects the broader issue of educational requirements in

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[131] Namsoon Kang, "Envisioning *Postcolonial* Theological Education: Dilemmas and Possibilities," in Werner, et. al., *Handbook*, 30–41, 36–39.
[132] Lienemann-Perrin, *Training*, 5.
[133] Study Group, "Challenges," 17.
[134] Gnanaraj, "Current," 5.

admissions to theological schools. Academic preparation and level of schooling prove to be significant barriers to aspiring leaders as well.

Though academic prerequisites for global theological schools vary from context to context, the trend toward greater standardization inevitably carries with it a concern for higher academic admission standards. This trend had its beginnings in the 19th century when the influence of the German university system began to move the standards for TE toward a post-graduate orientation. As a result, college graduation became more and more the norm as a pre-requisite within American TE.[135] By mid-century, the ATS had adopted the standard that "not more than 10% of the student body should be non-graduate."[136] Within global TE, standards of academic pre-requisites have been more flexible, as, given the varying degrees of educational availability in member countries, regional bodies like ATA have had to accommodate by allowing for more variance in the educational standards of prospective applicants.[137] The expectation for educational attainment as a pre-requisite to further degrees, however, operates as a basic assumption regardless of the exact standards.

The combined effect of these several elements in formal TE—expense, English predominance, and educational pre-requisites—is to effectively limit the pool of well-trained apostolic "workers" by restricting access to TE. The historical example of the difference in educational attainments between the 19th century Presbyterians on one hand and the Methodists and Baptists on the other offers a striking illustration of this dynamic.

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[135] Kelly, *Theological*, 29–30.
[136] Feilding, *Education*, 48.
[137] ATA, *Manual*, 31.

By the late 18th century in America, the Presbyterians had largely committed themselves to a college-educated clergy.[138] As a result of this adherence to high academic standards, the Presbyterians faced a chronic shortage of pastors. The *Minutes* of the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1804 also recorded that over half of all reporting Presbyterian churches had vacancies in the pastorate.[139]

The Methodists and Baptists, on the other hand, had an ample supply of preachers as they did not require collegiate education as a pre-requisite to the ministry.[140] As Stark and Finke point out, "Both denominations developed systems that made it easy for gifted laymen to enter the ministry."[141] While Methodists and Baptists were often scorned by other denominations for their lack of education, their general level of education often matched that of the people among whom they ministered.[142] Furthermore, the Methodist Course of Study provided a thorough theological basis for the corps of circuit-riders and elders that spread across the American West.[143]

Even when the Baptists began to institutionalize TE, they held to their convictions of providing easy on-ramps into the ministry. The Kelly Report of 1924 noted that there were, "fifteen institutions that appear to adhere to no definite scholastic standards for admission …. In this group are the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (Texas),

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[138] Finke and Stark, *Churching*, 80–81.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Stark and Finke record that the Methodists and Baptists faced no such lack of ministers, writing, "In contrast, the Baptists and the Methodists had a surplus of available clergy and thus could find plenty of pastors to move west with the people. As a result, the Baptists and the Methodists were usually the only churches operating in the newer market areas." Ibid., 82.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid., 78.

[143] See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

which reports an enrollment last year of 796 resident students and 917 in the extension department, and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Kentucky), which reports 685 resident students."[144] As a result, Southern Baptists were the largest denominational student population in Kelly's survey.[145]

James P. Boyce, the founder and first President of the Southern Baptist Seminary, institutionalized this value from the outset, as he proposed that "[T]wo thirds of the student body in the theological seminary be comprised of those who had indeed been called to preach, but lacked the benefits of classical preparation."[146] In doing so, Boyce had an eye on the detrimental effects of requiring collegiate education as a pre-requisite to the ministry. In 1856, while still a professor at Furman University, Boyce outlined his proposal for Southern Baptist TE that eventually came to fruition with the opening of the Southern Baptist Seminary in 1859. In that address, he decried the effects of heightened academic requirements on the availability and usefulness of the ministry, writing,

> It [the requirement for collegiate education] has restrained many from entering upon the work, and has prevented the arrangement of such a course of study as would have enabled those who have entered upon it to fit themselves in a short time for valuable service. The consequences have been, that the number of those who have felt themselves called of God to the Ministry, has been disproportioned to the wants of the Churches; and of that number but a very small proportion have entered it with a proper preparation for even common usefulness.[147]

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[144] Kelly, *Theological*, 29–30.

[145] Ibid., 163.

[146] George, "Baptist," 33–34.

[147] James P. Boyce, *Three Changes in Theological Institutions: An Inaugural Address Delivered before the Board of Trustees of The Furman University the Night Before the Annual Commencement, July 31, 1856 (*Greenville, SC: C. J. Elford's Book and Job Press, 1856), 12.

Boyce's concern was not only to produce well-qualified ministers but also to accommodate the "wants of the Churches," a notable desire on the part of a future seminary President.

As this brief example demonstrates, the formal paradigm of Western TE carries innate tendencies toward restricting the prospective pool of qualified workers, whether by being prohibitively expensive or by enforcing elevated academic admission standards (English proficiency/college education). While these concerns about accessibility lie on the front end of the process of TE, there are associated concerns as to the end product of an "educated" minister produced by this system, particularly in how well a TE graduate can integrate into a local ministry context.

Academic Orientation and Isolation

A well-worn critique of the output of Western, formal TE is that of an educated "elite" distanced from their prospective congregants or field of work.[148] The heritage of elitism within Western TE has explicit roots in the Protestant "economy" of Reformation Europe and the American Colonies. The educated minister played a key role within local society, as Marsden clarified, writing,

> Higher education was thus a keystone of the edifice of social authority. Not only did it separate men from women; just as important, it identified those men who were called by their spiritual and intellectual qualifications to be the interpreters of Scripture and thus those who would maintain the fundamental principles on which the community would run.[149]

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[148] George, "Baptist," 32.
[149] Marsden, *Soul*, 41.

In the 19th century, the advent of the German university articulated the ideal of an intellectual elite within a more robustly academic paradigm. The German commitment to *Wissenschaft* promoted the highest levels of academic research. As Cannell points out, "Significantly, the only degree offered at the University of Berlin in its formative years was the doctorate."[150] As higher education became more accessible across America, German ideals were reconciled to the increasingly middle-class constituency the universities serviced.[151]

And yet the product of Western TE was still perceived to carry a residual elitism.[152] The formal paradigm of Western TE contributes to this perceived "elite" isolation of the scholarly theologian, by constructing, oftentimes unintentionally, an infrastructure that revolves around the academy. As shown above, the system of Western TE continues to orbit around the classroom. The combined patterns of lectures, study of texts, exams, and credentialing reinforce and incentivize a decidedly academic orientation to ministry preparedness, the result of which is a minister trained to excel within that structure. The problem, however, is that the scholastic system of preparation does not easily cohere with the realities of ministry, a point detailed further in the section below. For now, suffice it to say that the system of academic preparation orients the prospective minister toward the academy. While this is rarely the stated intention of any particular school, especially evangelically-oriented seminaries, it nevertheless is a recurring effect

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[150] Cannell, *Matters*, 139.
[151] Miller, *Profession*, 248.
[152] Mouw, "Challenge of Evangelical Theological Education," 286.

of the academic formalism of Western TE.[153] Harkness has pointed out the assumptive nature of this academic orientation, writing, "Of concern to educationists is that the adoption of this model [the schooling model of TE] is not usually consciously considered."[154]

This feature of Western TE is called the "hidden curriculum." The "hidden curriculum" is "a set of learning experiences that are tacit, implicit, informal and (usually) unstructured."[155] Furthermore, according to Shaw, "[T]he hidden curriculum generally overrides the explicit curriculum—that is, if the explicit curriculum and the hidden curriculum conflict, the message learned will likely be that embedded within the hidden curriculum, not that taught in the explicit curriculum."[156] In a formal TE setting, the overriding lesson is that, "students are taught that 'schooling'='education.' In virtually every theological school, grading and other forms of approval hinge on the cognitive mastery of biblical, theological and historical data which can be expressed on papers or in examinations."[157] The cumulative effect of this "hidden curriculum" is to orient the students' attentions toward the needs of the academy instead of those of the church or the surrounding context.

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[153] Pazmiño, *Foundational*, 13, argues "In discussing Christian education, one readily becomes conscious of its 'pre-paradigmatic' character. Thomas Kuhn has suggested this term to describe an area of study or academic discipline that has not developed a paradigm—a dominant and widely accepted understanding, framework, or concept that serves to guide all thought and practice." Robert W. Pazmiño, *Foundational Issues in Christian Education: An Introduction in Evangelical Perspective*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008).

[154] Harkness, "De-schooling," 143.

[155] Jeff Astley, "Christian Worship and the Hidden Curriculum of Christian Learning," in *The Contours of Christian Education*, Jeff Astley and David Day, eds. (Essex: McCrimmons, 1992): 141–52, 141.

[156] Shaw, *Transforming*, 81.

[157] Ibid., 82.

This perceived orientation toward educating an academic elite, and the resulting clergy/lay distinction, was at the heart of the protest movement embodied in Theological Education by Extension (TEE). As TEE educators pointed out, Western TE tended to increase the isolation of the clergy from the laity, a dynamic sometimes exacerbated by the cultural proclivities of the local context.[158] Indeed, Western notions of the importance of the "professional" ministry were communicated to the recipient cultures, as in the case of India where one commentator notes, "But with the concepts of ministry imbibed from the missionary era, the ordained ministry was often held in such high esteem that there was a preoccupation with its training to the neglect of the training of the laity."[159] The cumulative effect of this isolation was to effectively distance the trained minister from his prospective ministry field, a problem that Farley referred to as "*distancing* or *distanciation*."[160]

This element in Western TE—the promotion of a highly-educated clergy—is a hallmark of a relatively established, Christendom context. Miller notably summarized the progression of academic formalization across the American frontier, identifying the three successive "stages" of TE as follows: "The Pioneer or Colonial Stage" in which a variety of ministerial training patterns are undertaken; "The Liberal Arts Stage" in which "churches built liberal arts colleges to prepare clergy and laity for professional life"; and

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[158] Conn, "Excellence," 345.

[159] Siga Arles, "Theological Education for the Mission of the Church in India, 1947–1987: Theological Education in Relation to the Identification of the Task of Mission and the Development of Ministries in India, 1947–1987, with Special Reference to the Church of South India," Ph.D. diss. (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1991) 232.

[160] Ott, *Beyond*, 228.

"The Seminary Stage" in which "The churches built seminaries when a state become densely settled enough to enter the Union."[161] A more settled, established Christian economy facilitated the rise of the seminaries. In that context, higher education contributed to the "gentrifying" effect among the clergy, leading many graduates to gravitate toward stable, well-established fields of ministry instead of pioneering in new or less-established places.[162]

Ranson's report on the state of Indian TE from the 1940s demonstrated this orientation toward the established church in that context. The evident assumption throughout the report, and particularly in the comments on a "qualified ministry," directs the aim of TE toward the already-established Christian community. Ranson wrote, "[W]e are convinced that it is the will of Christ for His Church in India that there should be a regular, separated ministry, and that the recruitment, training and maintenance of such a ministry is a task of supreme importance for the Church."[163] Furthermore, according to Ranson's recommendations, "[T]he aim should be to have one ordained minister for each Christian community of not more than one thousand (or, say, two hundred families), in an area not too great to allow frequent and efficient ministration."[164] According to Ranson's recommendation, Indian TE needed to equip a "separated" class of educated leaders that would conceive of its primary clientele as the local Christian community.

The critical literature cited above shows how that perception of TE, and the resulting orientation of ministers toward the academy and the church, has largely

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[161] Miller, *Intellect*, 205.
[162] Stark and Finke, *Churching*, 79–80.
[163] Ranson, *Minister*, 64–5.
[164] Ibid., 71.

remained intact in Majority World contexts. The cumulative effect of this orientation is that the Western paradigm of TE can, if left unchecked, effectively inhibit the sending of qualified apostolic workers into pioneer fields. The formal scholastic structure of education tends to orient graduates back toward the academic structure of the academy or the context of established churches, and not to the tasks of pioneer evangelism, discipleship, and church planting that form the core of the apostolic "work."

A notable Indian case study of this effect is the history of the Hindustan Bible Institute (HBI) based out of Chennai, India. Dr. Paul Gupta, now President of HBI, recounts how HBI, from its beginnings as a training school for village pastors and church planters, journeyed toward academic standardization. Gupta recorded, "Responding to pressure from church leaders to seek accreditation of its degrees, in 1967 HBI applied for affiliation with the Serampore University."[165] In the process of affiliation, Serampore "imposed regulations and changes that caused the institution to move away from its priorities, purpose, and values."[166] More specifically,

> The more we [HBI faculty] evaluated the programs and policies of accreditation, the more we realized that we had sold our birthright. HBI was now serving the purpose of the university …. We had sacrificed our vision to disciple the nation on the altar of establishment interests for the legitimacy of programs and degrees.[167]

Gupta's lament reflects the threat of academic orientation referenced in this section. In the interest of standardizing TE to appease an "established"-church community, a prior commitment to apostolic "work" ("vision to disciple the nation") was forfeited. This

[165] Gupta and Lingenfelter, *Breaking*, 14.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., 17.

tension lies at the heart of the current HBI vision to equip apostolic "workers" to effectively engage the villages of India.[168] In Gupta's assessment,

> The church in India can never develop enough pastors in a formal context to fulfill the task of distilling India for Christ. The task is so complex it will have to be done by those who remain in their villages, who are comfortable with their context and accepted by those local people.[169]

Incoherence from Theory to Practice

The fraught relationship between theory and practice in Western TE is a recurring theme in the critical literature. Bernhard Ott points out in his evaluation of evangelical TE, "There is a growing consensus among theological educators that the integration of *theory and practice* is a point of great dissatisfaction in contemporary theological training."[170] According to Stevens and Stelck, "In Western education there is no clarity about how theory and practice should relate."[171] Majority world educators have noted the dissonance in theory and practice as well, as one Asian commentator has observed, "Another pedagogical weakness is Western theological education's inadequate understanding of how theory relates to practice. The theory-to-practice, study-followed-by-field-education approach, although widely deemed deficient, still undergirds most seminary teaching and learning."[172]

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[168] The stated vision of HBI is this: "We want to see a dynamic transformational church in every village and colony of every town and city of India." Hindustan Bible Institute, "Vision," http://www.hbionline.org/about-hbi.php
[169] Ibid., 52.
[170] Ott, *Beyond*, 224. Emphasis in original.
[171] Stevens and Stelck, "Equipping," 37.
[172] Siew, "Asia," 62.

Ott points out that the “predominantly deductive” teaching methodology undergirds the problems in applying TE theory to practice. In his analysis,

> This means that the educational process is built upon the presupposition that *theoria* is a given truth set which can be learned beforehand, then applied to real-life situations. This implies that theory precedes practice and can be mastered on a cognitive, intellectual level without involvement and commitment to the historical situation.[173]

As shown above, criticisms regarding the faulty relationship of theory and practice abound in the literature on TE.[174] As missiologist Christopher Little has pointed out, “[T]he church should not only be preoccupied with orthodoxy, that is, ‘right thinking,’ but equally, orthopraxy, that is, ‘right action.’ In reality, orthodoxy needs orthopraxy in order to maintain balance and safeguard the missional endeavor.”[175] For the purposes of this dissertation, the “right action” in question is especially the apostolic “work” as defined in Chapter 2. If the constituent aim of TE within pioneer contexts is to promote just that kind of “work,” then TE should be oriented definitively toward cultivating right *praxis* (apostolic “work”) alongside of right *theoria*.

Furthermore, it is not simply the case that traditional TE fails to actively promote that “work.” In some cases, by virtue of its inaccessibility and orientation toward the academy, it can effectively inhibit the manifestation of that praxis within the lives of TE students. As Ott points out, the Western, deductive model of learning “… tends to avoid

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[173] Ott, *Beyond*, 226.

[174] See Brian V. Hill, “Theological Education: Is It out of Practice?” *Evangelical Review of Theology* 10, no. 2 (1986): 174–82, 176.

[175] Christopher R. Little, *Mission in the Way of Paul: With Special Reference to Twenty-First Century Christian Mission*. Ph.D. diss. (Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, 2003), 93.

the student's growth toward maturity, and it leads students to a tremendous degree of accumulation of abstract knowledge and *alienates them from practice*."[176] This alienation from effective practice has desultory effects at the field level. Instead of equipping workers to engage pioneer fields, formal education often has the effect of erecting intellectual barriers to carrying out apostolic "work." Based on the critical literature surveyed briefly above, it would appear that this incoherence between theory and practice in formal, Western TE is an endemic pattern, the results of which are potentially prohibitive to apostolic "work" in pioneer environments.

Conclusion

The first section of this chapter outlined the primary elements of the Western, formal paradigm to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the formal nature of the present paradigm. The discussion then turned to an evaluation of the critical literature directed toward that Western paradigm. In that section extended attention was paid to the TEE movement as a summary statement on the primary criticisms of Western TE in Majority World contexts.

The latter part of the chapter offered a detailed analysis of the primary ways in which Western, formal TE can potentially inhibit apostolic "work" in pioneer, unreached contexts—the lack of accessibility, an academic orientation resulting in dislocation from ministry, and incoherence from theory to practice. The active importation of the Western, formal model in unreached contexts offers significant challenges to the cultivation of

[176] Bernhard, *Beyond*, 227. Emphasis mine.

apostolic “work” in the pioneer fields of the world. Given the evident impediments to that “work” presented by the Western paradigm, the next chapter will propose an alternative paradigm for TE in unreached contexts. That paradigm draws from the practice and writing of those who set about the apostolic “work,” and is therefore referred to as “apostolic” TE.

