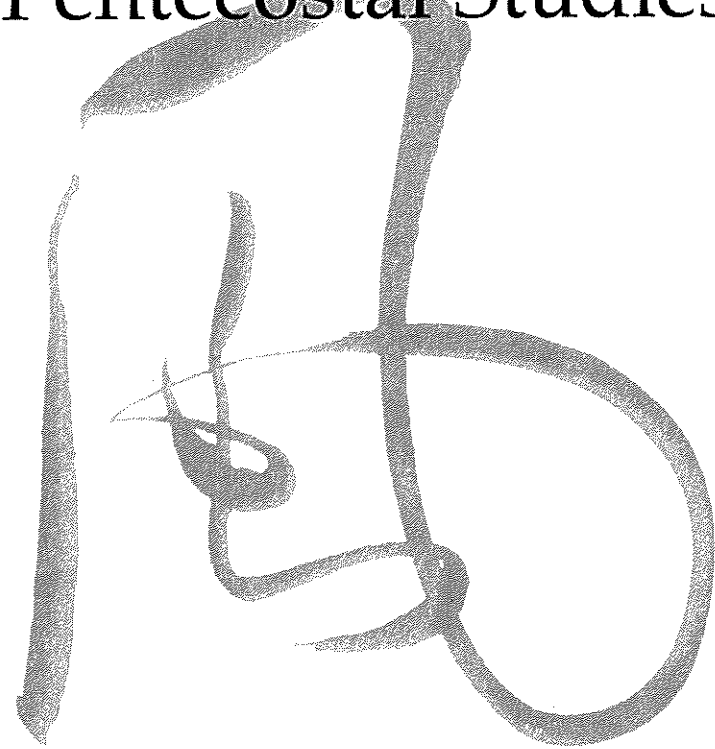
Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies



Volume 12, Number 1 (January 2009)

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies
ISSN 0118-8534
Vol. 12, No. 1 (2009)

ASIAN JOURNAL OF PENTECOSTAL STUDIES is published twice per year (January and July) by the Faculty of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, P.O. Box 377, Baguio City 2600, Philippines. Part or whole of the current and previous issues may be available through the internet (http://www.apts.edu/ajps). Views expressed in the *Journal* reflect those of the authors and reviewers, and not the views of the editors, the publisher, or the participating institutions.

PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS: Educational or research institutions that are interested in participating in the *Journal* ministry are encouraged to write to the *Journal* office. The following are participating institutions of the Journal:

Asian Pentecostal Society, Philippines (Dr. Joseph Suico)
Central Bible College, Tokyo, Japan (Dr. Koichi Kitano)
Asia LIFE University, Daejon, Korea (Dr. Yeol-Soo Eim)
International Theological Institute, Seoul, Korea (Dr. Sam-Hwan Kim)

THE *JOURNAL SEEKS TO PROVIDE A FORUM*: to encourage serious theological thinking and articulation by Pentecostals/Charismatics in Asia; to promote interaction among Asian Pentecostals/Charismatics and dialogue with other Christian traditions; to stimulate creative contextualization of the Christian faith; and to provide a means for Pentecostals/Charismatics to share their theological reflection.

(Continue on back inside cover)

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies

Volume 12, Number 1 (January 2009)

BOOK REVIEWS

[*AJPS* 12:1 (2009), pp. 1-2]

"FOR ALL PEOPLES: A BIBLICAL THEOLOGY OF MISSION"

Within the Pentecostal movement, the role of missions has been a primary concern from the movement's inception. From a Pentecostal perspective, the whole missionary enterprise is foundationally biblical and theologically necessary. As such, an analysis of New Testament missiologies is very pertinent to the Pentecostalism; Dr. Craig Keener's lectureship on "For All Peoples: A Biblical Theology of Mission" is especially pertinent for this reason.

Asia Pacific Theological Seminary hosts an annual lectureship each year in honor of William Menzies, a previous president of the school, its current Chancellor, and a noted Pentecostal scholar. This year, 2009, from January 27-30, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary hosted the 17th Annual William Menzies Lectureship with noted New Testament scholar Dr. Craig Keener from Palmer Theological Seminary as the speaker.

For the 2009 Lectureship, Dr. Craig Keener's four lectures were on the theme, entitled, "For All Peoples: A Biblical Theology of Mission." These four lectures are presented as the first four essays of this issue. The first essay is a look at Matthew's missiology with an emphasis of 'Making Disciples of the Nations.' The second essay presented here, is the lecture on the Johannine missiology with the perspective of being 'Sent like Jesus.' The third essay analyzes the Lukan missiology with its focus on the 'Power of Pentecost' taken primarily from the Book of Acts' account. The final essay presented here is based on one facet of the Pauline missiology taken from Ephesians on the theme 'One New Temple in Christ.' These essays delineate some aspects of a New Testament missiological foundation that is significant within a Pentecostal missiology.

Aside from these in this issue, there are presented two additional essays. First, Dr. Wonsuk Ma presents an essay on Pentecostal Eschatology from an Asian perspective. Following is an essay by Lucien Jinkwang Kim on the Montanist movement and asks the question "Is Montanism a heretical sect or a Pentecostal

antecedent?" Both essays raise significant questions for Pentecostalism in Asia.

Editors

[*AJPS* 12:1 (2009), pp. 3-20]

MATTHEW'S MISSIOLOGY: MAKING DISCIPLES OF THE NATIONS (MATTHEW 28:19-20)

Craig S. Keener

Matthew's Gospel closes with what Christians have often called the "Great Commission." This commission is no afterthought to Matthew's Gospel; rather, it summarizes much of the heart of his message. The earliest audiences of Matthew did not hear snippets of the Gospel extracted from pages in a modern book; they heard the entire Gospel read from a scroll. By the time Matthew's audience heard chapter 28, then, they would have heard his entire Gospel. They would thus recognize that Matt 28 was a fitting conclusion to Matthew's Gospel, weaving together themes that appear in that Gospel. As we examine elements of Matthew's closing, we must read it in light of the entire Gospel it is intended to climax.[1]

Jesus' closing words in Matthew's Gospel include one imperative surrounded by three subordinate participial clauses—which is to say, one command that is carried out in three ways.[2] The one command is to make disciples of the nations, and this command is implemented by going, baptizing, and teaching. In modern church language, we might summarize these global discipleship tasks as cross-cultural ministry, evangelism, and Christian education. Because this commission

---

[1]Much more briefly, I suggested some of these points in Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 715-21 passim; idem, *Matthew* (IVPNTC; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1997), 400-2.

[2]The first participle ("going") may be part of the command ("make disciples"; Cleon Rogers, "The Great Commission," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 130 [1973]: 258-67), but Matthew does often coordinate this participle with the main verb (cf. 2:8; 11:4; 17:27; 28:7; Craig L. Blomberg, *Matthew* [NAC 22; Nashville: Broadman, 1992], 431). Even as an attendant circumstance participle, it remains an essential part of the commission (Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 645).

climaxes Matthew's Gospel, we should read each of these functions in light of how they appear earlier in this Gospel.

1. Going to the Nations

Before commissioning his followers to disciple the nations, Jesus says, "going," often translated, "as you go." Because this word evokes Jesus' earlier command to his disciples to "go" in preaching the kingdom (10:5-7), we can be confident that it is no accident here. In the earlier passage, however, Jesus' disciples are to "go" only to Israel's lost sheep, and not to Gentile or Samaritan cities (10:5-6),[3] whereas here, the object of "going" has changed. Jesus' followers are to make disciples of the "nations," so "going" demands crossing cultural barriers to reach the Gentiles.

Is cross-cultural ministry to Gentiles an idea that Matthew suddenly springs on his predominantly Jewish audience only at the end of his Gospel? Or is it an idea for which he has prepared them throughout his Gospel? Look first at Matthew's opening genealogy. Ancient Jewish genealogies typically included only male ancestors, but Matthew includes four women. Of the women he might have included, we might have expected him to include the most famous, the four matriarchs of Israel (or at least the three who were part of Jesus' royal lineage).[4] Instead, Matthew includes four women who have some sort of association with Gentiles.[5] Tamar (Gen 38) was a Canaanite;

---

[3]"Ways of Gentiles" probably meant roads leading to Gentile cities in or around Palestine (cf. T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979; London: SCM, 1957], 179; Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* [trans. S. H. Hooke; SBT 24; London: SCM, 1958], 19 n. 3). Samaria and Gentile territories surrounded Galilee; Jesus' instructions thus restricted their immediate mission to Galilee (see Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], 185).

[4]For the fame of the matriarchs, see e.g., *Jub.* 36:23-24; 1Qap Gen^{ar} 20.2-10; *'Ab. R. Nat.* 26, §54B.

[5]With e.g., Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (trans. David E. Green; Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), 25; Bo Reicke, *The New Testament Era: The World of the Bible from 500 B.C. to A.D. 100* (trans. David E. Green; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 118; F. F. Bruce, *The Message of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 65; Gundry, *Matthew*, 15; David Garland, *Reading Matthew: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the First Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 18. For early Jewish emphasis on their Gentile character, see e.g., Yair Zakowitch, "Rahab also Mutter des

ancient Jewish sources acknowledge her as a Gentile.[6] Rahab was from Jericho; in fact, through a series of comparisons, Joshua's narrative contrasts this Gentile, who brought her family into Israel, with the Judahite Achan whose sin destroyed *his* family (Josh 2; 6—7).[7] Ruth was from Moab; though Moabites officially were not permitted to enter Israel (Deut 23:3), God welcomed Ruth, who followed him (Ruth 1:16). "Uriah's widow" was probably from Judah herself, but is named by her deceased husband to reinforce her Gentile association: she was married to Uriah the Hittite. Thus, three ancestors of King David and the mother of King Solomon had some sort of association with Gentiles!

The normal purpose of Jewish genealogies was to emphasize the purity of one's Israelite (or sometimes levitical) ancestry.[8] Matthew, by contrast, specifically highlights the mixed character of Jesus' royal lineage. Why would Matthew do this? This genealogy is important; the opening phrase, "book of the generation" (1:1), appears in Genesis with lists of descendants, but Matthew uses it instead for the list of Jesus' *ancestors*. Whereas people normally depend on their ancestors for their existence, Matthew understands that Jesus' ancestors depend on him for their purpose in history.[9] Yet some of these ancestors were Gentiles. From the very start of his Gospel, Matthew shows that Gentiles were no afterthought in God's plan. From the beginning, God purposed to bless all the families of the earth in Abraham's seed!

In the very next chapter, those who come to "worship" the new king of the Jews are the Magi (2:1), Persian astrologers, who were

---

Boas in der Jesus-Genealogie (Matth. I 5)," *Novum Testamentum* 17 (1975): 1-5; Jeremias, *Promise*, 13-14; Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: with Special reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (2d ed.; SNTSMS 8; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988), 167-70. Some commentators instead associate these women with sexual scandal, but the pattern does not fit Tamar, and miraculous matriarchal births would have better prepared for the virgin birth (1:18-25) than scandalous ones did.

[6]See e.g., *L.A.B.* 9:5; *T. Jud.* 10:6.

[7]E.g., Rahab hides spies on her roof; Achan hides loot beneath his tent; Rahab saves her family by betraying her people, whereas Achan destroys his family by betraying his people; and so forth (see J. Scott Duvall and J. Daniel Hays, *Grasping God's Word* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001], 297-98).

[8]E.g., Josephus *Apion* 1.30; cf. b. Pes. 62b; p. Ter. 7:1; Johnson 1988: 88-95.

