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The Church of the East in East Asia:
Missiological Lessons from the Sixteenth Century Context

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While the Protestant Reformation and the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation were in the forefront of the Christian scene in sixteenth century Europe, the Church of the East (COTE)[1], a Syriac-rite branch of the church, had been beset by a wide range of difficulties just prior to and in the sixteenth century. The COTE had a long and established history in central, southern, and eastern Asia, but for most students of church history, the COTE of the sixteenth century is a commonly unheard-of story. It is a goal of this essay to fill this lacunae for the majority of those interested in sixteenth century Asia. To address this apparent lack, this essay will first give an overview of the difficulties that the COTE endured prior to the sixteenth century. Second, this essay will summarize the state of the COTE in central, southern and eastern Asia in the sixteenth century as per the evidence available, and then will focus on the COTE specifically in sixteenth century India. From these observations, especially in regards to the Indian situation, some missiological lessons will be highlighted.

Nasrani Cross, Kadamattom church, Kerala, India (Jogytmathew / CC BY-SA (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)).

Background of the Church of the East

The COTE from the fifth century until the mid-fourteenth century had a strong impact throughout Asia.[2] In fact, much of what is now called the 10-40 window, around the year 1000 had a vibrant and expansive Christian presence along the Silk Road from Persia through Central Asia into China and beyond.[3] From the eleventh through the thirteenth century, there was an initial engagement from Persia eastward. Merv (near modern day Mary in Turkmenistan) was a Christian sending center.[4] It was a launching point for COTE priests, monks, and laity to follow the Silk Road via land routes eastward across to other parts of Asia. Bible schools and training was part of the overall strategy to expand Christianity eastward. The importance of the Bible schools, following the Antiochene Christology and hermeneutics,[5] moved from the school at Antioch eastward, first to the school at Edessa in Syria until its close in 489,[6] and at Nisibis in Persia, which expanded after Edessa's closing. The school at Nisibis became renowned as the key COTE theological training center for several centuries.[7] Further, along the Silk Road the presence of Christian

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From the Desk of Outgoing EMS President

Ed Smither

This edition of the *Occasional Bulletin* is an exciting mashup of missiological reflections. We begin in sixteenth-century Asia where Paul Lewis leads us into a deeper missional understanding of the little known Church of the East. Next, M.B. Doogan invites us to explore youth ministry during the period of the Protestant Reformation. From these historical discussions, Samuel S. conveys his experience of leaving a tenured university position to work in theological education in the non-Western world, imploring others to do the same. Finally, long-time EMS leader and veteran missiologist Scott Moreau reflects on his journey in mission and missiology. Borrowing the language of Olympic gold medalist and missionary to China, Eric Liddell, Moreau describes sensing God's pleasure through the ministry of writing. These articles, diverse in discipline and style, are all centered on the mission of God and the church's participation in it.

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cemeteries, coinage, art, and various documents[8] have been found, highlighting the strong political ties and societal impact of the COTE throughout central Asia and southern India.

While the COTE was present in central, eastern and southern Asia from the fall of Sasanian Persia in the mid-seventh century, there was a steady, if somewhat sporadic, advance of Islam across central Asia and into India. By the 8th century on, there were numerous clashes across central Asia (including what we now call northwest China). Various Mongol and Turkish tribes, Muslim, and Tibetan Buddhist forces among others battled across this terrain.[9] After the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, a period of *pax mongolica* (peace of the Mongols) took place in much of Asia from China to eastern Europe until the mid-fourteenth century.[10] With the splintering of the Mongol Empire which had been, at least neutral or, pro-Christian, the Il Khans[11] of Persia became Muslim (in the late thirteenth—early fourteenth centuries).[12] Due to the political proclivities among the Il Khan leaders, the Muslim leadership were antagonistic to the Christian population. Similar to this was the rise of the Turks that tended to be more fundamentalist in their Islam (for example, Tamerlane who will be discussed below). Two notably Turkish Islamic conquering groups were the Seljuk Turks (eleventh-twelfth centuries)[13] and the Ottoman Turks (fifteenth century on),[14] each holding much of central and western Asia under their rule.

As much as the general considerations noted above fed into the decline of the COTE in Central Asia, probably the strongest factor to the demise of the COTE in Central Asia to northern India, and all the way to Anatolia (modern Turkey) were the conquests of Timur the Lame, or Tamerlane (1370-1405).[15] Tamerlane was a strict and devout Muslim, and out of his devotion, he destroyed churches, slaughtered Christians (and other religious adherents), and burned Christian manuscripts and other materials from Balkh to the borders of Constantinople.[16] He so decimated the Christian churches and artifacts, and massacred the Christian populations, that massive numbers of Christians were killed, and their material culture largely destroyed. Thereby, these Christian resources became lost to future generations of Christians and scholars. As an example of this COTE demise is Samarkand. In the 9th century, Samarkand was declared a metropolitanate by the COTE Patriarch, Theodosios I, showing its importance and preeminence.[17] However, after Tamerlane, and his heir, Ulugh Beg's, decimation of Christians in Central Asia among other factors, an Armenian historian records the demise of the majority of the Nestorian Christians in Samarkand by the mid-fourteenth century.[18] While the destruction of Tamerlane (and Ulugh Beg) was especially gruesome, this was not the only reason for the diminishing of the COTE on the eve of the sixteenth century.

Another event that impacted the COTE in Central Asia was the so-called Black Death. This epidemic came through the region, and had a severe, noticeable impact on some Christian populations, as can be seen in the Christian cemetery in Semiriče/Semirechye (south of Lake Balkash). In this location, many Christian gravestones note that the interred died due to this plague from 1338-1339. As Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit emphasize, the plague "eliminated most remnants of the Christian community in the area."[19]

A few decades later in 1368, further down the Silk Road in China, the Chinese overthrew the Yuan dynasty (the Mongols), and established the anti-foreigner Ming dynasty. This Ming dynasty, which rejected the Yuan dynasty, also rejected the COTE which had been favored by the Yuan dynasty leadership and had been strongly central Asian in its constituency and clergy.[20] Thus, forcing out the church from within the Ming territories.

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In the earlier centuries, the COTE had been a strong missionary movement, extending the church eastward. However, as noted above, several factors contributed to the decline of the COTE, so that by the eve of the sixteenth century, the COTE of the central to eastern Asia was barely noticeable.[21] So by the late fifteenth century, the COTE and the Christian populations (including Armenian, Jacobite, etc.) as a whole were decimated, and the COTE in Asia was noticeably a mere shadow of its former strength, and weakened in its missionary activity. They no longer had a critical mass of missionaries, priests, or laity for outreach. Coupled with this, the political situation on the Silk Road was tumultuous, so travel via this route for commerce or religious activities was greatly truncated.[22] As such, while trade and interchange still proceeded on the land routes, much of the commercial ventures shifted to the sea routes, which also fit the European expansion.

The Church of the East in the Sixteenth Century in Central and East Asia

While there was a great decline of the impact of the COTE in eastern, central and southern Asia leading into the sixteenth century, the COTE was still present. Yet due to the above mentioned situation, the available information on the COTE in Asia is scanty. This section will provide a brief description of what is known.

In terms of China, in 1490, the Patriarch (or Catholicus) of COTE, Mar Simeon (Shimun IV) sent a metropolitan to southern China (which was combined with India).[23] Over a century later in China, Matteo Ricci met a small group of Nestorians in Xi'an in 1608.[24] Ricci also noted evidence of recent Christians in Beijing when he arrived there.[25] However, it is clear that the Jingjiao or "luminous religion" (the term used for Christianity in Tang dynasty China) which was present in China in the Tang (seventh–tenth centuries) and Yuan (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries) dynasties, was barely noticeable in the sixteenth century.

In Southeast Asia following the sea trade routes, the COTE and other Christians were found in the sixteenth century. One such sighting was in Pegu, Burma, Ludovico di Varthema (from Bologna) in 1503/4 noted meeting "hundreds of Christians" from Siam (modern Thailand)

"In Southeast Asia following the sea trade routes, the COTE and other Christians were found in the sixteenth century."

in the Burmese king's service,[26] although it is unclear if they were COTE, Armenian or Jacobite.[27] Also in Pegu, Hieronimo de Santos Stephano (from Genoa) notes that in 1496 he buried a colleague by a ruined church.[28] Further, the first recorded European to visit Annam (modern Vietnam) in 1596 found a cross on the coast.[29] While not COTE, Tomé Pires (ca. 1512) noted Turkish and Armenian tradespersons (which at least include Armenian Christians) in Malacca (in modern Malaysia).[30] Further, in 1503, three bishops were appointed by the COTE Patriarch Mar Elias (Mar Eliya V) to Sin (China), Masin (India), and the Isles of Dabag (Java/South Sumatra). One of the bishops seems to be responsible for Dabag.[31] John of Marignolli (mid-fourteenth century on way to China) notes that he found Christians in Majapahit (east Java) and Palembang (south Sumatra).[32] Likewise, Abu Salih, a seventh century Persian traveler, had centuries earlier noted churches in the area, which does collaborate the possible presence of Christians in this period within what is now Indonesia.[33]

While there is not a lot of evidence for the sixteenth century COTE in central, eastern and southern Asia, there is sufficient support to note the ongoing though depleted presence. This is especially true among the merchants or traders (notably traders of pearls), who followed the sea trade routes. COTE clergy for centuries had been trained and worked as traders as part of their personal support as ministers.[34]

The Church of the East in the Sixteenth Century in South Asia (India)[35]

In describing the COTE in the sixteenth century central, eastern and southern Asia, the largest amount of information is actually from what is now called India. It is during this period that the European global expansion, notably the Roman Catholic nation of Portugal, and the beginning of the colonial period in Asia, and India took place.

As briefly mentioned, in 1490, two Indian COTE Christians[36] went to the Patriarch, Mar Simeon (Mar Shimun IV), of the COTE to ask for bishops to be sent to India. The Patriarch ordained and sent Mar Thomas and Mar John from the St. Eugenius' Monastery (or Monastery of Mar Augen), along with the two Indian Christians back to the Malabar Coast. Later, Mar Thomas returned to the Patriarch to give a report (but Mar Simeon had died in 1502), while Mar John remained in India. The new Patriarch, Mar Elias (Mar Eliya V), consecrated three monks also from St. Eugenius' monastery to send: a Metropolitan, Mar Yahbalaha, and two bishops, Mar Jacob, and Mar Dinha. In 1503, they all went to Malabar and met Mar John who was still there.[37] A. M. Mundadan argues that while many assume that Mar John, Mar Yahbalaha and Mar Dinha died shortly after the latter two's arrival in India,38 he thinks that the latter two possibly just went on to Dabag (Java/South Sumatra) and Sin (China) as part of their ecclesiastical assignment after a short stop in Masin (India).[39] In 1504, the Indian believers sent a report to the Patriarch about the Christians in the Malabar region, and the needs there. The report includes that there were 30,000 Christian families in the area.[40] Correspondingly, G. M. Moreas estimated there were around 100,000 Thomas Christians.[41]

In 1498, in Vasco da Gama's travel report, he mentions that there were 25,000 Christians in Quilon (Kerala) and

some 300 churches.[42] Many of the Portuguese and others were drawn to the East with a desire for spices, including pepper. In India, they hoped that the local Christians would assist them in the pepper trade, believing in the power of the Christians in India for commercial benefit.[43] Likewise, the Portuguese heard the common medieval Europe's rumors and legends of the Asian Christian king, Prester John,[44] who they expected would collaborate with them against the infidels or pagans (as well as in the trade). Further, as devout Roman Catholics, the Portuguese brought their faith with them. Initially, they saw the COTE believers as siblings in the Christian faith. However, even by 1512, De Gama's backup, Cabral, brought eight Franciscan Friars and eight Priests (with others following) in Goa, and by 1515, "1200 Nestorians renounced their errors."[45] In 1534, Goa officially becoming the seat of the Portuguese bishop, although the bishop (with the diocese of from the Cape of Good Hope to China) was not installed in Goa until 1539.[46] So while the early expectations and relationship were cordial, progressively the relationship steadily deteriorated by the second decade of the 16th century on.[47]

In year 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued the Bull dividing the world for economic and commercial purposes between Spain and Portugal, which put India and much of Asia under Portugal. In 1514, Pope Leo X pronounced the *padroado* (right of patronage) to the King of Portugal, which allowed the king the authority to administrate local churches, such as in Goa, India.[48] At the 1540 instigation of the King of Portugal, King John III, to the Pope, the newly formed Jesuits sent Francis Xavier to India and the East representing Portugal.[49] In 1541 in Cranganore (India), and soon later in Goa, schools were set up for Syriac-rite Christian boys. Xavier visited here. The curriculum and instruction at these schools were focused on Roman Catholicism, including language, dress, and practices.[50] The significance of this was not lost on the Indian Christians, and it caused a great amount of animosity between these two Christian groups.