CHAPTER 5
APOSTOLIC THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

The last chapter detailed how Western TE is ill-suited to provide adequate training and equipping for those who go about apostolic "work" in unreached contexts. This chapter aims at formulating an alternative paradigm for TE in unreached contexts, called "apostolic theological education." The chapter will present this paradigm of apostolic TE from within the broader concept of apostolic "work" outlined in Chapter 2. That is, the apostolic "world" and "work" established in Chapter 2 provide the theoretical and missiological subtext for the proposed paradigm.

Before turning to the specific elements of apostolic TE, this chapter will first explore two proximate proposals for the paradigm of TE presented here. The first of these is Robert Banks' "missional" proposal for TE.[1] Banks argues for a "missional" approach to TE, the outlines of which offer a degree of theoretical underpinning to the present proposal. Banks' insistence that patterns of TE be biblically-derived serves as an ideological predecessor to the present argument. The second proximate proposal is Jeff Reed's Church-Based Theological Education (C-BTE).[2] Reed, working through BILD International, has developed a TE curriculum designed to address the shortcomings of

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[1] Robert J. Banks, *Reenvisioning Theological Education: Exploring a Missional Alternative to Current Models* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).

[2] Jeff Reed, "Church-Based Theological Education: Creating a New Paradigm," http://www.bild.org/philosophy/ParadigmPapers.html.

Western TE. As outlined below, some of Reed's foundational assumptions about TE also serve as theoretical precursors to the present argument.

Once the proximate proposals have been outlined, the chapter will then turn to a biblical argument for apostolic TE. That section will first overview the NT concept of "teaching" as an essential part of the apostolic "work." With that overview in place, we will then outline the four rudimentary elements of apostolic TE. These elements are presented as four fundamental "orientations" within apostolic TE, referred to here as In-Mission Orientation, Practice-Orientation, Transference-Orientation, and Healthy Doctrine-Orientation. The argument will examine each of these orientations in turn.

As in the case of discovering the "apostolic work," the argument for apostolic TE proceeds from an explicitly biblical appeal to the patterns of work and ministry Paul and his co-workers demonstrated and propounded. The impulse at work here demands that the paradigm of TE be unflinchingly derivative from the Bible. This biblically-derivative approach has its detractors. Mark Young, citing Bosch's earlier skepticism in this regard, wrote,

> Claiming biblical authenticity for any contemporary form of theological education because it allegedly replicates the training models of Jesus or Paul is hermeneutically dangerous and philosophically naive …. A careful analysis of Scripture can lead to biblically based convictions about theological education, but we may not claim that any contemporary expression of those convictions is necessarily biblical (Bosch 1992, 23).[3]

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[3] Mark Young, "Planning Theological Education in Mission Settings: A Context-Sensitive Approach," in *With an Eye on the Future: Development and Mission in the 21st Century: Essays in Honor of Ted W. Ward*, Ted Warren Ward, Duane Elmer, Lois McKinney, and Muriel I Elmer, eds., (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1996): 69–86, 69–70. Bosch, *Transforming*, 24, wrote, "The point is that there are no simplistic or obvious moves from the New Testament to our contemporary missionary practice. The Bible does not function in such a direct way."

Though Young does not specify the difference between a “form” of theological education and “convictions” about it, and what implications that may have for modern application, one may surmise from his comments that he is skeptical of arguments—like that of this dissertation—for a relatively “close” approximation to the apostolic example.

The argument of Chapter Two responded to objections of this type in the discussion of the applicability of the apostolic pattern to modern-day methods of mission.[4] To safeguard against the kind of hermeneutical danger that Young referenced, the argument outlined an apostolic hermeneutic. Following the exegetical markers of recurrence and coalescence, the NT reveals a biblical pattern of apostolic “work” that serves a paradigm for the present missionary activity of the church. That “work” is paradigmatic in the sense that contemporary missionary practice in unreached environments should, as far as possible, approximate the apostolic pattern. The present argument for apostolic TE is based upon the same hermeneutical approach with the same expectation of paradigmatic application. When applied to the question of TE, the apostolic hermeneutic presents a biblical pattern of theological training—apostolic TE—that is located within the broader paradigm of apostolic “work.”

To be precise—and to answer the potential charge of philosophical naiveté—the argument of this chapter, and of the dissertation at large, is not for a “form” of TE, though the conclusions offered here have implications for how TE is formulated. Rather, the aim is to, in Banks’ words, “put together at least the lineaments of a biblical approach to ministry formation.”[5] Those “lineaments” are the foundational elements in apostolic

[4] See Chapter 2, p. 71 of this dissertation.
[5] Banks, *Reenvisioning*, 80.

TE, just as the aspects outlined in Chapter 2 serve as the foundational elements of apostolic "work."

The resulting picture of apostolic TE will serve as an elemental paradigm for contemporary models of TE in unreached contexts. The integrity of the paradigm, and any such evaluation that would follow from it, depends upon the degree to which it derives from Scripture, and so the bulk of this chapter is committed to describing the biblical nature of apostolic TE. The two proximate proposals outlined below serve as ideological antecedents in this emphasis on the biblical emphasis in contemporary TE, and so to those the argument now turns.

Proximate Proposals for Mission-Centered TE

This section explores two proximate proposals for apostolic TE. While neither explicitly use the concept of "apostolic work" employed throughout this dissertation, they are nevertheless akin to the missionary impulses at work in the present proposal. Robert Banks referred to his model of TE as "mission-oriented" or "missional."[6] Jeff Reed summarizes the TE approach of his organization, BILD, as being "in the way of Christ and His Apostles."[7] The models surveyed offer important insights into the biblical pattern of apostolic TE, and so accordingly some of those insights will be integrated into the paradigm proposed in this chapter.

[6] Ibid., 142.
[7] BILD International, "Philosophy," https://www.bild.org/philosophy/the-way-of-christ-and-his-apostles.

Robert Banks' Missional Model

In *Reenvisioning Theological Education*, Australian theologian Banks outlined his proposal for "missional" TE. Banks distinguished his use of "mission" as follows, "By mission I mean not just 'mission-oriented,' but an education undertaken with a view to what God is doing in the world, considered from a global perspective …."[8] His definition of "missional," furthermore, carries a direct relationship to actual ministry practice, as Banks made clear, writing,

> [T]he "missional" model of theological education places the main emphasis on theological mission, on hands-on partnership in ministry based on interpreting the tradition and reflecting on practice with a strong spiritual and communal dimension. On this view, theological education is primarily though not exclusively concerned with actual *service*—informed and transforming—of the *kingdom* and therefore primarily focuses on acquiring cognitive, spiritual-moral, and practical *obedience*.[9]

Banks offered his missional proposal as an alternative to four existing "models" of TE, which he classified as: the "Classical" model that "places greatest emphasis on acquiring cognitive *wisdom*;" the "Vocational" model that "places the main emphasis on theological interpretation, on developing a skill in relating Christian tradition to contemporary issues;" the "Dialectical" model, "an overarching *vision* or *practice* that focuses on God but also affects personal, vocational, and societal life" and that focuses on acquiring "*insight*;" and the "Confessional" model that "is primarily though not exclusively concerned with the *content*—doctrinal and ethical—of Christian *revelation* and therefore focuses mainly on acquiring cognitive *knowledge*."[10] Indeed, Banks framed

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[8] Ibid., 142.
[9] Ibid., 144. Emphasis in original.
[10] Ibid., 143. Emphasis in original.

his proposal within the critical commentary on TE stemming from Farley's critiques and the alternative proposals that followed from it.[11] As he argued, a "more satisfying approach to solving the problem of fragmentation in theological education is to insist that it is not *theologia* or *apologia* that gives coherence to the enterprise but *missiologia*."[12]

Banks' missional approach, instead of offering a concrete proposal for a model of TE, outlined major emphases for moving TE in a missional direction. The first of these emphases was an intentional focus on the biblical material as the primary source for discerning a contemporary pattern of TE. According to Banks, "[I]n the debate so far [on the nature of TE] there has been little reflection on what the Bible might contribute to our understanding of theological education."[13] While Banks noted, "[W]e should always be cautious of going to the Bible for methods or structures to use now," he was nevertheless insistent that contemporary approaches resonate "in certain fundamental ways with these earlier approaches."[14] As such Banks looked explicitly at the teaching methods of Jesus and Paul as a foundational source for his missional paradigm of TE.

Banks distinguished the second major emphasis, an in-ministry orientation, from other approximate proposals. For Banks, the three core outcomes of TE—personal formation, theological reflection, and ministry development—are most effectively knitted

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[11] Ibid., 58. Farley's *Theologia* sparked the debate on proposals for the "unity" of theological education. For Farley's proposal and subsequent influence, see Ch. 4, pp. 20–21 of this dissertation.

[12] Ibid., 146. Emphasis in original.

[13] Ibid., 73.

[14] Ibid., 150.

together when incorporated into an "in-ministry" model of TE.[15] This "in-ministry" approach is, according to Banks, the closest approximate to Jesus' teaching style, where "[I]t was not *preparation* of the Twelve *for* mission that was uppermost in his mind, but *engagement* of the Twelve *in* mission."[16]

The final emphasis in Banks' approach to his missional TE is integration into existing Christian community as the essential context for ministry formation, as he wrote,

> In the early church, education took place primarily through the dynamics of communal life, as well as through ongoing family, workplace, and city involvements …. It was this common life together, oriented around participatory worship and fellowship, and directed towards obedience and mission, that constituted both the setting and the essential content of their theological education.[17]

Banks emphasized the connection to a teacher or mentor who practically demonstrates the intended "outcomes" for his or her students. Building from the biblical patterns of Jesus' and Paul's teaching methods, Banks argued that the active role of teachers as modelers and co-workers is a fundamental piece in missional TE.

According to Banks, ministry formation in the NT included a "key figure" around whom a varied group of "trainees" cohered. The purpose of these groups, moreover, was "… active service or mission in furthering the kingdom, as initially defined by a key figure and progressively clarified by the whole group."[18] Banks argued that this NT pattern should continue to inform the present missional model of TE. For contemporary, missional TE, "At its center should be a living and working partnership with an

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[15] Ibid., 226.
[16] Ibid., 111. Emphasis in original.
[17] Ibid., 220–1.
[18] Ibid., 123.

experienced person who, for different periods of time, offers his or her whole self to those in such a group."[19]

Banks' proposal for missional TE—and particularly the three emphases outlined above—provides seminal theoretical material for the apostolic approach to TE. Banks showed a prior commitment to discerning and appropriately applying the biblical outlines of ministry formation in his missional model of TE. Furthermore, Banks' commitment to "service" or "mission" as one of the primary aims of ministry formation serves as a type of forerunner to the focus on apostolic "work" within the present proposal. Finally, Banks acknowledged the crucial role of the "mentor" or "teacher" as a model within the biblical picture of TE. In important ways, then, Banks' proposal provides the initial theoretical forays into the apostolic model of TE developed in more detail below.

Specifically, the ways in which the present proposal develops Banks' work is to more closely articulate the nature of the "mission" (apostolic "work") in the missional model; to clearly define the intended context (unreached); and to develop and explain the "transference-orientation" of apostolic TE that receives little attention in Banks' treatment. In sum, Banks' proposal should be viewed as a theoretical antecedent to the present proposal.

BILD International and Church-Based Theological Education

Jeff Reed, the founder and CEO of BILD International, cast his model of "Church-Based Theological Education" (C-BTE) as an alternative paradigm to the prevailing models of

[19] Ibid., 126.

Western TE.[20] In introducing his model, Reed acknowledged his debt to the Theological Education by Extension (TEE) movement as a precursor to his proposal. He noted, however,

> It was generally assumed that TEE was on the decline, and in many places, rather than becoming the best of both worlds by supplying organized theological study in an in-service context, it became the worst of both worlds, marked by undisciplined, unaccountable study and poor mentoring of educational experiences.[21]

The apparent failings of TEE stemmed from the fact that it, like "most theological education renewal in the last few decades has centered around the adaptation and adjustment of an old paradigm."[22] Reed's proposal was an alternative paradigm he called Church-Based Theological Education (C-BTE).[23]

In Reed's formulation of C-BTE, he argued that leadership training in the Bible was inherently church-based.[24] As such, the "two basic principles" of BILD's ministry philosophy are:

> 1. The Church is at the center of God's redemptive work during this age, and God has revealed an administration for the Church (Ephesians 2:11–3:12).
> 2. Every aspect of Christian ministry (evangelism, discipleship, missions, theological education, theology, etc.) needs to find its identity and purpose in building up the Church and to align itself with the revealed administration.[25]

Reed furthermore outlined some of the distinctives of his approach to training leaders for this "administration." In the first place, theological training "took place in the context of

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[20] Jeff Reed, "Church-Based Theological Education: Creating a New Paradigm," http://www.bild.org/philosophy/ParadigmPapers.html.
[21] Ibid., 1.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., 7.
[24] Ibid., 8.
[25] Jeff Reed, "Ministry Philosophy," http://www.bild.org/philosophy/Overview.html.

ministry."[26] This training was, furthermore, "viewed as an entrusting of the ministry to faithful men by faithful men who were doing the work of ministry."[27] In addition, he noted, "Confirming of those trained was fundamentally the responsibility of leaders at a local church level."[28] Finally, Reed stated, "Training of leaders was not viewed as an end in itself or as an entity separate from the church, but it was always understood to be a matter of establishing churches."[29]

Reed documented his theological and missiological foundations in a series of "Paradigm Papers," where he outlined not only "Church-Based Theological Education," but also "Church-Based Missions" and "Church-Based Theology."[30] He furthermore institutionalized his ideas through the establishment of BILD International and its associated Antioch School of Church Planting and Leadership Development. BILD International offers "Global Church-Based Theological Education," designed for "Accelerating Church Planting Movements Worldwide by Training Leaders in 'the Way of Christ and His Apostles.'"[31]

The BILD International program is a fully-integrated model founded upon three pillars: a specific philosophical paradigm, a carefully-designed curriculum, and a global network of BILD partners and church planting organizations.[32] The first pillar is the "new paradigm" of TE represented by Reed's C-BTE model, "based on the way Christ and His

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] All available at: http://www.bild.org/download/paradigmPapers.
[31] BILD Brochure, 1
[32] Ibid., 3.

Apostles developed leaders, very different from our institutional model."[33] The C-BTE paradigm follows the "Pauline Cycle," a progression of church planting work that is "built from a careful study of Paul's four missionary journeys in the book of Acts."[34] It is comprised of three fundamental steps conceived of as an on-going cycle of church-planting activity, which Reed summarized as "Evangelize Strategic Cities," "Establish Local Churches," "Entrust to Faithful Men."[35]

The second pillar is an extensive curriculum that is, rather than simply a collection of "courses," the "whole learning system" of BILD.[36] The "core ingredients" of that learning system are derived from Paul's patterns, and consist of "Context (in-ministry training)," "Content (mastery of the Scriptures)," and "Assessment (qualifications)."[37] The curriculum is designed to foster leadership training across five levels of leaders within church-planting work: Grassroots (Level 1), Overseers and Assistants (Level 2), Vocational Leadership (Level 3), Regional Leadership (Level 4), and National Leadership (Level 5).[38]

The final of the three pillars of the BILD system is a "Modern Day Complex Apostolic Network" comprised of "Partner Hubs, Networks of Partners, and Individual Partners all linked together by BILD Associates—leaders who move in and among these churches, church networks, and church-planting movements for their establishment and

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[33] Ibid., 4.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid., 8.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

the ongoing progress of the gospel in their villages, towns, cities, countries, and ultimately their civilizations."[39] BILD presently focuses on India, "where 90,000 leaders are currently training in BILD programs and are on course for training 1 million leaders."[40] Furthermore, prospective partners can apply to certify their institutions to grant degrees through BILD's Antioch School of Church Planting and Leadership Development, an entity accredited through the Distance Education Accrediting Commission (DEAC).[41]

BILD International offers a model of TE that is integrated from its philosophical roots to its curriculum to its partnership structure. Reed's proposal shows a marked affinity to the present argument for apostolic TE, even more than Banks' model. Just as with Banks' model, then, Reed's BILD proposal provides initial theoretical forays into the apostolic model of TE developed in more detail below. Specifically, the ways in which the present dissertation develops Reed's position are to more closely and carefully articulate the biblical foundations of apostolic "work" and the unreached "context" for that work by means of the apostolic hermeneutic. Additionally, Chapter Two of this dissertation outlined a biblical and theological basis for the contemporary application of those foundations. The argument of this chapter will, furthermore, present an extended

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[39] Ibid., 15.

[40] Ibid.

[41] According to the *Antioch School Handbook*, 13, the DEAC is "a recognized member of the Council for Higher Education Accreditation" and "is listed by the U.S. Department of Education as a nationally recognized accrediting agency.
http://www.antiochschool.edu/download/general/antiochSchoolHandbook.pdf

exegetical argument for each of the elements of apostolic TE, along with some distinctive articulations of each element within the framework of apostolic "work." Finally, while the C-BTE paradigm is applied to a specific "model" of TE, the current proposal is offered as an evaluative paradigm through which other proposals for TE in unreached contexts can be critiqued and modified.

Apostolic Theological Education

Chapter Two outlined the apostolic "world" and "work" as the context for apostolic TE. Within the broader apostolic "work," the NT depicts apostolic workers supplementing and supporting the faith of new congregations through activity described variously as "teaching," "proclaiming," "strengthening," "warning," and other such terms detailed below. This complex of ideas revolves around the idea of Christian instruction, and collectively serves as a fundamental part of the apostolic "work."[42] The section below details the recurrence of this general pattern of instruction within the NT communities. Apostolic TE, in keeping with the definition of this dissertation as instruction directed toward workers, properly forms a sub-set of that broader ideal of Christian education. As such, apostolic TE is integrally linked with apostolic instruction in general.