[9]Cf. Gundry, *Matthew*, 10, 13; Daniel Patte, *The Gospel According to Matthew: A Structural Commentary on Matthew's Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 18.

supposed to honor especially the Persian king.[10] Their role might shock Matthew's audience, who would expect Parthians to be polytheistic,[11] and who recognized the evil of pagan astrology.[12] What underlines the role of the Magi here even more firmly is the contrast with other main characters in the context.[13] Whereas these likely pagans come to worship the true king (2:2), the current king over Judea, the Idumean Herod, acts like a pagan king. Matthew's audience is a few generations later than Herod and probably lies outside Jewish Palestine, so they might not know how many temples Herod built for pagan deities[14] or his reputation for murdering members of his own

---

[10]Historically, officials did bring congratulations to other rulers (e.g., Josephus *War* 2.309; 4.498-501; Acts 25:13; Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire* (4 vols.; trans. from the 7th rev. ed., Leonard A. Magnus, J. H. Freese, and A. B. Gough; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1907-1965), 1:211; Robert F. O'Toole, *Acts 26: The Christological Climax of Paul's Defense [Ac 22:1—26:36]* [AnBib 78; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978], 16-17); the Magi's visit to Jerusalem probably assumed that the new king was born in the palace (though Bethlehem is only about six miles away; *Student Map Manual: Historical Geography of the Bible Lands* [ed. J. Monson; Grand Rapids: Zondervan; Jerusalem: Pictorial Archive, 1979], 1-1).

[11]See e.g., Josephus *Ant*. 18.348. Some may have been Zoroastrian, but evidence may be lacking that Zoroastrian religion was already as widespread as some scholars suppose (see Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible*, foreword Donald J. Wiseman [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996], 395-466; idem, "Did Persian Zoroastrianism Influence Judaism?" 282-97 in *Israel: Ancient Kingdom or Late Invention?*, ed. Daniel I. Block, Bryan H. Cribb and Gregory S. Smith [Nashville: Broadman & Holman Academic, 2008], 291-92).

[12]E.g., *1 En*. 6:7, MSS; 8:3; *Jub*. 8:3; 12:17; 13:16-18; Philo *Praem*. 58; Syr. Men. *Sent*. 292-93; *Sib. Or*. 3:221-22, 227-29; *Sipra Qed*. pq.6.203.2.1; *Sipre Deut*. 171.4.1; still, astrology exerted a wide influence even in early Judaism (e.g., *Mek. Pisha* 2.44-46). Magi appear negatively in Dan 2:2, 10 LXX; more widely in Theodotian and Aquila; also Josephus *Ant*. 10.195-203.

[13]Ancient audiences were accustomed to comparing characters (on this practice, see e.g., Theon *Progymn*. 2.86-88; Hermog. *Progymn*. 8. On Syncrisis 18-20; Peter Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* [WUNT 2, Reihe, 23; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1987], 348-53; R. Dean Anderson, Jr., *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms Connected to Methods of Argumentation, Figures and Tropes from Anaximenes to Quintilian* [Leuven: Peeters, 2000], 110-11; Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (2 vols.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 916-17, 1183-84).

[14]E.g., Josephus *Ant*. 14.76; 15.298; 16.147; 19.329, 359; *War* 2.266. His building projects and "benefactions" were not, however, limited to Palestine (e.g., *War* 1.422-28).

family.[15] Any hearer of this passage, however, would recognize the analogy implied in his murder of Bethlehem's baby boys (2:16): Herod acted like Pharaoh of old (Ex 1:15-22).[16] The Persian wise men honor Israel's true king, whereas the king of Israel acts like a pagan king!

Meanwhile, Herod's own wise men—chief priests and scribes (2:4)—know precisely where the Messiah will be born (2:5-6), yet make no effort to accompany the Magi.[17] Those who knew God's word the best neglected its message—a sin that only Bible readers and teachers can commit. A generation later, their successors became Jesus' most lethal opposition (16:21; 20:18; 27:41). They stand in contrast to the Magi, who came from afar to worship Israel's rightful king, just as all Gentiles who become Jesus' followers do.

Gentiles continue to surface in Matthew's Gospel. In ch. 3, John reminds Jewish people that they cannot depend on their ancestry for salvation. Many believed that Abraham's descendants as a whole would be saved;[18] John warns that God can raise up children for Abraham from stones (3:9)![19] In ch. 4, Jesus relocates to Capernaum, fulfilling a prophecy of Isaiah about "Galilee of the Gentiles" (4:15). In ch. 8, Jesus delivers demoniacs from a largely Gentile region that raises pigs (8:28-34).[20] He also heals the servant of a centurion, and commends the centurion's faith as greater than that of his own fellow-Israelites (8:10). There Jesus notes that many of Abraham's genetic descendants would perish (8:12), but many would come from the east and west for the expected kingdom banquet with the patriarchs (8:11). Matthew has illustrated both directions: from the east, like Magi, and from the west, like Romans.[21]

---

[15]E.g., *Ant*. 16.394; 17.187, 191; *War* 1.443-44, 550-51, 664-65. For other atrocities or attempted atrocities, see e.g., *Ant*. 17.174-79; *War* 1.437, 659-60. The Herod of Matt 2 acts "in character" with what we know of him historically.

[16]Cf. another pagan king in 1 Macc 1:60-61; 2 Macc 6:10; 8:4.

[17]Historically, the Sanhedrin of Herod's day were his political lackeys, installed after he executed their predecessors (*Ant*. 14.175; 15.2, 5-6).

[18]See especially *m. Sanh*. 10:1.

[19]See more detailed discussion on the background in Keener, *Matthew* (1999), 124-25, and a forthcoming article on "human stones"; for John's preceding denunciation of the religious establishment as the offspring of vipers, see idem, "'Brood of Vipers' (Mt. 3.7; 12.34; 23.33)," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28 (1, Sept. 2005): 3-11.

[20]On Gadara's predominantly Gentile character, cf. e.g., Josephus *Ant*. 17.320; *War* 2.478.

[21]The centurion was probably geographically from the eastern empire, perhaps Syria (cf. Josephus *War* 2.267-68; G. H. Stevenson, "The Army and Navy,"

Soon afterward he also illustrates north and south: Sheba and Nineveh, which repented, will fare better at the judgment than his own generation of Israel, which has not (12:41-42).[22] Indeed, he warns, even wicked Sodom will have a lighter judgment than his generation, for they would have repented had they seen the miracles his generation was seeing (10:15; 11:23-24).[23]

Likewise, Jesus heeds the plea of a Canaanite woman (15:21-28). In Mark, she is a Syro-Phoenician "Greek"—that is, a resident of Syrophoenicia who belongs to the ruling Greek class of urban citizens. She belongs to a class of people who have been exploiting the workers of the countryside, but now must come as a supplicant.[24] Matthew focuses instead on her location: she lives in a region populated by descendants of the ancient Canaanites.[25] Yet Matthew's Gospel opened with mention of two Canaanite women of faith, and this Canaanite woman also becomes, like the Gentile centurion earlier, a model of faith (15:28).

It is likely no coincidence that Jesus puts the question about his identity to his disciples not in Jerusalem or Jewish Galilee but in Caesarea Philippi (16:13). Caesarea Philippi was a pagan city,

---

218-38 in *The Augustan Empire: 44 B.C.-A.D. 70*, vol. 10 in *The Cambridge Ancient History* [12 vols.; ed. S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock and M. P. Charlesworth; Cambridge: University Press, 1966], 226-27; John Brian Campbell, "Legion," 839-42 in *OCD*, 839), but he officially represents Rome.

[22]The thought would be intelligible in an early Jewish setting. Some later rabbis suggested that Gentile converts would testify against the nations in the judgment (*Lev. Rab*. 2:9; *Pesiq. Rab*. 35:3), and some found in Nineveh's quick repentance a threat to Israel (*Mek. Pisha* 1.81-82).

[23]The prophets used Sodom to epitomize immorality (Is 13:19; Jer 50:40; Zeph 2:9) and applied the image to Israel (Deut 32:32; Isa 1:10; 3:9; Jer 23:14; Lam 4:6; Ezek 16:46-49). It continued to epitomize immorality in early Judaism (e.g., Sir 16:8; *Jub*. 36:10; 3 Macc 2:5; *t. Sanh*. 13:8; *Shab*. 7:23; *Sipra Behuq*. par. 2.264.1.3; *Sipre Deut*. 43.3.5).

[24]See discussion in Gerd Theissen, *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 70-72.

[25]Some find some continuity with Canaanite culture in this period (R. A. Oden, Jr., "The Persistence of Cananite Religion," *Biblical Archaeologist* 39 (1976): 31-36; David Flusser, "Paganism in Palestine," 2:1065-1100 in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historial Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* [2 vols.; ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern with D. Flusser and W. C. van Unnik; vol. 1: Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., B.V., 1974; Vol. 2: Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976], 1070-74).

originally named Paneas for its famous grotto of the god Pan.[26] By choosing such a setting, Jesus prefigured the future mission to proclaim his message outside the holy land. It is also undoubtedly no coincidence that the first people to acknowledge Jesus as God's son after the crucifixion are the Gentile execution squad (27:54).[27]

Lest anyone miss the point of this recurrent theme of Gentiles, Matthew reports Jesus' one prerequisite for the end. In contrast to the expected end-time signs of his contemporaries (such as wars and famines),[28] of which Jesus says, "The end is not yet" (24:6-8), he announces that the good news about the kingdom will be proclaimed among all peoples, and "then the end will come" (24:14). The closing parable of this discourse probably reinforces that idea. In 25:31-46, the nations are judged by how they have received the messengers of the kingdom, the "least of these my siblings" (25:40, 45). Everywhere else in Matthew Jesus' spiritual siblings represent his disciples (12:49-50; 19:29; 23:8; 28:10); moreover, elsewhere in Matthew it is those who receive and give drink to Jesus' agents who do the same for him (10:40-42; cf. 10:11).[29] These texts involving proclamation to the nations before the end explains why 28:20 emphasizes that Jesus will be with us "until the end of the age": he will be with us in the task of discipling the nations (28:19).

---

[26]See Pliny *N.H.* 5.15.71; Josephus *War* 1.404; further Josephus, *The Jewish War* (ed. Gaalya Cornfeld with Benjamin Mazar and Paul L. Maier; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 458; Vassilios Tzaferis, "Cults and Deities Worshipped at Caesarea Philippi-Banias," 190-201 in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (ed. Eugene Ulrich et al., 1992); Vassilios Tzaferis and R. Avner, "Hpyrwt b'ny's," *Qadmoniot* 23 (3-4, 1990): 110-14.

[27]Mark notes only the centurion (Mk 15:39); Matthew broadens this to his colleagues. The detachment for execution may have been as few as four (cf. Acts 12:4; Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary* [vol. 4 in *The Beginnings of Christianity*; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979], 134; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* 7.31).

[28]Cf. e.g., *Jub.* 23:11-25 (esp. 23:13; 36:1); 1QM 15.1; *Sib. Or.* 3.213-15; *4 Ezra* 8:63-9:8; 13:30; *2 Bar.* 26:1-27:13; 69:3-5; *T. Mos.* 7—8; *m. Sot.* 9:15.

[29]Historically most interpreters applied the passage specifically to believers (whether as the believing poor or, as more often today, to missionaries; for the history of interpretation, see Sherman W. Gray, *The Least of My Brothers: Matthew 25.31-46: A History of Interpretation* [SBLDS 114; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989]).

Many scholars think that Matthew wrote his Gospel after 70,[30] in the wake of massive Jewish suffering at the hands of the Gentiles. Those scholars who date Matthew before 70[31] nevertheless date Matthew in a period where tensions were building toward that Judean revolt. Whenever we date Matthew's Gospel, then, he addressed an audience that had suffered at the hands of Gentiles and may have felt every reason to hate them. Yet Matthew's message summons them to cross all barriers to reach these very Gentiles who had been their enemies—even Canaanites and Roman officers. If Matthew could summon his first audience to sacrifice their own prejudice in such a way, his Gospel summons us to do no less. He summons us to surmount ethnic and cultural prejudice, to love and to serve others no matter what the cost. This is a message of ethnic reconciliation in Christ as well as a summons to global mission.