In the COTE, Patriarch Mar Simeon (Shimun VII) died in 1551, and a succession debate ensued. Some who sought to follow the wishes of Mar Simeon, supported Mar Simeon's nephew bid to be his successor, and he became Patriarch Mar Simeon (Shimun VIII) of the COTE. Later this patriarchate became known as the Nestorian Patriarch, which historically was based in the hills of Kurdistan. Meanwhile, opponents to this succession, which included three bishops, believed that the patriarchy should not follow family lines. They selected John Sulaka as Patriarch. John Sulaka, at the instigation of the Roman Catholic brothers,[51] went to Rome to be recognized by the Pope Julius III. He submitted to the Pope admitting that the Pope was supreme over the COTE Patriarchy in 1552.[52] This branch is a Uniate church, called the Chaldean Church, which has been historically based at Mosul. However, it must be noted that to the average Mar Thoma or COTE Indian Christian the differences between different Syriac-Rite bishops were not apparent.[53]

By 1549, Mar Jacob was apparently the only one of the COTE bishops from 1503 still alive. Francis Xavier met him.[54] Mar Jacob died around 1550.[55] During his ministry, Mar Jacob had interacted with the Portuguese, and had been a bridge between them and the Syriac believers. After his death, it was several years before the COTE Patriarch appointed another bishop to replace him. In the years in between, the bishop of Goa was the only bishop left in India. To add to the confusion, in 1555, the Uniate Chaldean Patriarch appointed a bishop, Mar Joseph, for the believers in Chaldean COTE of India. The Syriac-Malabar Church requested a bishop from the COTE (Nestorian) Patriarch, Mar Simeon, who sent Mar Abraham. On his way to Malabar, Mar Abraham was arrested and shipped off by the Portuguese. He escaped and later shifted his allegiance to the Chaldean Patriarch (and was also consecrated by the Pope). The ongoing saga of Mar Abraham's work in India and the convoluted relationship between the COTE and the Portuguese lasted for almost three decades (ca. 1567-1597).[56] The situation became increasingly complicated because of the ecclesiastical intrigues of the Portuguese, the "Nestorian Patriarch," the "Chaldean Patriarch," and the Indian believers. However, it should be noted that the Malabar Christians at this time were a strong and well-organized community with a type of caste system, and they interacted well with the Hindu community.[57] Interestingly, the missional engagement and interaction that the COTE had with their Hindu neighbors would later be seen as syncretistic or accommodating by the Roman Catholic Church in India.

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As a continuation of the increasing role of Roman Catholic and Portuguese religious concerns, in 1558, Goa

became a Roman Catholic archdiocese, and Cochin and Malacca its surrogates. Further, the Roman Catholic Church officially instituted the inquisition in 1560 in Goa, though it had been anticipated since 1543.[58] This inquisition was primarily used to bring the COTE Indian believers into line. Tensions only escalated between the Portuguese Roman Catholics and the COTE believers.

After the death of Mar Jacob, and the subsequent issues related to the Bishop of Goa, the differences between the Roman Catholic Church and the Malabar Syriac-rite church became more pronounced. This progressive estrangement reached its peak in 1599, when the Bishop of Goa called the synod of Diamper, which started on June 20, with 133 priests, 20 deacons and sub-deacons, and 660 laity.[59] The Synod was a systematic rejection of all eastern styles of Christianity, see table 1 below. The issues included a rejection of all practices seen to be pagan (Hindu), the adoption of the Roman calendar, and a mandate to adopt the Council of Trent.[60] The Syrian-rite priests were to denounce Nestorius, accept only bishops sent or endorsed by the Pope, and recognize the King of Portugal as their appropriate head. Also, all medieval Malabar church documents were to be confiscated and destroyed, including some Portuguese sources which were seen as spreading the COTE or Nestorian error.[61] Thus, much of the documentation related to the church from the Apostle Thomas up to 1599 in the Indian subcontinent was destroyed with very little surviving.

Missiological Lessons

Covering an overview of the COTE in sixteenth century central, eastern and southern Asia poses unique challenges, but there are some lessons that can be learned from this narrative. It should be noted as the backdrop that the initial missional thrusts of the COTE from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries was dynamic in Christian outreach throughout Asia. The plague and varying conquests decimated the COTE populations. Yet in India, the COTE preserved some of the missionary engagement, yet the arrival of the Portuguese moved from partners in the enterprise to a more focused Roman Catholic mission to Latinize the COTE believers.

One lesson is that when the Portuguese first came, they were excited that there were Christians in India (Asia), and some believed this could be Prester John and the Christians associated with him. They also desired the local Christians' assistance in the pepper trade, and believed in the 'power' of the Christians in India.[63] While the COTE believers did give aid in regards to the pepper trade, and assisted the Portuguese in understanding the culture and local commerce, neither the trade nor the political authority actually rested in their hands. Unrealistic expectations can be seen throughout this exchange.

Second, while the Portuguese's Catholics extended their control politically and religiously over Indian territories, Francis Xavier, however, stood as a contrasting voice. As

Table 1 Differences between the Malabar Church and the Roman Catholic Church[62]

Syriac-Malabar Church	Roman Catholic Church
Allegiance to COTE Patriarch	Allegiance to Papal authority
Syriac Rite	Latin Rite
Confirmation with baptism	7 sacraments
Intinction method	Wafer not wine
Priests could marry, bishops to be celibate (selected from monks)	Priests were not to marry
Did not venerate images	Venerated images
Honored Nestorius, Theodore and Diodore	Considered Nestorius, Theodore, and Diodore as heretics
St. Thomas	St. Peter
Malabar and the south	Goa

part of the padroado, he was connected to the Portuguese Roman Catholicism (which for them and Goa, the King of Portugal was the immediate authority), Xavier disdained the lifestyle of most of the Portuguese, and, at least initially, seemed more congenial to the Indian believers.[64] In all fairness, it should be noted that Xavier could not directly communicate with any of the people in India, he had to use translators, apart from some work in Tamil.[65] His form of missionary activity was more compassionate and personal, and not presupposing power as the base. Unfortunately, he left, and he had little enduring influence on Catholic-COTE relations.

As the sixteenth century wore on, the Portuguese attitudes toward the local believers changed. It is appropriate to ask the question "Why?" First, initially the Portuguese needed the local Christians (for the pepper trade), and to survive in southern Asia, but as time went on, the power shifted to this colonial power and later other colonial ones. Second, a key figure, Mar Jacob, was able to bridge the gap between the Latin-rite and Syriac-rite branches of the church with intelligence and an irenic spirit; however, upon his death, there was no one to fill the gap. Third, while the Portuguese were devoutly Roman Catholic, their initial lack of indigenous language and cultural acumen meant that they failed to see the main differences. However, once they became more aware culturally and learned the local language(s), the differences became insurmountable in their estimation. All three of these considerations have implications for missions work today in a variety of contexts.

Conclusion

The sixteenth century was an arduous time for the COTE. On the eve of the sixteenth century, there had been major setbacks due to the local political situation in central, eastern and southern Asia by Muslim and Chinese instigation. Further the impact of the Black Death on the populations, and the coming of the European colonial powers (specifically the Portuguese in India) greatly impacted the COTE. When the Portuguese first arrived in Goa, there was an intentional working together. However, as time went on, the relationship became more distant to the point that the inquisition was instigated in Goa against the COTE believer in 1560, and more severely, the Synod of Diamper (1599) fundamentally denounced key beliefs and practices of the COTE of India. A prominent result of this Synod was the systematic destruction of the historical texts and resources from the pre-Portuguese church, much to the chagrin of others including Roman Catholics like Bishop Roz.[66]

The historically missionary COTE declined due to political and military challenges, and the plague. A small remnant of its former self was left in central and eastern Asia. In India, the still somewhat missional COTE, noted as engaging with the Hindus, were pressured into a Latinized form of Christianity, and was to renounce their easternness. In an ironic bent, the COTE which was famously missionary, became the object of Roman Catholic missionary work through their political power and clergy. It was a goal of this essay to help provide a basic understanding of the COTE in the sixteenth century in central, eastern and southern Asia, so that we may learn from the past, understand where we came from, and, Lord willing, not repeat the same mistakes again.

Endnotes

1. I will use the phrase Church of the East rather than the historically used term Nestorian since the term Nestorian can include the Nestorian heresy which many now believe neither Nestorius nor the Syriac-rite church that came out of Persia actually endorsed. Emphasized in Sebastian Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78 #3 (1996): 23-35; See also Christoph Baumer, "Survey of Nestorianism and of Ancient Nestorian Architectural Relics in the Iranian Realm," In *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, ed. Roman Malek, Collecta Serica (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006), 450, J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching: A Fresh Examination of the Evidence* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1908), Carl Braaten, "Modern Interpretations of Nestorius," *Church History* 32 #2 (1963): 251-67, L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas* (New Delhi: B. I. Publications, 1980), 70, Johan Ferreira, *Early Chinese Christianity: The Tang Christian Monument and Other Documents*, Early Christian Studies 17 (Strathfield, NSW: St Pauls Publications, 2014), 83-90, Johan Ferreira, "Tang Christianity: Its Syriac Origins and Character," *Jian Dao* 21 (2004): 131-7 (esp. see 132 n. 6), Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Nestorianism." In *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 644-7, Xavier Kochuparampil, "The St. Thomas Christians of India: Ecumenical and Missiological Challenges," *Exchange* 25 #3 (1996): 249-50 (243-60), Friedrich Loofs, *Nestorius and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1914), Samuel Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia: Vol 1 Beginnings to 1500*. Rev. ed. (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1998), 169-84, V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined: A Historical and Theological Survey* (Madras: Senate of Serampore College and Christian Literature Society, 1977), Nikolai N. Sekeznyov, "Nestorius of Constantinople: Condemnation, Suppression, Veneration, with special reference to the role of his name in East-Syriac Christianity," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 62 #3-4 (2010): 165-90, John Thoppil, "Christology in the East Syriac Tradition," In *East Syriac Theology: An Introduction*, ed. Pauly Maniyattu (Satna, India: Ephrem's Publications, 2007), 154-78 (esp. 159), and Philip Wickeri, "The Stone is a Mirror: Interpreting the Xi'an Christian Monument and Its Implications for Theology and the Study of Christianity in Asia," *Quest* 3 #2 (2004): 44-6, among many others.

2. Several good works in recent years have dealt with the topic of Christianity in Asia primarily the COTE, here are some of the most helpful: Wilhelm Baum, and Dietmar Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, Trans. Miranda Henry (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003); John C. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia: The*

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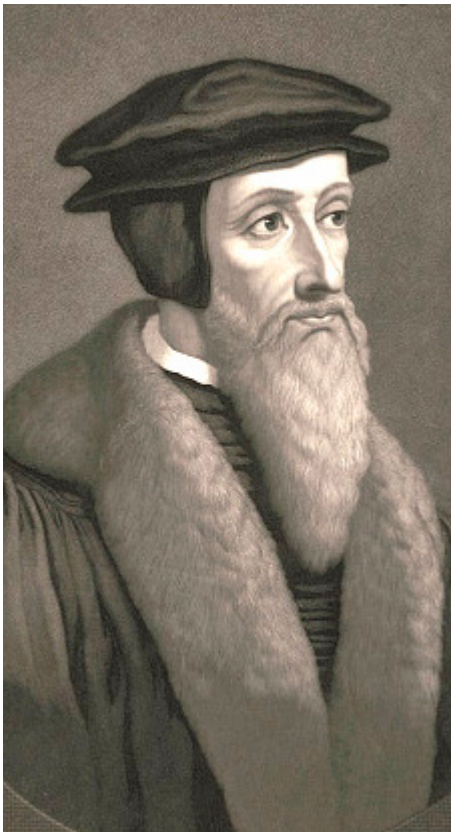

Photo byAlexis Brown/Unsplash

Reformation Roots of Youth Ministry

M. B. Doogan

There is a two-fold problem present in many youth ministries today: a lack of foundational theological education and of understanding of the crucial role that student ministry plays in the future of the church. In *Starting Right*, Kenda Creasy Dean states, "Until very recently, practical theology has been altogether absent from the youth ministry equation. Youth Ministry is often conceived as a junior partner in the Christian education enterprise rather than as a pastoral calling."[1] Many modern evangelical churches view youth ministry as a secondary or minor ministry of the church, emphasizing entertainment and a tendency to indulge current social fads and trends in an attempt to stay relevant to the current youth culture. This is done at the expense of actively, creatively, and deeply rooting students in scripture and theology and meaningful engagement with the historical practices of the church community as a whole.

This same mindset may influence the type of professional and lay-leadership recruited to work in student ministries. Youth Pastors are often young, and the position is viewed as transient: a temporary steppingstone, or preparation for becoming an associate or senior pastor, rather than an office committed to the important task of discipling the future church. Church members who are new Christians, young, single, or newly married are encouraged to volunteer, but parents, mature church members, and the elderly rarely receive an invitation to invest in youth. This creates a generational gap between the youth and the rest of the church, removing the opportunity to build relationships with mature believers and glean from the shared stories, experiences, and wisdom of the larger cross-generational church community. Merton P. Strommen and Richard A. Hardel in Passing on the Faith claim that the reason that youth are leaving churches is "Because the tradition of passing on the faith in the home is disappearing for many members of Protestant and Catholic congregations."[2]

The focus on entertainment and trending culture can create an anxiety in many adult church members, including parents, causing them to avoid or forfeit involvement in the education and discipleship of youth. This creates an estrangement between young and mature believers when it comes to matters of the faith, even between

parents and their children. Therefore, as Charles R. Foster in *From Generation to Generation* bemoans, "In too many congregations… youth discovered that being a 'full member' did not include either the education or the mentoring relationships needed for acquiring the knowledge and skills, habits, and practices needed…"[3]

Though a lack of theological education is true of modern youth ministry, this has not always been the case in the history of the church. In fact, the Reformers diligently worked to educate and disciple youth during the Protestant Reformation, recognizing them as valuable members of the church.

This chapter explores the French theologian and pastor John Calvin's theology of youth, of which his commentaries together with his Institutes of the Christian Religion provide a window into the historical context, theology, and the resulting efforts to invest in the future church, including his doctrine of paedobaptism, catechism, and organized education. The purpose of this chapter is to argue for the historical and theological precedents for engaging and educating youth as participants of the church established by Calvin, and how it can inform the practice of ministering to youth today.