Teaching and Strengthening

This conceptual field of instruction in the more general sense figures prominently in the NT testimony of the apostolic "work." The importance of this "teaching" within the

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[42] Schnabel, *ECM*, 2:1370–78 summarizes Paul's task of "Establishing Communities of Believers" as largely one of instruction. He categorizes this apostolic instruction into three broad and overlapping areas: theological instruction of believers; ethical instruction of believers; and ecclesiological instruction.

apostolic “work” is evidenced by the frequency with which Paul and his colleagues reference it or are depicted as engaged in it. Though Paul refers to himself as a “teacher” (διδάσκαλος) only two times in the NT (1 Tim 2:7; 2 Tim 1:11), references to teaching abound in the epistolary discourse. In the Epistles, διδάσκω, the common verb for teaching, is employed variously though most often in the general sense of “to teach.”[43] In relation to the apostolic “work,” Paul wrote to the Corinthian church that he had sent Timothy, “… to remind you of my ways in Christ, as I teach (διδάσκω) them everywhere in every church” (1 Cor 4:17). Furthermore, twice in 1 Timothy Paul commands Timothy to “teach” (δίδασκε) the church in Ephesus (1 Tim 4:11, 6:2). Paul’s teaching was central to the founding of the church communities, as Paul makes several references to that which the churches had been “taught” (Eph 4:21; Col 2:7; 2 Thess 2:15).[44]

Other recurrent Greek verbs used to express the idea of instruction within the NT are διανοίγω (“open up,” Acts 17:3),[45] κατηχέω (“instruct orally,” 1 Cor 14:19),[46] and παρατίθημι (“to prove or set forth,” 1 Tim 1:18).[47] Paul used παρατίθημι in 2 Tim 2:2 to convey how Timothy should “entrust to faithful men” (ταῦτα παράθου πιστοῖς ἀνθρώποις) what he has heard from Paul, a significant point to which the discussion will

[43] H.-F. Weiss, “διδάσκω,” *EDNT*, 1:319, writes, “In the Pauline corpus the vb. appears generally for *teaching* within the Church (Eph 4:21; Col 2:7; 3:15; 2 Thess 2:15; 1 Tim 2:12; cf. Heb 5:12) and especially for *teaching* by Paul (1 Cor 4:17; Col 1:28).”

[44] Referring to 2 Thess 2:15, Moisés Silva, “διδάσκω κτλ,” *NIDNTTE*, 1:714, comments, “In any case, ‘to be taught’ is not restricted to the act of hearing a message in a concrete situation, but rather indicates ‘to receive and keep the teaching handed down’—reminiscent of the teaching methods employed by the rabbis. A similar use of the pass. voice is found in Eph 4:21 (‘you … were taught in him,’ i.e., either ‘about him’ or ‘in fellowship with him’ cf. ‘you learned Christ’ in v. 20 [lit. transl.]) and Col 2:7 (used abs.).”

[45] Robinson and House, *ALNTG*, 82.

[46] Ibid., 201.

[47] Ibid., 266.

return below. Of note also is the word νουθετέω ("to warn"/ "to instruct"),[48] which Paul used of his own teaching ministry (1 Cor 4:14; Col 1:28) and the action of "warning" one another enjoined upon church members (Rom 15:14; 1 Thess 5:12; 2 Thess 3:15; Col 3:16).[49]

The two prominent noun forms used for "the teaching" in the NT are διδαχῇ and διδασκαλίᾳ. According to Zuck, "*Didache* denotes the context of teaching, 'what is taught,' and *didaskalia* suggests either the act of teaching or the content of one's teaching."[50] Διδασκαλίᾳ is translated frequently as "doctrine," and figures prominently in Paul's discussions of false versus healthy (or "sound") doctrine.[51] In the Pastoral Epistles especially, διδασκαλίᾳ refers to "apostolic or Christian teaching as a whole (1 Tim 1:10, 4:6, 16; 6:1, 3; 2 Tim 3:10; 4:3; Tit 1:9, 2:1, 10)."[52] Διδαχῇ is used of the "apostles' teaching" (τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων) in the Jerusalem church (Acts 2:42), the teaching of Peter and the apostles (Acts 5:28), and the teaching of the Lord on account of which the proconsul of Cyprus believed (Acts 13:12).[53]

In the Acts narrative, Luke depicted Paul and his colleagues consistently "teaching" the communities of believers. Luke recorded Paul in Antioch, where he and Barnabas "taught" (διδάξαι) for a year (Acts 11:26). After the Jerusalem Council, Paul

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[48] Ibid., 245.

[49] J. Behm, "νουθετέω," *TDNT*, 4:1021, notes, "The group occurs in the NT only in Paul and the sphere of his influence. The pedagogic sense may be discerned in the noun." The noun form, νουθεσία, means "admonition." Robinson and House, *ALNTG*, 245.

[50] Roy B. Zuck, *Teaching as Paul Taught* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1998), 30.

[51] H.-F. Weiss, "διδασκαλίᾳ," *EDNT*, 1:317.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Silva, "διδάσκω κτλ," *NIDNTTE*, 1:713, recounts the usage of διδαχῇ in Acts, writing, "The term διδαχῇ in Acts always refers to the content of the apostolic teaching (Acts 2:42; 5:28; 13:12 [τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ κυρίου, "the teaching about the Lord"]; 17:19)."

and Barnabas were again in Antioch, teaching and preaching (διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι) the word of God (Acts 15:35). In Acts 18:11, Paul stayed in Corinth a year and a half, "teaching (διδάσκων) the word of God among them." In his final testament to the Ephesian elders, Paul recalled how he had spent his time among them, "teaching (διδάξαι)you in public and from house to house" (Acts 20:20). Finally, Luke records Paul in Rome in Acts 28:31, "proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching (διδάξαι) about the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness and without hindrance."

Alongside these references to the apostles' "teaching" activity, Luke employs a distinctive semantic group to communicate the importance of this ongoing teaching within the burgeoning Christian communities. The "strengthen" (ἐπιστηρίζω) semantic field works as a textual marker for Paul's missionary activity of following up with new believers and "encouraging" them in the faith through the proclamation of gospel-centered teaching. Luke consistently pictured Paul returning to "strengthen" (Ἐπιστηρίζω) the disciples in the newly-planted churches.[54] The semantic field occurs in key instances in the Acts account where Paul and others are pictured following up with church plants for the purpose of "establishing" them in the faith. Paul intentionally and consistently re-visited the churches he had planted.[55]

The first occurrence of the ἐπιστηρίζω word group in the context of follow-up work occurs in Acts 14:21–22. On their return from the church planting activity of the

[54] The verb ἐπιστηρίζω, "to strengthen," occurs only in the book of Acts in the NT, and only in the 4 places examined here. *EDNT*, "ἐπιστηρίζω," 2:38.

[55] I. Howard Marshall, "Luke's Portrait of the Pauline Mission," in *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul's Mission* Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000): 99–114, 104, writes, "From our summary of the three missionary campaigns, we have already noted the clear pattern of initial missionary activity followed by further contacts to strengthen and encourage the infant groups of believers."

first Galatian journey (Acts 13–14) Paul and Barnabas passed through "… Lystra and to Iconium and to Antioch, strengthening (ἐπιστηρίζοντες) the souls of the disciples, encouraging (παρακαλοῦντες) them to continue in the faith, and saying that through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:21b–22). In this passage, ἐπιστηρίζοντες occurs alongside παρακαλοῦντες, an approximate term that is often used interchangeably with the ἐπιστηρίζω semantic field in the book of Acts.[56] Schnabel describes what was involved in this work of "strengthening" and "encouraging," writing,

> (1) The two missionaries "strengthen" (ἐπιστηρίζοντες) the disciples (v. 22a); i.e., they help the Jewish and Gentile believers to become stronger in their commitment to Jesus, Israel's Messiah and Savior. The present participle used here suggests a sustained effort, certainly carried out through teaching the congregation and counseling individuals. (2) They "encourage" (παρακαλοῦντες) the believers to persevere in the faith (v. 22b—c), urging them to remain loyal to Jesus and to persist in the confidence they have placed in the grace of God revealed in the crucified and risen Jesus. The present participle again indicates sustained teaching by the two apostles.[57]

The pairing of the terms recurs in Acts 15:32, where, after Paul, Barnabas, Silas, and Judas deliver the letter from the Jerusalem Council to the Antioch Church, Judas and Silas "encouraged (παρεκάλεσαν) and strengthened (ἐπεστήριξαν) the brothers with many words." The recurrence of the two terms together is notable, and reflects a close

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[56] Craig Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 2:2180, notes the connection between the two terms, writing "That Paul went to "strengthen" (cf. Acts 15:32, 41; 16:5; 18:23; Rom. 1:11; 1 Thess 3:2) and "encourage" (cf. Acts 15:32; 16:40; 20:1–2; Rom. 12:1; 15:30; 16:17; 1 Cor 1:10; 4:16; 16:15; 2 Cor 5:20 – 6:1; 1 Thess 4:1, 10; 5:14) believers fits both the Lukan and epistolary Pauls."

[57] Schnabel, *Acts*, 613.

relationship in meaning.[58] The combined force of the words connotes the act of "supporting" or "establishing" faith through teaching and oral exhortation, as Judas and Silas did with their "many words" to the Antiochene church. While the immediate context in 15:32 is the relatively "established" church in Antioch, the action depicted is like that which Paul undertook in his follow-up visits.[59]

As Paul undertook those follow-up visits, the ἐπιστηρίζω semantic field functions almost like a formula, recurring in key places where Paul re-initiated contact with churches recently planted. Shortly after the delivery of the letter from Jerusalem to Antioch, Paul said to Barnabas, "Let us return and visit the brothers in every city where we proclaimed the word of the Lord [the Galatian churches], and see how they are" (Acts 15:36). Paul and Barnabas would split over the issue of John Mark (15:39); thus, Paul took Silas and "went through Syria and Cilicia, strengthening (ἐπιστηρίζων) the churches" (Acts 15:41). Paul begins his "second" journey, then, with the stated goal of following up with the young churches (v. 36) and demonstrates that through his strengthening work (v. 41). Likewise, at the start of the Paul's "third" missionary journey in Acts 18:32, Luke employs the word field again to depict Paul's work. Paul "departed [Antioch] and went from one place to the next through the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening (ἐπιστηρίζων) all the disciples" (Acts 18:23). Paul's recorded activity here is a near equivalent to the start of his second journey in Acts 15:41.[60]

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[58] Harder, "στηρίζω," *TDNT*, 7:657, noted the connection between the terms, writing, "In content the compound ἐπιστηρίζων, which occurs in Ac. 14:22 (→656, 25ff.); 15:32, 41, does not add anything new. In Ac. 15:32 it seems to be related to παρακαλέω, like στηρίζων."

[59] Keener, *Acts*, 2:2180.

[60] Bock, *Acts*, 514.

As τὸ ἔργον functioned within the first missionary journey as a crucial textual marker, an *inclusio* of Paul and Barnabas' "work,"[61] the *strengthening* word group functions in a similar way in Luke's depictions of Paul's subsequent journeys. The word group recurs in pivotal places in all three journeys of Paul (14:22; 15:41; 18:23), and consistently points to Paul's follow-up work in "establishing" the churches in the faith.[62] Furthermore, the related "encourage" (παρεκάλεσαν) word group recurs in similar contexts of follow up and "establishing" new churches in the apostolic tradition (Acts 16:40—Philippian "brothers"; 20:1—Ephesian "disciples"; 20:2—Macedonian churches).

This general apostolic activity of "teaching" and "strengthening" recurred throughout the apostolic "work" recorded in Acts. In keeping with the definition of TE employed throughout this dissertation, the present argument focuses on a sub-set of this general apostolic instruction—those instances where Paul and his associates were specifically teaching or training leaders. While explicit biblical material, and especially narrative material, on this specific type of TE is somewhat sparse, the NT authors nevertheless leave traces of an apostolic model of TE. Of the available material, Paul's speech to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:17–38 and the Pastoral Epistles (PE)—directed as they are to leaders within the ministry (the "elders" in Acts 20 and his co-workers Timothy and Titus in the PE)—will serve as seminal texts throughout much of the argument. Surveys of these texts reveal the primary elements of apostolic TE, articulated

[61] See Ch. 2, pp. 44–49 of this dissertation.
[62] Keener, *Acts*, 2180.

here as four fundamental “orientations”: In-Mission Orientation; Practice-Orientation; Transference-Orientation; and Healthy Doctrine-Orientation.

In-Mission Orientation

There were no theological schools within the NT Christian economy. Significantly, “schools” were a definite part of the societal landscape in the Greco-Roman, including the Jewish, world of the NT.[63] The schools of the Greeks offered an existing paradigm of education for the incipient Christian movement, a fact of growing significance as early Christianity become more Gentile in its composition.[64] In Jewish society, “schools” were not simple equivalents of the contemporary type, “… a corporate, perpetual institution housed in a large building filled with teachers, students, and offices.”[65] They were, in varying degrees of formality, separate communities in which instruction took place. In the rabbinical schools in particular, Botha notes, “[T]he rabbis and their disciples set up ‘schools of study’ for themselves to serve their different needs (i e [sic], not necessarily communal), and that is where they studied, prayed, and preached.”[66]

Paul himself was “educated” in a school of the Pharisees, “at the feet of Gamaliel according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers” (Acts 22:3). It is possible that,

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[63] Cannell, *Matters*, 212.

[64] For surveys of Greek patterns of schooling, see William Barclay, *Educational Ideals in the Ancient World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1974); Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1981).

[65] Pieter J. J. Botha, “Schools in the World of Jesus: Analysing the Evidence,” *Neotestamentica* 33.1 (1999): 225–60, 251.

[66] Ibid., 253.

given Gamaliel's stature as the Patriarch of the Pharisaical party,[67] his "school" was indeed a more formalized, perpetual "academy."[68] The important point here is that, regardless of the level of "formalization," these Rabbinical "schools" were operative in the time of the early church and therefore provided a potential model for Christian schooling.

In the record of the NT, however, Christian "schools" were not a factor within the recorded growth of Christianity in the NT, a period that covers the extension of the faith to a new generation of believers.[69] While NT silence is not an airtight argument that such schools did not exist, it is nevertheless significant that the majority of NT "teaching" took place in the context of local churches or mission fields. The primary possible exception to this conclusion is the "Hall of Tyrannus" in Ephesus in which Paul "lectured" for two years (Acts 19:9–10). While the exact purpose of the "Hall" is somewhat ambiguous,[70] Paul is depicted as "lecturing" there "day after day." The "lecturing" (διαλεγόμενος) spoken of here is employed throughout Acts, primarily in reference to Paul's "disputing"

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[67] See Jacob Neusner and Bruce Chilton, "Paul and Gamaliel," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism*, 8.1 (2005): 113–62.

[68] S. J. D. Cohen, "The Place of the Rabbi in Jewish Society of the Second Century" in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. I. Levine (New York, NY: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992): 157–73, 167. Quoted in Botha, "Schools," 245.

[69] Stevens, "Marketing," 15, writes, "In other words, there was simply nothing like the university academy as a community of scholars learning and living in separation from the ongoing life and mission of the church."

[70] Louw and Nida, "σχολή," *GELNT*, 83, identify the "hall" (σχολή) as "a building where teachers and students met for study and discussion … In Ac 19.9 it is better to use a translation such as 'lecture hall' rather than 'school,' since one does not wish to give the impression of the typical classroom situation characteristic of present-day schools."

and "reasoning" to crowds of non-believers (Acts 17:2, 17; 18:4, 19; 19:8; 24:12, 25).[71] In Acts 17:2–3, Paul went to the synagogue of Thessalonica and "on three Sabbath days he *reasoned* (διελέξατο) with them from the Scriptures, explaining and proving that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, and saying, 'This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ.'" The "reasoning" in view in that episode, then, was primarily evangelistic in nature.[72]

In the case of the Hall of Tyrannus, the picture of Paul's activity is more complex. Similarly to his "reasoning" in Thessalonica, Paul's "lecturing" in the Hall of Tyrannus had a definite evangelistic element, as through his work there "all the residents of Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks" (Acts 19:10).[73] Paul extended his evangelistic reach by shifting to the Hall, a "public place that would have been more accessible to non-Jewish citizens than the synagogue."[74] Given the length of time Paul invested in his teaching at the Hall, however, his activity there was likely some compound of evangelistic preaching and teaching the existing believers in the city.[75]

The Hall of Tyrannus episode offers a unique potential instance of "schooling" in the NT record. However, the varied nature of Paul's teaching in the Hall as both

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[71] *EDNT*, "διαλέγομαι," 1:307, notes, "In Acts, Paul is regularly the subj. of διαλέγομαι, which is used in the sense of *speak (argumentatively)*: 17:2, 17; 18:4, 19; 19:8f.; 20:7, 9; 24:25. He speaks primarily in the synagogues and also in the marketplace or in a lecture hall—but not in Jerusalem." Cf. Acts 20:7, 9 where Paul is pictured as "talking" (διελέγετο in v. 7; διαλεγομένου in v. 9) with the Church at Troas. C. K. Barrett, *Acts: Volume 2: 15–28* (Edinburgh, A&C Black, 2004), 951, captures the broader meaning, writing, "The meaning varies between dialogue, discussion between two or more persons, and discussion in which one person discusses a matter, as in a sermon or lecture.".

[72] Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 550.

[73] Mount suggests that the Gentiles were Paul's presumed audience in the Hall of Tyrannus, similarly to that of Acts 14:8–18 and 17:16–31. Christopher Mount, *Pauline Christianity: Luke-Acts and the Legacy of Paul* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2002), 121.