2. Baptizing in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit

Baptism is an act of repentance, a response to a particular message (as in 3:2-6). For Matthew, the message now inviting baptism reveals the involvement of the triune God in God's kingdom, hence demands submission to the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

a. Baptism in Matthew's Gospel

When Matthew's audience reaches ch. 28, they can think of the one water baptism already mentioned in Matthew's Gospel. This was John's baptism (3:6), meant to prepare for Jesus' greater baptism in the Holy Spirit (3:11). What did John's baptism signify?

Jewish people had many kinds of ceremonial washings, but the specific sort of baptism used once for a turning from an old way of life to a new one was applied to Gentiles converting to Judaism.[32] As we

---

[30]E.g., F. F. Bruce, *The New Testament Documents: Are They Reliable?* (5th rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1981), 40; Robert H. Mounce, *Matthew* (Good News Commentary; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985), xv; W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (ICC; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988-1997), 1:127-38.

[31]E.g., Gundry, *Matthew*, 599-608; John A. T. Robinson, *Can We Trust the New Testament?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 76-78.

[32]For this background, see e.g., H. H. Rowley, "Jewish Proselyte Baptism and the Baptism of John," *HUCA* 15 (1940): 313-34; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament*

have already noted, John treats his Jewish hearers with respect to salvation like Gentiles: all must come to God on the same terms. Baptism was an act of turning to God, and in baptizing Israel for repentance John, like the prophets of old, was calling them to turn to God.

Baptism was a response to John's message; this was what differentiated it from other kinds of ceremonial washings. In emulating John's model in baptizing, we are evangelizing, proclaiming the message of the kingdom and repentance.

b. The Message of Father, Son, and Spirit

When John baptized, he was inviting people to embrace his message of repentance (3:6; cf. Mk 1:4) and the kingdom. That is, John was not administering an ordinary proselyte baptism, but was baptizing people with respect to a distinctive message. Matthew summarizes John's message: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (3:2; cf. Mk 1:15); and also Jesus' message: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt 4:17). When Jesus sends the Twelve, he commands them to announce that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (10:7).

There is thus continuity in the central message of the kingdom, a continuity that suggests that Matthew expects this proclamation to remain his audience's message. For Jewish people, the good news of God's reign signified the restoration of God's people (Is 52:7), and that God would rule unchallenged. Most Palestinian Jews associated the coming of God's reign with the Davidic Messiah and the resurrection from the dead. But we who understand that the Messiah has both come and is yet to come, and that the resurrection has already been inaugurated in history, understand that God who will consummate his kingdom in the future has already inaugurated his reign through Jesus' first coming. Matthew balances seven parables of the future kingdom (Matt 24:32—25:46) with seven or eight parables of the present one (13:1-52).[33]

Presumably, other aspects this passage associates with the kingdom message that are not revoked later in the Gospel also are expected to continue. Signs confirmed God's reign in Jesus' ministry

---

History (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1972), 156; I argue the case in some detail in Keener, *John*, 445-47.

[33]With e.g., Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (2nd rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 92-93.

(4:23-25); they also confirmed God's reign in the ministry of his disciples (10:8). In fact, in the context of Jesus' commission in ch. 10, he sends the disciples precisely to *multiply* his ministry of proclaiming and demonstrating the kingdom (9:35—10:1).[34] Since that objective certainly remains part of the Great Commission, we should expect that God will also provide signs of the kingdom as we work to make disciples of the nations today.[35] I do not suppose that all of us individually will encounter the same signs to the same degree, but we can expect God to confirm the true message of the kingdom that we proclaim (cf. Acts 14:3).

Despite the continuity in our message, however, since Jesus' resurrection we have a fuller kingdom message to proclaim. Jesus does imply the "kingdom" when he speaks of authority in 28:18, but now that heavenly authority has been delegated to him. The message of the kingdom is now not simply the message that "heaven" will reign, but more specifically, that the reigning God is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (28:19). The Gospel already announced that Jesus had authority on earth to forgive sins (9:6), probably echoing the authority of the Son of Man in Dan 7:13-14. But now Jesus has all authority in *heaven* and on earth (28:18); the kingdom of *heaven* explicitly includes Jesus' reign.[36] (The Gospel emphasizes Jesus' authority repeatedly before climaxing at this point; see 7:29; 8:9; 9:8; 21:27, and his repeated authority over sickness, demons and nature.)

Moreover, Jesus' promise to be "with them" until the end of the age (28:20) was a divine promise. Judaism acknowledged only God as omnipresent; later rabbis called him *makom*, "the place," as a way of

---

[34]See my further comment in Craig Keener, *Gift & Giver: The Holy Spirit for Today* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 100-1; cf. idem, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts: Divine Purity and Power* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 110-17.

[35]Besides my *Gift & Giver*, noted above, see more generally e.g., (among many others) John Wimber with Kevin Springer, *Power Evangelism* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1986); Jack Deere, *Surprised by the Power of the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993); my forthcoming book on *Miracles* (Hendrickson).

[36]Some Jewish texts employ "kingdom of heaven" as periphrasis for "God's kingdom" (*Sipra Qed*. pq. 9.207.2.13; *p. Kid.* 1:2, §24), though these seem particularly characteristic of Matthew. For "heaven" as a familiar Jewish periphrasis for "God," see e.g., Dan 4:26; 3 Macc. 4:21; *1 En*. 6:2; 1QM 12.5; Rom 1:18; Lk 15:18; *m. Ab*. 1:3; *t. B.K.* 7:5; *Sipra Behuq.* pq. 6. 267.2.1; 79.1.1.

emphasizing his omnipresence.[37] But Jesus is with all of us in carrying out his commission. This claim climaxes another motif in Matthew's Gospel, for the beginning scene announces Jesus as none other than "God with us" (1:23). Later, Jesus tells his disciples that where two or three are gathered in his name, there he is among them (18:20). This claim recalls a familiar Jewish principle: where two or three gathered to study God's Torah, his Shekinah, his presence, was among them.[38] Jesus is thus indicating that he is the very presence of God.

This rank and identity is most explicit in the baptismal message of 28:19 itself. John preached a baptism of repentance in light of the coming kingdom; we preach a baptism in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Our baptism involves the reign of heaven, which we now understand in terms of the triune God. Jewish people regularly invoked God as Father;[39] they also recognized the Spirit as divine.[40] To place the "Son" between the Father and the Spirit was to claim nothing less than Jesus' deity. When a person is baptized, they should confess Jesus as Lord. When we preach the kingdom now, we can be specific who is king in the kingdom of God: Jesus Christ, as well as the Father and the Spirit.

The immediate context of 28:18-20 offers us another example of proclamation—in fact, both positive and negative models. In 28:1-10, the women are commissioned to take the message of Jesus' resurrection, and bear witness faithfully. They do so despite the prejudice against women's testimony throughout ancient Mediterranean

---

[37]E.g., *3 En.* 18:24; *m. Ab.* 2:9, 13; 3:14; *t. Peah* 1:4; 3:8; *Shab*. 7:22, 25; 13:5; *R.H.* 1:18; *Taan*. 2:13; *B.K.* 7:7; *Sanh*. 1:2; 13:1, 6; 14:3, 10; *Sipre Num.* 11.2.3; 11.3.1; 42/1/2; 42.2.3; 76.2.2; 78.1.1; 78.5.1; 80.1.1; 82.3.1; 84.1.1; 84.5.1; 85.3.1; 85.4.1; 85.5.1; *Sipra VDDen*. pq. 2.2.4.2; 4.6.4.1.

[38]*M. Ab.* 3:2, 6; *Mek. Bahodesh* 11.48ff; cf. *m. Ber*. 7:3.

[39]E.g., Sir 23:1, 4; 3 Macc 6:8; *m. Sot*. 9:15; *t. Ber*. 3:14; *B.K.* 7:6; *Hag*. 2:1; *Peah* 4:21; *Sipra Qed*. pq. 9.207.2.13; *Behuq*. pq. 8.269.2.15; *Sipre Deut*. 352.1.2.

[40]In contrast to Christian theology, however, they viewed the Spirit as an aspect of God rather than a distinct divine person (cf. e.g., discussion in Keener, *John*, 961-66; idem, "Spirit, Holy Spirit, Advocate, Breath, Wind," 484-96 in *The Westminster Theological Wordbook of the Bible* [ed. Donald E. Gowan; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003], 484-87, 495-96). It is not impossible that baptism "in the name of the Holy Spirit" might relate somehow (perhaps symbolically) to baptism *in* the Spirit (Matt 3:11), but apart from noting the shared terms I have not yet tried to test this question exegetically.

culture.[41] By contrast, in 28:11-15 the guards, because of fear and greed, bear false witness.[42] These two models immediately precede the commissioning of the eleven to make disciples of the nations, a legacy the disciples imparted to those they discipled. That is, the women at the tomb offer the positive model for the church's message; the guards offer the antithesis of that model.[43]

3. Teaching them to Obey all that Jesus Commanded

Discipleship from Matthew's perspective is not limited to evangelism; it includes training, so that we are also equipping those who will be our partners in evangelism. Perhaps the churches of Asia already understand this, but many churches in North America seem weak on both evangelism and training. At least in the United States, the church has lost much of its emphasis on teaching Scripture. Most things are driven by marketing; while marketing can be a useful tool, it is not a criterion of truth or morality. Some messages are more popular than others because they are more marketable to consumers. Many churches across the theological spectrum succumb to the culture's values, whether its sexual mores or its materialism; many churches fight for their tradition, or focus on charismatic speakers' experiences. Yet most of the western church today neglects the very Scriptures that we claim to be our arbiter of truth and a living expression of God's voice. Syncretism with the spiritual values of the world, such as the worship of mammon alongside God, has weakened much of the church in my nation. What the church calls "missions" is not just about evangelism, but also about training disciples who can partner in the task of evangelism. It must involve *multiplying* the work by trusting

---

[41]See e.g., Josephus *Ant*. 4.219; *m. Yeb*. 15:1, 8-10; 16:7; *Ket*. 1:6-9; *t. Yeb*. 14:10; *Sipra VDDeho*. pq. 7.45.1.1; Hesiod *W.D.* 375; Livy 6.34.6-7; Babrius 16.10; Phaedrus 4.15; Avianus *Fables* 15-16; Justinian *Inst*. 2.10.6 (though contrast the earlier Gaius *Inst*. 2.105); Plutarch *Publicola* 8.4; cf. Lk 24:11; Craig Keener, *Paul, Women & Wives: Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992), 162-63.

[42]Their fear and greed evoke the failures of Peter (who denied Jesus from fear, 26:70-75) and Judas (who betrayed Jesus from greed, 26:15-16; on the narrative contrasts with Judas in that context, see Keener, *Matthew* [1999], 617, 620).

[43]Keener, *Matthew* (1999), 699, 715.

the Holy Spirit and Christ's teaching to multiply equally committed laborers for the harvest.[44]

When Jesus speaks of "teaching them to obey everything I commanded you" (28:20), Matthew's audience will think of Jesus' commands that they have already been hearing earlier in his Gospel. Many of these teachings are arranged in five major discourse sections,[45] each ending with the phrase, "when Jesus had finished these sayings" (or "parables"; 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1).[46] These discourses address the ethics of the kingdom (chs. 5—7), the proclamation of the kingdom (ch. 10), parables involving the presence of the kingdom (ch. 13), relationships in the kingdom (ch. 18), and the future of the kingdom from the standpoint of Jesus' first disciples (chs. 23—25). The last section includes woes against the religious establishment of Jesus' day, as well as the destruction of the temple and judgment on the generation that rejected Jesus. Yet it also looks ahead to judgment on the generation of his second coming, when some of his servants might prove as oblivious to his demands as was the religious establishment at his first coming (e.g., 24:45-51; 25:14-30).

Matthew's audience might thus well think of all of Jesus' teachings in this Gospel. Nevertheless, I will focus here specifically on several of Jesus' teachings that directly involve the cost of discipleship.[47] Those who are to "make disciples" of the nations must understand what discipleship involves. In the kingdom, as opposed to contemporary models of Jesus' day, Jesus' followers are not to make disciples for themselves, but only for Jesus, the only true "Rabbi" (23:8).[48]

---

[44]See e.g., the biblical strategy in Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1976).