Anabaptists and Paedobaptism

Calvin's beliefs regarding the participation of youth in the church began at a person's infancy. He believed that paedobaptism, or the baptism of infants,[4] was foundational, necessary, and formative. This belief was couched historically in his dealings with the Anabaptists, a group of extreme reformers, who were adamantly opposed to infant baptism during the Reformation.[5] According to Wim Balke in *The Calvin Handbook*, Calvin was asked to address the Anabaptists in response to their Schleitheim Confession, which included their beliefs about paedobaptism, and he did so in 1544 in his Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Against the Libertines.[6] Balke notes that for Calvin, infant baptism ushered the offspring of believing parents into the fellowship of the church.[7] He explains, "Just as circumcision is practiced by all descendants of Abraham, so baptism must be administered to the children of believers as members of the new covenant."[8] In his Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Against the Libertines Calvin explained that by the merciful grace of God, infants were covered under the salvation of their parents because unlike adult converts, they were too young to understand it for themselves.[9] He felt that to deny that covering in their helpless state would be "cruel".[10] Calvin made a similar statement in his commentary on the Gospels. He opposed the Anabaptists saying, "It would be too cruel to exclude that age from the grace of redemption. Therefore, it is not thoughtlessly that we oppose this shield against het Anabaptists. They deny baptism to infants because they are not capable of understanding the significance of its mystery."[11] The theologian summarized his argument regarding paedobaptism in the Institutes by stating,

The whole matter may, if I mistake not, be thus briefly and clearly expounded: Those who, in adult age, embrace the faith of Christ, having hitherto been aliens from the covenant, are not to receive the sign of baptism without previous faith and repentance. These alone can give them access to the fellowship of the covenant, whereas children, deriving their origin from Christians, as they are immediately on their birth received by God as heirs of the covenant, are also to be admitted to baptism.[12]

In his chapter "Calvin, Worship, and the Sacraments" in *A Theological Guide to Calvin's Institutes*, W. Robert Godfrey summarizes why, beginning with the ministry of the parents to their children, Calvin's theology of paedobaptism was foundational in the life of the church.[13] He notes that the baptism of infants had "value" both for parents and for children.[14] Godfrey explains, in reference to Calvin's closing comments in book four, that for parents, paedobaptism helped to provide an understanding of their child's place in the family of God, and God's concern for his future church.[15] This attitude is illustrated by Calvin's statement in the Institutes, "For it is no slight stimulus to us to bring them up in the fear of God, and the observance of his law, when we reflect, that from their birth they have been considered and acknowledged by him as his children. (4.16.32)."[16] In other words, when the parents understood and acknowledged that their children had been recognized by God as his own, it created a sense of urgency. Their children were known by God, created by God, and recognized members of the community, and this gave weight, meaning, and purpose for the parents as they embarked on the task of raising their children up in the

> "For it is no slight stimulus to us to bring them up in the fear of God, and the observance of his law, when we reflect, that from their birth they have been considered and acknowledged by him as his children."

church. Balke points out that Calvin did concede that those who came to faith as adults were to be baptized after full acknowledgement and understanding of faith.[17] However, it is clear that he strongly believed that parents were given the task of raising their children as recognized members of the church community from infancy, and discipling them unto faith and then on to maturity, and that this process began with paedobaptism. Calvin believed that this ministry to the children began at infancy and, guided by the parents, carried on throughout the life of the child.

Jesus and the Children

A good place to begin to understand Calvin's theology of youth is with his commentary, *Harmony of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke* in which he comments on the well-known passages of Jesus and children found in Matthew[19], Mark 13, and Luke 18.[18] The story describes the familiar scene in which Jesus corrects the disciples for rebuking the parents who bring their children to him for blessing. In his commentary on the story, Calvin addresses four responses to the situation: the response of the parents, the response of the disciples, Jesus' response to the disciples, and Jesus' response to the children.[19]

Calvin introduced the narrative by explaining that the story was helpful because it exemplifies what Jesus' attitude and actions were toward children; and as a result, what a Christian's attitude ought to be.[20] Calvin explained, "It teaches us that Christ does not receive only those who voluntarily come to him of a holy desire and moved by faith, but also those who may not yet be old enough to realize how much they need his grace."[21] There are two inferences regarding ministry to children to be drawn from Calvin's statement. The first is that it illustrated how essential the theologian believed the ministry of the parents to be in bringing the children to Jesus in order to know him. The children did not know to go to Christ of their own volition, they were brought to him by their parents. The second is that age does not inhibit a person from being brought to Jesus by someone older in the faith, specifically someone the age of a child.

Response of the Parents

Calvin initially addresses the ministry of the parents to their children and discusses the second point later in his commentary. Though the passage mentions the parents only in relation to bringing their children before Jesus, Calvin observed that these parents display both faith and determination in doing so.[22] He states, "It would have been meaningless for them to have offered their children had there not been a conviction in their minds that into his possession was given the power of the Spirit, which he would pour on the people of God. There is therefore no doubt that they ask for the children a participation in that grace."[23] The parents believed that Jesus was the Messiah, and just as they wished to participate in the kingdom of God by coming to Jesus, so they also desired that their children would come to him and share in that same grace.[24] They ministered to their children by purposefully leading them to him. Calvin explains, "It is as if [Luke] said that, when [the parents] had learned how He helped grown-ups in various ways, they hoped also for their children that if He had laid his hands on them they would not go away without receiving some of the gifts of the Spirit."[25] Calvin clearly believed that though the children may not have understood at first their need of grace, it was possible through the faithful leadership of adults for children to come to Jesus and become partakers in God's grace.

Response of the Disciples

Calvin looked next to the response of the disciples to the children, namely their correction of the parents for bringing their children to be blessed by Jesus. In her chapter, "The Least and the Greatest: Children in the New Testament" in The Child in Christian Thought, Judith M. Gundry-Volf observes that, "We are not told why the disciples react this way; and whether their reaction should be understood as entailing a pejorative view of children is open to question."[26] On the other hand, Calvin offers a firm opinion regarding the intention of the disciples, and is able to sympathize in some measure with their situation. Calvin says of the disciples, "If a crown had been placed on Jesus' head, they would have accepted the fact willingly and with rejoicing; for they did not yet grasp what His real office was. But they think it was beneath his dignity to receive children. There is some excuse for their mistake. For what had the Supreme Prophet, the Son of God to do with children?"[27] Their reaction, he reasons, was due to an immature and worldly mindset, and a misguided understanding of Jesus' purpose on this earth, and relationship to those who came to him.[28] The disciples were concerned with position, power, and prestige. They had neither the patience nor the time for Jesus to be bothered with mere children.

Jesus' Response to the Disciples

However, it was there that Calvin's sympathy toward the misguided disciples ended, and rebuke began. Like Christ, he admonished their ungodly attitudes and misplaced attempts to ascribe earthly ideas of leadership to Jesus

for their own purposes and plans, rather than humbly acknowledging him as the Suffering Servant and the sacrifice for all, even children.[29] Calvin likened this to the false practices of the Papacy, and misinterpretation of the Eucharist during his time.[30] These false teachings had caused so many to live apart from Christ, "Again, because they thought it was not honorable enough for him to undertake the office of Advocate for us, they have created numberless patrons. But in doing so they have taken from him the honor of Mediator."[31] In other words, the disciples were actually hindering the work of the kingdom by obstructing the children from coming to Jesus, believing them to be unworthy, just as the papacy had barred people from going directly to Christ and had placed saints in his place as mediators, along with the merit system, indulgences, and the doctrine of purgatory. In fact, Jesus had come to this earth for the very purpose of acting as an Advocate not just for adults, but also for the children in their physical and spiritual needs, and to mediate for them to bring them to God, even the small, weak, and powerless.[32] Calvin expresses a similar belief regarding this passage in his Institutes:

Hence our Lord Jesus Christ, to give an example from which the world might learn that he had come to enlarge rather than to limit the grace of the Father, kindly takes the little children in his arms, and rebukes his disciples for attempting to prevent them from, coming (Mt 19:13), because they were keeping those to whom the kingdom of heaven belonged away from him, through whom alone there is access to heaven.[33]

Calvin believed that Jesus came to seek those in humble circumstances, including children. Though the disciples focused on status, Jesus, as Calvin stated, focused on being an Advocate and a Mediator, extending grace, and inviting children to come to him.

Jesus issued a strong rebuke regarding the disciples' attitude toward the children, and Calvin does the same. He says, "It is an irreligious audacity to drive from Christ's fold those whom He nursed in His bosom, and to shut the door on them as strangers when he did not wish to forbid them."[34] Regardless of the reason for the disciples' poor behavior, Gundry-Volf states that, "In any case, Jesus forcefully overrides the disciples intervention…Then he takes the children up into his arms, lays his hands on them and blesses them. These actions are followed by his teaching that the reign of God belongs to children. A more emphatic statement of the children's reception into the reign of God by Jesus could hardly be made."[35] Jesus acted as a mediator and an advocate for the children, and celebrated them as an example of what it meant to live by faith, and thereby to enter the kingdom of heaven. Calvin insisted in his synoptic commentary that there was no one too young not to be included in the family of God, and found affirmation of this in Christ's acknowledgement of the children that are brought to him.[36] He stated, "He bears witness that he wishes to receive children, and in the end he both embraces them in his arms, and blesses them by laying his hands upon them. From this we gather that his grace reaches to this age of life also."[37] Calvin explained that people of every age, including children, had fallen under the curse, so all of humanity, including children, are offered grace; to believe otherwise would be unjust.[38] Again addressing the opposing doctrine on infant baptism of the Anabaptists, Calvin argues, "We on the contrary argue that since baptism is the pledge and figure of the free forgiveness of sins and of divine adoption, it should certainly not be denied to infants whom God adopts and washes with the blood of His Son."[39] Calvin believed that faith came to fruition in adulthood for those children who are baptized, by the power of the Holy Spirit working in the child's life until it reached its fullness in God's timing.[40] He explained, "They are renewed by God's Spirit according to the measure of their age until by degrees and in its own time this power hidden within them increase and shines forth openly."[41] The fact that Christ acknowledged the children through prayer and the laying on of hands was a sign to Calvin that Jesus was bringing them into his fold, and presenting them to His heavenly Father as his own.[42] He believed that children who were born to Christian parents were to be baptized into and acknowledged as members of the church, and parents bore the responsibility of continuing to bring them to Christ as children.

"Calvin believed that faith came to fruition in adulthood for those children who are baptized, by the power of the Holy Spirit working in the child's life until it reached its fullness in God's timing."

In the Institutes, Calvin made a point of noting the particular age of the children who come to Jesus in the passage.[43] He argued that the children are infants, rather than, "…several years old, and fit to come."[44] His objective was to make a case for the doctrine of paedobaptism and

to respond to the idea "…that the kingdom of heaven is not assigned to children, but to those like children."[45] Calvin believed that it is not those who are like children who the Scriptures describe in this passage, but it is children. He closed his argument by stating, "But if infants must necessarily be comprehended, the expression, 'of such,' clearly shows that infants themselves, and those like them, are intended."46 Though Calvin's main objective was to argue for infant baptism, the principle that ties together the Institutes and his commentary on this passage is that children are welcome and valuable and age is not a factor in determining who God welcomes to join God's kingdom. Jesus welcomed the children to himself, regardless of their youth. Thus, Calvin saw the need to do likewise, and to encourage the church to draw children into the family of God from infancy.

Jesus's Response to the Children

Calvin made a statement that recapitulated his theology of children and their role in the church in one sentence: he stated, "It is foolish for the Anabaptists to exclude children [in baptism]; they ought to make a beginning with them."[47] Calvin is arguing for paedobaptism, and is making a larger case for the participation of children in the body of Christ. In fact, he is contending not only that children should participate in the church, but also that the life of the church should not merely involve children, but it should in fact begin with children. The church should invest in and value children as the future of the church: active, teachable, worthwhile members of Christ's flock. Parents, as members of Christ's church, have a responsibility to present their children to God as the future church and therefore to "train up a child in the way [they] should go" (ESV). This same sentiment was at the conclusion of book four, chapter 16 in the Institutes. Calvin says, "Wherefore, if we would not maliciously obscure the kindness of God, let us present to him our infants, to whom he has assigned a place among his friends and family, that is, the members of the Church."[48] With regard to infant baptism, Calvin made an argument for the involvement and spiritual nurture of children, with the purpose of grafting and growing them into the family of faith and practice of the church, his treatment of this passage in both the Institutes[49] and his commentary of the synoptic passages.[50] It is important to note that in her article Three Inter-Related Principles in Calvin's Unique Doctrine of Infant Baptism, Jill Raitt clarifies that Calvin did not believe that baptism saved, but rather that it was a sign. "The permanent effect of baptism is that it is a sign of the unfailing promise of God offered and never withdrawn."[51] For Calvin, baptizing children was an essential to signaling their membership and participation in the life the church family.

Calvin and Youth in Geneva

To give some context as to how his theology expressed this in his life and ministry, it is important to look at the contexts in which he dealt with children. According to Herman J. Selderhuis, Calvin married later in life at the urging of Martin Bucer, and when he did marry it was to a widow who had two children from her previous marriage.[52] Selderhuis writes that John and Idelette Calvin had one child, a son whom they named Jacques, but sadly, he passed away not long after his baptism.[53] Though Calvin promised Idelette upon her deathbed that he would take care of her children, Selderhuis notes that his response to having no biological children was to consider those whom he had impacted in the Christian faith as his children.[54] The apostle Paul regarding his relationship to Timothy and Titus expresses a similar sentiment.

Calvin was well-known for his Geneva catechism. As Mark Valeri explains, "The Genevan catechism, reprinted throughout Europe, instructed children in the evils of "making a living from our neighbor, be it by fraud or violence" or any "schemes, designs, and deliberations" to "enrich ourselves at our neighbor's expense.""[55] which was used in theological training with regard to ministering to youth in the church. However, in her book, Calvin and Social Welfare, author Jeanine E. Olson Calvin writes that Calvin also did much to provide social support to young people in Geneva, many of them the children of refugees.[56] According to Olson Calvin was concerned with the plight of displaced Christians fleeing to Geneva. She explained, "It is characteristic of Calvin's Reformation that this hospitality was institutionalized into a welfare fund known as the Bourse francaise or "the French fund for poor foreigners," intended for those who came to Geneva to live according to the "reform of the word."[57] She goes on to explain that the Bourse francaise did much to aid the orphans of Geneva, including providing foster care.[58] For those who came from families in difficult situations, "Subsistence payments, gifts of clothing, and medical bills were regularly recorded after the children's names."[59] Olson also records that they provided job opportunities for those old enough for work or apprenticeship.[60] In addition, they provided for the educational support of the children. Olson explains, "Like Luther, Calvin promoted secondary school education and insisted on compulsory primary education for boys and girls."[61] This showed that Calvin's

concern for the faith and well-being of children did not begin and end with infant baptism. Children were not neglected or ignored in Geneva. Calvin treated them as people with value and potential, and they were provided with opportunities for spiritual, physical, and mental growth, even in the midst of a turbulent time when they might otherwise have been neglected or forgotten.