[74] Schnabel, *Acts*, 792.

[75] James D. G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 769.

evangelistic and exhortatory raises difficulties in viewing the Hall as a Christian "school." Furthermore, and importantly for the present argument, Paul's "lecturing" took place amid significant ministry in and around the city of Ephesus. As pointed out above, the result of Paul's ministry there was that all of Asia "heard the word of the Lord."[76] During Paul's tenure at Ephesus the church in the city continued to grow (Acts 19:20).[77] Epaphras likely left from Ephesus during this period and planted the churches in Colossae, Hierapolis, and Laodicea (Col. 1:7; 4:12).[78] Paul, his companions, and the Corinthian believers corresponded and travelled back and forth between the two cities during this interval (1 Cor 1:11, 4:17, 5:9, 16:12, 17; 2 Cor 2:4, 13:2).[79]

The Hall of Tyrannus episode serves as the exception to the otherwise consistent NT pattern of apostolic TE that took place within the context of local churches. In Antioch, Barnabas and Saul "met with the church and taught a great many people" (Acts 11:26). Those two are later depicted as doing so again in Antioch (Acts 15:35) and Paul was later in Corinth for a year and six months, "teaching the word of God among them" (Acts 18:11). As noted above, in his farewell to the Ephesian elders, Paul recalled how he had taught them "in public and from house to house" (Acts 20:20).

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[76] As Schnabel, *Acts*, 794, points out, this phrase "… does not imply the claim that Paul personally spoke to every single person in the province, or that he personally proclaimed the gospel in every city of the province. Rather, the gospel reached the entire province." Schnabel makes note of the many coworkers named in this period and the evidence of many congregations established in the province.

[77] Jerome Kodell, "The Word of God Grew: The Ecclesial Tendency of Logos in Acts 6,7; 12,24; 19,20," *Biblica* 55.4 (1974): 505–19, 511, argued that the phrase "the word of God" served as a euphemism for the church, stating, "By coupling these verbs with the subject ὁ λόγος in his redactional summaries in Acts, Luke implies that λόγος here means more than the usual 'Christian message,' that somehow the meaning 'community' or 'People of God' is involved."

[78] Keener, *Acts*, 2837.

[79] See Schnabel's summary table of ministry activity during Paul's stay in Ephesus in *Acts*, 793.

While local churches were the primary location in which this teaching took place, a corollary context for "teaching" within the NT were the missionary "bands" comprised of Paul and his colleagues.[80] In fact, Banks claims that the fundamental structures through which NT TE was undertaken were the "prophetic bands, disciple groups, or apostolic teams."[81] Reed also pointed to Paul's "leadership team" as a primary context of biblical leadership training alongside the local church.[82] As shown in Appendix 1, Paul's retinue of "co-workers" consisted of a sizeable body of people who were demonstrably involved in the "apostolic work" alongside Paul.[83] Their training as apostolic "workers," then, took place in the midst of that work as they labored alongside Paul and the others.

Within the NT record, little is said about how training took place within these "bands." As Banks notes, "The purpose of the group was evangelism, church planting, congregational nurture, and networking (2 Tim 4:1–5)."[84] In other words, the focus of these groups was the mission, as summarized by the concept of "apostolic work." Education or training existed as an element of that work insofar as it fulfilled the overall purpose of furthering the mission.

In the cases of both the missionary "bands" and the local churches—the two primary contexts for TE in the NT—the predominating situation for TE was ongoing mission. The missionary bands were, after all, operative either in pioneer areas or in areas where new groups of believers were gathering together as churches. All forms of TE

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[80] See the discussion of the apostolic "bands" in Appendix 1 of this dissertation.
[81] Banks, *Reenvisioning*, 150.
[82] Reed, "Church-Based Leadership Training: A Proposal Revisited," n.p.
[83] See Appendix 1 of this dissertation.
[84] Banks, *Reenvisioning*, 116.

extant in the NT, then, took place within the on-going "apostolic work"; they were "in-mission" formats as opposed to "in-school" formats. In the nomenclature of contemporary education, the TE of the NT was decidedly "Non-" or "In-formal" as opposed to "Formal."[85] In contrast to the prevailing paradigm of formal TE that is "associated most directly with the institution of the school and the actual classroom experience,"[86] the paradigm of TE found within the NT is oriented outside of formal institutions.

The "in-mission" orientation of apostolic TE militates against the "schooling" orientation of formal TE—a segregated institution with little to no precedent in the account of the NT. As such, apostolic TE is more closely akin to Informal or Nonformal modes of training. The effect of this Informal/Nonformal orientation at Hindustan Bible Institute was summarized by Paul Gupta as follows,

> The contrast between the students in the non-formal and formal programs at HBI is striking. The 482 students who had spent two to five years in our theological development program had degrees, but few pastoral skills for ministry. A less-educated trainee enrolled in five years of non-formal training had learned to share his faith, developed 25–30 leaders in a local church, and often planted three to five churches where churches did not previously exist.[87]

Furthermore, the "in-*mission*" terminology clarifies that the "ministry" or "service" undertaken is the mission of the church in unreached contexts, encapsulated in the concept of the "apostolic work." Unlike contemporary TE with its strained dichotomy

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[85] Jeff Reed articulates an educational "Continuum" that moves from the Formal mode (what he calls "Institutionally Driven" TE), the Nonformal mode (what he calls "Ecclesiologically Driven" TE), and the Informal mode (what he calls "Organizationally Driven" TE). Jeff Reed, "Church-Based Ministry Training Which is Truly Church Based," Jan 19, 2001. Presented to ACCESS 30th Annual Conference at Moody Bible Institute, 4–5. https://www.bild.org/download/paradigmPapers/Truly_Church_Based.pdf

[86] Pazmino, *Foundational*, 87.

[87] Gupta and Lingenfelter, *Breaking*, 52.

between theory and practice, apostolic TE's in-mission context more naturally facilitates the application of theological instruction. This fruitful application of theological instruction, theology as embodied and practiced by believers, is apostolic TE's "Practice-orientation."

Practice-Orientation

While the previous section dealt with the "context" in which apostolic TE takes place, the present section deals with the associated activity or application of that instruction. Obvious overlap exists among the two elements, and some of the points articulated below were seminally present in the section above. The Practice-orientation of apostolic TE is distinct enough, however, to warrant its own treatment, and so that treatment is provided here. The "practice-orientation" spoken of here connotes the practical, lived-out demonstration of the apostolic TE in the lives of believers.

The primary contexts in which apostolic TE took place were local churches and the groups of apostolic workers who travelled among those churches and undertook pioneer work in new places. Across those contexts, those engaged in teaching, training, and learning did so as they went about the "apostolic work." Furthermore, Christian teachers taught and modeled the more general tasks of ministry and Christian life, those enjoined upon all local churches and believers. The modes of teaching were intertwined with the expectation of, and faithful modeling of, Christian *practices*.[88] Paul emphasized

[88] The conceptual field of Christian "practices" has significant overlap with the area of Christian ethics. Hays, *Moral*, 18, writes, "Theology is for Paul never merely a speculative exercise; it is always a tool for constructing community. Paul is driven by a theological vision of extraordinary breadth: everything is brought under scrutiny of the gospel, and the attempt is made to speak to all pastoral problems in light of the gospel."

this focus on practice by employing some key terms to describe his ministry. Those terms— "obedience" and "imitation"—will be examined in some detail below. These ideas, along with the broader flow of NT teaching on the subject, characterize apostolic TE—both learning and teaching—as practice-oriented.

Obedience

Paul refers to "obedience" frequently in his letters as a basic category of Christian discipleship.[89] In the letter to the Romans Paul cites the idea of obedience as central to his conception of his own apostolic work and calling.[90] In the opening of the letter, Paul acknowledges, "[W]e have received grace and apostleship to bring about the *obedience of the faith* (ὑπακοὴν πίστεως) among the Gentiles" (Rom 1:5). In chapter 15 of Romans Paul recounts "what Christ has accomplished through me to bring the *Gentiles to obedience* …." (Rom 15:18). Finally, in closing the epistle Paul speaks of the revelation of the Gospel, the "mystery that was kept secret for long ages," that has now been disclosed in order to "to bring about the *obedience of faith* (ὑπακοὴν πίστεως)" (Rom 16:26).

[89] G. Schneider, "ὑπακούω," *EDNT* 3:394, explains, "Ὑπακοή and ὑπακούω, compounds derived from → ἀκούω, occur in the NT particularly in the Epistles …. The other occurrences are for the most part in Paul: ὑπακοή 11 times, ὑπακούω 5 times (cf. also ὑπακούω in Col 3:20, 22; Eph 6:1, 5; 2 Thess 1:8; 3:14) …. These words are adequately rendered *obedience/obey*; as in English, they derive from 'hear' (ἀκούω; Lat. *oboedio [=ob + audire]*)." Paul employs the language of "obedience" in the following verses: Rom 1:5; 2:8; 5:19; 6:12, 16, 17; 15:18; 16:26; 2 Cor 2:9; 7:15; 10:5, 6; Eph 6:1, 5; Col 3:20, 22; Phil 2:12; 2 Thess 3:14; Phlm 21; Tit 3:1.

[90] Ibid., records, "The act of faith is an act of obedience (Bultmann, *Theology* I, 314), as a comparison of Rom 1:8 with 16:19 makes clear. Paul thus can create the expression ὑπακοὴ πίστεως (1:5; cf. 10:16; 16:26; → πίστις 3.b), indicating thereby the goal of his apostleship (cf. 15:18)."

This idea of the "obedience of the faith" played a prominent role in Paul's conception of his own apostolic calling and work.[91] The strategic placement of the "obedience of the faith" phrase throughout the letter indicates that it communicates a crucial concept for Paul.[92] In particular, Paul's usage of the phrase in the greeting, the closing, and in the major recounting of his apostolic work suggests that the phrase encapsulates the "… full dimension of Paul's apostolic task, a task that was not confined to initial evangelization but that included also the building up and firm establishment of churches."[93] In other words, the "obedience of the faith" serves as a summary statement on Paul's apostolic "work," the goal of which was the Gentiles' "conversion and obedient lifestyle that flows from faith in Christ."[94]

This focus on practical "obedience" as a definite fruit of gospel faith figures prominently in Paul's interaction with the churches. In 2 Corinthians, Paul states one of his primary reasons for writing the letter: "For this is why I wrote, that I might test you

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[91] For an exegetical analysis of the meaning of the phrase "the obedience of the faith" see Don B. Garlington, "The Obedience of Faith in the Letter to the Romans," *The Westminster Theological Journal* 52.2 (1990): 201–24.

[92] On the possible meanings of the phrase from Rom 1:5, Grant Osborne, *Romans* IVPNTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), 33, comments, "Paul's purpose is to bring them to *the obedience of faith*, a phrase that could mean 'obedience to the faith' (objective genitive), 'believing faith' (adjectival genitive), 'the obedience that comes from faith' (genitive of source) or 'the obedience that is faith' (genitive of apposition). While the first is unlikely (there is no article with *faith*), Dunn (1988a:17–18) is probably correct in saying that the latter two are probably both part of the meaning here. Obedience is the natural result of a faith relationship with Christ, and faith always produces obedience …. Obedience also occurs in Romans 5:19, 6:12, 16, 17; 10:16, 15:18, and 16:19, 20, and is a central theme in any enumeration of the responsibilities of the Christian life." Emphasis in original.

[93] Moo, *Romans*, 53.

[94] David G. Peterson, "Maturity: The Goal of Mission," in *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul's Mission*, Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000): 185–204, 187.

and know whether you are obedient (ὑπήκοοί) in everything" (2 Cor 2:9).[95] Furthermore, in reference to Titus' visit to Corinth, Paul acknowledges that "… his [Titus'] affection for you is even greater, as he remembers the obedience (ὑπακοήν) of you all, how you received him with fear and trembling" (2 Cor 7:15). While Paul's insistence on obedience is likely directed at a specific situation or person in the Corinthian church,[96] it accords with his more general practice of calling for and commending obedience to Christ within the churches he founded.

Paul affirmed the Philippian church in their consistent obedience and called for them to continue in it when he wrote, "Therefore, my beloved, as you have always obeyed (ὑπηκούσατε), so now, not only as in my presence but much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." (Phil 2:12). In a warning more akin to the admonitions referred to in 2 Cor 2:9 and 7:15, Paul writes to the Thessalonians, "If anyone does not obey (οὐχ ὑπακούει) what we say in this letter, take note of that person, and have nothing to do with him, that he may be ashamed" (2 Thess

[95] A group of evangelical commentators acknowledge that Paul's appeals to his hearers' obedience was based upon his status as a representative of Christ and his gospel. See David E. Garland, *2 Corinthians: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture,* NAC (Nashville, TN: Holman Reference, 1999), 129; Margaret Thrall, *2 Corinthians 1–7: Volume 1*, ICC (New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2004), 179; and Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 231.

[96] George H. Guthrie, *2 Corinthians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 130, writes, "In the history of the church, the offense in mind has been understood variously, the traditional position being that Paul here speaks of the incestuous brother dealt with in 1 Cor. 5:1–5. Yet, with most modern interpreters, we follow another route, understanding the offender to be an unnamed combatant who had taken Paul on publicly during the apostle's last visit to Corinth and thus had prompted the severe letter mentioned in 2:3–4."

3:14). It was Paul's expectation, as depicted here in the letter to the Thessalonians, that they would obey the teaching he delivered as a representative of Christ and the gospel.[97]

Among those who have given attention to "obedience" within TE, Ted Ward wrote, "The biblical concern for obedience—acting on truth—should be the central purpose of education and life. It is not enough to argue that obedience requires knowing. The issue is that knowing, in Christianity, cannot be defined apart from doing."[98] Andreas Köstenberger asserts that "study of, and obedience to, Scripture is the preeminent spiritual discipline taught in Scripture …. There is nothing inherently spiritual about the study of Scripture if that study does not lead to obedient, active application."[99] Banks's "missional model" of TE centers on the "biblical understanding of knowledge, which involves both assent and action, understanding and obedience, communication and commitment."[100] Newbigin, as well, acknowledged, "Ministry must be trained in a way which relates the gospel to the real issues of obedience which the church faces in this particular time and place."[101]

Practical obedience to God's revelation in Christ is, then, a fundamental expectation within biblical, apostolic TE. Apostolic TE intended to foster this obedience. One of the primary ways in which the fostering took place, and a key indicator of the primacy of "practice" within apostolic TE, was Paul's insistence on modeling the

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[97] Gene L. Green, *The Letters to the Thessalonians*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 354.

[98] Ted Warren Ward, "Metaphors of Spiritual Reality, Part 3: Evaluating Metaphors of Education," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 139.556 (1982): 291–301, 292.

[99] Andreas J. Köstenberger, *Excellence*: *The Character of God and the Pursuit of Scholarly Virtue* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2011), 77.

[100] Banks, *Reenvisioning*, 174.

[101] Newbigin, "Theological," 108.

Christian life. Paul, as a teacher of the gospel, cultivated obedience by calling his disciples to "imitate" him.

Imitation and Example

Imitation was, for Paul, an important part of the educative process in the NT churches. Paul employs the idea of "imitation" or of being an "example" frequently when speaking to the churches and to his co-workers.[102] The semantic field of these two terms forms the basis of an apostolic approach to teaching that casts the teacher as a model of behavior for other believers. That is, apostolic TE makes much of the teacher's life, as demonstrated in his or her practice, to serve as an example to be followed.

The concept of being an "imitator" (μιμητής) figures prominently in Paul's teaching and discipleship.[103] Paul calls his audience to imitate him several times in his Epistles. Paul urges the Corinthian believers to "be imitators of me" (μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε) in both 1 Cor 4:16 and 11:1. In Phil 3:17, Paul asks the Philippian believers to "join in imitating me" (Συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε). Paul commends the Thessalonian church because they "became imitators of us and of the Lord" (ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ κυρίου, 1 Thess 1:6). In 2 Thessalonians 3, Paul reminds the Thessalonians of how he and his co-workers had worked with their own hands (v. 8) in order "to give you in ourselves an example to imitate" (ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς

[102] For an overview of relatively current scholarship on the "imitation" motif within Pauline scholarship, see Andrew D. Clarke, "Be Imitators of Me," *Tyndale Bulletin* 49.2 (1998): 329–60, 330–1.

[103] Silva, "μιμέομαι κτλ," *NIDNTTE*, 3:305, writes, "The vb. μιμέομαι occurs only 4x in the NT (2 Thess 3:7, 9; Heb 13:7; 3 John 11), the noun μιμητής 6x (1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; Eph 5:1; 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14; Heb 6:12), and the previously unattested compound συμμιμητής only in Phil 3:17 … All are used with an ethical aim and are linked with the obligation to a specific kind of conduct."

τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, 2 Thess 3:9). As commentators have pointed out, Paul appealed to his personal example only in letters to the churches he had planted (Thessalonica, Philippi, Corinth).[104] That is, Paul called his churches to imitate him in those places where he could point to himself or his co-workers as a viable "example."