[45]Some have followed Papias in comparing the five sections with the Pentateuch (Bruce, *Documents*, 41; idem, *Message*, 62-63; Peter F. Ellis, *Matthew: his mind and his message* [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1974], 10; Samuel Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism in the New Testament?* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978], 51), but most who recognize five sections fail to find this correspondence (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:61; Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew* [2 vols.; WBC 33AB; Dallas: Word, 1993-1995], 1:li).

[46]Such phrases offered a natural way to close a section; see e.g., Ex 34:33; *Jub.* 32:20; 50:13; Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 192-93 compares Deut 31:1, 24; 32:45

[47]For the phrase, see Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan; London: SCM, 1963).

[48]In Jesus' day, probably an honorary greeting meaning, "my master" (23:7-8). Likewise, "father" (23:9), while a greeting applicable to all elders, was

Jesus' calling of disciples in 4:19-20 shows that true disciples must value Jesus above job security. The disciples left their nets to follow Jesus. While ordinary fishermen were not among the elite, they were probably also better off than the majority of people who were peasant farmers.[49] At least some of them, like Peter, already were married (8:14), hence had families to support (since wives could earn few wages in that culture).[50] To forsake their livelihoods for ministry was a serious act of faith.[51]

Further, true disciples must value Jesus above residential security. Seeing Jesus about to cross the lake, a prospective disciple offers to follow him "wherever" he goes (8:18-19)—perhaps implying, "even across this lake."[52] Jesus invites him to count the cost of real following: despite a home in Capernaum (4:13), Jesus' itinerant ministry in a sense left him no place to rest (8:20),[53] except maybe on a boat during a storm (8:24).[54] Elsewhere, Matthew shows that even as

---

particularly applicable to teachers (2 Kgs 2:12; *4 Bar*. 2:4, 6, 8; 5:5; *t. Sanh*. 7:9; *Sipre Deut*. 34.3.1-3, 5; 305.3.4).

[49]With Sean Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 241; cf. John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem as Jesus Knew It: Archaeology as Evidence* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 29-30; Martin Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church: Aspects of Social History of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 27.

[50]For women's status in some ancient Mediterranean societies, see e.g., discussion in Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken, 1975); Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law & Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1986); Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996); Craig Keener, "Marriage," 680-93 in *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 687-90; idem, *Paul, Women & Wives*, passim.

[51]Accounts of people forsaking everything to convert to Judaism (*Sipre Num*. 115.5.7) or philosophy (Diogenes Laertius 6.5.87; Diogenes *Ep*. 38) underlined the value of what the converts were acquiring (cf. Matt 13:44-46).

[52]For the contextual connection, see Jack Dean Kingsbury, "On Following Jesus: the 'Eager' Scribe and the 'Reluctant' Disciple (Matthew 8.18-22)," *New Testament Studies* 34 (1988): 45-59, here 56.

[53]His comparison with birds (cf. Ps 11:1; 84:3; 102:6-7; 124:7; Prov 27:8; at Qumran, cf. Otto Betz, *What Do We Know About Jesus?* [Philadelphia: Westminster; London: SCM, 1968], 72) and foxes (Lam 5:18; Ezek 13:4) is apt, since they lacked much residential security; he lacked more.

[54]It might be noteworthy that Matthew omits the makeshift cushion in Mk 4:38.

an infant, Jesus was a refugee (2:13-15). Those who follow him have no certain home in this world.

True disciples must also value Jesus above financial security. Jesus admonished a rich young man who wanted eternal life to give everything he had to the poor (19:21). Radical teachers in antiquity sometimes tested would-be disciples, including rich ones, to see if they could count the cost.[55] But the principle in Jesus' demand extends beyond this particular rich man; Jesus summons all his disciples to lay up treasures in heaven rather than on earth (6:19-21),[56] and to concern themselves with the affairs of the kingdom rather than with the source of their food or drink (6:24-34).

True disciples must further value Jesus above social obligations. Wishing to defer discipleship, one prospective disciple wants to first bury his father; Jesus invites him instead to follow, leaving the burial to others who are dead (8:21-22). In Jesus' day, the son would have gone home immediately on hearing of the father's death, and would not likely have been talking with Jesus, so the son is likely asking for one of two things. One possibility is that he is asking for as much as a *year's* delay; after the completion of the initial burial and seven days of mourning,[57] the son would need to remain available for the secondary burial a year later.[58] The other possibility is that the son is asking for an *indefinite* delay: in a related Middle Eastern idiom, one can speak of fulfilling one's final filial obligation with reference to the father's *future* death—thus the father might not even be dead yet.[59]

Whichever of these approaches is more likely, we should not think that they significantly reduce the social scandal of Jesus' demand. Burying a father was one of a son's greatest social responsibilities. Many Jewish sages in fact considered honoring parents a son's greatest

---

[55]E.g., Diogenes Laertius 6.2.36, 75-76; 6.5.87; 7.1.22; cf. Aulus Gellius 19.1.7-10. Such teachers intended these challenges as tests, not absolute rejection; they normally accepted as disciples those who agreed to their demands (Diogenes Laertius 6.2.21; Diogenes *Ep.* 38; cf. *Sipre Num.* 115.5.7).

[56]Jesus adapted widely used language and imagery here (e.g., Sir 29:10-11; *4 Ezra* 7:77; *2 Bar.* 14:12; 24:1; 44:14; *t. Peah* 4:18).

[57]Cf. Sir 22:12; Jdt 16:24; S. Safrai, "Home and Family," 728-92 in *Jewish People in the First Century*, 782.

[58]See Byron R. McCane, "'Let the Dead Bury Their Own Dead': Secondary Burial and Matt 8:21-22," *Harvard Theological Review* 83 (1990): 31-43.

[59]Kenneth Ewing Bailey, *Through Peasant Eyes: More Lucan Parables, Their Culture and Style* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 26.

responsibility,[60] and burying them was perhaps the greatest expression of that responsibility.[61] Only God himself could take precedence over parents in such a matter![62] A son who failed to fulfill this task would be ostracized in his home village for the rest of his life. The call to follow Jesus, who is "God with us" (1:23), takes priority over social obligations and honor.

Yet all of these demands for discipleship pale in comparison to the ultimate demand Jesus places on prospective disciples. Those who want to be his disciples must take up their cross and follow him—i.e., to the cross (16:24). In Jesus' day, when people spoke of going to the cross they normally meant being led to execution, often through a hostile mob.[63] Jesus demands nothing less than his followers' lives.

While there may be an element of hyperbole in some of Jesus' teachings,[64] the point of hyperbole is not so that hearers will dismiss it lightly as "simply hyperbole," as it is sometimes portrayed today. The point of hyperbole is to challenge hearers. Nevertheless, while Jesus' standard is an absolute one, it is implemented with grace, as Matthew's narratives reveal. Jesus warned that a true disciple must follow him to the cross; his first disciples, however, abandoned him and fled (26:56). Their failure left the Romans to draft a bystander, Simon of Cyrene, to carry the cross that Jesus' disciples failed to carry for him (27:32).[65]

---

[60]*Let. Arist*. 228; Josephus *Apion* 2.206; Ps.-Phoc. 8; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (2 vols.; New York: Schocken, 1971), 2:132.

[61]E.g., Tob 4:3-4; 6:14; 1 Macc 2:70; 4 Macc 16:11. Failure to bury a father was offensive throughout Mediterranean antiquity (e.g., Demosth. *Against Aristogeiton* 54).

[62]Deut 13:6; 4 Macc 2:10-12; Josephus *Apion* 2.206; Ps.-Phoc. 8; *b. Meg*. 3b. Some teachers claimed priority over parents (e.g., *m. B.M*. 2:11; cf. Diodorus Siculus 10.3.4), but not to the extent of damaging funeral arrangements!

[63]Jeremias, *Parables*, 218-19; idem, *New Testament Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 242.

[64]A common ancient pedagogic device (e.g., *Rhet. Her*. 4.33.44; Cicero *Orator* 40.139; Philostratus *V.A*. 8.7; *Hrk*. 48.11; R. Dean Anderson, Jr., *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms Connected to Methods of Argumentation, Figures and Tropes from Anaximenes to Quintilian* [Leuven: Peeters, 2000], 122-24; Galen O. Rowe, "Style," 121-57 in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-A.D. 400* [ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 128).

[65]Keener, *Matthew* (1999), 676. On Simon of Cyrene, see e.g., Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to Grave. A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 913.

Yet Jesus never repudiated his disciples. Instead, he patiently formed them into what he had called them to be. Jesus knows what we are made of, but *he* can make us what he has called us to be.

Conclusion

Matthew 28:19-20 pulls together some major themes that run through the rest of the Gospel. Its one command, making disciples of the nations, involves three elements found in subordinate participial clauses: going, baptizing, and teaching. Each of the themes implied in these phrases appears throughout the Gospel. Matthew repeatedly emphasizes the role of Gentiles (1:3-6; 2:1-2; 8:10-12; 15:21-28; 24:14; 27:54; cf. 3:9; 4:15; 8:28; 10:15; 11:23-24; 12:41-42; 16:13; 25:32), hence cross-cultural concern. John's baptism involved the message of the kingdom (3:2; cf. 4:17; 10:7), but the Gospel climaxes by declaring that a baptism the message of which reveals the fullness of God that Christian tradition calls the Trinity.[66] Jesus is king in God's kingdom; he has all authority (28:18), is linked with the Father and Spirit (28:19), and is "with" his people (28:20; as "God with us, 1:23; 18:20). The women and the guards provide contrasting models for announcing Jesus' message (28:1-15). Finally, the Gospel is replete with Jesus' teachings, including not only five discourse sections but also other specific teachings on the cost of discipleship relevant to the new mission (e.g., 4:19-20; 8:20, 22; 16:24; 19:21).

This survey offers implications for the church's missionary task. The Great Commission is not an idea tacked inelegantly to the end of Matthew's Gospel, as if Matthew had nowhere else to put it. Rather, it summarizes the heart of this Gospel's message. The question it presents to us as believers today is whether we will devote our lives to what Christ has commanded us. Each of us has different gifts and callings, but we must organize those gifts around this central task. Like a nation devoted to some all-consuming war, we must engage in total mobilization, mobilizing all of our resources for this mission. Our conflict, though, is a spiritual one, not with flesh and blood, and it

---

[66]The term may stem from the late second-century North African theologian Tertullian (see e.g., R. L. Richard, "Trinity, Holy," 14:293-306 in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* [17 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1967], 297), but the idea is already present early in the New Testament (see e.g., Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994], 839-42).

invites us to devote all that we are and have to mobilize the church to fulfill Christ's mission. Never before have the stakes been so great. Some estimate that the world's population was one billion by 1830, and two billion by 1930; today it is close to seven billion. God's power will be commensurate with the task he gives us. Are we ready?

[*AJPS* 12:1 (2009), pp. 21-45]

SENT LIKE JESUS: JOHANNINE MISSIOLOGY (JOHN 20:21-22)

Craig S. Keener

Although scholars sometimes treat John as the most "universal" of the Gospels (cf. Jn 19:20), it is (along with Matthew) the most distinctively Jewish and the most explicitly rooted in Judean topography and culture.[1] But while it specifically views "the world" through the lens of Judean authorities, John's world is theologically a wider one.