According to Lewis William Spitz, the Reformation era was one of returning to classical education.[62] He declares, "The Reformers went beyond the humanists, urging that every child be made literate through universal compulsory education. The content of the academy was to be classical."[63] Calvin did much to ensure that the youth of Geneva were educated both spiritually and academically. He argued for the practice of infant baptism so that children would enter into fellowship of the church, but their role and the expectation of their spiritual growth did not stop there. Robert Kingdon in his chapter in Educating the People of Faith, Catechesis in Calvin's Geneva, suggests that for the average family, Calvin's expectation was that parents, particularly fathers, would instruct their children, and any youth in their employment, in the basic tenants of the Christian faith, and lead them in prayers on a daily basis.[64] This focus on family education gave children and adolescents the opportunity to learn and practice their faith while observing the example of adults around them. This would create a sense of ownership for the youth as they created a habit of practicing their faith throughout the day, walking in the truth and grounded in the Christian faith.

However, Calvin wanted to introduce something more structured that ensured that students were taught effectively and efficiently.[65] Kingdon explains the shift, "Home instruction, however, was not enough for Calvin and his associates. It was no longer the only vehicle for religious training but became complemented and supplemented and supported by the catechism classes that became a regular part of religious instruction."[66] In her article, Karen E. Spierling gives some insight into the urgency of these classes, when she explains, "Religious and civic authorities in Reformation Geneva considered the raising and educating of children within the Reformed community to be vital to the survival of their newly independent church and city."[67] In other words, in order for the structure of the Reformation of Geneva to survive, the people had to be educated in the Christian faith, and as accurately and early as possible. Thus, Geneva instituted required catechism classes with local pastors who led students in a series of call and response material, which helped them learn by rote and thereby engrained the basics of the faith into their minds and hearts.[68] In fact, these classes were so foundational and necessary to participation in the life of the church that Calvin's leadership consistory required that, as Jeffery Watt explains in his article, "In Geneva children and adults were required to know the catechism before they could take communion."[69]

Calvin was not alone in his concern and care for children during the Reformation. His work with youth was influenced by fellow the German Reformation theologian, Martin Luther. Kingdon suggests that it was because Martin Luther's tried, true, and popular catechisms were influential on Calvin's decision to create a catechism for

"Calvin was not alone in his concern and care for children during the Reformation. His work with youth was influenced by fellow German Reformation theologian, Martin Luther."

the children in Geneva.[70] It was not only the children who benefited from Calvin's catechism. Kingdon shares, "A number of adults learned these basic texts from children, their own or others, since it was clear that children, through attendance at catechism, could often pick up this information more easily."[71] Calvin's goal was to educate the children in the basics of the faith, in order to build up the future church. A positive side-effect of this plan was that the adults and parents of the church were also learning the basics of the faith through their children. By focusing on ministering to children, first through baptism and parental instruction, and then through catechisms, Calvin provided a catalyst for creating a chain reaction: he strengthened not only the faith and practice of the children now and for the future, but also of their parents in the here and now.

Conclusion

Calvin's ministry in Geneva placed a great emphasis on ministering to children from infancy to their teenage years. However, as Randall Zachman points out in his book, John Calvin, as Teacher, Pastor, and Theologian: The Shape of His Writings and Thought, "From the outset, it must be noted that not much attention has been devoted to Calvin's labors as a teacher of pious doctrine to children."[72] He continues, "As important as [the Institutes

and commentaries] are for an understanding of Calvin's theology, they do not bring us to the primary target of Calvin's efforts as a teacher and pastor: the unlearned, ordinary Christians and their children to whom he ministered for almost half of his life."[73] With so much of Calvin's life devoted to providing theological education to youth, it is indeed surprising that there is not much discussion on the topic in modern circles. However, this may be symptomatic of trends in modern youth ministry, with the emphasis by so many churches on entertainment over education. And yet Zachman is not alone in his view. In his article, Calvin's Contributions to Christian Education, Peter De Jong, in reference to Calvin's works and ministry to children, states, "To miss this "pastoral" note in what Calvin did and wrote on behalf of the education of the children by the church is to misunderstand him completely."74 Calvin's prolific writings and his emphasis on paedobaptism for ushering children into the family as participants in the body of Christ, showed that for Calvin a child's place in the kingdom of God was foundational. He worked diligently to argue on behalf of youth and made consistent arguments throughout his writings for them to enter the church as members from infancy, and then to be educated as they grew in knowledge and faith. It was Calvin's expectation that both parents and the church were to teach their children the basics of the faith at home and at catechism classes. It is clear that Calvin's theology of youth informed and shaped his ministry them, and he believed that they were capable of thoughtful and meaningful participation in the life of the church. The modern church, and specifically youth ministries would do well to reacquaint themselves with the Reformation theologian and his passion for discipling the future church.

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From Tenured to Training Wheels:

One Person's Journey into Non-Western Theological Education

Samuel S.

After nine years as a theological educator in a large, stable institution, I transitioned last year into a much smaller institution serving diaspora Majority World students. The language of instruction is not English, and although I did not start from scratch with it, teaching here has required considerable long-term effort just to get to my still imperfect state with the language of my ancestry. Why did I make this move from a tenured position to needing "training wheels" in a new cultural context? What was the process that led to my decision? What has it required of me during this first year? What will it require of me going forward? While recognizing both that others have made such moves in the past, often involving more drastic measures than mine, and that personal experience varies, I offer the following in hope that some may find my journey helpful.

The Lead-up to My Transition

My previous institution was (and is) in many ways a wonderful place that has a deserved reputation for quality teaching, genuine Christian community, and support for academic research. Shortly after I landed the position as a recently minted PhD, I was told by another job seeker that I had "won the lottery." Behind this statement was the reality that the number of full-time faculty openings is far below the number of those seeking them, and I had received one of the best ones. The institution remains well-connected within the American evangelical world and was then led by a respected evangelical leader and is still capably led now. My time there was very fruitful. After six years as an assistant professor, I was promoted to associate professor. One year later, I was given a semester-long sabbatical during which I completed the first draft of my first book since the publication of my dissertation. A year after that, I was granted tenure. I was enjoying my relationships with colleagues and students, many of whom are still friends.

During my fourth year, I was approached about teaching Majority World students for two weeks during the summer. My institution allowed and even encouraged these kinds of activities, both because they furthered the broader

institutional mission and because it did not conflict with our institutional commitments during the academic year. I accepted this two-week summer teaching invitation and have continued this work every summer since, a total of seven times. Except for this summer, each time has involved international travel.

My first time teaching there was both eye-opening and transformational. I had heard many times about the believers in this restricted-access country but to be with them and witness their hunger for the Scriptures and theological training blew my mind. We were meeting all day Monday through Friday, but even so it was as though they couldn't get enough. Some had traveled long distances to the teaching site and temporarily left their families and ministries behind, sometimes for as long as a few months. The entire school was run covertly, even though we assumed that some outsiders knew about us. There were

"Once a week, we would have chapel together, with windows closed, curtains drawn, and interior sliding doors closed for sound-proofing. Worshiping with them remains one of the highlights of my life."

even creative arrangements made for the library and for temporary housing for students traveling in from longer distances.

It was not just the classroom experience that was so powerful for me. We ate all three meals together on class days, and these were precious, informal times to get to know students and staff better. Although I did not attend, students also attended morning devotions before breakfast. Once a week, we would have chapel together, with windows closed, curtains drawn, and interior sliding doors closed for sound-proofing. Worshiping with them remains one of the highlights of my life. Though not a large group, the energy with which they sang and read Scripture aloud was something I had never seen. Furthermore, since each of my trips was two weeks long, there were also two Sundays on which I could visit a local congregation discreetly. These worship gatherings also had tremendous energy and likewise made a deep impression on me.

There is nothing quite like seeing needs first hand and directly playing a small part in meeting those needs. The demand for theological education was unmistakable, as was the limited supply and difficulty of access. I was glad that my first visit also included an invitation to return and concrete plans for the following summer. At this stage, I had no idea that all of this would lead to major transition in my life and career.

These annual trips were also valuable to me as a catalyst for learning the language and culture of this context. I had grown up with some knowledge and exposure to the language through my parents speaking it in our home, but by the time I was taking these trips I was in my thirties and was using it very little in my English-speaking environment. My listening comprehension was still decent, but my speaking was poor and my reading minimal. It is no exaggeration to say that each time I traveled there to teach intensive courses for two weeks, I myself was effectively in an intensive language immersion course for two weeks. I was originally supposed to teach through a translator my first year, but the same translator had performed poorly just prior to my arrival, and I was advised to make do on my own. I had done some language preparation so that I could engage students as much as possible, but now I was being thrown into the deep end. Poor students who had to listen to me all day for two weeks! They even encouraged me along the way. It was a struggle, but the obvious benefit was that my language acquisition was accelerated. Moreover, I was learning not only through having to teach (and how to pray before class) but also through conversation with students and staff during meals at school. During weekends, I was largely on my own and also had to use the language to buy food, get groceries, and sometimes secure transportation. These interactions and conversations were also simultaneously giving me more knowledge of the local culture.

Since every trip has included an invitation to return the following year, the catalyzing effect of each trip has accumulated over time, and I also worked on the language on the side when I was back home. Each time I went, I wanted to be as competent as I could linguistically, given the long-term process that language learning is. I also wanted to be as culturally effective as possible in engaging these particular Majority World students, and so I read books when I had time that would help me understand them better. As the years passed, my language abilities were slowly improving, my knowledge of the cultural context was growing, and my desire to increase my involvement also grew.

Making the Transition

A few months after my fifth trip (two years ago), I was contacted independently by two seminaries that serve the same demographic of Majority World students that I had become involved with. After going through the interview process with both institutions, I received offers from both schools. Coincidentally, they both had openings for someone in my field, and both were looking for someone who knew both American culture and the culture of the students. Combined with my recent summer experiences and prayers to increase my involvement, I was convinced that this turn of events was providential and that I was to join one of these two schools. Ultimately, I chose my current institution because of its proximity to extended family, greater familiarity with the faculty, better theological fit, and higher salary.

There was a lot at stake though. The new institution has faculty on twelve-month contracts, not nine-month contracts as I enjoyed previously. I now have to accrue time off in order to take vacations. The expected office hours for faculty are about double, and there is about triple the amount of time spent in compulsory meetings. I also knew that the institution's support for research and writing was not as strong as my previous institution. Although I was told that I would be able to continue research and writing, I prepared myself mentally to have less support. As a much smaller institution, there are fewer institutional resources across the board. The library is smaller, and its collection is further divided into English and the common language of this cultural context. There are fewer support staff. Faculty and staff wear multiple hats. I learned during the interview process that I would have administrative responsibilities, something that I could largely avoid at my previous institution. The campus facilities are older. I also wondered if I would be able to stay connected to the world of American evangelical theological education (I later realized that I can). The surrounding area has a much higher cost of living, especially for housing. Nevertheless, I still felt that the Lord was leading me and my family in this direction, and I decided to join this new institution, leaving behind what would be a dream job for so many academics.

The Challenge of Language

The first and most obvious challenge to making this transition was (and is) learning to teach in a foreign language. Thankfully, I did not start from scratch given my upbringing and summer teaching trips. Nevertheless, the long-term effort required is significant. If I had started from scratch, I imagine that I would have needed formal instruction and extended practice with the basics of the language, especially conversation. Actually, I had gone through weekly classroom instruction during my grade school years but had forgotten much of it. Before my first summer trip, I learned technical terminology necessary to my particular course. This involved a combination of searching for these terms in the translation of the English textbook I was using, using translation software, and consulting with my parents who are native speakers. I also prepared a glossary of these terms for quick reference when I was teaching. In order to prepare for lectures, I sometimes needed to think through what I was going to say in the foreign language. I also found that I needed to supplement my English lecture notes with key foreign terms that I might easily forget while lecturing. Nevertheless, there were still times in which I did not express myself well in class, and I can only thank my students for their patient endurance. Although I had progressed significantly after multiple summer trips, my first semester at my new

> *Occasional hiccups in any organization should be expected, but the way that problems and/or conflicts are addressed can vary in different cultures.*

institution still had moments when I was at a loss for words while teaching. The mental strain naturally left me more tired after class than when I was teaching in English.

Just as difficult as learning to teach in a foreign language is grading in a foreign language. During my first two summer trips, I was spared from having to grade exams and papers. But starting with my third trip, I did almost all of the grading on my own. By this time, my reading had improved some, and grading my short-answer exams was manageable. On the other hand, grading papers easily took three to four times as long as grading papers in English. Electronic copies of student papers proved essential for legibility and for using Google translate occasionally for difficult words and phrases (it is not as reliable for whole sentences, let alone longer passages). I had also purchased an inexpensive but high quality app that includes a bilingual dictionary, optical character recognition, and other useful functions. Slowly, my reading ability progressed. During my first year at my current

institution, I graded approximately one thousand pages of papers. It was often painful, but it is getting easier.