Closely related to the "imitation" theme in Paul's writing is the concept of being an "example" (τύπος) for others to follow.[105] Indeed, τύπος sometimes occurs alongside μιμηταί in Paul's teaching, and Paul often pointed to others as appropriate "examples" to be followed.[106] The "example" term occurs in conjunction with μιμηταί (as the compound word Συμμιμηταί) in Phil 3:17, where Paul, after he tells the Philippians to "join in imitating me," advises them to "keep your eyes on those who walk according to the example (τύπον) you have in us." Significantly, the "us" in v. 17 expands the reference beyond Paul to include Timothy as well (Phil 1:1). Paul also referenced his co-workers in his commendation of the Thessalonians, when he declared that they "became imitators (μιμηταὶ) of us and of the Lord" (1 Thess 1:6). Their imitation "of us" (ἡμῶν) here likely means that they had looked not only to Paul, but to Silas and Timothy as well (1 Thess

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[104] Joseph A. Grassi, *Teaching the Way: Jesus, the Early Church and Today* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1982), 75–6; Robert Lewis Plummer, "The Church's Missionary Nature: The Apostle Paul and His Churches" (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001), 119; Clark, "Imitators," 331.

[105] Silva, "τύπος κτλ," *NIDNTTE*, 4:507, writes, "Where the term [τύπος] means "example," it is used with ref. to Paul (Phil 3:17; 2 Thess 3:9; cf. ὑποτύπωσις in 1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 1:13), to the officials of local congregations (1 Tim 4:12; Titus 2:7; 1 Pet 5:3), and to a partic. congregation itself (1 Thess 1:7). These passages are not simply admonitions to a morally exemplary life in some generic sense; they call specifically for obedience to the message (cf. 2 Thess 3:6)."

[106] Goppelt, "τύπος κτλ," *TDNT*, 8:249, noted the connection between the terms, writing, "Paul says that he himself is an example to the community in Phil. 3:17 and 2 Th. 3:9. In 1 Th. 1:7 he praises the community for having become a model for others. In all three passages τύπος is related to the idea expressed by the verb μιμέομαι→IV, 667, 13ff.; 670, 22ff."

1:1). The result of their imitation was that the Thessalonians themselves became an "example" (τύπον) to others (v. 7–8).[107]

In addition to commending those who served as "examples," Paul directly commanded both Timothy and Titus to be "examples" to the churches among whom they worked. In 1 Tim 4:12, Paul told Timothy to, "… set the believers an example (τύπος) in speech, in conduct, in love, in faith, in purity."[108] Similarly, Paul encouraged Titus in his work among the Cretans to "Show yourself in all respects to be a model (τύπον) of good works …." (Tit 2:7). Additionally, Paul commended Timothy for his "following" of Paul's way of life: "You, however, have followed my teaching, my conduct, my aim in life, my faith, my patience, my love, my steadfastness …." (2 Tim 3:10).

Regarding specific "practices" to be imitated, Copan points out a helpful distinction within Paul's references to imitation. Copan describes those instances where Paul's imitation "refers to the imitation of the totality of Paul's life" as "global" or "holistic" imitation.[109] These would include 1 Thess 1:7 and 1 Cor 4:17. Though he does not employ the "imitate" or "example" language directly, Paul makes a similar case for imitation in Phil 4:9, where he tells the Philippian church, "What you have learned and received and heard in me—practice (πράσσετε) these things, and the God of peace will be

[107] Copan, "Spiritual," 148.

[108] Gordon D. Fee, *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus* (Kindle Edition: Baker Books, 2011), 107, writes concerning this verse, "On the contrary, not only are they not to look down on him because he is young, but they are to 'look up' to him. He is to set (lit., 'become') an example for the believers. That the people of God are to learn Christian ethics by modeling after the apostolic example is a thoroughgoing, and crucial, Pauline concept (see 1 Thess. 1:6; 2 Thess. 3:7, 9; 1 Cor. 4:6; 11:1; Phil. 3:17; cf. 2 Tim. 1:13)."

[109] Copan, "Spiritual," 150.

with you." Here Paul refers to the totality of his walk with Christ, and commends his holistic example to the Philippian believers.[110]

The other instances of Pauline "imitation" carry clearer directives as to the actual "practices" to be undertaken. Two references in 2 Thessalonians 3 are the most explicit, as Paul tells the Thessalonians how they "ought to imitate us, because we were not idle when we were with you, nor did we eat anyone's bread without paying for it, but with toil and labor we worked night and day." (2 Thess 3:7–8). They did so "to give you in ourselves an example to imitate" (ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, 3:9). The clear injunction in this case is that the hearers would avoid idleness (v. 6) and be busy at their work (v. 10–11). In a similarly explicit fashion, Paul advises Timothy in 1 Tim 4:12 to "set the believers an example in speech, in conduct, in love, in faith, in purity."

Though less explicit than the references in 2 Thessalonians, the textual context of both 1 Cor 4:16 and 11:1 suggest a specific "practice" that Paul intended for the Corinthian believers to follow—to do gospel ministry, and to bear the accompanying suffering.[111] In both passages, Paul offers himself as an example of "selfless service for the sake of the advance of the gospel."[112] Paul implies a similar emphasis on gospel ministry in the imitation passage of 1 Thess 1:6–7 where, as shown above, the

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[110] Larsson, "μιμητής," *EDNT,* 2:429, notes, "The *imitation* can refer to a characteristic quality or act of the person referred to (e.g., 2 Thess 3:7, 9) or can mention the example's entire way of life (1 Cor 4:16f.; cf. Phil 3:17)."

[111] See Robert L. Plummer, "Imitation of Paul and the Church's Missionary Role in 1 Corinthians," *JETS* 44.2 (2001): 219–35, 222–25.

[112] Copan, "Spiritual," 151.

Thessalonians became "imitators (μιμηταὶ) of us and of the Lord, for you received the word in much affliction, with the joy of the Holy Spirit, so that you became an example (τύπον) to all the believers in Macedonia and in Achaia." The result of their imitation was that "… not only has the word of the Lord sounded forth from you in Macedonia and Achaia, but your faith in God has gone forth everywhere, so that we need not say anything" (1 Thess 1:7–8). Paul's line of thought here outlines a chain of imitation, moving from Paul to the Thessalonian church. According to Clarke, "So, Paul's lifestyle, witnessed to by his handling of the message and his imitation of Christ, is a model to the Thessalonians which is emulated not simply in their initial reception of that word, but also in their ongoing living out and proclamation of the Christian message."[113]

Paul's appeals to "imitate" his and his co-workers' "example" were a fundamental part of his teaching method.[114] The "imitation" theme occurs in every epistle to Paul's churches except the epistle to the Galatians.[115] Furthermore, the recurrence of the "example" conceptual field in the Pastoral Epistles shows Paul's insistence upon this theme with his individual disciples as well. While Paul's "example" worthy of "imitation" sometimes encompassed general Christian living (the "global" imitation referenced above), Paul also included directions to be engaged in specific practices, and especially evangelism.[116]

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[113] Clarke, "Be," 338.

[114] Cf. Michaelis, "μιμέομαι κτλ," *TDNT*, 4:668, who argues that "imitation" is "not repetition of a model. It is an expression of obedience."

[115] Though in Gal 4:12 Paul suggestively, if also ambiguously, "entreats" the Galatians to "become as I am, for I also have become as you are." Cf. Zuck, *Teaching*, 37.

[116] Banks, *Reenvisioning*, 121.

Paul modeled Christian living and expected his hearers to obey by imitating his example. In apostolic TE, then, theological instructors are not only lecturers but self-conscious "examples" to be followed. As such, they model for their students the practices enjoined upon Christians and Christian leaders. Roland Allen, the pioneering Anglican missiologist in the early 20th century, also noted the importance of the teacher as a model. In Allen's estimation, "First and before all things he [the teacher] educates by the influence of his own character and personality …. His example is constantly found to be more powerful than his teaching or preaching."[117]

In sum, apostolic TE manifests a practice-orientation both in the expectation of obedience on the part of the learners and the practice of modeling by the teachers. Through these two elements, apostolic TE, in notable contrast to the Western paradigm of TE with its theory/practice disjunction, actively integrates cognitive learning with practical application. Paul's method of instruction, and thus apostolic TE, integrated practical application through modeling Christian practices and expecting obedience throughout the process. A vital part of this instruction was that through modeling and the expectation of obedience, believers would not only receive this instruction but would also become instructors of others. This idea of transference was a key piece in Paul's view of apostolic TE, as shown below.

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[117] Roland Allen, *Educational Principles and Missionary Methods: The Application of Educational Principles to Missionary Evangelism* (London: Robert Scott Roxburghe House Paternoster Row, E.C., 1919), 78.

Transference-Orientation

"Transference" in apostolic TE refers to the idea of "passing on" or "entrusting" apostolic instruction—in all its dimensions explored so far—to those who would in turn entrust it to others. Modern missiologists refer to this process as "reproducibility" or "multiplication."[118] This idea of transference is a specific subset of what Copan has identified as the semantic field of "succession" in the NT.[119] The "succession" in question is specifically apostolic instruction, and how that instruction was passed on to successive generations of disciples.

Paul addressed this theme most explicitly in his instructions to Timothy in 1 and 2 Tim. Accordingly, this section will examine Paul's commitment to "transference" by tracing the recurrence of the "entrusting" (παρατίθημι) semantic group as well as the broader conceptual field of transference within those two letters. Additionally, the book of Acts depicts Paul "entrusting" or "commending" in two significant passages—Acts 14:23 and 20:32, and so the argument will examine those narrative instances of Paul's "entrusting" work. Finally, the argument will assess the implied effect of Paul's itinerancy on the idea of "entrusting" apostolic instruction to others.

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[118] See George Patterson and Richard Scoggins, *Church Multiplication Guide: The Miracle of Church Reproduction* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2002), 47.; Craig Ott and Gene Wilson, *Global Church Planting: Biblical Principles and Best Practices for Multiplication* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2011), 81; Timothy Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions: A Trinitarian Missiology for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic & Professional), 2010, 376; Daniel Sinclair, *A Vision of the Possible: Pioneer Church Planting in Teams* (Atlanta, GA: Authentic Media, 2006), 55.

[119] For an overview of the NT semantic field of the concept of "succession," see Perry Leon Stepp, "Succession in First Timothy, Second Timothy, and Titus: Its Presence and Functions," (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 2002).

Paul's Use of the "Entrust" Semantic Field in 1 and 2 Timothy

The "entrust" semantic field centers on the verb παρατίθημι in the NT.[120] One explicit depiction of this idea of transference within the teaching of Paul is 2 Tim 2:2, where Paul instructs Timothy, "[A]nd what you have heard from me in the presence of many witnesses entrust (παράθου) to faithful men who will be able to teach others also."[121] This passage plays a prominent role in contemporary practical missiology, as evidenced by its appearance in several noted church planting manuals and books.[122]

The interpretation of the text is rather straightforward. As Marshall points out, "[T]he main thrust is that it is what Timothy has heard from Paul that is to be passed on."[123] Specifically, it is to be passed on "to faithful men" (πιστοῖς ἀνθρώποις) who will be able to "teach others" (ἑτέρους διδάξαι). The "teaching" in question crosses three "generations" of transference: Paul to Timothy, Timothy to faithful men, faithful men to "others."[124] Before Paul exhorted Timothy to perpetuate a "multi-generational succession of tradition" in 2 Tim 2:2,[125] he had outlined the nature of the "tradition" just a few verses

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[120] Robinson and House, *ALNTG*, 266, define παρατίθημι as "(1) *I set* (esp. a meal) *before*, *I serve*; (2) act. and mid., *I deposit* with, *I entrust* to."

[121] Παράθου is the imperative verb form of the noun παραθήκην "deposit," a correlative term within the "entrust" semantic field. *ALNTG*, 263.

[122] See, in this regard, Nathan Shank, *Four Fields of Kingdom Growth*, rev. 2014, available at: http://www.churchplantingmovements.com/images/stories/pdf/4_Fields_Final_Oct_2014.pdf; e3 Partners Ministry, *First Steps: Mobilize Your Church into God's Harvest Fields*, available at: http://e3partners.org/staff/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2014/07/First_Steps_English.pdf; George Patterson, *Church Multiplication Guide: The Miracle of Church Reproduction* (Pasadena, CA: Carey Library, 2002); and Craig Ott and Gene Wilson, *Global Church Planting: Biblical Principles and Best Practices for Multiplication* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011).

[123] I. Howard Marshall, The *Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (Edinburgh: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2000), 725.

[124] Cf. Stepp, "Succession," 226, who argued, "I find here a reference to a sequence of four exchanges in a succession of tradition: Christ to Paul, Paul to Timothy, Timothy to faithful men, and the faithful men to others."

[125] Ibid.

before. In a pivotal passage in 2 Tim 1:13–14, Paul traced the "deposit" of the "sound words" that had been "entrusted" to Paul and then by Paul to Timothy, writing, "Follow the pattern of the sound words that you have heard from me, in the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus. By the Holy Spirit who dwells within us, guard the good deposit entrusted to you."

The "entrust" semantic field is represented here by παραθήκην, the "deposit" of apostolic instruction entrusted to Paul.[126] Paul adjures Timothy to "Follow the pattern (Ὑποτύπωσιν) of the sound words that you have heard from me" (2 Tim 1:13). Significantly, Paul's word choice here in v. 13 ("follow the pattern") recalls the τύπος semantic field, implying "the teacher/predecessor as τύπος, an example to be emulated."[127] Paul would, furthermore, return to this phrase "what you had heard from me" (ἤκουσας παρ' ἐμοῦ) in 2 Tim 2:2. Finally, Paul commands Timothy to "guard the good deposit (τὴν καλὴν παραθήκην) entrusted to you" (2 Tim 1:14).[128] Paul refers to this "deposit" or "tradition" throughout the Pastoral Epistles, and it denotes the "teaching per se, the gospel and its ramifications."[129]

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[126] Robinson and House, *ALNTG*, 263, define παραθήκην as "a deposit (properly of money or valuables deposited with a friend for safekeeping, while the owner is abroad). 1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 1:14."

[127] Stepp, "Succession," 221.

[128] Silva, "διδάσκω κτλ," *NIDNTTE*, 1:715, comments concerning the use of παραθήκην, "Indeed, "to teach" involves passing on a tradition that is more or less fixed, as is stressed also by the term παραθήκη G4146, 'that which is entrusted [to another for proper use]' (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 1:14)."

[129] B. Paul Wolfe, "The Sagacious Use of Scripture" in A. J. Köstenberger, and T. L. Wilder, eds. *Entrusted with the Gospel: Paul's Theology in the Pastoral Epistles* (Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2010): 199–218, 214.

This "deposit" of the gospel, and the "entrusting" of that deposit (as indicated by the associated semantic field), figured prominently throughout Paul's correspondence with Timothy. While 2 Tim 2:2 has received significant attention within contemporary practical missiology, Paul employed the "entrust" semantic field twice in 1 Timothy, reminding Timothy in both instances of the tradition or teaching that Paul had commended to him.[130] Paul speaks in 1 Tim 1:18 of "entrusting" the "charge" to Timothy, writing, "This charge I entrust to you, (Ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι)."[131] Here the "charge" (παραγγελίαν) refers back to 1 Tim 1:3, where Paul had told Timothy to remain at Ephesus "… so that you may charge certain persons not to teach any different doctrine (ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τισὶν μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν)." The "charge," then was to adhere to the "proclamation" or "teaching" that Timothy had received from Paul and to employ it to refute the false teachers in Ephesus.[132] Paul returned to this idea again

[130] Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus,* NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 431, describes the "content" of the "deposit," writing, "The contents of the *paratheke* itself have been defined in different ways, but the most likely reference is to the gospel for which Paul had been appointed (1:12, 2:7, 2 Tim 1:1). As use of the term in 2 Timothy (1:12, 14), where the actual handing over of the Pauline mission is underway, will confirm, it is the Pauline articulation of the faith/the gospel that is being endangered by heretical distortions, additions, and deletions."

[131] G. Friedrich, "παρατίθημι κτλ," *TDNT*, 8:163, notes, "The mid. παρατίθημαι, 'to commit,' 'to deposit,' is a commercial term, Lk. 12:48. There is special teaching on the deposit of the faith in the Past. Here the verb expresses the concept of tradition where the παραγγελία, i.e., proclamation, teaching, is handed over to Timothy (1 Tm. 1:18), who for his part is to entrust it to faithful men who can teach others also, 2 Tm. 2:2."

[132] Towner, *Timothy and Titus,* 155, writes of Paul's meaning, "The original commission given to Timothy was to oppose the false teachers (1:3); it is this task that is subsequently referred to with the term "command" or "instruction" in 1:5 …. Consequently, what Paul does at this point is to refer back to the original task, resuming the original thought as a way out of the testimonial digression, to add motivational material before moving on to related topics."

in 1 Tim 6:20, when he—in language he would repeat almost exactly in 2 Tim 1:14—adjures Timothy, "O Timothy, guard the deposit entrusted (παραθήκην) to you."[133]

In sum, the "entrust" semantic field forms a significant part of Paul's interaction with his disciple Timothy. Paul advises Timothy to "guard the deposit" entrusted to him and then to "transfer" that deposit to others. According to Tomlinson, this element of "entrusting" of the gospel "deposit" is one of two elements that form the primary purpose of 2 Timothy:

> The broader element [of Paul's purpose in writing 2 Timothy] is to remind "the loyal man of God" through reiterated personal charges "to guard the valuable deposit," the gospel, and "to entrust it to faithful men" for dispatch-ministry. These charges are based on the pattern of ministry engaged by the departing "man of God" (i.e., "steward of God").[134]

In Paul's interaction with Timothy, then, he practiced and expected an explicit "transfer" of gospel ministry from himself to Timothy to others. This "generational" transference of doctrine, and indeed of Paul's way of living, was not confined to Paul's instructions to Timothy, however, as the semantic field of "transference" also occurs in two significant places in the Acts account.