We could thus treat Johannine missiology through the lens of some other texts, for example, John 3:16, but we will subsume that text under our larger discussion outlined in Jn 20:21-22. As with the other lectures/articles in this series, I am using one passage to provide the structure for addressing the themes of the entire book or body of

[1]As has been long and widely noted, e.g., Wayne A. Meeks, "'Am I a Jew?'—Johannine Christianity and Judaism," 1:163-186 in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (4 vols.; ed. Jacob Neusner; SJLA 12; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 1:163; D. Moody Smith, "What Have I Learned about the Gospel of John?" 217-35 in *"What Is John?" Readers and Reading of the Fourth Gospel* (ed. Fernando F. Segovia; SBL Symposium Series 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 218-22; James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel According to John," 65-97 in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*; ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996); J. Louis Martyn, "Source Criticism and Religionsgeschichte in the Fourth Gospel (1970)," 99-121 in *The Interpretation of John* (ed. John Ashton; Issues in Religion and Theology 9; Philadelphia: Fortress; London: S.P.C.K., 1986); John A. T. Robinson, *Can We Trust the New Testament?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 82; W. D. Davies, "Reflections on Aspects of the Jewish Background of the Gospel of John," 43-64 in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*; David Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1988), 23-24.

literature in which it appears.[2] When John's first audience reached John 20, they would be hearing it in light of all the rest of his Gospel that had gone before.

When the risen Jesus appears to the disciples, he commissions them to carry on his work. "As the Father has sent me," he declares, "in the same way I have sent you." Then he empowers them to do it: "Receive the Holy Spirit" (20:21-22). Thus, this passage involves three primary elements of relevance to our discussion of Johannine missiology: the model of Jesus; the empowerment of the Spirit; and the mission of Jesus' followers. The Spirit and Jesus' followers together carry on aspects of Jesus' mission. What then was Jesus' mission?

1. "As the Father has Sent Me" (20:21)

Jesus kept telling his disciples that he was going to "go" to the Father, and then return to them, so they could enter the Father's presence. Although his long-term ascension (20:17) may still remain future in our passage (20:21-22),[3] Jesus has already gone to the Father by dying, preparing a place for them in the Father's presence (14:2-6, 23). Now Jesus has returned to them, and in 20:21, he commissions them to carry on his mission. He sends them *kathös*, "in the same way" that the Father sent him.[4] If we wish to understand what the text means by his followers being "sent," we must first examine the explicit model for their sending in the ministry of Jesus.

a. Sending in John's Gospel

The motif of agency, or being *sent*, is frequent in John's Gospel.[5] A text very much like this one appears in 13:20: "Whoever receives

---

[2]I treat this approach of reading each part in light of the whole on a very basic level in Craig Keener, *Biblical Interpretation* (Springfield, MO: Africa Theological Training Service, 2005), 45-66.

[3]See discussion (and a survey of alternatives) in Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (2 vols.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 1192-95 (also discussing the function of narrative predictions in ancient literature).

[4]Roughly 17.3% of this adverb's NT appearances are in John's Gospel, whereas this Gospel constitutes only 11% of the NT text, so John uses the adverb roughly 36.4% more than average. The Johannine epistles account for 7% of NT uses, though they constitute only about 1.7% of the NT text; thus they use it over 400% more than average (though these letters' sample size is too small to draw firm stylistic conclusions).

[5]See discussion in Keener, *John*, 310-17, here especially 315-17.

whomever I send receives me; whoever receives me receives him who sent me."[6] Jesus' followers carry out his mission as he carries out the Father's. The concept may be implicit even in John's terms for sending, insofar as they reflect a special Jewish tradition about what it means to send someone. John's two Greek terms for "send" are, contrary to some scholarly traditions, interchangeable; John employs both for the Father sending the Son and for the Son sending the disciples. In antiquity, those sent with a commission were authorized representatives of those who sent them; how one treated those sent (e.g., heralds or ambassadors) reflected one's attitude toward the sender.[7] Later rabbis even came up with specific rules regarding commissioned agents, including the formulation, "A person's agent is as the person himself."[8] The agent carried the full authority of the sender, to the extent that the agent accurately represented the sender's commission.[9] Jewish people recognized Moses[10] and the prophets[11] as God's agents, sent with his message.

Verbs for "sending" appear some 60 times in John's Gospel, applicable to John the Baptist (Jn 1:6, 33; 3:28), to agents of the

---

[6]This same language appears in different words in Matt 10:40 (probably "Q" material; see Lk 10:16); cf. Mk 9:37.

[7]See Diodorus Siculus 4.10.3-4; Josephus *Ant*. 8.220-21; more fully, Keener, *John*, 313-14.

[8]See *m. Ber*. 5:5; *t. Taan*. 3:2; *b. Naz*. 12b. For the Jewish custom as relevant to the NT, see especially Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, *Apostolate and Ministry* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1969); on Johannine and rabbinic "sending," H. S. Friend, "Like Father, Like Son. A Discussion of the Concept of Agency in Halakah and John," *Ashland Theological Journal* 21 (1990): 18-28. Despite detractors, most scholars today accept the connection (noted also by W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* [ICC; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988-1997], 2:153); some church fathers also recognized the connection (see J. B. Lightfoot, *St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* [3d ed.; London: Macmillan & Company, 1869], 93-94; Gregory Dix, *The Apostolic Ministry* [ed. Kenneth E. Kirk; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1947], 228). It might be better to view rabbinic and Johannine agency as particular cases of a larger ancient Mediterranean conception.

[9]On agents being backed by the sender's authority, see e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus 6.88.2; Diodorus Siculus 40.1.1; Josephus *Life* 65, 72-73, 196-98; 2 Macc 1:20.

[10]E.g., Ex 3:10, 13-15; 4:28; 7:16; Deut 34:11; *Sipra Behuq*. pq. 13.277.1.13-14; *'Ab. R. Nat*. 1 A, most MSS.

[11]E.g., 2 Sam 12:1; 2 Kgs 17:13; 2 Chron 24:19; 25:15; 36:15; Jer 7:25; 24:4; 26:5; 28:9; 35:15; 44:4; Bar 1:21; *Mek. Pisha* 1.87; *'Ab. R. Nat*. 37, §95 B.

authorities (1:19, 22, 24; 5:33; 7:32), to the disciples (4:38; 13:20; 17:18), and to the advocate, the Spirit (14:26; 15:26; 16:7), but most often to Jesus as the agent of the Father (3:17, 34; 4:34; 5:23-24, 30, 36-38; 6:29, 38-39, 44, 57; 7:16, 28-29, 33; 8:16, 18, 26, 29, 42; 9:4; 10:36; 11:42; 12:44-45, 49; 13:20; 14:24; 15:21; 16:5; 17:3, 8, 18, 21, 23, 25). In these passages, Jesus consistently defers all honor for his mission to his sender (cf. 7:18). Jesus recognizes that an agent, like a servant, is never greater than the sender (Jn 13:16).[12] Full submission to the Father's purpose and deferring all honor to him are two ways that Jesus models what it means to be divinely commissioned.

b. Jesus as God's Revealer

Jesus came to reveal the Father's heart. As he says in 12:45, "Whoever beholds me beholds the one who sent me." John has been preaching this message since the opening of his Gospel, which climaxes in the announcement that Jesus has revealed God to us (1:18). John's prologue is framed with the twin claims that Jesus is deity and that he is in absolute intimacy with the Father (1:1-2, 18).[13] We are not deity, but Jesus' invitation to "abide" in him is an invitation to intimacy with him as the basis for our mission (15:4-5).

In the Gospel's prologue, Jesus so accurately reflects the Father that he is the Father's *logos*, normally translated "word." John draws here on a range of rich Greek and Jewish conceptions,[14] but most fundamentally the term for Jewish hearers would evoke God's revelation of himself in Scripture, especially in the law, as God's "Word."[15] Yet Jesus is a fuller, deeper revelation than was available in

---

[12]On the Son's submission as the Father's agent, see e.g., Craig S. Keener, "Is Subordination Within the Trinity Really Heresy? A Study of John 5:18 in Context," *Trinity Journal* 20 NS (1, Spring 1999): 39-51, here 45-47.

[13]Marie-Emile Boismard, *St. John's Prologue* (trans. Carisbrooke Dominicans; London: Blackfriars Publications, 1957), 76-77.

[14]See the survey of Greek conceptions in Keener, *John*, 341-43; for Philo, ibid., 343-47; and for more traditional Jewish conceptions, ibid., 347-63.

[15]Keener, *John*, 359-63; Eldon Jay Epp, "Wisdom, Torah, Word: The Johannine Prologue and the Purpose of the Fourth Gospel," 128-46 in *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation: Studies in Honor of Merrill C. Tenney Presented by his Former Students* (ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975); in the Gospel more generally, see Dan Lidy, *Jesus as Torah in John 1—12* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2007).

the law. In the climactic section of his prologue, John compares Jesus with the Torah (hence Jesus' first witnesses with Moses):[16]

Ex 32—33	Jn 1:14-18
The giving of the law	The giving of the Word
God "dwelt" among his people in the wilderness	The Word "tabernacled" among us (1:14)
Moses beheld God's glory	"We" beheld his glory (1:14)
The glory revealed God's goodness (33:19), and was "abounding in covenant love and truth" (34:6)	His glory was "full of grace and truth" (1:14)
Though grace and truth were present, Moses could not withstand God's full glory (33:20-23)	The law was given through Moses, (but the *fullness* of) grace and truth came through Jesus Christ (1:17)
No one can behold God (Ex 33:20)	No one has ever seen God—(but now) the only Son of God, in intimate communion with the Father, has unveiled his character fully (1:18)

The glory that Moses beheld only in part, the disciples discovered fully in Jesus, though in a hidden way. The glory at his first coming did not look outwardly like the glory on Mount Sinai, but in terms of revealing God's character, God's heart, it went beyond Sinai. What does this glory look like in John's Gospel? If we trace the terminology of "glory" throughout his Gospel, we see that his glory and character were revealed in his various kind works (e.g., 2:11), but that the ultimate expression of his glory appears in 12:23-24: Jesus will be glorified by

[16]With many, e.g., Boismard, *Prologue*, 135-45, especially 136-39; Jacob J. Enz, "The Book of Exodus as a Literary Type for the Gospel of John," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76 (1957): 208-15, here 212; Peder Borgen, *Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 150-51; Anthony Hanson, "John I.14-18 and Exodus XXXIV," *New Testament Studies* 23 (1, Oct. 1976): 90-101; Everett F. Harrison, "A Study of John 1:14," 23-36 in *Unity and Diversity in NT Theology: Essays in Honor of G. E. Ladd* (ed. Robert A. Guelich; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 29; Henry Mowvley, "John 1.14-18 in the Light of Exodus 33.7-34.35," *Expository Times* 95 (5, February 1984): 135-37.

laying down his life.[17] The ultimate expression of God's grace and truth, too glorious even for Moses to see, emerged where the world's hatred for God also came to its ultimate expression: as we pounded the nails in the hands of God's own Son, he was crying, "I love you! I love you! I love you!" In the incarnation, and ultimately in the cross, Jesus revealed God's heart to us.

c. Jesus as unique, Jesus as model

There are some ways, of course, in which the Father's sending of the Son is unique. Jesus is the *monogenës* (1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; 1 Jn 4:9), the specially beloved and unique Son (the traditional English translation, "only-begotten," reads too much etymology into the term).[18] We are not divine, so while the world should see God among us (13:34-35; 17:21, 23), we are not his revealer in the unique way that Jesus was. While we may lay down our lives for one another (1 Jn 3:16), we do not carry away the sin of the world (Jn 1:29). John declares that the Father sent the Son not to condemn the world, but to save it (Jn 3:17). Jesus' agents do not save the world, but instead, like John the Baptist in the Prologue (1:7), are sent to "bear witness" concerning the light (e.g., 15:27). Still, John shows that the role of such witnesses is indispensable. Others would believe through their message (17:20); the Spirit would (as we shall soon propose) prosecute the world through Jesus' agents' witness for him (16:7-11). Even the context of our primary text emphasizes that Jesus' agents are stewards of God's forgiveness (20:23), presumably by accurately representing Jesus (cf. 16:7-11).[19]

---

[17]With e.g., Gary M. Burge, *The Anointed Community: The Holy Spirit in the Johannine Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 132-33; David Earl Holwerda, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in the Gospel of John:A Critique of Rudolf Bultmann's Present Eschatology* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1959), 5-8; F. F. Bruce, *The Message of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 105; W. Nicol, "The history of Johannine research during the past century," *Neotestamentica* 6 (1972): 8-18, here 16.