The Challenge of Culture

Although language was the biggest initial challenge for me, it was by no means the only one. For example, I also needed to be able to function within the organizational culture of a non-Western seminary. Even during my two week summer stints as a "guest" of sorts, there was the last-second change regarding whether I would be using a translator (my first trip), confusion over whether I would be grading papers (second trip), and even more recently this past summer, the use of a different textbook for a prerequisite, sequenced class despite initial agreement that we would use the same one. Occasional hiccups in any organization should be expected, but the way that problems and/or conflicts are addressed can vary in different cultures. This reality has been magnified in my current institution,

> *My students would raise questions about their translation in the course of my teaching that would not necessarily be raised by English-speaking students.*

since working full-time within an organization involves much deeper involvement with issues that arise. Whereas my previous institution is more direct and focused on issues and facts in these situations, my current institution can sometimes be more personality-driven and honor-shame based, though this is not always the case. Every organization probably involves the interplay of multiple considerations, but the organizational culture of these two institutions remains distinct.

Moreover, the organizational culture of each institution is embedded within the broader culture of which it is a part (as are their respective languages). The organizational culture of my new institution includes not only how it goes about problem-solving and conflict resolution, but also unspoken expectations regarding leadership, social hierarchy, relational style, and work-life balance. For example, the broader culture places a high value on age, and Christians tend to expect that seminary professors be at least in their fifties if not older. As if to lessen the surprise to new audiences, I have often been introduced as a "very young" professor, even though I have ten years of experience. Within our Christian circles, these expectations even extend to what exemplary spirituality looks like, what "practical" theological education is, and the identity and role of a seminary and its faculty in relation to churches and Christians. For me, it has been important not only to compare the two organizational cultures but also to see my new organization within the context of its segment of Majority World culture.

Perhaps even more important is accounting for the cultural background of my students. Although earlier I had to focus almost exclusively on the fundamental challenge of language (including making sure I explained the assignments properly!), eventually I had more time to learn about their cultural background. One of the first things that I had to reckon with is that I was teaching students who were accustomed to a different Bible translation. This was obvious, but my teaching practice of bringing out points where the biblical languages add insight or correction to English translations assumed that their translation was essentially the same. This worked if their translation happened to coincide with English translations (which does happen since many of the translators were from English-speaking countries). However, what I began doing was to check their translation to make sure that the points I was bringing out from the biblical languages would make sense to them. Relatedly, my students would raise questions about their translation in the course of my teaching that would not necessarily be raised by English-speaking students. This is likely because the difference between my teaching and their translation is greater. I also decided to begin reading through their translation systematically and to learn about its history.

Another issue that I had to account for is the fewer number of theological books. Although the particular indigenous church is quite strong numerically, its lifestage is such that the there is a relatively short supply of theologically trained authors with time to write. As a result, a good number of works in this cultural context are translated from English. When designing a course, this will often mean that I must adjust my required textbooks to those that are actually available in their language. The easiest way to do this is to use textbooks that have been translated from English. The same is true for supplemental assigned readings. The reality, however, is that changes in textbooks and required readings also affects the nature of the course and the student experience. The fact that it is usually well-known (and top-selling) books that get translated is a real limitation. Since it takes time for a book to become well-known and then translated, most of my students will not be aware of English works published recently or that are not considered standard works. Likewise, when students do library research for their papers, they mostly consult works that they can read

in their own language, except for the minimum number of English-only works I require them to consult. Their exposure to a breadth of views will thus be limited.

This leads to another challenge that I have yet to deeply engage. There are theological works written by indigenous authors, but I have only read a little of their work. In order to be better engaged with my students' culture, I need to do more in this area so as to avoid the subtle implication of theological paternalism. I have had students tell me openly in class that theological works written in English are superior to those of indigenous scholars. There is probably an element of truth here, but this is not a healthy pattern that should be perpetuated. Hiebert has pointed out that one of the signs of a mature church is that it is "self-theologizing."1 By engaging indigenous scholars, we imply that their ideas are worth engaging and should not be ignored. We should also try to identify their positive contributions, since they may represent the best indigenous scholarship currently available. This engagement can have a spillover effect into students' self-confidence to think theologically for themselves. It would be a tragedy to dismiss indigenous scholarship and/or give the impression that Western theology wholesale is superior and that they should always defer to it. For their own sake, their Majority World context, and even the global church,2 it is crucial that these students learn how to think theologically and contextually to address issues in their own culture. They are the best ones to do it and need to be equipped and encouraged to do so.

Another issue with overreliance on translated works is that they are generally not written with other cultural contexts in mind. There are certainly many things in these works that are transcultural (which is why they are translated in the first place), but the interaction between the gospel, the Bible, and theology with culture is unique for each cultural context. Walls has called this tension that of the "indigenizing principle" and the "pilgrim principle."3 The former is cultural and particular, and the latter universalizing and shared in common. In biblical terms, we might refer to the unchanging "faith that was once for all delivered to the saints" (Jude 1:3) and the call to be "all things to all people" (1 Cor 9:22). The cultural context I work with has its own distinct history, societal problems, and competing worldviews that need addressing by someone who deeply understands both these issues and Scripture. Family dynamics are also quite different, and the specific biblical guidance that is needed does not exactly match what is needed for, say, white American evangelical families.

Yet another cultural consideration is the previous educational experiences of my students from elementary school all the way through college. They will naturally project their past classroom experiences, methods of learning and study, teacher-student interactions, and view of education itself onto their seminary education. For many of my students, these experiences have again been shaped by the broader culture. Teachers are highly respected but also are not supposed to be challenged by students. In this more authoritarian learning environment (which parallels the aforementioned corresponding organizational culture), tradition and memorization is emphasized, whereas critical thinking and creativity (i.e., "thinking for yourself") is downplayed. These intertwine with broader cultural values concerning the individual versus the community, and independence versus conformity. Since my institution encourages the development of critical thinking, I need

> *Another cultural consideration is the previous education experiences of my students from elementary school all the way through college.*

to encourage my students to express themselves, and I must genuinely engage their questions and ideas while avoiding coming off as authoritarian. At the same time, I also need to challenge them to read and research as widely as they can because the scope of their exposure is limited, and expressing your own ideas loses some value when it is primarily the product of your own mind.

There is certainly more to be said about understanding the cultural background of students and also more for me to learn, but the preceding provides some concrete examples of how I have wrestled with this issue in my context.

How I Have Been Blessed Thus Far as a Result of this Transition

With so much attention given to the challenges and sacrifices of transitioning to non-Western theological education, I would be remiss if I did not emphasize the blessings that have come along with it. It has been worth it, and I would do it again. The greatest blessing for me is the conviction that I am doing what I believe the Lord has called me to do. There is also the satisfaction of playing a small part in meeting the needs for theological education of the Majority World. Seminary is a special experience for those who go through it, and I have the privilege of being part of the formation of these Majority World Christian leaders.

In my particular non-Western context, it is a broader work of God that has resulted in a high demand for theological education, and it is a joy simply to be a part of this special season for my own people, the fruits of missionaries' labor (and blood) now and in decades and centuries past. Although the effort to learn language cannot be minimized, the ability to engage in direct dialogue with my students is its great reward. They see me and treat me as one of them, which is truly an honor. They respect me; they come to me for counsel. Being involved with multiple sectors within the global church is enriching by itself, and feeling a sense of belonging to these groups is deeply meaningful.

Furthermore, a pleasant surprise has been my professional growth as a teacher and a scholar. Learning to teach in another language has forced me to articulate theology in new ways. Learning this language also gives me access to the works of indigenous theologians that I never would have considered before. As mentioned above, I have been learning more about the translation of the Bible commonly used by my students. I have also been reading books on history, culture, and theology that relate to my cultural context. In short, I have a newfound sensitivity to and vested interest in the contextual nature of theology and of theological education. Although this was not my focus of my doctoral studies, there are points of contact where the fields interface. Not including the present piece, I have already completed one short writing project that allowed me to use my academic background to address an issue specific to my new context. I hope there will be more. Even though I intend to continue writing primarily within my field of expertise, I find the possibilities of interdisciplinary projects invigorating and exciting.

> "If we teach through a translator, this may involve an increased emphasis on clarity and simplicity, along with minimizing heavily nuanced language and technical terminology that can be difficult to translate."

Concluding Reflections

There is both a real price to be paid and a great reward to be had in cross-cultural theological education. If I am to succeed going forward, my institution will need to maintain stability. I must also continue to find meaning in the midst of ongoing cultural and organizational challenges. Hopefully my increasing knowledge of culture will help sometimes to parry inevitable difficulties such that they are more like glancing blows than direct hits. I periodically remind myself that with the surplus of resources for theological education in the West, it is important for more of these resources to flow towards the Majority World. In view of the fact that the majority of Christians today are Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans, and that this majority is growing, Walls calls it "inevitable" that more Majority World Christians will exercise influential leadership in the global church.[4] In response to this need for theological education, Campbell has called for more American evangelicals with PhDs in biblical and theological studies to consider serving the needs of the global church as their primary task.5 Campbell also provides practical steps that both institutions and individuals can take. In an attempt to continue the conversation, my account may serve as a concrete example of one person who has made this move.

As I have experienced personally, there is also a flow of blessing in the opposite direction to evangelical academics who invest themselves in the Majority World. These brothers and sisters have their own "surpluses" that can supply my lack. As Tennent has pointed out, theological scholarship not only can aid mission, but mission can aid theological studies.[6] Tennent himself was responding to the more forceful assertion of Walls, "Theological scholarship needs a renaissance of mission studies."[7] As Walls explains, "The emergence of Christianity as a non-Western religion provides both a new story and new means of understanding the old story. … Even more, [mission studies] may help to illuminate and explicate the Christian faith itself."8 Mission studies can help Western theology be more fully engaged with the world, which enables it to serve mission better and the mutually beneficial cycle repeats. On the other hand, the more isolated American evangelical theological scholarship is, the less it will serve the global church, no matter how many resources it has. This is a recipe for decline, if not worse, given the present realities and trajectory of the global church.

The pressing need for theological education in the Majority World will probably continue to be approached in different ways: informal or formal local training by local leaders, long-term missionaries, or visiting professors (with translation if needed), sending national leaders away for formal training, and online training of some kind. There are complex issues related to various approaches,9 but on a broad level the goal is to maximize both academic rigor and

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When I Write, I Feel the Pleasure of God:
The Life and Work of Scott Moreau

Scott Moreau (DMiss, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School) served in Africa for 14 years before joining the faculty of Wheaton College, where he has served as Professor of Intercultural Studies for 30 years and most recently as Dean of the Graduate School. Scott is a longtime board member with the Evangelical Missiological Society and currently serves as VP for Finance.

This interview is part of a series showcasing and celebrating the life and work of veteran missiologists. The intent is to get to know the people behind the ideas, shedding light on their early years, calling, development, and contribution to the field of missiology. This interview has been lightly edited for length and flow. The interview was conducted by Anthony Casey.

Anthony: ***Scott, tell us a little bit about when and where you were born.***

Scott: 1955 in Butler, PA. Growing up, we moved eight times before I was 13 years old and those were all interstate moves. I got used to the idea that I'm not going to stay in one place very long and that that was part of the pattern. We moved every time my dad got a promotion or a transfer. Geographically, from Chicago in the North to Harlingen, TX in the South and from LA in the West to Atlanta, GA in the East. Pretty much all over the map.

A: ***Was there one place you stayed during your formative years or was it really just place to place every few years?***

S: Golly, everything was so short, but by the time we moved to the Chicago area that was 7th grade for me. That time was pretty formative and the longest chunk.

A: ***Can you tell us a little about your parents? What were they like? What kind of personalities did they have? What did they do?***

S: My dad was a salesman for a petrochemical company. Easy to get along with and outgoing, but absent a lot and that certainly played a role. When we were at home, it was mom who ruled the roost and that was just the reality growing up. Mom and I had similar personalities and that resulted in some tensions and challenges. I was number three out of four. The black sheep of the family was number one, so he kind of sheltered the rest of us from

> "I'd say it's fair to say there's an element in which writing is in my blood. You know, I've said this before: Eric Liddle said, 'God made me fast and when I run I feel his pleasure.' Well God made me to write and edit and when I write and edit, I feel His pleasure."

frustrations or normal childhood pranks and punishments and things like this. But I I would say I have a pattern with my mom that plays significantly in my scholarship. I grew up with the impression I could never be good enough to please her so I developed this pattern of trying to please my mom. It plays into people pleasing some, but it's really person focused and the focus is my mom. I always wanted her to be proud of me. It's funny, even as an adult that plays a role, and my wife Emily would get angry at me

occasionally when I was acting out of the norm for her because I was trying to impress my mom talking about things I was doing and so on.

Now neither of my parents were believers, so faith didn't have much of an impact on them. As a matter of fact, my mom was not excited when I chose to follow the Lord's leading and become a missionary because she wanted me to be a scientist. She actually wrote me a very long letter when I was in college and beginning the process of transferring to Wheaton. She noted that from very early I was gifted in mathematics and science so she wanted me to at least double major. If I was going to major in Christianity in some way, shape, or form, she still wanted me to major in math or physics and I wound up being a physics major. I thought that was good advice, but still with this sense of 'OK, I'm going a direction that's not pleasing to her. What does that mean?' I didn't change that path because the Lord had a bigger pull on my life, I'm grateful to say.

But this idea of pleasing her still shows up in a lot of ways even today. Now, when I'm writing, is it good enough for her? A little anecdote that captures this: I wrote a book on spiritual warfare and found out that my mom was reading it and the only feedback I ever got was that she told my dad who told my wife who told me there was a typo on page 72. As you can see, trying to please her became an impossible task. So there's a dance she and I have gone through over the years and I've stopped playing my part in the dance more recently. I'm not looking for her approval anymore because I know it's not gonna come, not the way I want it to. If it did come, it would scare me. I think that there's a psychology behind that, and I'm not even completely sure what it is, but it's the reality that I have to deal with in my own life.