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[133] Fee, *1 & 2 Timothy*, 160, writes concerning this verse, "The imperative (lit., "keep the deposit") is a metaphor, drawn from common life, reflecting the highest kind of sacred obligation in ancient society, namely, being entrusted with some treasured possession for safe-keeping while another is away. A person so entrusted was under the most binding sacred duty to keep "the deposit" safe (see, e.g., Lev. 6:2, 4, where this word, *parathēkē*, is used in the LXX; cf. Tob. 10:13; and esp. 2 Macc. 3:15). So Paul concludes the letter by placing Timothy under such a trust (cf. 1:18; 2 Tim. 1:14)."

[134] F. Alan Tomlinson, "The Purpose and Stewardship Theme Within the Pastoral Epistles," in A. J. Köstenberger, and T. L. Wilder, eds. *Entrusted with the Gospel: Paul's Theology in the Pastoral Epistles* (Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2010): 42–83, 63.

“Entrusting” in Acts

The argument of Chapter 2 dealt at some depth with the two passages where Luke depicts this “entrusting” (Acts 14:23 and 20:32). As Luke described Paul and Barnabas “committing” (παρέθεντο) the new elders of the Galatian churches in 14:23, Paul employed the central term within the “entrusting” semantic field to “commend” (παρατίθεμαι) the Ephesian elders to the Lord in Acts 20:32.[135] While the “committing” spoken of in Acts 14:23 carried few details as to what activities were to be included in the elders’ work, the passage in Acts 20:32 follows a detailed account of Paul’s own apostolic “work” among the Ephesians as well as his directions to them in light of his departure.

In the beginning of Paul’s farewell speech, he appealed to the Ephesian elders to recall his way of life among them: “You yourselves know how I lived among you the whole time from the first day that I set foot in Asia” (Acts 20:18). Paul recalled his personal example, and the elders’ remembrance of it, three times throughout his speech (vv. 18, 31, 34).[136] Specifically, Paul called his hearers to pay attention to his “example” of gospel preaching and teaching throughout his time among them (vv. 20–21, 24, 27). Indeed, so thoroughly had he completed this task of proclamation that he declared himself “innocent of the blood of all, for I did not shrink from declaring to you the whole counsel of God” (Acts 20:26b–27).

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[135] Bock, *Acts*, 631, notes, “In the middle voice, when this [*paratithemei*] concerns God, it is to commend someone to divine care and protection (Rom. 8:17; Eph. 1:14; Col. 1:12; Deut. 33:3–4; Ps. 16:5; Wis. 5:5).”

[136] David G. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 563.

After his testimony of his own conduct, Paul then commanded the Ephesian elders to "Pay careful attention to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to care for the church of God, which he obtained with his own blood" (Acts 20:28). Here, in what Barrett calls the "practical and theological centre of the speech," Paul made clear the elders' responsibility to "care for the church of God" of which the Spirit had made them overseers.[137] Specifically, they were to guard the teaching from "men speaking twisted things, to draw the disciples after them" (Acts 20:30).

They were, in other words, to pay careful attention to the instruction they had received from Paul and to guard it against false teaching. Indeed, Paul commends them (παρατίθεμαι) not only to the Lord but also to the "word of his grace (τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ), which is able to build you up" (Acts 20:32). In light of Paul's impending departure, he appeals to their remembrance of his example among them as well as the hope of divine power to sustain and strengthen them in his absence. Barrett points out the resonance between Paul's "entrusting" of the elders in this passage and his command to Timothy in 2 Tim 2:2, writing, "Paul has watched over these elders; he now hands over the responsibility to God, as Timothy must hand on the responsibility for Gospel truths to faithful men (2 Tim. 2.2)."[138]

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[137] Barrett, *Acts*, 2:974.
[138] Ibid., 980.

Indeed, and significantly to the argument of this section, Paul's speech in Acts 20:17–35 bears striking resemblance to parts of the Pastoral Epistles.[139] In Barrett's view,

> The parallels are real and substantial, and there can be little doubt that Acts and the Pastorals were produced in similar circumstances and at times not very remote from one another. In Acts 20.17–34 (unlike some other parts of Acts) the motivation is very similar to that of the Pastorals, and the resemblance is therefore greater than elsewhere … there is a clear relation between Acts and the Pastorals.[140]

While Barrett attributes this similarity to the fact that Luke was likely the author of both Acts and the Pastoral Epistles, it is just as likely that the similarities exist because they comprise foundational and recurring practices within Paul's development and "entrusting" of leaders.[141]

The parallels between Paul's farewell speech and some of the main elements of Paul's discipleship patterns in the Pastoral Epistles are indeed striking, a point the section below will show. As shown above, in both the Acts 20 testament and the PE, Paul appealed to his personal example ("imitation"), gave strong direction to the elders with the expectation of successive compliance ("obedience"), and then "entrusted" them to the Lord and to their work. Taken together, these elements re-enforced Paul's commitment to transfer the teaching to other leaders. Furthermore, the fact of his impending departure

[139] Of the similarities between Paul's speech in Acts 20 and the Pastoral Epistles, Dunn, *Acts*, 272, notes that in Acts 20:24–25 "… the language is the same as that in II Tim. 4.7 ('I have completed my course')." Furthermore, regarding 20:28 he says, "The perspective once again is closer to that of the later Epistles than to anything in the undisputed Pauline letters: 'take heed to yourselves' (I Tim. 4:16); 'overseers' (I Tim. 3:1–7; Titus 1.7); Spirit appointed leaders (cf. I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6)."

[140] Barrett, *Acts*, 2:965; referring to S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Pastoral Epistles* (London: 1979), 117.

[141] Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2000), lii, noted the striking similarities between Acts 20:18–35 and the PE, leading him to conclude, "There are so many hints in this passage concerning the later Ephesian situation reflected in the PE that either Paul was prophetic or the PE were written in light of Acts (or vice versa)."

and the consequent need for his disciples to carry on in his absence brought an acute sense of urgency to Paul's pattern of apostolic TE. Paul's itinerancy, in other words, played a crucial role in his drive toward "transference" in his teaching.

Itinerancy and Transference in Paul

The argument of Chapter Two of this dissertation sketched the outlines of Paul's itinerancy in some detail.[142] For reasons elucidated there, Paul's apostolic ministry compelled him to move continually to extend the gospel to previously unreached peoples and places. Paul's commitment to the itinerant pattern implied the need for him to "transfer" the teaching to those who were to be the prospective teachers in each new church. Paul was, in other words, training those who would serve as "stewards" of the gospel in his absence—his replacements. Paul's commitment to "foundation-laying" itinerancy, then, drove this principle of transference.

Roland Allen, in his book *Educational Principles and Missionary Methods: The Application of Educational Principles to Missionary Evangelism*, addressed the necessity of transference within missionary education specifically.[143] In his treatment of the issue, Allen identified the "end of education" as that time when "[T]he human being can control his own action and direct his own progress under the limitations proper to his age and

[142] See Chapter 2, pp. 57–63 of this dissertation.
[143] Roland Allen, *Educational Principles and Missionary Methods: The Application of Educational Principles to Missionary Evangelism* (London: Robert Scott Roxburghe House Paternoster Row, E.C., 1919).

condition and circumstances."[144] The goal, then, is a kind of independence from the teacher; thus, according to Allen, "[T]he true method of education is a method of transference."[145]

Furthermore, Allen acknowledged that Paul set the pattern through his model of teaching and that the Pauline pattern of transference remains determinative for missions today. He wrote,

> So the converts of St. Paul are seen to have attained the end. They heard, they understood, they acted, they lived by the light given to them. He went away; they continued to practice what he had taught …. So with us all teaching must have a definite end to be attained at once; and that end must be a capacity to think and act, to regulate their own religious life and to direct their own progress. It must be something which so far renders our pupils independent of us …. The true test whether the end has been attained is the departure of the teacher.[146]

Allen did not assume that new congregations would be free from error. He acknowledged that Paul's congregations "made mistakes, they fell into sin, they were deceived by false teachers."[147] This did not, however, draw Paul away from his fundamental principle of "transference," as demonstrated by his on-going commitment to itinerancy. The apparent errors—theological and ethical—of his congregations did not compel him to forgo itinerancy in order to stay with them and more closely supervise the teaching.

Paul was not, however, willing to forgo doctrinal stringency for the sake of this "transference." On the contrary, Paul displayed a consistent concern for the integrity of the gospel teaching and the growth and maturity of the believers in the faith. While

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[144] Ibid., 36.
[145] Ibid., 37.
[146] Ibid., 43.
[147] Ibid.

oriented toward mission, practice, and transference, apostolic TE—as depicted in Paul's insistent concern for the integrity of the teaching—was oriented simultaneously toward the development and nurture of healthy doctrine.

Healthy Doctrine Orientation

Paul was vitally concerned with doctrinal health and the maturity of the believers as he went about his apostolic work. He displayed this concern by employing a variety of means—making return visits, writing letters, and sending co-workers—to ensure that new congregations were growing in the faith and maintaining the soundness of the gospel teaching. Ott and Wilson outlined Paul's concern in this regard, writing,

> Thus more careful analysis of the Bible reveals that planting healthy churches involves much more than short-term campaigns that leave new congregations to fend for themselves. Paul's church-planting method installed local leaders and entrusted responsibilities to them quickly, but various forms of longer-term assistance were also provided to the young churches.[148]

While Paul's concern for doctrinal health is evident throughout his epistolary correspondence,[149] most of his letters were addressed to churches as a whole—to the entire congregation.[150] While a survey of Paul's concern for the integrity of the teaching throughout the epistles would be instructive for the broader topic of NT instruction, the

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[148] Ott and Wilson, *Global*, 12.

[149] Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Paul the Missionary: Realities, Strategies, and Methods* (Kindle Edition: IVP Academic, 2008), 33, writes, "Apart from promoting sound Christian doctrine, Paul insisted on the evaluation of the teaching in local churches on the basis of the truth of the gospel (Gal 1:6–9) and on the basis of apostolic teaching (1 Cor 15:1–5), an evaluation that on occasion necessitates the rejection of false teachings."

[150] Schnabel, *ECM*, 2:1370, notes in this regard, "When Paul writes letters to the Christians in the cities in which he had engaged in missionary work, he does not write to individuals—for example, the leaders of the church—he writes to the congregation as a whole." Of the letters to the churches in the Pauline corpus, the letter to the Philippians is the only letter in which Paul distinguishes leaders of the congregation (Phil 1:1).

present approach—in keeping with the concept of TE throughout this argument—focuses more narrowly on Paul's concern for doctrinal health among designated "leaders" within the work. This section, then, focuses again upon the Pastoral Epistles (PE) and Paul's testament to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20. The argument will trace Paul's unique usage of the "healthy doctrine" word group in the PE,[151] and then briefly consider Paul's concern for the doctrine in his instructions to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20.

"Sound Doctrine" in the Pastoral Epistles

In the Pastoral Epistles, Paul displayed his concern for this doctrinal health by admonishing Timothy and Titus to adhere to "healthy doctrine" (ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ) or to "sound words" (ὑγιαινόντων λόγων) of the teaching and to reject any "different doctrine" (ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν). This semantic field— "healthy doctrine," "healthy words," and "different doctrine"—recurs uniquely throughout the Pastoral Epistles.[152] Paul referenced this semantic field four times in 1 Timothy. In 1 Tim 1:3, he tells Timothy to "remain at Ephesus so that you may charge certain persons not to teach any different

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[151] Thorvald B. Madsen II, "The Ethics of the Pastoral Epistles," in Köstenberger and Wilder, *Entrusted*, 219–40, 225, writes, "Consequently, we shall not consider as separate categories (a) the duties of Timothy and Titus, on the one hand, and (b) the duties of everyone else who leads, on the other. For our purposes, it will suffice to examine them collectively, taking Timothy and Titus to be examples for others to follow."

[152] According to Luck, "ὑγιής κτλ," *TDNT*, 8:312, "The group takes on a new sense in the Pastorals. Christian proclamation and teaching (→II, 777, 35ff.) is called ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ (1 Tm. 1:10; 2 Tm. 4:3; Tt 1:9, 2:1), or ὑγιαινόντες λόγοις (1 Tm. 6:3; 2 Tm. 1:13), or λόγον ὑγιῆς (Tt. 2:8) …. Sound doctrine is true and correct teaching in contrast to perverted doctrine …. This is the traditional teaching which is established and validated by the apostles and preserved by the office to which Timothy and Titus are called." See also Silva, "διδάσκω κτλ," *NIDNTTE*, 1:715, who writes, "In four passages (1 Tim 1:10; 2 Tim 4:3; Titus 1:9; 2:1) the word [διδασκαλίᾳ] is qualified by the ptc. of ὑγιαινω G5617 ("to be healthy, sound") and refers to a relatively fixed "orthodoxy," which the churches have received and which it is their duty to preserve against heresy."

doctrine (ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν)."[153] In 1 Tim 1:10, Paul identifies the list of those who fall into various types of sin, including homosexuality, lying, perjuring, and "whatever else is contrary to sound doctrine (ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ)."[154] Paul encourages Timothy in 1 Tim 4:6, "If you put these things before the brothers, you will be a good servant of Christ Jesus, being trained in the words of the faith and of the good doctrine (τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας) that you have followed."

Finally, in his closing remarks to Timothy, Paul issues the following warning: "If anyone teaches a different doctrine (ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ) and does not agree with the sound words (ὑγιαίνουσιν λόγοις) of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching (διδασκαλίᾳ) that accords with godliness (εὐσέβειαν), he is puffed up with conceit and understands nothing" (1 Tim 6:3–4a).[155] Mounce notes that the comments here at the close of the letter serve as a summary "test for orthodoxy" among the churches:

> This verse gives a twofold test for orthodoxy. The first is whether the teaching agrees with that of Paul. If a person teaches otherwise, he or she is wrong. The second is an evaluation of the results produced by the teaching. Both ὑγιαίνουσιν, "healthy," and εὐσέβειαν, "godliness," have a decidedly practical, external aspect to them …. As throughout the PE, right teaching and right practice are inextricably bound together.[156]

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[153] Mounce, *Pastoral*, 19, notes, "In this context, it means "to teach doctrine that is essentially different" from Paul's gospel …. It is not that the teaching of the opponents was merely different; it is that their teaching was essentially different and therefore wrong."

[154] Fee, *1 & 2 Timothy*, 46, notes the ethical undertones of Pauline concept of "healthy doctrine," writing, "In these [Pastoral] Epistles, the metaphor of healthy teaching becomes a thoroughgoing polemic against the diseased false teachers. But the concern of the metaphor is not with the content of doctrine; rather, it is with behavior. Healthy teaching leads to proper Christian behavior, love and good works; the diseased teaching of the heretics leads to controversies, arrogance, abusiveness, and strife (6:4)."

[155] Paul's comments here return the reader both to the admonitions of Chapter 1 as well as the qualifications for overseers and deacons from Chapter 3. Mounce, *Pastoral*, 336.

[156] Ibid.

In two places in 2 Tim, Paul referenced the word group in his instructions to Timothy. In the first part of the letter, Paul told him, “Follow the pattern of the sound words (ὑγιαινόντων λόγων) that you have heard from me, in the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus ….” (2 Tim 1:13).[157] In Paul’s final words toward the end of the letter, he charged Timothy to “preach the word; be ready in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with complete patience in teaching” (2 Tim 4:2). This work on Timothy’s part was crucial, “For the time is coming when people will not endure sound teaching (ὑγιαινούσης διδασκαλίας)” (2 Tim 4:3.).

Finally, “sound doctrine” figures prominently in Paul’s instructions to Titus. In the qualifications for elders, Paul states that the candidate “must hold firm to the trustworthy word as taught, so that he may be able to give instruction in sound doctrine (τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ) and also to rebuke those who contradict it” (Titus 1:9). To Titus directly, Paul told him to “teach what accords with sound doctrine (ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ)” (Titus 2:1). Significantly, Paul follows this command to teach what accords with sound doctrine with a list of appropriate behaviors for the various “demographics” of the church (“Older men … Older women … young women … young men,” Titus 2:2–9).

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[157] Mounce, *Pastoral*, 489, points out, “Paul continues to identify loyalty to the gospel with loyalty to himself and his proclamation of the gospel. Once again Paul expresses the ongoing theme of passing of the gospel from one trustworthy person to another: Paul was entrusted with the gospel (1 Tim 1:11; 2:7; Titus 1:3; 2 Time 1:11; cf. 2 Tim 2:8–9; cf. 1 Cor 9:17; 11:2; Gal 1:1; 2:7; 2 Thess 2:15; 3:16); it was entrusted to Timothy (1 Tim 1:19 2 Tim 1:13–14; 2:2; 3:14); and in turn Timothy is to entrust it to other trustworthy men as Paul is about to say (2 Tim 2:2). As was argued in the *Introduction*, this is not the formal transfer of power and creed that is found in the second century; it is an emphasis on preserving the true gospel, which is based on the teaching of Jesus and the apostolic interpretation of his life and death.”

The "sound doctrine," then, is concerned not only with right content but with right action.[158] In other words, apostolic TE as pictured here in Paul's instructions to his disciples comprehends not just teaching to be grasped but also rightness to be lived. As Conn pointed out, "Education as the pursuit of 'sound doctrine' (Titus 1:9) is not the suggestion of an academic exercise but, in terms of our cultural contexts, the expression of covenant faithfulness in a God-centered way of living (Titus 1:6-9, 2:1ff)."[159] The two elements depend upon one another. The impulse toward right living necessitated the right teaching from which to do so. Healthy doctrine was, therefore, a basic requirement for the initial viability and ongoing life of the churches.