[18]See R. L. Roberts, "The Rendering 'Only Begotten' in John 3:16," *Restoration Quarterly* 16 (1973): 2-22, here 4; I. J. Du Plessis, "Christ as the 'Only Begotten,'" *Neotestamentica* 2 (1968): 22-31; G. Pendrick, "Monogenh/q," *New Testament Studies* 41 (4, 1995): 587-600; Harrison, "John 1:14," 32.

[19]Cf. e.g., James I. Cook, "John 20:19-23—An Exegesis," *Reformed Review* 21 (2, Dec. 1967): 2-10, here 7-8.

Nevertheless, provided that we allow for Jesus' unique role and status, John's Gospel presents Jesus as a model for mission, and demonstrates that those he sends come to participate in that mission. In 1:43, Jesus called Philip to follow him; in 1:45, Philip followed Jesus' example by testifying to Nathanael from his experience understood through Scripture. But it is an encounter with Jesus himself that converts: Philip invites Nathanael to "Come and see" (1:46), and Nathanael believes through meeting Jesus who knows his life (1:46-51). Likewise, in 4:26, Jesus reveals his identity to a Samaritan woman, and she invites her entire town to "Come, see" the one who knew her life (4:29). Afterward, though they initially accepted the woman's testimony (4:39),[20] more Samaritans believed more fully once they met Jesus for themselves (4:41-42). As in Nathanael's case, it is experiencing Jesus for themselves that converts them; the honor cannot go to the witnesses. We are Jesus' agents, but as Jesus honored the Father, we are to honor Jesus. It is as we introduce people to the living presence of Jesus that they become most fully confronted by his truth, whether that makes them more hostile or, as in these cases, more receptive.

d. "Sent" to "the World" (Jn 3:16-17)

Jesus does not specify in 20:21 to whom he is sent, but this object is clear from earlier passages in the Gospel. The Fourth Gospel repeatedly emphasizes that the Father sent Jesus *to the world* (3:17; 10:36; 17:18; cf. 8:26; 17:21, 23), a theme repeated in 1 John (1 Jn 4:9, 14). The stated purpose of this sending is that the world might be saved (Jn 3:17; 1 Jn 4:14; cf. Jn 6:33, 51; 1 Jn 4:9).[21]

John 3:16-17 states God's motive in sending Jesus to the world: God *loved* the world.[22] In contrast to some attempts to distinguish the

---

[20]Despite the typical prejudice against women's testimony in Mediterranean antiquity; see e.g., Josephus *Ant*. 4.219; *m. Yeb*. 15:1, 8-10; 16:7; *Ket*. 1:6-9; *t. Yeb*. 14:10; *Sipra VDDeho*. pq. 7.45.1.1; Hesiod *W.D.* 375; Livy 6.34.6-7; Babrius 16.10; Phaedrus 4.15; Avianus *Fables* 15-16; Justinian *Inst*. 2.10.6.

[21]Although Jesus came not with the purpose of condemning the world (3:17; 12:47), his coming does precipitate judgment (9:39; 16:8, 11).

[22]On divine love originating the sending in John's theology, see M. Waldstein, "Die Sendung Jesu und der Jünger im Johannesevangelium," *Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift/Communio* 19 (3, 1990): 203-21. For God's love focused especially on the righteous or Israel, see e.g., CD 8.17; *'Ab. R. Nat*. 36, §94B; *Sipra Deut*. 97.2; further discussion in Keener, *John*, 568-69.

meanings of the two Greek words John uses for "love," John employs them interchangeably for literary variation, as was common in his day.[23] Both verbs apply to Jesus' love for the Father, the Father's love for Jesus, and virtually every other category of love in the Gospel. What tells us about the character of divine love is not whether John employs *phileö* or (as here) *agapaö*, but how he defines this love in the context. The Greek here does not say, "God loved the world *so much*," but rather, "This is *how* God loved the world":[24] he gave his Son. Good human fathers love their sons; we should understand that God the Father loves his Son infinitely, no less than himself, yet he and the Son together[25] sacrificed this Son so that the world might have life. This means that God loved the world, or those who would become his own out of the world, no less infinitely. As Jesus later says to the disciples, his followers' unity would reveal divine love to the world, so they would recognize that God loved the disciples, *even as* he loved Jesus (17:23).

God's love is no mere abstraction, no empty words. Rather, God demonstrated his love in an act. The act in which God "loved" the world was that he "gave" his Son; the aorist verb tense for both "loved" and "gave" points to this single act, which the context indicates is the

---

[23]With most scholars today: e.g., John Painter, *John: Witness and Theologian* (foreword by C. K. Barrett; London: S. P. C. K., 1975), 62, 92; F. F. Bruce, *The Gospel of John: Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 404; Andrew T. Lincoln, *The Gospel According to Saint John* (BNTC; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 517-18; Charles H. Talbert, *Reading John: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 261; R. H. Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel: A Commentary* (ed. C. F. Evans; London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 343; Anthony C. Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation," 75-104 in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods* (ed. I. Howard Marshall; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 93; R. Alan Culpepper, *The Gospel and Letters of John* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), 248; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel according to John: A Theological Commentary* (trans. John Vriend; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 665-66. For the commonness of literary variation in antiquity, see e.g., Cicero *Orator* 46.156-57; *Fam.* 13.27.1; Aulus Gellius 1.4; R. Dean Anderson, Jr., *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms Connected to Methods of Argumentation, Figures and Tropes from Anaximenes to Quintilian* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 53-54, 114.

[24]With Robert H. Gundry and Russell W. Howell, "The Sense and Syntax of John 3:14-17 with Special Reference to the Use of ou[/twq…w[/ste in John 3;16," *Novum Testamentum* 41 (1, 1999): 24-39.

[25]John emphasizes that the Son laid down his life voluntarily (Jn 6:51; 10:11, 15, 17-18; cf. 15:13), inviting his followers to do the same (1 Jn 3:16).

cross (3:14-15).[26] Just as Paul emphasized decades before John's Gospel, God demonstrated his love for us through the death of his Son while we were his enemies (Rom 5:8-10). The necessary condition God requires for eternal life is stated as "trust"; the verb tense and the rest of John's Gospel indicate that this requires persevering faith (Jn 8:31; 15:6), in contrast to the inadequate faith earlier in this context (2:23-25). The rest of John's Gospel also defines the object of faith: ultimately, it recognizes Jesus as our "Lord and God" (20:28). Here we have the motivation, method, and message for our mission: motivated by God's love (cf. 2 Cor 5:14), we lay down our lives to invite people to trust, or depend on, God's Son, the Lord Jesus Christ.

But we may especially note the object of his love here: "the world." In John's Gospel, the world often represents humanity hostile toward God (1:10; 3:19; 7:7; 8:23; 12:25, 31; 14:17, 19, 22, 30; 15:18-19; 16:11, 20, 33; 17:14, 25); yet it is from among those in that world that he saves those who trust in him (13:1; 17:6, 9, 11, 14-16, 25).[27] After this passage, the next mention of the world comes in 4:42, where Samaritans recognize Jesus as "Savior of the world."[28] Jesus crossed multiple barriers,[29] most obviously the ethnic and cultural barrier (4:9), to bring eternal life to the Samaritan woman at the well, who in turn brought her people to Jesus. While John's narrative world does not venture directly beyond the Samaritans, it does imply the world beyond them: Jesus has "other sheep who are not of this fold" (10:16; cf.

---

[26]Cf. also e.g., Ernest Evans, "The Verb a]gapan in the Fourth Gospel," 64-71 in *Studies in the Fourth Gospel* (ed. F. L. Cross; London: A. R. Mowbray & Company, 1957), 68; Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (2 vols.; Anchor Bible 29 and 29A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1966-1970), 1:133.

[27]Just as only a Samaritan (4:9) and a Gentile (18:35) acknowledge Jesus as a Jew, it is especially the most hostile representatives of "the world" who recognize that "the world" (much of humanity) goes after Jesus (11:48; 12:19). John thus mitigates his portrayal of the "world's" hostility on a personal level: the world may come to know about God, i.e., so some will be saved (14:31; 17:21, 23; 13:35); Jesus' death invites "all people" (12:32); the Judean crowds are divided in their responses to Jesus (7:43; 9:16; 10:19); Jesus invites the world (18:36-37).

[28]On the implied ethnic universalism, see e.g., Francis J. Moloney, *Belief in the Word. Reading the Fourth Gospel: John 1-4* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 14.

[29]See Keener, *John*, 585; idem, "Some New Testament Invitations to Ethnic Reconciliation," *Evangelical Quarterly* 75 (3, July 2003): 195-213, here 195-202.

7:35),[30] those who will believe in him through his disciples' message (17:20). John's mention of the "world," then, is as much a summons to reach all peoples as Matthew's or Luke's call to the "nations." Isaiah's light to the nations (Is 42:6; 49:6; cf. 60:2-3) is in John the "light of the world" (Jn 8:12; 9:5; 11:9; 12:46).

2. "Receive the Holy Spirit" (20:22)

Not only are Jesus and his disciples "sent" in this Gospel, but so also is the Spirit "sent." The Spirit comes to represent and carry on Jesus' work: thus in 14:26, the Spirit is sent "in my name"; and in 15:26, the Spirit is sent to bear witness to Jesus. We are able to carry on Jesus' mission only because God himself lives and works in us. No sooner does Jesus give them the commission than he breathes on them and commands them to "Receive the Holy Spirit" (20:22). Just as in 15:26-27 and 16:7, the Spirit is closely connected with the disciples' witness.

a. The Breath of Life

What is the significance of Jesus breathing on them? Most scholars see an allusion to Gen 2:7: as God breathed into the first human the breath of life, so now Jesus imparts new life to his

[30]Some take these other sheep in 10:16 as Diaspora Jews (John A. T. Robinson, "The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," *New Testament Studies* 6 [2, Jan. 1960]: 117-31, here 127-28; J. Louis Martyn, "Glimpses into the history of the Johannine Community," 149-76 in *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, rédaction, théologie* [ed. M. De Jonge; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 45; Gembloux: J. Duculot; Leuven: University Press, 1977], 174) or Samaritans (cf. John Bowman, "Samaritan Studies," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 40 [2, 1958]: 298-327; Edwin D. Freed, "Samaritan Influence in the Gospel of John," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 [4, Oct. 1968]: 580-87; Charles H. H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," *New Testament Studies* 19 [4, July 1973]: 390-414, here 407), but most see them as Gentile believers (e.g., J. H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John* [2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928], 2:361; J. Ramsey Michaels, *John* [Good News Commentaries; San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984], 169). Against some, normal usage suggests that "Greeks" (7:35; 12:20) are Gentiles (discussion in Keener, *John*, 721).

followers.[31] Greek and Hebrew could employ terms for "breath" or "wind" for God's Spirit. Jesus earlier depicted the eternal life initiated by the new birth not only in terms of water but also in terms of wind (3:8), perhaps evoking the resurrection life of God's breath or Spirit in Ezek 37:9-14.[32] (That is, as Jn 3:5-6 probably alludes to Ezek 36:25-27, so Jn 3:8 probably alludes to Ezek 37.) It is God's breath that brings life to the new creation, as to the old.