A: ***So, in college, you majored in physics? Did you enjoy math and science growing up? What were you planning to do?***

S: I loved math and science! Actually, I started at the University of Illinois in their aeronautical engineering program. I looked at the job market and thought electrical engineering would be better, so I switched focus. The saddest part of leaving U of I was leaving the engineering program. Wheaton, of course, is a liberal arts college and the University of Illinois is a public university where in engineering school, I had 18 hours of Social Sciences, English, etc., and got that out of the way. I was looking forward to nothing but engineering courses. When I transferred to Wheaton, I had a boatload of things I had to catch up on.

I knew I had been called to ministry; that's why I was at Wheaton. But I still wasn't quite ready to give up science. I still today have a small section of my bookshelves where I have my physics books. I still enjoy it.

My junior year at Wheaton, I had to take a career attitude test to see what career might be a best fit. I knew I had been called into ministry – not missions yet. So it gave my supposed career choices. Number one was computer programmer. Number 50 was pastor. What do I do with this? I just said OK this is the Lord's call but maybe I shouldn't be a pastor. I can preach and I can teach but shepherding is not where my strengths lie. And caring for people as opposed to caring for ideas is not where my strengths lie either. You know, I've got friends and so on. It's not that I don't care about people, but shepherding people – that's not who I am and that's fine. I'm glad I know that as a 65 year old!

A: ***So you had this ministry calling in college. How did you become a Christian?***

S: I became a Christian my senior year in high school through the ministry of Young Life. I had a bunch of my close friends who were coming to Christ and I resisted. That was from sophomore year on. They got involved with Young Life and I stayed away from it for a while. Then I went to a summer camp in between junior and senior year. It was there I realized I wanted to receive Christ, but I didn't want to do it at camp because it was too emotional and everybody was doing it and I thought, if I go home and come to Christ in a few months, then I know it's something that's going to stick. That was the logic part of my brain that was working in that direction, and that's what I did. It was around Christmas and I asked Christ in my life. It was probably two or three nights in a row because I didn't feel anything. Then I started getting involved more with Young Life.

A: ***I saw you were on staff with Campus Crusade for Christ for a time. Were you exposed to them in college?***

S: I came across a Navigators Bible study at the University of Illinois and joined. I was involved with Navigators my freshman year. Sophomore year when I went back, I realized Navigators was not the only ministry on campus, so I tried out Navigators, Cru, and Intervarsity for a semester. It made for a busy life, but I loved it. I was growing and eventually, I saw that Cru seemed to have the best mix of discipleship and social activities. I wasn't that excited about the evangelism part. I was still reasonably new in my faith and I knew there was a commitment to sharing my faith. I don't have the gift of evangelism, but that doesn't

excuse me from being able to bear witness for Christ.

Then, when I transferred to Wheaton, I started working with a Cru staff member and then my senior year I was leading the ministry on Wheaton's campus. We would go to a junior college and share Christ in the cafeteria and things like this.

As far as a calling to ministry, I was in a prayer meeting at the University of Illinois and it was as if God said to me, "What are you going to do with your engineering degree?" I had felt called to ministry, so I thought, well, nothing. God said, "It's time to move on" and that started the process of transferring to Wheaton. I figured I'd get better ministry training there, though I still double-majored in physics.

So I was involved with Cru and decided to join staff. I got to blend the two things I love. I was going with Cru on an experimental assignment to teach physics and general science in a southern African school – 10th and 12th graders in Swaziland. I ended up staying with Cru for 14 years. When I was 22 years old and new to staff, I thought if I stayed long enough, evangelism will become a natural reflex and I won't have to force myself. After 14 years, it still hadn't happened. My wife and I realized it was never going to be a natural reflex, so when God called us back to the U.S. with our young family, it didn't happen through a dream or vision. It was just a realization that she was ready to go back. It took me another 18 months to become ready.

It was good for us to be with Cru in Africa, but neither of us were ready for a campus ministry assignment in the U.S. I was already teaching at a Cru-based seminary in Nairobi so I thought maybe I could find a place to teach in the U.S. That started the search that led me here to Wheaton as a professor.

A: ***Interesting. So, backing up a bit, how and why Africa?***

S: Ah, my senior year of college I'm thinking about this call to ministry. I thought, ok, I could be a pastor, work with Young Life or Cru, or be a missionary. Those are the options. Wheaton is a place where you hear about missions a lot. In chapel I heard about an opportunity to teach math and science in Nigeria and that piqued my interest. At an interest meeting, I met an anthropologist who came alongside me and helped me weekly think through culture. It was an incredible one on one time. He had been a missionary as well, but he was an anthropologist by training, so he blended the best of both worlds and I realized I wanted to go. In my mind, I wanted to go to Nigeria and teach science and math. When I joined staff with Cru, one of the early interview questions was "Are you willing to go anywhere that we send you?" and I kind of gulped and said yes and they said, "but what are your plans?" Well my plans are I sense God's call to go to Nigeria. When they assigned us, I didn't get Nigeria, but it was still Africa.

I was content with that and we went over as part of a large team. Cru was experimenting with vocational missions, so nurses, doctors, and teachers were on our team. There were 70 of us on staff with Cru in Swaziland. It was kind of the incubator for Cru to think things through. Eventually they decided the vocational thing didn't work as well because it got in the way of people being able to be engaged in ministry full time and the people it produced didn't have all the deepest embedded Cru values. And that would be characteristic of my experience as well.

I still love the ministry and applaud what they do and how they go about doing it. There are things I would critique, but I would critique things of myself as well. They were a great 14 years. It's just unimaginable to me that this is my 30th year at Wheaton. So, now I've been here twice as long as I was on staff with Cru.

A: ***So you were already in Africa with Cru. I know you do some continuing biblical studies as part of their training. Was it through that that you started as a student at TEDS? Explain that process.***

S: Yes, I went to Swaziland first and wasn't sure what my next step was after my two-year term. I went to one of those Cru continuing studies classes taught by a professor who was the founding president of a seminary Cru was establishing in Africa. He was telling us about the seminary. All my light bulbs went off. I thought, I could train African pastors using my teaching gift because I had realized in my second year of teaching physics that high school level physics is uninteresting and unchallenging, and it's boring for me. My personality is such that if I am bored, I become boring myself and I thought continuing teaching physics isn't the best route for me.

So, when this thing came up with the seminary, I thought this could be where God has me next. So I applied to TEDS to start the M.Div. I thought it was a good seminary where I could get a good education and then come back to Africa. I had no idea what I wanted to study outside of the core Bible and theology classes. I'm not the greatest language student. With theology, I think myself into circles. Funny story – I took a theology midterm and had a 104 degree fever. I stayed in my winter coat the whole time and just answered questions in a haze on the fly. I got the highest grade out of 100 students. But when I have time to sit there and think about things, I change my mind five times. I became an average theology student. But the missions classes were interesting. I didn't have the greatest teachers,

well, one was very good, but the rest…. But I had been living in another culture for over two years. I'm changed. And this missions stuff absolutely fascinated me.

I ended up taking enough missions courses to have a missions emphasis with my MDiv. TEDS was just starting their DMiss program when I was there. I decided to enroll. I was in their second or third cohort ever. So I did the DMiss at TEDS and then went back to Africa and started teaching at the seminary. It was there I met my wife. We married after a year and had three of our four children there.

A: ***Would you like to say anything about any of your professors at TEDS that were particularly influential?***

S: Well, I was a TA for the department and actually worked for Hesselgrave and Tim Warner. John Nyquist was there. Probably the most influential on me was Bill Taylor. He was there at Trinity at the time for a short stint. He was the best teacher of the group. Warner was kind of dragged into the spiritual warfare movement at the time, so I was watching him as an outsider and kind of wishing he would drag me along with him, you know, and just see what this stuff is all about. I was interested but didn't know what to do with it.

At the time, at least, Hesselgrave was a scholar that had his feet in the regular academic world as well as in the Christian academic world. He had a foundation that I really admired and appreciated. I was a research assistant for some of his book writing, so I got to know some of his works from the research vantage point and really appreciated it. You know, his book on cross-cultural counseling was probably 10 years ahead of the game. I don't think it ever sold very well; it just wasn't very popular and it wasn't because it wasn't good, but it was written by a strange person, a missiologist who doesn't have his feet in the counseling world. Well, he's got anthropological training, so he should be able to talk about that. But at the same time, the field wasn't ready for it then.

A: ***What was your DMiss project at TEDS?***

S: I developed a mission curriculum for the Nairobi International School of Theology. So it's a project that will never see the light of day. I surveyed East Africa focused on the curriculum. I had the Cru ethos that I had to fit, but I had the African context that I also had to fit. I understood the Cru ethos, but I didn't understand the African context so that's what I spent a lot of my work, my research, my thinking on. I looked at East African Church History. East African history. Not as much missionary history, but that played a role because it was a Christian institution. How does all this form a framework for thinking through a curriculum for missions in Kenya? What do Kenyans think about missions? That was early on so they weren't quite there yet. They have really come there now, but they weren't quite there yet. And that's what I lay at the feet of the missionaries. We didn't think about raising people up to become missionaries early enough. When I say we, I mean the whole missions community.

A: ***Alright, today you're at Wheaton. What was that transition like? Did you think you'd be there long term since you had a pattern of moving so much?***

S: I really didn't think I'd be here this long. My wife was an army brat, so she and I both had moved around a lot. Growing up, she had lived internationally. If you had told me I was going to spend the next 30 years at Wheaton, I'm not sure what I would have done! My first few years here my DMiss was kind of denigrated like it was a second-class doctoral degree, and then it was a seminary degree, so it was almost third class. It was better than a DMin, but not much, and so my need to prove myself to my mom spread out at Wheaton and I had to prove myself to my colleagues. Not as much in the missions department as the colleagues across campus. Do I have what it takes to teach at Wheaton?

I looked into doing a PhD. I went down and talked to some people at the University of Chicago. I went up to Trinity because they had invited a few people who had done DMiss degrees to do the PhD. But by the time that became a possibility, I had received tenure at Wheaton and I thought, OK, I don't have to have a PhD to be able to stay here. But early on, I had a lot of—and I found I'm not unique to this—a lot of "am I cut out to be here? Can people see through me?" You know what I mean? I got past that eventually.

I think it took becoming a full professor to move to that stage where I thought, OK, I've been accepted. All I can do from here is die or retire at Wheaton. And so I thought, OK, not sit back and relax, but I don't have to prove myself anymore. That's been a freeing thing, though I can still turn back toward that old path a little bit too easily. So, to answer your question, coming to Wheaton as a professor was a part of a three-year culture shock returning to the U.S. from Africa.

Frankly, when I was here as an undergrad, I did not like Wheaton. There was a snootiness to the place. The mature Christians were already locked into their friendship circles when I transferred in as a junior. What was left were the people who struggled. The people who were bitter. The

people who were angry. Here I was, a gymnast and a physicist – two strikes against me. I didn't fit into the normal frame of relationships, at least from my perspective. I was unsuccessful in crossing the gender lines and having healthy relationships. I think that tied into my thinking about my mom. I was always expecting to be rejected so it made it easy for me, when I thought there was a hint of that, to just run away.

My roommate ended up committing suicide three years after graduation. Another person said Christianity was just a phase he went through. Another person—as soon as he left Wheaton—disavowed himself of being an Evangelical. These are the people that I spent a significant amount of time with. And you know, one told me I was too smart to go on staff with Cru. What in the world does that even mean? You know, it just didn't make any sense to me at that point in time. I thought, well, he's trying to help me. But you know, until God calls for an intervention, I'm still moving in this direction.

So I came on as faculty with that kind of background at Wheaton. But Jim Plueddemann, who was here as a faculty member, wonderfully helped me. I had to reintroduce myself to Wheaton and Wheaton had to reintroduce itself to me. I thought, I'm teaching in the Graduate School, I'm not an undergrad. I'm not an 18 year old. I'm not working with 18 year olds. I don't have to motivate graduate students and I'm on the teaching side of the line and it is a different atmosphere. So I've grown to love and appreciate Wheaton, but it took a while.

A: ***Let's transition and talk about your writing. You've written a lot. Do you or did you write because you wanted to or because you had to? Did you write to get tenure, or because you had these ideas burning inside that you had to give expression?***

S: Well, I started writing when I was in Africa and there was no tenure. I had a half dozen articles in the East African Journal of Theology. I did a series on cults and an article on John Mbiti's view of time. So I'd say it's fair to say there's an element in which writing is in my blood. You know, I've said this before: Eric Liddle said, "God made me fast and when I run I feel his pleasure." Well God made me to write and edit and when I write and edit, I feel His pleasure. I think that's a fair statement to say, but at the same time I can't overlook the fact, "Hey Mom, look what I did." That thinking played more a role when I first came to Wheaton.

I started writing because I wanted to help the African church. That was what was driving it and you know, there's the idea of getting something in print is kind of cool, but I was a tiny fish in a very small pond.

It's funny how serendipity plays a role. I was new at Wheaton and Walter Elwell's office was down the hall. He's an interesting character. He has a photographic memory. I think he had written or edited 25 dictionaries related to theology and so on. He had a New Testament introduction. Anyway, he came down and stuck his head in my office and said, "Is there anyone in this department who's willing to help edit a book on 20th Century global Christianity? The main editor, JD Douglas needs help with the non-Western peoples." I said oh yeah, I'd love to do that and it was just virtue of serendipity that I became an associate editor of that book and that led to Baker trusting me enough to write a contract with me on the *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. That project led to the *Encountering Mission* series, and so it's kind of one thing led to another.

At Wheaton, there is a sense that you need to publish. Wheaton just has assistant, associate, and full professor, and then it's emeritus or death. So you only get a few chances to advance and once you get to the third, there's nothing more you can do. It was nice for me that I could stop there when I reached full professor and not worry, but by then I still liked to write and edit.

> "As much as I like to write and edit, I still don't think of myself as a scholar per se. That might surprise some people. I think of myself more as an activist-practitioner-scholar. Whether that's good or not, whether that's accurate or not, that's where my head is."