Warning Against False Teachers in Acts 20

In addition to Paul's admonitions to Timothy and Titus, Luke recorded Paul's warning to the Ephesian elders concerning the need to protect and propound right doctrine. Toward the end of Paul's farewell address to the elders, he warned them, saying,

> Pay careful attention to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to care for the church of God, which he obtained with his own blood. I know that after my departure fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise men speaking twisted things, to draw away the disciples after them. Therefore be alert, remembering that for three years I did not cease night or day to admonish everyone with tears. (Acts 20:28–31)

Paul displayed his concern for the doctrine in his comments on those who will speak "twisted things." Keener points out regarding these men, "Those mentioned here speak 'twisted' things (διεστραμμένα); Luke applies the same verb (διαστρέφω) to

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[158] Ibid., 336.
[159] Conn, *Excellence*, 361.

Elymas Bar-Jesus the magician in Acts 13:8, 10; God's way is straight (Luke 3:5)."[160] Paul's concern is to preserve the integrity of the teaching, a fact that Bock illuminates, writing,

> The threat is of teaching that takes one off the "straight" path and draws disciples away (ἀποσπᾷν, *apospan*) from God's direction and leading. This verb means "draw away" from a place (BAGD 98 §2; BDAG 120 §2). The image is of pulling someone in a direction that the person should not go, as here, or leaving a former location (Luke 22:41; Acts 21:1). The elders should prevent false teaching at all costs.[161]

Paul's warnings presaged the false teaching that would plague the church in Ephesus.[162] Given the consistent threat of false teaching and its proponents, Paul reminds the elders that he did not cease to admonish (νουθετῶν) them according to the teaching of the Gospel.[163]

Paul showed a marked concern for healthy doctrine throughout his church-planting ministry. From his instructions to Timothy and Titus to his charge to the Ephesian elders, Paul was concerned that his leaders guard the integrity of the apostolic tradition and to defend it from misrepresentation and false teaching. This desire for healthy doctrine lay behind Paul's multi-faceted pursuit of right teaching in the churches—whether through personal visits, sending emissaries and co-workers, or sending letters. As such, the healthy doctrine orientation is fundamental to apostolic TE.

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[160] Keener, *Acts*, 3048.

[161] Bock, *Acts*, 631.

[162] As Keener, *Acts*, 3048, points out, "We have abundant evidence that false teachers flourished in Ephesus in the first century …. Although the hints in Ephesians are minimal (cf. Eph. 4:14), false teachers are clearly a problem in 1 and 2 Timothy, addressed to Ephesus (1 Tim 1:3–7, 19–20; 4:1–3, 7; 6:3–5; 2 Tim 2:16–18; 3:4–9, 13; 4:3–4)."

[163] Bock, *Acts*, 631.

Conclusion

This chapter proposed an alternative paradigm for TE in unreached contexts, "apostolic theological education." This paradigm of apostolic TE is situated within the broader concept of apostolic "work" outlined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Within that apostolic work, "instruction" played an essential part, as demonstrated in the example and writing of Paul and his colleagues. That paradigm of instruction displayed four rudimentary "orientations" that form the basis for apostolic TE: In-Mission Orientation, Practice-Orientation, Transference-Orientation, Healthy Doctrine-Orientation. The resulting picture is apostolic TE, a biblical paradigm of TE for unreached contexts.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

This dissertation has argued that Western modes of formal TE are ill-suited to the realities of apostolic "work" in unreached contexts. The argument proposed apostolic TE, with its four "orientations," as a paradigm for TE in missions contexts. This apostolic TE paradigm operates within the apostolic "world" and "work" outlined in Chapter Two. Furthermore, apostolic TE is not a specific "form" of TE, just as apostolic "work" is not a specific "strategy" for missions. The proposed concepts serve within their respective fields as paradigms toward which contemporary models can move in greater degrees of approximation.

Brief Summary of Chapters

Chapter 1 of outlined the argument of this dissertation as a missiological examination of TE undertaken in contexts of pioneer missions, with a focus on North India. The chapter framed the thesis of the dissertation as follows: Western Protestant TE constitutes a paradigm of TE that is ill-suited to train apostolic workers in pioneer missions contexts. A more appropriate paradigm of TE in pioneer contexts was proposed—apostolic TE. The purpose of Chapter 2 was to define the biblical space for "unreached" contexts (like the First century Mediterranean basin) and to set forth a biblical picture of apostolic "work" that is derived from the NT church and serves as the paradigm for the ongoing missionary work of the Church among the unreached.

Chapter 3 presented a thematic survey of the development of modern, Western Protestant TE and the diffusion of that paradigm of TE throughout the world. Tracing that global diffusion through the 20th century, the argument surveyed the importation of Western, Protestant TE to North India as an example of the global spread of this paradigm into an unreached context. Chapter 4 began with a survey of the primary elements of the Western, formal paradigm of TE, followed by a survey of the critical literature directed toward that paradigm. That chapter concluded with a detailed analysis of the primary ways in which Western, formal TE can potentially inhibit apostolic "work" in pioneer, unreached contexts, with a North India serving as a locale in which those dynamics are at play.

Chapter 5 proposed apostolic TE as an alternative paradigm of TE in unreached missions contexts. The apostolic "world" and "work" established in Chapter 2 provided the theoretical and missiological subtext for the proposed paradigm of apostolic TE. That section first overviewed the NT concept of "teaching" as an essential part of the apostolic "work." With that overview in place, the argument then outlined the four rudimentary "orientations" within apostolic TE as In-Mission Orientation, Practice-Orientation, Transference-Orientation, and Healthy Doctrine-Orientation. Apostolic TE serves as the paradigm for TE in unreached contexts.

Implications of this Study

Chapter 2 framed the ways in which apostolic "work" and TE are paradigmatic. Drawing upon Allen's idea of "Generational Resubmission," this dissertation proposed both apostolic "work" and apostolic TE as potential paradigms that faithfully reflect the

biblical patterns of the NT.[1] As such, to the extent that they faithfully reflect the biblical pattern, they serve as paradigms to which models of respective application should be evaluated and, if needed, "submit." The practical implication of this "submission" is that these paradigms can serve as an evaluative structure for contemporary missions practice, both for missionary strategies (apostolic "work") or for proposals of TE in missions contexts (apostolic TE).

With the renewed concern for theological training in Majority World contexts, including unreached contexts,[2] evaluation of this type is critical to avoid the pitfalls of unexamined exportation of the Western paradigm. An awareness of the challenges presented by the application of the Western paradigm to unreached contexts would ideally provoke extended theological and methodological reflection on the part of theological innovators.

In the first place, theological training organizations like those mentioned in Chapter 1 would do well to assess their contribution to theological training through the lens of apostolic TE. Will the proposed curricular structure, assessment, and outcomes reproduce the ill-effects of the Western paradigm of TE or is it sufficiently cognizant of the biblical implications of the apostolic paradigm? Furthermore, as mission entities like the IMB potentially re-engage with seminaries and theological schools in Majority World

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[1] See Chapter 2, p. 71 of this dissertation, where Newbigin, "Foreword," summarized Allen's missiological approach as "the resubmission in each generation of the traditions of men to the Word and Spirit of God."

[2] See Chapter 1, p. 3 of this dissertation for a list of these organizations, including Training Leaders International, Reaching and Teaching, Teaching Truth International, and the Gospel Coalition International Outreach: Theological Famine Project.

contexts, it will be important for those entities to evaluate their contribution to those schools in accordance with the paradigmatic concerns presented here.

Specifically, issues of curricular organization, assessment, and credentialing will need critical attention as organizations seek to provide biblically appropriate TE to leaders in apostolic contexts. Curricular structures that bear a strong resemblance to Western curriculum design and outcomes should be seriously evaluated. Given the assumptive nature of the Western paradigm, theological educators trained in that paradigm must be particularly cognizant of potentially unexamined factors at play in curricular design.

With regard to credentialing, the apostolic paradigm offers an opportunity to evaluate the complex influence of existing accrediting entities. The experience of HBI and other like-minded institutions with regard to accreditation should be seriously considered as theological schools and educators interact with accrediting bodies. The paradigm of apostolic TE presented here offers the initial steps toward a template for curricular and accreditation reform that reflects the biblical nature of the apostolic world and work. Specifically, the apostolic paradigm of TE offers a map for theological educators to innovate appropriate training programs that could also be effectively credentialed by existing or, in some cases, by newly-created accrediting bodies.

Areas for Further Study

This dissertation offered initial forays into several topics that warrant further research. In the first place, each of the elements of apostolic TE is worthy of an in-depth exegetical and biblical theological analysis. Able exegetes will need to mine the biblical data for

further paradigmatic implications of apostolic TE. This is especially true of the "Transference-Orientation," the element that appears as "multiplication" or "reproducibility" in training manuals and missions books but has received relatively less attention in scholarly works.

The apostolic "work" as the missiological link between the mission of the NT church and the church today is a topic that is ripe for further research. Plummer's work on the gospel as the missiological link remains a seminal study in the field.[3] Further study of the paradigm of apostolic "work" as an articulation and extension of Plummer's proposal could yield a fruitful contribution to the question of the continuity of the church's mission. Furthermore, extensive work is required in the application of that paradigm to contemporary missions contexts.

The question of application broaches the broader topic of the apostolic hermeneutic, and indeed the issue of the hermeneutics of Acts. A comprehensive hermeneutical approach to the narratives of Acts would be of inestimable benefit to the field of missiology specifically and biblical studies in general. An in-depth hermeneutic of this type would go far in answering the lingering, and sometimes contentious, questions surrounding the meaning and application of the Acts narratives. Furthermore, the ongoing application of the apostolic hermeneutic to the book of Acts may yield further dividends in understanding and applying the Acts narratives in the contemporary world of missions.

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[3] Robert L. Plummer, *Paul's Understanding of the Church's Mission: Did the Apostle Paul Expect the Early Christian Communities to Evangelize?* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006).

Some of the main questions posed by this dissertation regarding the extent and effectiveness of Western TE await fuller confirmation through a series of empirical studies. Comprehensive studies on the effects of Western TE are necessary for a variety of topics, such as the present state of theological schools in unreached contexts, an "outcomes-based" study of the activities of TE grads following graduation, comparative case studies among traditional Western modes of TE and "missional" approaches as to their effectiveness in producing apostolic workers, and comprehensive surveys of non-Western, non-formal alternatives of TE in unreached contexts.

Finally, while the proposed paradigm was specifically directed toward unreached contexts, apostolic TE carries potential ramifications for all forms and contexts of TE. Given the biblical basis of the argument, the paradigm derived from this dissertation has potentially far-reaching consequences for the practice of TE across contexts. Further study on the changing nature of Western Christendom and the implications for ongoing TE—and how an apostolic TE paradigm might be applied—falls to other researchers and practitioners.

Conclusion

Apostolic TE is a biblically-derived paradigm of TE aptly suited to train apostolic workers in unreached missions contexts. This paradigm derives from the NT context of the apostolic world as well as the apostolic "work" undertaken by the first missionaries. As such, it carries particular significance as an alternative to the prevailing paradigm of Western TE for theological educators working in pioneer missions contexts.

APPENDIX 1
SURVEY OF NT APOSTLESHIP

The nature of NT apostleship has been an ongoing issue of concern in NT scholarship.[1] In recent years the NT apostolate has garnered increasing attention from missiologists and NT scholars, particularly as it relates to missions and church leadership.[2] For the immediate purposes of this dissertation, the question is the identity of the NT apostles—who they were and what they did. Most recent studies of the term recognize that "apostle" referred to various, if somewhat related, groups of people in the early church community.

Commentators on NT apostleship identify two or three referents for the word. Dunn and Plummer point to two: the "official" role of specially gifted, eyewitness

[1] See Walter Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1969); Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Apostles Before and During Paul's Time," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on His 60th Birthday*, W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin, eds., trans. Manfred Kwiran and W. Ward Gasque (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1970), 287-303; J. A. Kirk, "Apostleship since Rengstorf: Towards a Synthesis," *New Testament Studies* 21.2 (1975): 249–64; Andrew C. Clark, "Apostleship: Evidence from the New Testament and Early Christian Literature," *ERT* 13.4 (1989): 344–82.

[2] Some missiologists and commentators who argue that modern-day missionaries are, to varying degrees, the functional equivalents of NT apostles include Don Dent, *The Ongoing Role of Apostles in Missions: The Forgotten Foundation* (Kindle Edition: Crossbooks, 2011); Craig Ott and Gene Wilson, *Global Church Planting: Biblical Principles and Best Practices for Multiplication* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2011); Daniel Sinclair, *A Vision of the Possible: Pioneer Church Planting in Teams* (Waynesboro, GA: Authentic Media, 2005); Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 438–9; Craig S. Keener, *Gift and Giver: The Holy Spirit for Today* (Kindle Edition: Baker, 2001), 128–30, among others.

apostles and those who are deemed “emissaries” of the churches (e.g. the “brothers” in 2 Cor 8:23 and Epaphroditus in Phil 2:25).[3] Clark delineates three categories of apostle, adding “missionary apostles” in addition to the eyewitnesses and the church delegates.[4] Dent further subdivides the “apostles,” arguing that an accurate assessment of the NT “reveals four groups of apostles: (1) the Twelve, (2) other commissioned eyewitnesses, (3) missionary apostles, and (4) envoys of the churches.”[5] For the purposes of this argument, the question is how these various usages of *apostolos* are unified, if indeed they are. Though there were differences in how the NT uses “apostle,” it will be shown below that there was a common core of meaning that united the various usages of the term.

The Twelve and Paul

In the first place, the Twelve are decisively depicted as the “Apostles” chosen by Jesus. Each of the Synoptic Gospels tells of Jesus’ choosing of the Twelve.[6] According to the Matthean account, “These twelve Jesus sent out,” instructing them to proclaim, “The kingdom of heaven is at hand” and to “Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons” (Matt 10:5, 8). In the account in Mark’s Gospel, Jesus “appointed twelve (whom he also named apostles) so that they might be with him and he might send them

[3] James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*: *A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1975), 273; Robert Lewis Plummer, “The Church’s Missionary Nature: The Apostle Paul and His Churches” (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001), 67.

[4] Clark, “Apostleship," 363, notes “[I]t may be suggested that Paul did use the word ‘apostle’ in at least three different senses. He spoke of those with special authority to witness of the risen Christ, of itinerant missionaries and church-planters such as Andronicus and Junia, and of church delegates who were not (at least, not primarily) missionaries.”

[5] Dent, *Apostles*, 34.

[6] Matthew 10:2, Mark 3:14, Luke 6:13.

out to preach and have authority to cast out demons" (Mark 3:14). Luke also records the "sending out" of the Twelve, though it occurs sometime after Jesus' initial calling and choosing. In Luke 9:1–2, Jesus calls together the Twelve he had previously chosen and "sent them out to proclaim the kingdom of God and to heal." As these various accounts of the initial Apostolic commissioning show, there is a foundational sense of being "sent out" to proclaim the gospel.[7] The Twelve Apostles, as the sent-out disciples of Jesus, were the first recipients of the title "apostle" in the NT.

Beyond the original Twelve, Paul is also presented as an apostle throughout the NT literature. The traditional Pauline corpus contains thirty-seven usages of ἀπόστολος (singular and plural), about half of which are Paul's references to himself.[8] Paul clearly understood himself to be "called by the will of God to be an apostle of Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:1). Significantly, Paul's commission as apostle also entails a definite sense of "sent"-ness. In the initial conversion account in Acts, Jesus commissions Saul to "carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel" (Acts 9:15). The rest of the book of Acts depicts Paul's fulfillment of this initial commission in the record of his missionary activity. As detailed below, the picture of Paul's life and ministry is that of the pioneer missionary, constantly propelled to new peoples and places to plant churches.

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[7] I. Howard Marshall, "Luke's Portrait of the Pauline Mission" in *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul's Mission*, Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 112, notes, "In any case, what emerges with complete clarity is that the twelve apostles were in Luke's eyes first and foremost evangelists bearing witness to the risen Lord."

[8] Romans 1:1; 11:13; 16:7; 1 Cor 1:1; 4:1, 9; 9:1, 2, 5; 12:28, 29; 15:7, 9 (2); 2 Cor 1:1; 8:23; 11:1, 5, 13, 16; 12:11, 12; Gal 1:1, 17, 19; 2:1; Eph 1:1; 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Col 1:1; 1 Thess 2:6; 1 Tim 1:1; 2:7; 2 Tim 1:1, 11; Titus 1:1.

The apostleship of the Twelve and Paul, then, bears a strong correlation to their identity as "sent-out" proclaimers of the gospel of Christ.[9] In addition to this element of being "sent," however, another important element in the apostolic identity of the Twelve and Paul was being an eyewitness to the risen Lord. In choosing a replacement for Judas Iscariot after the ascension, the early Christian community sought a man with the following qualifications:

> … one of the men who have accompanied us during all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us—one of these men must become with us a witness to his resurrection. (Acts 1:21–22)

Upon casting lots, the early community recognized Matthias as the one to "take the place in this ministry and apostleship from which Judas turned aside to go to his own place" (Acts 1:25). In Paul's case, he emphasized his "eye-witness" status in regard to his own apostleship. In 1 Corinthians 9, Paul asked the Corinthian church: "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" (1 Cor 9:1).[10] Later, he again emphasized his eyewitness experience when he claimed that, "Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me" (1 Cor 15:8).[11]

The Twelve and Paul were unique in that their initial commissioning came through personal interaction with Christ himself. The Twelve Apostles were those who

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[9] P. W. Barnett, "Apostle," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*, Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009): 45–51, 47.

[10] Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 669.

[11] Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* NICNT*,* Rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 812.

had been with Christ from the beginning (Acts 1:21).[12] Paul's apostleship was unique also in that it was founded on an eyewitness encounter with the risen Lord and a subsequent commissioning to the Gentiles (Acts 9:1–16).[13] Their special status in this regard qualified them to "validate" the message about Jesus. The Twelve apostles functioned clearly as a validating body in the early church, one to whom even Paul appealed concerning the integrity of his gospel "in order to make sure I was not running or had not run in vain" (Gal 2:2).[14] Given their status as "authorizers" of the message, connection to an eyewitness apostle became one of the principal tests for determining which books would be included in the canon of Scripture.[15] This unique status, built as it was upon personal, eyewitness contact with the Risen Lord, was necessarily confined to the apostolic age.