As a matter of interest, we may pause to ask, as scholars often do, the relationship between this passage and Pentecost in Acts 2.[33] Some

---

[31]E.g., Ernst Haenchen, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (2 vols.; trans. Robert W. Funk; ed. Robert W. Funk with Ulrich Busse; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 2:211; J. N. Sanders, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John* (ed. B. A. Mastin; HNTC; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), 433; Max Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts in the New Testament Church and Today* (rev. ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998), 90-92; Keener, *John*, 1204-5; James D. G. Dunn, "Spirit. NT," 3:693-707 in *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* (ed. Colin Brown; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 703; Peter F. Ellis, *The Genius of John: A Composition-Critical Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1984), 293; M. Wojciechowski, "Le Don de L'Esprit Saint dans Jean 20.22 selon Tg. Gn. 2.7," *New Testament Studies* 33 (2, 1987): 289-92 (though reading too much from the Targumim, which is then used to connect John 20 with Pentecost); Gail R. O'Day, "The Gospel of John: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," 9:491-865 in *The New Interpreter's Bible* (12 vols.; ed. Leander E. Keck; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 846; Jan A. du Rand, "'n Ellips skeppingsgebeure in die Evangelieverhaal volgens Johannes," *Skrif en Kerk* 21 (2, 2000): 243-59. For imagery of a new creation, e.g., Cook, "Exegesis," 8; John P. Meier, "John 20:19-23," *Mid-Stream* 35 (4, 1996): 395-98.

[32]Cf. e.g., Max-Alain Chevallier, *Ancien Testament, Hellénisme et Judaïsme, La tradition synoptique, L'oeuvre de Luc* (vol. 1 in *Souffle de Dieu: le Saint-Esprit dans le Nouveau Testament*; Le Point Théologique 26; Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1978), 23; D. W. B. Robinson, "Born of Water and Spirit: Does John 3:5 Refer to Baptism?" *The Reformed Theological Review* 25 (1, Jan. 1966): 15-23, here 17.

[33]See discussion (from various perspectives) in e.g., Robert P. Menzies, "John's Place in the Development of Early Christian Pneumatology," 41-52 in *The Spirit and Spirituality: Essays in Honor of Russell P. Spittler* (ed. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies; JPTSup 24; London, New York: T&T Clark International, 2004); Keener, *John*, 1196-1200; Turner, *Gifts*, 94-97; idem, "The Concept of Receiving the Spirit in John's Gospel," *VE* 10 (1976): 24-42; Max-Alain Chevallier, "'Pentecôtes' lucaniennes et 'Pentecôtes' johanniques," *RSR* 69 (2, April 1981): 301-13; Donald A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991),

scholars see this passage as a lesser Pentecost; others as John's replacement for or equivalent to Luke's Pentecost. Perhaps on the historical level we may think of two levels of impartation, as some scholars argue. On the theological level, however, this is the passage that ties together Jesus' various promises surrounding the Spirit promises earlier in the Gospel: Jesus coming to them (14:18); resurrection life (14:19); joy (15:11; 20:20); peace (14:27; 20:21); the Spirit's new birth and indwelling (Jn 3:5; 14:17; 20:22), and being sent as witnesses (15:26-27; 20:21). John is not continuing his account his narrative as late as Pentecost; at least on the *narrative* level, this passage must carry the symbolic weight of John's entire theology of the Spirit. What then *is* John's theology of the Spirit?

b. The Spirit of Purification

First, the Spirit *purifies* God's people, and in a manner that mere ceremonial washings cannot. The image of Jesus breathing new life into his followers in Jn 20 indicates that this emphasis in John's theology of the Spirit continues here. Some ancient Jewish sources, especially among the Essenes, recognized in Ezek 36:25-26 that in the end-time the Spirit would purify God's people morally.[34] John

---

648-55; Joost van Rossum, "The 'Johannine Pentecost': John 20:22 in Modern Exegesis and in Orthodox Theology," *SVTQ* 35 (2-3, 1991): 149-67; Philippe H. Menoud, "La Pentecôte lucanienne et l'histoire," *RHPR* 42 (2-3, 1962): 141-47; Stanley M. Horton, *What the Bible Says About the Holy Spirit* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1976), 127-33; W. Bartlett, "The Coming of the Holy Ghost according to the Fourth Gospel," *ExpT* 37 (1925-26): 72-75, here 73; Francis Wright Beare, "The Risen Jesus Bestows the Spirit: A Study of John 20:19-23," *CJT* 4 (2, April 1958): 95-100, here 96; Burge, *Community*, 148.

[34]See 1QS 3.7; 4.21; 1QH 8.30; 16; 4Q255 frg. 2.1; 4Q257 3.10; Craig S. Keener, "The Function of Johannine Pneumatology in the Context of Late First-Century Judaism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New Testament and Christian Origins, Duke University, 1991), 65-69; idem, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts: Divine Purity and Power* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 146-51, 162; F. F. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," *ALUOS* 6 (1966): 49-55, here 52-54; J. Coppens, "Le Don de l'Esprit d'après les textes de Qumrân et le Quatriême Évangile," 209-23 in *L'Évangile de Jean: Études et Problèmes* (Recherches Bibliques 3; Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958), 211-12, 222; Émile Puech, "L'Esprit saint à Qumrân," *SBFLA* 49 (1999): 283-97; George Johnston, "'Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' in the Qumran Literature," 27-42 in *New Testament Sidelights: Essays in honor of Alexander Converse Purdy* (ed.

develops this emphasis especially through an ongoing contrast with merely natural water, often water used for ritual purification.

The contrast appears regularly in John's Gospel (especially in what is often called its "signs" section). Jesus' baptism in the Spirit is greater than John's baptism in water (Jn 1:31, 33). Jesus sets aside the ritual purpose of six waterpots when he turns water in them into wine (2:6-10).[35] Whereas some Jewish people may have expected Gentile converts to become like "newborn babies" after they immersed in water,[36] Jesus summons Nicodemus to a true proselyte baptism in the water of the Spirit in Jn 3:5.[37] In Jn 4:14, Jesus offers "living"[38] water greater than the water of Jacob's well, a site holy to the Samaritans. In fact, John's "geographic" interest is not in holy sites like the Jerusalem temple or the Samaritans' Mount Gerizim, but the proper sphere of worship, namely in the Spirit of truth (4:20-24).[39] In 5:1-9, the water of a pool associated with healings leaves a man infirm, but Jesus heals him; in 9:1-7 another man is healed in connection with another sacred pool, but only because Jesus sends him there.[40] Jesus later takes the

---

Harvey K. McArthur; Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation Press, 1960), 40; Max-Alain Chevallier, "Le souffle de Dieu dans le Judaïsme, aux abords de l'ère chrétienne," *FoiVie* 80 (1, January 1981): 33-46, here 40.

[35]See discussion in Keener, *John*, 509-13.

[36]Later rabbis' association of conversion with becoming like a new child is often noted, e.g., H. W. Watkins, *The Gospel According to John* (ed. Charles John Ellicott; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1957), 74; Bruce J. Malina and Richard L. Rohrbaugh. *Social-Science Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 82 (citing *b. Yeb*. 22a; 48b; 62a; 97b; *Bek*. 47a). This view is at least as early as the seventeenth century; see John Lightfoot, *A Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Hebraica* (4 vols.; n.p.: Oxford, 1959; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 3:265.

[37]See discussion more extensively in Keener, *John*, 537-55, esp. 546-50; cf. John Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel According to John* (2 vols.; trans. William Pringle; Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1847), 1:111.

[38]A wordplay; "living" water was flowing water, the kind one would get from a spring (cf. e.g., LXX Gen 26:19; Lev 14:5-6, 50-52). But John also thinks of the "water of life" (Rev 7:17; 21:6; 22:1, 17); cf. Ps 36:9; Jer 2:13; 17:13; Oscar Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship* (Philadelphia: Westminster; London: SCM, 1953), 81; Birger Olsson, *Structure and Meaning in the Fourth Gospel: A Text Linguistic Analysis of John 2:1-11 and 4:1-42* (trans. Jean Gray; Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1974), 213; Brown, *John*, 1:cxxxv.

[39]See discussion more fully in Keener, *John*, 611-19.

[40]Scholars often note the contrast between the two passages; see especially R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 139; cf. also Jeffrey L. Staley, "Stumbling in the

role of the suffering servant as he washes his disciples' feet, in a scene interspersed with announcements of the coming betrayal (Jn 13).[41]

The key text with reference to John's water motif (key because it offers an explicit explanation) is Jn 7:37-39, where Jesus promises rivers of living water. Jesus speaks on the last day of the festival of tabernacles (7:2, 37); at this festival priests poured water from the Pool of Siloam at the base of the altar, to symbolize an expectation stemming from the Scripture texts read on the last day of the festival. These texts, Ezek 47 and Zech 14, spoke of rivers of living water flowing from the temple and from Jerusalem in the eschatological time.[42] On the day that these texts were read, Jesus announces to the people, "Whoever thirsts, let them come to me; let them drink, whoever believes in me. As the Scripture has said, 'From his belly will flow rivers of living water.'"[43] Jewish people thought of Jerusalem as the

---

Dark, Reaching for the Light: Reading Character in John 5 and 9," *Semeia* 53 (1991): 55-80; Dorothy A. Lee, *The Symbolic Narratives of the Fourth Gospel: The Interplay of Form and Meaning* (JSNTSup 95; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 105-6; Raymond F. Collins, *These Things Have Been Written: Studies on the Fourth Gospel* (Louvain Theological & Pastoral Monographs 2; Louvain: Peeters; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 23; Rainer Metzner, "Der Geheilte von Johannes 5—Repräsentant des Unglaubens," *ZNW* 90 (3-4, 1999): 177-93.

[41]For the footwashing, see especially John Christopher Thomas, *Footwashing in John 13 and the Johannine Community* (JSNTSup 61; Sheffield: JSOT Press, Sheffield Academic Press, 1991).

[42]See e.g., *t. Suk.* 3:3-10, 18. Among commentators, cf. e.g., C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 350; Archibald M. Hunter, *The Gospel According to John* (Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 84-85; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John* (3 vols.; trans. Kevin Smyth and J. Massingberd Ford; New York: Herder & Herder, 1968; New York: Seabury, 1980-1982), 2:155; see fuller discussion in Keener, *John*, 722-30 (esp. 725-27).

[43]Scholars differ on the precise syntax here, some seeing water from the believer (Gordon D. Fee, "Once More—John 7:37-39," *Expository Times* 89 [4, Jan. 1978]: 116-18; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "John VII.37-9: Another Note on a Notorious Crux," *New Testament Studies* 6 (1, Oct. 1959): 95-98; Zane C. Hodges, "Rivers of Living Water: John 7:37-39: Part 7 of Problem Passages in the Gospel of John," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 136 (543, July 1979): 239-48; Bernard, *John*, 1:282; Juan B. Cortés, "Yet Another Look at Jn 7,37-38," *CBQ* 29 [1, Jan. 1967]: 75-86) and some from Jesus (Dodd, *Interpretation*, 349; Brown, *John*, 1:321-23; James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in relation*

navel of the earth;[44] but Jesus here depicts *himself* as the foundation of God's new temple, the source of living water.[45] John explains that once Jesus would be glorified, those who believe in Jesus would receive from him this living water, the Spirit (7:39).

Lest we forget his point, John also takes time to narrate an event at the crucifixion not included in the other extant Gospels. When a soldier pierced Jesus' side, not only blood but *water* came forth (19:34). Historically, the spear may have punctured the pericardial sac around the heart, releasing a watery substance along with the blood.[46] But why does John bother to record it and even underline it emphatically by noting that he was an eyewitness (19:35)?[47] I suspect

---

to Pentecostalism Today [Studies in Biblical Theology, 2d ser., 15; London: SCM, 1970], 179-80; J. Ramsey Michaels, "The Temple Discourse in John," 200-213 in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* [ed. Richard N. Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974], 208-9; M. J. J. Menken, "The Origin of the Old Testament Quotation in John 7:38," *Novum Testamentum* 38 [2, 1996]: 160-75; D. Moody Smith, *John* [Abingdon New Testament Commentaries; Nashville: Abingdon, 1999], 174). For our purposes here, it may suffice to note that whether the rivers flow from the believer *or* Jesus, Jesus is the explicit *ultimate* source in 7:39.