But as much as I like to write and edit, I still don't think of myself as a scholar per se. That might surprise some people. I think of myself more as an activist-practitioner-scholar. Whether that's good or not, whether that's accurate or not, that's where my head is. I write textbooks, and those involve a level of scholarship, but they're not the same as a scholarly monograph. I also edited the *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* journal, which isn't so much a scholarly journal as a feet on the ground training missionaries type of journal.

So those are the types of writings that I'd say characterize me. I'm good at putting out the textbooks. Maybe not the monographs as much, though my most recent book on contextualization would probably fit that category better than my textbooks would, but it still was written with the idea of it being a textbook.

A: ***How do you conceptualize or approach a new writing project? You said you have this practitioner-scholar framework. Do you write on something that's gripping you? Or do you write on something that's needed? And then how do you move from idea to the page?***

S: I write on something that's gripping to me. It can be gripping for a number of reasons. When I proposed the *Encountering Mission* series to Baker, I had access to a database of like 4000 missions courses that were being taught in North America and I was able to catalog or categorize all those and say "here's the reason you need this book in the series" and the publisher loved that because people almost never had research behind what they were proposing. With this proposal, I was able to say you've got 150 courses on Introduction to Missions, Mission History, etc. We need a mission history textbook. My I*ntroduction to World Missions* didn't need to be justified, but with all the others, I was able to justify the need for the book on the basis of what was being taught in the academy and Baker was thinking of it as a textbook series.

Introduction to World Missions and the *Encountering Intercultural Communication* – those two I was passionate about. The first is for practitioners. The other is half theory, half what does this mean for church planting and discipleship. I've written two books on contextualization because that's what I teach and what I'm passionate about. I wrote on spiritual warfare, in part, to express my voice in the midst of a cacophony of voices. So much of what was out there was sensationalist or attention grabbing. I wanted a more moderate view that wasn't anti-spiritual warfare, but wasn't so pro that it became evangelistic in a sense. I wanted something in the middle so that's what drove that book for me. So each book had slightly different driving factors. With *EMQ*, I thought, this reaches more missionaries than any other journal. When they asked me to be editor, I loved that part of the picture and had already loved reading the journal. I thought this is something I have a passion for. Seventeen years was a pretty good run with that.

A: ***Is there anything that you're working on now or that you've left unwritten that you might mention?***

S: You know, I was just telling a friend of mine that lately I've been dealing with some depression. I'm tired. This was pre-corona. Corona has actually recharged me a little because it suits introverts. Dream come true you know! With an empty nest at home, I can be introverted. My wife is introverted as well.

At this moment, what I've been doing more is having fun making videos, whether for courses or for a church planting network or for my kids at our church. I've been trying to put together things that take advantage of the creativity that books don't quite do for me. I've had dreams of something like quantum missiology – you know, my physics background- but I thought, yeah two people will read that. My colleague and I will enjoy it and that will be it. I've thought about things but nothing is really grabbing me right now. So that's where I stand.

A: ***Sure, that makes sense. Tom Steffen said nobody reads books anymore so he doesn't know why anybody writes them. And then he put out another one on oral hermeneutics that has just come out. Ha.***

S: Well, even hearing Tom saying that makes me think. What can I do, not in the Tik Tok world, but in the video world? I have a YouTube channel which I don't broadcast much. That's where I have a lot of material I used for online classes and so on. I've started playing around with things like Doodly that lets you draw in the videos. It takes between one to two hours of work per minute of published video. So a finished video might be 7 minutes and you think that's not much, but it was a lot more work than 7 minutes would imply. And yet that's where our culture has gone. Jay Moon would say it's a digit-oral culture and those types of things appeal to digit-oral people. So maybe that's my next step. Instead of writing books, I'll start making more videos.

I've got this massive collection of images of Christ from around the world. It's 5,335 catalogued images so far with another 1,100 that I haven't cataloged yet—copyrights and other issues. What do I do with that? I've used some of them in presentations and so on. I've made 60 or 70 videos of these with someone like Michael Card or Fernando Ortega playing in the background. Using these images like this takes a wordsmith or a storyteller as they show events in the life of Christ. I really love them for devotions and at conferences, but it's not the kind of thing you can post publicly because of some of the copyright issues. So I'm not sure what to do with all those, but I'd love to figure something out as I'm nearing the age of hanging up the Dean's hat at Wheaton and going off to a green pasture somewhere. I'm probably still looking at around five years until that.

A: *Thanks so much, Scott, for your time and for such an insightful look into your life and work!*

Peoples on the Move:
Community Research for Ministry and Missions

By Casey, Anthony. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2020.

Reviewed by Jessica Udall, *PhD candidate in Intercultural Studies at Columbia International University. She is the author of* Loving the Stranger: Welcoming Immigrants in the Name of Jesus *and lovingthestrangerblog.com.*

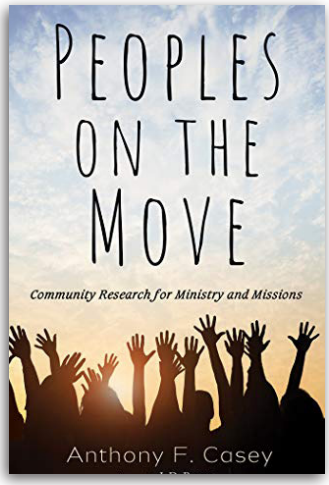
In his eminently practical *Peoples on the Move*, Intercultural Studies professor and ethnographic researcher Anthony Casey sets out to provide a handbook for ministry leaders who want to gain a deeper understanding of their communities.

Casey begins by overviewing the current trends of globalization and migration. These twin realities present unprecedented "opportunities" but they also give rise to the "multicultural complexity of modern communities" (5) which can be overwhelming for those trying to reach the nations next door.

Next, he turns his attention to biblical figures—most notably Jesus—who exemplify "taking the posture of a learner who is fully engaged in his or her community" (8), providing support for the idea that planting the seed of the gospel should be coupled with an understanding of the soil into which it is being planted.

Chapter three helpfully explores the meaning of culture, the way it changes, and the way it unites and divides people. The cultural values spectrum is discussed at some length, with real-life examples included to make abstract categories such as "Task versus Relationship" (31) more comprehensible.

After laying this quick but cogent theoretical foundation, Casey dives into research methodology, beginning with a description of "The Most Important Tool—The Researcher" (40). Then, since "community research is most effective when a well-rounded approach is utilized" (51), Casey walks the reader through a process for reviewing a variety of online and community resources in order to gain an initial understanding of the group and/or area that is the focus of research. Advice for gaining access to a physical site for research and gaining access to people through the use of local guides called "informants"



(62) is included, and a non-academic explanation of participant observation will prove helpful to those who are unsure of how to go about demographic research practically.

Chapter eight particularly shone in its explanation of qualitative interviewing and tips for the researcher on how to set the tone of an interaction, orient the interviewee, and keep track of all the data generated by the conversation.

At this point in the process, the inexperienced researcher might be overwhelmed with the "large amount of scattered data" (98) he or she has collected. But Casey proves a trusty guide, providing a step-by-step process for categorizing information and teasing out themes from a solid background knowledge of the community, as well as asking informed questions and making strategic decisions based upon the discovered themes.

Casey then includes a word on the unique challenges of planting a multi-ethnic church in a multicultural setting. In his experience, this kind of church is "often unsuccessful" (119). What follows is a truly fascinating discussion of cultural identity and the various strategies that immigrants use to cope with adjusting to a new country, but it may have been more helpful to provide and explain a viable alternative to multi-ethnic churches, supported with examples of mono-ethnic churches planted among immigrants which have been successful.

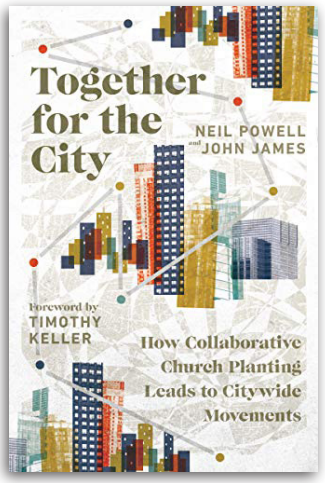
Does a church planter need months or years of study in the field of cultural anthropology and training in ethnographic research techniques to be effective in cross-cultural ministry? Not necessarily, Casey contends. Instead, in this ground-breaking work, he seeks to offer a concisely comprehensive guide for those who are new to this field but who see the importance of contextualizing the gospel when sharing it cross-culturally.

Casey's stated intent was to "write something that was in-depth enough to be thorough but still readable for the regular person" (6), and he has accomplished this goal. Peoples on the Move is everything a pastor, church planter or missionary needs to know about community

research, and nothing that they don't. The slim volume's conversational and engaging tone—leavened by real-life examples and personal stories—make it easy and enjoyable to read in an afternoon, but the principles and methodologies shared will serve readers for a lifetime as they seek to better know and love those they live among.

Together for the City:
How Collaborative Church Planting Leads to Citywide Movements

By Powell, N., & James, J. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, 2019.



Reviewed by Michael *(last name withheld). Michael holds a PhD and with his wife lives in Southeast Asia where they work in a variety of roles with development agencies. Michael serves as director of Radius Global Cities Network and teaches graduate level courses. He is author of City Shaped Churches along with a number of other books and articles.*

How do we effectively engage cities? Neil Powell and John James would answer "together." Together for the City: How Collaborative Church Planting Leads to Citywide Movements, by Powell and James, comes as a much-needed addition to urban missions literature.

Missions writing cut its teeth covering topics germane to frontier and rural missions. Until recently, many of the books written on reaching cities have been focused on declaring the importance of cities or focusing on inner city missions. This contribution from Powell and James joins an encouraging recent trend of urban missions books that go beyond the basics. Cities are a wildly different context for Great Commission work than frontier settings. The increased density often means there are more churches and ministry leaders in a confined area even though there remains a great need for gospel advancement. Together for the City offers a clear path to work collaboratively to reach the city rather than in the silos in which we tend to operate.

Neil Powell and John James worked together in Birmingham (UK) to see churches started across the city. They each ministered in their own churches, but they also shared a vision for the gospel to reach into every neighborhood of the city through 2020birmingham. They liken the challenge of reaching the cities to the evacuation of allied troops out of Dunkirk in World War II (captured grippingly in the 2017 movie Dunkirk). With the combined efforts of every kind of water vessel moving across the English Channel, 338,226 soldiers were rescued from capture. These authors hope to see a spiritual rescue happen in their city through a collaborative push towards the gospel being lived and shared throughout an ever-expanding network of churches and church planters.

The book is organized in three sections. The first offers the big picture and the reason why collaboration to see a movement of churches is a worthy effort. Since many Christians remain in the orbit of one local church, Powell and James cast vision for the value of a movement mindset in reaching a city with new churches. In the second section the authors delve into the nuts and bolts of how to develop a collaborative church planting movement. Their formula is core (beliefs) + cause (vision) + code (movement dynamics) = collaboration. The final section rounds out the concept with a picture of a movement from beginning to the point of ongoing movement and shares snapshots of similar movements from around the world.

There is much that is good about the book. There are not many resources that cover this ground. Churches—particularly of the evangelical variety—do not have a great track record in working together. This book combines reflection and years of experience to provide wisdom and practical considerations in collaborating. It is unusual to find this emphasis on collaboration while maintaining theological convictions. The authors are committed to a clear understanding of the gospel and the vital role of the local church. Another value is the well-versed application of missiological thinking. It grieved Lesslie Newbigin to see Western church leaders ignoring the missionary nature of the church. Powell and James draw on ideas and frameworks from a variety of missiologists, like Newbigin, Paul Hiebert, David Garrison and Tim Keller (yes, pastors can be missiologists too). The book has a good balance and rhythm that makes it approachable for a variety of readers.

Although I do not have much to say by way of critique, there might be a couple of things readers may find objectionable. I mentioned earlier that the authors are clear on their convictions on primary and secondary issues. Some may find their convictional core to be a little too restrictive

in some areas. However, having a clear theological core is one of their emphases: "When it comes to collaboration, the question of how broad we can be without undermining the gospel requires careful reflection and an answer that sits well with the conscience of all involved" (86). Another point of tension is their emphasis on organic movements. Although the authors emphasize a highly organic city-wide movement, they reference their affiliations with organized global networks like City to City. One wonders if the organic-ness of a movement relies more heavily on organizational structure than advertised in the book.

Together for the City is highly recommended for anyone working in a city or in cross organizational collaborative efforts. As one who has been involved in the formation of a city-wide church planting effort, I found this book resonated closely with my experiences. Neil Powell and John James have given the church a valuable contribution towards gospel engagement of cities around the world.

The Church of the East in East Asia continued from page 7

Churches of the East before 1500 (Delhi: Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1998); Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia: Vol 1*; and T. V. Philip, *East of the Euphrates: Early Christianity in Asia* (Delhi: Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1998); Noticeable for their drawing attention to the Asian church in their broader church histories are Dale Irvin, and Scott Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement: Volume 1: Earliest Christianity to 1453* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 2001), and Philip Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity* (New York: HarperOne, 2008) and especially see the seminal earlier work of Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), and his *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols., *Contemporary Evangelical Perspectives* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1970); There are four very helpful compilations of essays on the COTE especially with essays relating to Central and East Asia including the 16th century, Roman Malek, ed., *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, Collectanea Serica (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006), Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang, eds., In *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2009), Li Tang, and Dietmar W. Winker, eds. *From Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, Orientalia-Patristica-Oecumenica, 5 (Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2013) (Hereafter From Oxus River), and Li Tang, and Dietmar W. Winker, eds. *Wings of Jingjiao: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, Orientalia-Patristica-Oecumenica, 95 (Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2016).