The Twelve and Paul were not, however, the only ones referred to as "apostles" in the NT record. The eyewitness requirement, then, was unique to these "validating" apostles, but it was not a necessary condition of apostleship in the broader community of the early church. Several others are referred to as apostles in the NT and many others not called apostles were nevertheless involved in the apostolic "work," as we will see now.

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[12] Andrew Clark, "The Role of the Apostles," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998): 169–90, 171, writes, "As for the theme of the apostles as companions of Jesus, the account of the election of Matthias makes it clear that the essential qualification for the post is that the person should be 'one of the men who have accompanied us during all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us' (1:21; *cf*., 4;13)."

[13] Silva, "ἀποστέλλω κτλ," *NIDNTTE*, 1:368.

[14] "The apostles are portrayed in various ways as legitimizing new developments in the expanding mission …. The crucial new developments in the growth of the early church are validated by the men who form the nucleus of the restored people of God." Andrew Clark, "The Role of the Apostles" in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998): 169–90, 176.

[15] See, in this regard, Bruce Metzger's discussion of the major criteria for NT canonicity, of which "apostolicity" was one. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 253–54.

Other "apostles"

Outside of Paul and the Twelve, five others are explicitly referred to as apostles, none of whom appear to have been eyewitnesses to the resurrected Jesus: Barnabas in Acts 14:4, 14; Andronicus and Junias in Rom 16:7; James in Gal 1:19; and Epaphroditus in Phil 2:25. In each of these instances, it is not their eyewitness to Christ but rather the "sent"-ness of their calling that defines their claims to apostolicity.

With regard to Barnabas, there is no indication that he was an eyewitness to the resurrection. Yet in Acts 14, Barnabas is twice referred to as an apostle alongside Paul.[16] While on the first "missionary journey," Paul and Barnabas were proclaiming the gospel in the synagogue of Iconium, where "the people of the city were divided; some sided with the Jews and some with the *apostles*" (Acts 14:4). After Paul and Barnabas healed the crippled man at Lystra, the crowds "wanted to offer sacrifice" to them. But, "when the *apostles* Barnabas and Paul heard of it, they tore their garments and rushed out into the crowd …" (Acts 14:14). Luke's identification of Barnabas as an apostle comes in the midst of his missionary labors alongside Paul in the so-called first missionary journey (Acts 13–14). Barnabas' "apostleship" is, therefore, most likely related to his status as a "missionary," or one engaged in planting churches in new places.[17] Significantly, his

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[16] Schnabel, *Acts*, 604.

[17] James D. G. Dunn, *Acts of the Apostles* (London: Epworth, 1996), 173, points out, "In this case Barnabas and Saul are commissioned as missionaries of the church in Antioch …. This probably determines the sense in which Barnabas and Saul are subsequently designated as 'apostles,' in some contrast to the apostolic status Paul insisted on for himself (see on 14.4 and 14)." See also Victor C. Pfitzner, "Office and Charism in Paul and Luke," *Colloquium* 13, no. 2 (1981): 28–38, 37, who wrote, "That Luke sees both men as apostles and not simply as emissaries of a local church can be seen from a number of points. Paul's call to a universal witness comes well before 13:1–4 and is repeated on two further occasions (chapter 22 and 26). The apostolic claim of both men is underlined, as we would expect, by Luke's references to the Spirit.".

missionary work comes as a result of his calling by the Holy Spirit and subsequent "sending" by the church in Antioch (Acts 13:1–3).[18] Though Barnabas is introduced as early as Acts 4:36 and appears frequently throughout the subsequent narrative, he is not called an apostle until after he is commissioned by the Antioch church in 13:1–3. As Luke almost exclusively applies "apostles" to the Twelve, his calling Barnabas an "apostle" in Acts 14:4, 14 is that much more significant.[19] This likely points to Barnabas' apostolic status as having emerged from the commissioning at Antioch and confirmed through his missionary work alongside Paul.

Junias and Andronicus' status as "apostles" has generated significant debate historically. The issue is whether Rom 16:7 should be translated "regarded by the apostles" or "regarded as apostles." In reference to this verse, Schmithals wrote,

> J. B. Lightfoot has already established that ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις does not mean "regarded by the apostles" but rather "regarded as apostles." In spite of occasional contrary assertions, this translation, which is the only natural one, is generally preferred down to the present. It is found also in the Greek fathers. Thus Junias and Andronicus are apostles.[20]

This interpretation of Andronicus and Junias as "outstanding among the apostles" is, according to Schreiner, the "most natural way of understanding the prepositional phrase"

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[18] Christoph W. Stenchke, "Paul's Mission as the Mission of the Church," in *Paul's Missionary Methods: In His Time and Ours*, Robert L. Plummer and John Mark Terry, eds. (Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 2012): 74–94, 77.

[19] Andrew Clark, "The Role of the Apostles," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998): 169–90, 182, wrote, "Given Luke's otherwise exclusive use of the term 'apostles' with reference to the Twelve, it is certainly surprising that, in these two verses, he should apparently use it with reference to Paul and Barnabas.".

[20] Schmithals, *Office*, 62.

and has thus become the "consensus view" regarding the verse.[21] The context of the verse supports this interpretation, as Paul's greeting to the Junias and Andronicus comes in the midst of a list of people referred to as "workers" and "fellow workers."[22] Junias and Andronicus, as apostolic co-workers, fit logically into the list. Their status as apostolic co-workers is further evident in Paul's reference to them as "fellow prisoners" (Rom 16:7). It is likely that their imprisonment resulted from their apostolic gospel ministry, just as Paul's did.[23]

With regard to James, Paul numbers him among the apostles in Gal 1:19: "But I saw none of the other apostles except James the Lord's brother." Paul places James alongside "Cephas and John" as those "who seemed to be pillars" of the church in Jerusalem (Gal 2:9). While it is not made explicit how James was "qualified" to be an apostle, at least one element of his apostleship was a commission to proclaim the gospel to the Jews. According to Paul's report, James, Cephas, and John "gave the right hand of fellowship to Barnabas and me, that we should go to the Gentiles and *they to the circumcised*" (Gal 2:9). In this short statement, Paul sets his apostleship parallel the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church, including James.[24] While Paul and Barnabas are sent to the Gentiles ("that we should go to the Gentiles"), the "pillars" are sent to the Jews ("they to the circumcised").

Furthermore, Paul had previously compared his apostolic ministry to Peter's,

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[21] Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1998), 796. For an extended list of contemporary scholars who endorse Lightfoot's rendering of Rom 16:7, see Dent, *Apostles*, 48.

[22] Prisca and Aquila, "fellow workers" (16:3); Mary, "worked hard" (16:6); Urbanus, "fellow worker" (16:9); Tryphaena and Tryphosa, "workers in the Lord" (16:12).

[23] "The "apostles" referred to in Romans 16:7, without further qualification, could hardly have been anything else but itinerant missionaries." Schnackenburg, "Apostles," 294.

[24] Barnett, "Apostle," 47.

writing, "[W]hen they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised (for he who worked through Peter for his apostolic ministry to the circumcised worked also through me for mine to the Gentiles) …." (Gal 2:7–8). In these verses, Paul is equating his and Peter's apostolic commission. Both had been entrusted to take the gospel to a certain demographic; they had been "sent" for their respective purposes. On the logic of Gal 2:9 ("*they* to the circumcised"), it seems that Peter's apostolic commission is extended to the other two "pillars" as well. In this way, then, James' apostleship is organically related to Peter's and Paul's. James was, along with Peter, commissioned to preach the gospel to the Jews.[25]

Paul calls Epaphroditus an apostle in Philippians 2. Paul had sent Epaphroditus, "my brother and fellow worker and fellow soldier, and your messenger (ἀπόστολον) and minister to my need" back to the church in Philippi (Phil 2:25). While Epaphroditus' "apostleship" in this verse is connected to his identity as a "messenger" of the Philippian church, it is not limited to that. Rather, Paul refers to him as a "fellow worker" (συνεργὸν), a term he frequently applied to his other missionary co-laborers.[26] Epaphroditus was therefore not only an *apostolos* in the sense of a messenger, bearing gifts to Paul from the church in Philippi, but he was also served alongside Paul as a "sent-out" one, likely as a missionary co-laborer.

[25] Dent, *Apostles*, 41, makes the following points in further support of James' apostleship, writing, "He served as a pillar of the church in Jerusalem, sent out messengers to other churches, made occasional preaching trips (perhaps), and proposed a compromise to the Jerusalem Council that avoided restrictions on the Gentiles coming to faith (Gal 2:9, 12; 1 Cor 9:5; Acts 15:13-21)."

[26] Timothy in 1 Thess 3:2 and Rom 16:21; Priscilla and Aquilla in Rom 16:3; Titus in 2 Cor 8:23; Euodia, Syntyche, and Clement in Phil 4:2–3; Mark and Jesus Justus in Col 4:10–11; Philemon in Phlm 1:1; Mark, Aristarchus, Demas and Luke in Phlm 1:24.

In addition to those explicitly called apostles, Paul makes several implicit references to his co-workers as apostles. In his First Letter to the Thessalonians, Paul opens the letter introducing himself, Silvanus (Silas), and Timothy (1 Thess 1:1). In the verses that follow, Paul recounts how the Thessalonians heard the gospel and "turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God …" (1 Thess 1:9). In the midst of Paul's recollections of his ministry in Thessalonica, he states, "Nor did we seek glory from people, whether from you or from others, though we could have made demands as apostles of Christ" (1 Thess 2:6). The "we" here refers to Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy mentioned in the greeting.[27] These three were present in the Acts account of the founding of the church at Thessalonica (Acts 17:1–4). Timothy (Acts 16:1–4) and Silas (Acts 17:4) had joined Paul's apostolic band and were active alongside him as he established the church there. Paul's reference to them as "apostles," then, most likely stems from the fact that they served alongside him as pioneer missionaries.[28]

Paul strongly implies that Apollos is an apostle alongside him in 1 Corinthians 3–4.[29] In those chapters, Paul vehemently defends his own apostleship. He starts by

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[27] Barnett, "Apostle," 49.

[28] A number of commentators do not accept Timothy's status as an apostle, including Adolf von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Volume 1* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 321; and Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994), 909–10. Grudem argues that the "we" statements in 1 Thess 2 should not be read to include Timothy, as the "suffering" and "shameful treatment" of v. 2 is a reference to Paul and Silas' imprisonment, in which Timothy is not mentioned (Acts 16:19). The later "we" of 1 Thess 2:6 does not, then, apply to Timothy. It is by no means clear that his exclusion is warranted, as Paul introduces all three in the greeting, and then employs the collective "we" all throughout the following chapters. Furthermore, both Harnack and Grudem reject Timothy because nowhere in the NT is Timothy explicitly called an apostle, though Paul had ample opportunity to recognize him as such, especially in his epistolary salutations. The same rationale, however, could be applied to Silas, and yet von Harnack affirms Silas' apostleship (Grudem is tentative but open). Barnabas also is called an apostle only twice in the NT (though Luke and Paul both had ample opportunity to name him as such in other places), and yet he is considered to qualify without question.

[29] Here again, von Harnack states definitively that Apollos was not an apostle. He fails, however, to give any justification for his claim. von Harnack, *Expansion*, 321.

chastising the church in Corinth for their divisiveness. Specifically, he refers to the fact that some in the church are professing allegiance to Apollos and some to Paul: “For when one says, ‘I follow Paul,’ and another, ‘I follow Apollos,’ are you not being merely human?” (1 Cor 3:4). Though there are differences in the ministry of Paul and Apollos (“I planted, Apollos watered ….”), Paul takes pains to equate himself and Apollos: “He who plants and he who waters are one ….” (1 Cor 3:6, 8). Indeed, he and Apollos are “God’s fellow workers” (θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί) (1 Cor 3:9).

Later, Paul lists Apollos alongside himself and Cephas, suggesting an apparent equality in roles among the three: “For all things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas …” (1 Cor 3:22). Finally, after referring to himself and Apollos (“I have applied all these things to myself and Apollos for your benefit, brothers …”), Paul states that “God has exhibited us apostles as last of all ...” (1 Cor 4:6, 9). Apparently, Paul counted Apollos an apostle. Given the context—Paul’s description of the founding of the Corinthian church—Apollos’ apostleship is connected to his involvement in that work. Here again, then, another of Paul’s “fellow laborers” (συνεργοί) is referred to as an *apostolos*.[30]

A broader group of these “fellow laborers” constitute the final class of those who are connected to Paul’s apostolate. While not referred to as “apostles,” these co-workers nonetheless joined with Paul as an “apostolic band” of missionary workers.[31] As noted

[30] See Wilson’s argument for Apollos as an apostle. Andrew Wilson, “Apostle Apollos?” *JETS* 56.2 (2013): 325–35.

[31] Advocates of some form of an “apostolic band” concept include: Ralph D. Winter, “The Two Structures of God’s Redemptive Mission,” *Missiology* 2 (1974): 121–39; Arthur F. Glasser, “The Apostle Paul and the Missionary Task,” in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, Rev. ed., Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne, eds. (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1992), 125–33; Edward F. Murphy, “The Missionary Society as an Apostolic Team,”

above, Paul refers to many of his missionary companions as συνεργοί: Timothy, Epaphroditus, Aquila and Priscilla, Titus, Euodia, Syntyche, Clement, Mark, Jesus Justus, Philemon, Aristarchus, Demas and Luke. While Timothy, Aquila and Priscilla, and Titus occur prominently throughout the record of Paul's missionary activity, the less prominent members of this group are also shown to be active missionary laborers.[32]

According to Paul, Euodia and Syntyche "labored side by side with me in the gospel together with Clement and the rest of my fellow workers …." (Phil 4:3). Mark joined Paul and Barnabas in the initial Galatian ministry (Acts 13:5) and was later, along with Jesus Justus, a "comfort" to Paul (Col 4:10–11) as well as a companion of Peter (1 Pet 5:13). Aristarchus was Paul's frequent companion in his travels (Acts 19:29, 20:4, 27:2) and a "fellow prisoner" with Paul in Rome (Col 4:10). Luke was Paul's missionary companion to Macedonia (Acts 16:10) as well as a co-prisoner (Col 4:14, Phil 1:24, 2 Tim 4:11). Each of these co-workers participated in the ministry of church planting in various ways. They showed themselves to be laborers in the apostolic "work" of church-planting among the unreached, a point of some significance to the ongoing relevance of apostolic "work" to the Church.

Missiology 4 (1976): 103–18; Michael C. Griffiths, "Today's Missionary, Yesterday's Apostle," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 21 (1985):154–65; Robert J. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community* (Hendrickson Publishers, 1994). Cf. Robert L. Plummer, *Paul's Understanding of the Church's Mission: Did the Apostle Paul Expect the Early Christian Communities to Evangelize?* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006).

[32] See Dunn's discussion of the contribution of each of Paul's co-workers. James D. G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem: Christianity in the Making*, Vol. 2. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 566–70.

Conclusion

Taken together, the "other apostles" of this section—those explicitly named, implicitly identified, and those connected with the apostolic work as "co-laborers"—comprise a sizeable body of missionary workers in the NT community, none of whom appear to have fulfilled the eyewitness standard for apostleship. The Twelve and Paul occupied a unique place within the NT community, but they were not the only "apostles." Indeed, given the special status of the Twelve and Paul, it is notable that the word was even used of others. And yet it was, and not sparingly.

While the fact that biblical authors employed the same term in different contexts is not a conclusive argument that those various usages have the same or even similar meaning, it is nonetheless significant that the same term is used. This is especially the case given that the sense of *apostolos* as an "authorized messenger" was not commonly found in Classical or Koine Greek.[33] The present argument is not, however, based upon a simple recurrence in word choice.[34] It has been demonstrated above that there is a discernible thread of meaning running through the NT concept of "apostle." That thread

[33] Silva, "ἀποστέλλω κτλ," *NIDNTTE*, 1:366, notes "The term ἀπόστολος (cf. στόλος, "expedition, journey, fleet") must have orig. been a verbal adj., but it is almost always used as a noun. It is associated with maritime language, referring to a naval expedition (sometimes more specifically its commander) or to a ship about to be "sent off," but it can also be applied to a band of colonists sent overseas and even to documents related to shipping. The sense "emissary, ambassador," referring to individuals, is rare …."

[34] Cf. D. A. Carson, *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians, 12-14* (Kindle Edition: Baker Academic, 1996), 90, who wrote, "Of course, the word apostle can extend beyond the Twelve plus Paul; but "Lord" can extend beyond Jesus, "elders" and "deacons" can extend beyond ecclesiastical office/ functions, and so forth. The primary reason is obvious: nascent Christianity had to use the vocabulary into which it was born, and its own specialized use of certain terms did not immediately displace the larger semantic range of the terms employed. As a result, attempts to establish what apostleship means for Paul by simply appealing to the full semantic range of the word as it is found in his writings is deeply flawed at the methodological level.". Carson's objection here is precisely why the narrative accounts of Paul's "work" are so significant in establishing the apostolic identity.

is the apostolic "work" of pioneer church planting, in which all of those mentioned above, to varying degrees, participated.[35]

[35] Silva, "ἀποστέλλω κτλ, *NIDNTTE*, 1:373, recognizes that "the concepts of the apostolate vary in the various NT writings," though he also concludes, "We may take it as incontrovertible that the missionary commission was an essential part of the primitive Christian apostolate."

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