3. Most notably with the conversions of the Kerait Turks in 1007, which was a highpoint of the COTE in central to east Asia, see Erica C. D. Hunter, "The Conversion of the Kerait to Christianity in A.D. 1007," *Zentralasiatische Studen* 22 (1989-91): 143-63, besides the works cited in n. 2, also see Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 62-73, Erica C. D. Hunter, "Syriac Christianity in Central Asia." *Zeitschrift für Religions Geitesgeschichte* 44 #4 (1992): 362-8, Erica C. D. Hunter, "The Church of the East in Central Asia." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78 #3 (1996): 129-42. Note while older but helpful Map III in P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1951), 354.

4. See Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 209-212.

5. Edessa, Nisibis and their later educational decedents were established organized schools that perpetuated the Antiochene hermeneutical and theological framework. Prominent representatives of the 4th century "Middle School" of Antioch are Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Furthermore, the Church of the East declared these two with Nestorius as 'teachers' or 'doctors' of the church. See W. Stewart McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 61-2, and De Lacy O'Leary, *The Syriac Church and Fathers*, First Gorgias edition (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002), 51-5, 94. See also the works Adam H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), Adam H. Becker, trans. with an introduction and notes, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 50 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), Brian Colless, "The Early Bible Colleges of Persia and the First Christian Missionaries in South East Asia," *Journal of Christian Education* 12 #2 (1969), 151-8, and Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain: CSCO, 1965). It should be noted that by the Synod of Beth-Lapith (484), the COTE became fully Antiochene in theology, Joseph W. Trigg, *Biblical Interpretation, Message of the Fathers of the Church* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 203.

6. Although there were three schools know at Edessa—School of the Persians, School of the Armenians and School of the Syrians—the "School of the Persians" was the most important for our discussion. On these see, Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom*, 65-8.

7. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom*, Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, and Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis.*

8. Abundant examples of these can be found in the works noted in footnote 2, especially in the four compilation of essay volumes.

9. See Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road,* esp. 80-83, and Xinru Liu, *Silk and Religion: An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600-1200* Oxford India Paperbacks (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. 182-4.

10. Helpful discussions on these conquests and the Mongols, see David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1990), J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), and Bertold Spuler, *History of the Mongols: Based on Eastern and Western Accounts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Helga and Stuart Drummond (New York: Dorsett Press, 1972, 1988).

11. The Il Khans were the southwest branch of the Mongol Empire (including Persia, Syria, Armenian, Georgia, Turkey, western Afghanistan) that was under Hulagu (or Hülegü or Hulegu), grandson of Genghis Khan. Initially, like Genghis and others, the Il Khans were more religiously neutral with Buddhist leanings while open to the COTE influence (many of the Great Khans' mothers and wives were COTE Christians). There are many resources that follow the history of the Il Khans, some helpful discussions for this discussion are Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 127-43, Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1: 421-28, 475-80, Morgan, *The Mongols*, 139-51, and Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, 128-46, 231-40.

12. Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 140-2, and Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1: 475-80.

13. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1: 384-91.

14. An early work on this, W. A. Wigram, *The Assyrians and their Neighbors* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 1929, 2002), 140-62.

15. All surveys refer to him, but a general overview can be found by Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

16. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1: 480-8.

17. Brian Colless, "The Nestorian Province of Samarqand," *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986), 51-7; see also, Erica Hunter, "Syriac Christianity in Central Asia." *Zeitschrift für Religions Geitesgeschichte* 44 #4 (1992): 367 (362-8).

18. Colless, "The Nestorian Province of Samarqand," 54-55.

19. Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 231; noted in Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road*, 136. For the text of the gravestones, see Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents*, 408-19, and T. W. Thacker, "A Nestorian Gravestone from Central Asia in the Gulbenkian Museum, Durham University," *Durham University Journal* (March 1967): 94-107.

20. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road*, 137, Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity*, 134, and Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1: 471-5, 496-7.

21. Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity*, 137-8, Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1: 486-8, and Philip, *East of the Euphrates,* 163-82; see especially on the topic, Laurence E. Brown, *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967).

22. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road*, 135-44.

23. Baum and Winkler, *The Church of the East*, 106, and Baby Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," in *From the Oxus River*, 317; also see below in the next section.

24. J. Stewart, *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), 297-302.

25. Sten Bugge, "The History of the Nestorian Church in China," *Moslem World* 24 no. 4 (1934): 390 (370-90).

26. B. E. Colless, "'The Traders of the Pearl': The Mercantile and Missionary Activities of Persian and Armenian Christians in South-East Asia." *Abr-Nahrain* 18 (1979): 10 (1-18), Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 311, and Philip, *East of the Euphrates*, 156; Ludovico di Varthema also found Christian merchants in Thailand, Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 312-3, and Philip, *East of the Euphrates*, 156.

27. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 95-6, cf. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1: 461, and Philip, *East of the Euphrates*, 156; it also noted that Ludovico di Varthema visited Malacca but did not mention meeting Christians there, Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 311; Ludovico di Varthema also noted that he met some Armenian Christians in Pegu, Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 312.

28. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 96.

29. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 96.

30. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 97.

31. Baum and Winkler, *The Church of the Eas*t, 107, England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 98, Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 177, 312, and A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*. Rev. ed. (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1982, 2001), 282-3; see also the next section for more details.

32. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 97, and Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 312.

33. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 97, cf. Philip, *East of the Euphrates*, 159.

34. See Brian E. Colless, "'The Traders of the Pearl': The Mercantile and Missionary Activities of Persian and Armenian Christians in South-East Asia" *Abr-Nahrain* 11 (1971-9.): 1-21; 13: 115-35; 14: 1-16; 15: 6-17; 18: 1-18.

35. There are several good works that spell out in detail the interaction between the COTE in India and the Roman Catholic Church, especially in regards to the Portuguese. While intriguing and instructive, a detailed account is beyond the scope of this easy. For the detail, and a wide range of interpretations of the events, see Cyril Bruce Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*. Rev. ed. Christian Students' Library 23 (Delhi: Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 2000), 34-98, Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 188-201, Samuel Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia: Vol I1* 1500-1900 (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2005), 16, Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 216-521, Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India, Vol. II From the Middle of the Sixteenth to the end of the Seventh Century* (1542-1700) (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1982, 1988), 19-79, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 317-40.

36. Actually there were three Indians who started off, but one died along the way. Baum and Winkler, The Church of the East, 106, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 317.

37. Baum and Winkler, *The Church of the East*, 106-7, Firth, An Introduction to Indian Church History, 43-4, Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 317; the original document can be seen M. K. Kuriakose, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials* (Delhi: ISPCK, 1999), 21-25, A. Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity in India," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 10, no. 2 (1925): 435-514, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 318-23.

38. Noted by Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 283-4; although some note Mar John probably died shortly after that, see Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement: Volume 2: Modern Christianity from 1454-1800* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 2012), 59, Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 285, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 324; on that they do not have any evidence about the others, Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, 2: 59, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 324, and vaguely referred to by Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 46; Gillman and Klimkeit see Mar Dinha as an assistant to Mar Jacob, Christians in Asia before 1500, 193.

39. See the discussion, Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 283-7; see also England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia*, 98.

40. Philip, *East of the Euphrates*, 66, Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 320, and J. P. M. Van der Ploeg, *The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and their Syriac Manuscripts* (Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 1983), 5.

41. Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2:5.

42. Baum and Winkler, *The Church of the East*, 107.

43. Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2:7.

44. In fact, de Gama carried a letter addressed to him, Gillman and Klimkeit, Christians in Asia before 1500, 190; Many have written about Prester John, e.g., Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 227, and Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity*, 69; a collection of the Prester John legends is in Igor de Rachelwiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Greak Khans, Great Travelers* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), 19-40; also see see on the role of him, the pepper trade, and patronage system called padroado, see Jonathan Graham, "Pepper, Padroado, and Prester John," in *Goa: A Post-Colonial Soceity Between Cultures*, ed. Rochelle Almeida (Goa: Goa 1556 Publications, 2019), 169-93.

45. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 51, 74, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 326.

46. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 51, and Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 459-60; this specifically included Cochin in 1557, Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 78.

47. Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 190, and Xavier Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India* (Kottayam, India: Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, n.d.), 87.

48. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 50-1, and Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 16.

49. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 55; on the work and impact of Frances Xavier in India, see Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 49-68, and Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 9-12.

50. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 74, and Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 315-41.

51. Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the

Sixteenth Century," 326 states that they were Dominicans, while Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 70, states that it was Franciscans.

52. Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 326.

53. Noted by several, such as Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 73, and Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 287-8

54. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 46, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 325.

55. There is a wide range of perspectives of when Mar Jacob died: see for 1549, Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 74-5; for 1551, Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, 2: 59, and Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 6; or for 1552 (or 1550), Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 324-5 (or 324); or before 1554, Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 346-7.

56. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 77-83, 92-3, Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 12-3, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century,"327-8, 331-7.

57. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 46-7.

58. Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 198, Kuriakose, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials*, 26, Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 13, and Varghese, "Eastern Syrian Missions to the Malabar Coast in the Sixteenth Century," 326, 329; Koodapuzha has Goa becoming the archdiocese in 1557, *Christianity in India*, 87.

59. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 32-7, Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 89-98, Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 200, Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India*, 90-92; See especially Jonas Thaliath, 1958. *The Synod of Diamper*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta (Rome: Pontifical Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1958), and Scaria Zacharia, 1994. *The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper 1599* (Edamattam, Kerala: Indian Institute of Christian Studies, 1994).

60. This clearly demonstrates that the issues in Europe as a response to the Protestant Reformation impacted the relations with other Christian branches elsewhere on the globe.

61. Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 163, and Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: Volume I*, 492-3.

62. From several sources, primarily, Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 54-5, 69-74, and Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 200, Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India*, 91-2, and Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 14-5.

63. Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 7.

64. Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 11.

65. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 68; although he was noted for work among the Tamil, Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, 2: 62, and Moffett, *History of Christianity in Asia*, 2: 11.

66. Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India*, 92-4; Kochuparampil, "The St. Thomas Christians of India," 249, highlights the findings of Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper,* chapters 3 and 4, that the Synod was not properly done, and was never approved by Rome.

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cultural sensitivity. Rather than expecting Majority World believers to shoulder cultural issues mostly on their own and thus bifurcating these two objectives, what if we increasingly shared this burden with them by sustained learning of their culture and language? What if we considered how best to "translate" our expertise into their context? If we teach through a translator, this may involve an increased emphasis on clarity and simplicity, along with minimizing heavily nuanced language and technical terminology that can be difficult to translate. Furthermore, insofar as "academic rigor" in the West means in part engagement with Western scholarship, we will have to determine how much of this engagement is helpful to those who may have little to no background in and access to Western theological scholarship. Lord willing, the fruit of such labors will be rigorous theological education that is increasingly culturally sensitive—that is, effective. In the process, we too will be enriched along with the global church. Would that more of us who have had the benefit of more academically rigorous training give ourselves to this strategic task! I pray that evangelicals in the West may increasingly consider how we may promote, facilitate, and participate in this strategic work.

Endnotes

1. Paul Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 195-96, 216.

2. Andrew Walls, "World Christianity, Theological Education, and Scholarship," *Transformation* 28, no. 4 (2011): 238.

3. Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), 7-9.

4. Walls, "World Christianity," 237-38.

5. Keith D. Campbell, "The American Evangelical Academy and the World: A Challenge to Practice More Globally," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 56, no. 2 (2013): 340-43.

6. Timothy Tennent, *Theology in the Context of World Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 250.

7. Andrew Walls, "In Quest of the Father of Mission Studies," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 23, no. 3 (1999): 98.

8. Ibid.

9. Anthony Casey, "Majority World Theological Education in the Age of Globalization and Diaspora Missions" (paper, Evangelical Missiological Society, Dallas, TX, September 2017).

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40. Ibid., 252
41. Ibid., 252
42. Ibid. 251-252.
43. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. II, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 4.16.7, 533-534.
44. Ibid., 4.16.7, 533.
45. Ibid., 4.16.7, 533.
46. Ibid., 4.16.7, 533-534.
47. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance, *John Calvin's Commentaries: A Harmony of the Gospels Matthew, Mark and Luke Volume II*, trans. by T.H.L. Parker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1989), 252.
48. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. II, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 4.16.21, 554.
49. Ibid., 4.16.1-32, 528-554.
50. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance, *John Calvin's Commentaries: A Harmony of the Gospels Matthew, Mark and Luke Volume II*, trans. by T.H.L. Parker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 250-252.
51. Jill Raitt, "Three Inter-Related Principles in Calvin's Unique Doctrine of Infant Baptism." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 11, no. 1 (1980): 57.
52. Herman J. Selderhuis, *John Calvin: A Pilgrim's Life*, trans. Albert Gootjes (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009), 168-169.
53. Ibid. 169.
54. Ibid. 169-170
55. Mark Valeri, "Religion, Discipline, and the Economy in Calvin's Geneva." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 1 (1997): 140.
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57. Ibid. 11.
58. Ibid. 42.
59. Ibid. 43.
60. Ibid. 43.
61. Ibid. 11.
62. William Spitz, *The Reformation: Education and History* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 59-60.
63. Ibid. 60.
64. Robert M. Kingdon, *Catechesis in Calvin's Geneva in John H. Van Engen, ed. Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 300.
65. Ibid. 300.
66. Ibid. 300.
67. Karen E. Spierling, "Making Use of God's Remedies: Negotiating the Material Care of Children in Reformation Geneva." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 3 (2005): 785.
68. Robert M. Kingdon, Catechesis in Calvin's Geneva in John H. Van Engen, ed. *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 300-301.
69. Jeffrey R. Watt, "Calvinism, Childhood, and Education: The Evidence from the Genevan Consistory." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 2 (2002): 448.
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71. Ibid., 305
72. Randall C. Zachman, *John Calvin as Teacher, Pastor, and Theologian: The Shape of His Writings and Thought*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 133.
73. Ibid., 133.
74. Peter Y. DeJong, "Calvin's Contributions to Christian Education." *Calvin Theological Journal 2*, no. 2 (November 1967): 166.

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