[44]See e.g., *Jub*. 8:12; *Sib. Or*. 5:249-50; *b. Yoma* 54b. Cf. also James M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," 483-544 in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf; vol. 2 in *The Book of Acts in its First-Century Setting*, 6 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1994), 526; Philip S. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1-2, Spring-Autumn 1982): 197-213; Mieczyslaw Celestyn Paczkowski, "Gerusalemme—'ombelico del mondo' nella tradizione cristiana antica." *SBFLA* 55 (2005): 165-202." Greeks applied the label to Delphi (e.g., Euripides *Med*. 667-68; *Orest*. 591; Pindar *Pyth*. 4.74; 8.59-60; 11.10).

[45]Cf. e.g., Lloyd Gaston, *No Stone On Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels* (NovTSup 23; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 211; S. H. Hooke, "'The Spirit was not yet,'" *New Testament Studies* 9 (4, July 1963): 372-80, here 377-78; Mary L. Coloe, *God Dwells with Us: Temple Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, A Michael Glazier Book, 2001), 132-33.

[46]John Wilkinson, "The Incident of the Blood and Water in John 19.34," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 28 (2, 1975): 149-72.

[47]Although many scholars challenge this position, I have argued for the identity of the beloved disciple with the author, and that of both with the apostle John, in Keener, *John*, 81-139.

that it forms a climactic illustration of Jesus' point.[48] Lifted up and glorified, crowned king of the Jews, Jesus by his death provided living water for his people. The Book of Revelation expresses John's point well. Let the one who thirsts come and drink freely from the water of the river of life (Rev 22:17)! John's Gospel deals with the water of the Spirit of which traditional ritual purification is at best a symbol.

c. The Spirit of Prophetic Empowerment

Second, and of primary importance for our discussion of John's missiology, the Spirit involves prophetic power. Whereas some Jewish texts stressed the purifying aspect of the Spirit, most stressed the prophetic aspect of the Spirit.[49] Jesus' closing discourses to his disciples emphasize this aspect of the Spirit's work, including in his sayings about "sending" the Spirit. The Father sends the Spirit in Jesus' name to teach them and to recall Jesus' teachings to them (14:26); likewise, Jesus sends the Spirit to bear witness concerning him (15:26), as the disciples will do also (15:27).

Prophets both heard God and proclaimed what they heard, and we find both elements in this Gospel. Jesus talks about his disciples hearing his voice in 10:3-5, 16, 27. Indeed, his sheep there "know"

---

[48]John selects for inclusion what he does to communicate a point (Jn 20:30-31). See e.g., Matthew Vellanickal, "Blood and Water," *Jeevadhara* 8 (45, 1978): 218-30; James McPolin, *John* (New Testament Message 6; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1979), 249; Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to Grave. A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 1178-82; Craig R. Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel: Meaning, Mystery, Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 181. Others find an allusion to water from the wilderness rock (e.g., T. Francis Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel* [Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1963], 52-53, citing church fathers).

[49]See e.g., Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (London, New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 49-101; idem, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with special reference to Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 54; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 53-112; idem, "Spirit and Power in Luke-Acts: A Response to Max Turner," *JSNT* 49 (1993): 11-20; Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 86-104; Youngmo Cho, *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul: An Attempt to Reconcile these Concepts* (foreword by R. P. Menzies; Paternoster Biblical Monographs; Waynesboro, GA; Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2005), 10-51; Keener, "Pneumatology," 69-77; idem, *Spirit*, 10-13, 31-33.

him[50] *just as* the Father knows him and he knows the Father (10:14-15). This indicates the depth of relationship with Jesus that God has made available. The context is this: a blind man healed by Jesus becomes his follower and is expelled from the synagogue by Israel's guardians. Jesus compares these hostile guardians of Israel with strangers, thieves, and wolves, i.e., those who exploit the sheep (10:1, 5, 8, 10, 12); they resemble the false shepherds of Israel in Ezek 34:2-10. By contrast, Jesus is the good shepherd (Jn 10:11, 14), who would lay down his life for the sheep to protect them from the thieves. Jesus is using biblical imagery; the chief shepherd of Israel in the Hebrew Scriptures was God (e.g., Ezek 34:11-16), whose role Jesus appropriately fills here. Meanwhile, this formerly blind man, though excluded from Israel's religious community by its leaders, is embraced by Jesus as truly one of God's people, who were often compared with God's sheep in Scripture (e.g., Ps 100:3; Ezek 34:2). This man, who heeded Jesus, becomes an example of the sheep who heed his voice (as Israel, his sheep, failed to do in Ps 95:7-11).[51] Jesus' disciples would provide another example of hearing his voice during his earthly ministry: he called them "friends," because whatever he heard from the Father he shared with them (Jn 15:15).[52]

John is very clear that hearing Jesus' voice is an experience that should continue among the community of believers.[53] Just as Jesus did not speak from himself (12:49; 14:10), the Spirit would not speak from himself (16:13).[54] Just as Jesus indicated in 15:15 that he told his friends whatever he heard from the Father, he explains now that

---

[50]OT language for Israel's covenant relationship with God (e.g., Ex 6:7; in the new covenant, Jer 24:7; 31:33-34).

[51]Most Johannine scholars today also view him as a model for John's primary audience; e.g., J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968), 40; Severino Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 247-52; David Rensberger, *Johannine Faith and Liberating Community* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 42.

[52]Sharing rather than keeping secrets was one key element in ancient Mediterranean ideologies of friendship; see discussion in Keener, *John*, 1010; idem, "Friendship," 380-88 in *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley Porter; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 383.

[53]On Johannine knowledge of God, see e.g., Keener, *John*, 234-47 (esp. 243-47); idem, "Studies in the Knowledge of God in the Fourth Gospel in Light of Its Historical Context" (M.Div. Thesis, The Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, 1986).

[54]I.e., not on his own authority, e.g., *T. Ab.* 15:8; 19:4A; Philostratus *Hrk*. 8.2.

whatever the Spirit hears from Jesus, he will speak to them (16:13). Just as Jesus came to glorify not himself but his Father, the Spirit comes to reveal and glorify Jesus (16:13-15).[55] This means that disciples today at least potentially are able to hear Jesus as clearly as did his first disciples, except now with the advantage of a retrospective understanding of Jesus' identity and mission.[56]

Likewise, disciples who heard from Jesus would also reveal him to the world, in connection with the Spirit (15:26-27).[57] Whereas the Father sent Jesus "into the world" and Jesus sends the disciples "into the world" (17:18), John does not tell us that the Spirit is sent to the world. Rather, Jesus says, "If I go, I will send him to *you*" (16:7; cf. 15:26: "I will send him to *you*").[58] After Jesus promises to send the advocate to them, Jesus says that the Spirit will "convict" the world (16:8). In a context where the Spirit comes as witness (15:26) and perhaps "advocate" (one possible translation for *paraklëtos* in 14:16, 26; 15:26; and 16:7), we might render the Spirit's activity here as "prosecuting" the world.[59] The Spirit will charge the world concerning sin, righteousness, and judgment. These were activities of Jesus earlier in the Gospel (3:20; 8:46), and the particulars offered in 16:8-10 also involve Jesus' person or acts. The point appears to be that Jesus, who confronted the world in this Gospel, will continue to confront the world; his presence remains. Now, however, Jesus' presence is revealed to the world especially through the Spirit's ministry in and through the disciples.

d. The Spirit and God's Presence

---

[55]Cf. Heinrich Schlier, "Zum Begriff des Geistes nach dem Johannesevangelium," 264-271 in *Besinnung auf das Neue Testament* (Exegetische Aufsätze und Vorträge II; Freiburg: Herder, 1964), 269: the Spirit illumines the work of Jesus in his glory.

[56]I discuss this more fully and in more explicitly practical terms in my *Gift & Giver: The Holy Spirit for Today* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 39-42.

[57]Although the passage involves the first disciples who were with him "from the beginning" (cf. 2:11; 8:25; 16:4; Acts 1:21-22), but John expects his audience to understand their own experience analogously (1 Jn 2:24; 3:11; 2 Jn 6).

[58]Cf. Henry Efferin, "The Paraclete in John 14-16," *Stulos Theological Journal* 1 (2, 1993): 149-56; earlier, Luther *Sermon on Jn 16*.

[59]With e.g., C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (2d ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 90; O'Day, "John," 771; argued in Keener, *John*, 1030-35.

The Spirit empowers us to communicate Jesus to others because, through the Spirit, Jesus' presence remains in our midst. Jesus sends the advocate that "he may be with you forever" (14:16), and be "in you" (14:17); thus the Father and Son make their "dwelling place" within us (14:23). In fact, even Jesus' promise of many "dwelling places" in the Father's house apparently communicates the same point. Against the common assumption that the "Father's house" here must mean heaven,[60] its other uses in the gospel refer to a father's household (8:35) or to the temple (2:16-17). Thus, only context can specify what it means here.[61] Most essentially, we may surmise that it will involve the place of the Father's presence.

What does Jesus mean by "dwelling places" ("rooms" in some translations) that he prepares in the Father's house in 14:2? This Greek term, *monë*, appears in only one other location in the entire New Testament.[62] Not coincidentally, that location turns out to be later in this same context, deliberately clarifying its use here. In that passage (Jn 14:23), Jesus declares that he and the Father will come and make their "dwelling place" (*monë*) within believers.[63] The cognate verb is frequent in the context, referring to the Spirit or Jesus' message dwelling or remaining in believers, or believers dwelling or remaining in Christ (14:17; 15:4-10, 16).[64]

---

[60]Though argued only rarely by scholars, e.g., Holwerda, *Spirit*, 20, n. 52; also Calvin, *John*, 2:81.

[61]Many see an allusion to the temple; e.g., H. Leonard Pass, *The Glory of the Father: A Study in S. John XIII-XVII* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Company, 1935), 66-68; G. H. C. MacGregor, *The Gospel of John* (MNTC; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928), 305.

[62]It appears only once in the Apostolic Fathers (in Papias), twice in Josephus (*Ant*. 8.350; 13.41); and never, so far as I can tell, in the LXX (though 15 times in the Philonic corpus).

[63]Many recognize a connection between the two uses in this context; see Robert Alan Berg, "Pneumatology and the history of the Johannine community: Insights from the farewell discourses and the First Epistle" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of Drew University, 1988; Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1989), 107-10.

[64]This is a favorite verb for John, though not always carrying its full theological import; it appear 40 times in the Gospel, which is about 33.9% of NT uses, though John is just 11% of the NT text (i.e., over three times the NT average). The Johannine epistles employ the verb 27 times, or 22.9% of NT uses, or 13.7 times (1370% more) than average. Together the Gospel and epistles offer about 56.8% of NT examples of this verb.

What does Jesus mean in this context by, "I will come again to you" (14:3)? Later in this context, his coming (14:18) is associated with the giving of the Spirit (14:16-17) and new, resurrection life (14:19). It also involves Jesus and the Father "coming" to the believer and making their dwelling place there (14:23). In contrast to the second coming, his disciples would see him at the coming to which he refers here, but the world would not see him (14:19). Again in a context emphasizing the coming of the Spirit (16:13-15), Jesus says in 16:16 that he would return to reveal himself to them; the context clearly means after his death and resurrection (16:17-22). Jesus refers here not to his coming at the end of the age,[65] but his coming in Jn 20:19-23 to inaugurate eschatological life in the lives of his disciples.

Jesus repeatedly says, "I am going" (14:2-5, 28; 16:5, 7), referring in most of these texts to going to the Father by way of death (8:22; 13:33, 36; 16:28; cf. 16:20-22).[66] Jesus tells his disciples that they know *where* he is going and the *way* he will get there (14:4), but Thomas protests that they know neither one (14:5). The first disciples themselves did not understand 14:2-3 by itself any better than we understand these verses isolated from Jesus' following explanation. But Jesus then explains: where he is going is the Father, and Jesus himself is the way to the Father (14:6). He is not telling the disciples that at his second coming they may go with him to places prepared for them. He is telling them that those who come to the Father through Jesus—i.e., those who believe and abide in Jesus—are in the Father's presence.[67]

---

[65]Though not at 14:2-3, I do acknowledge future eschatology in John's Gospel (see e.g., Jn 5:28-29; 6:39-40, 44, 54; 12:48; with many, e.g., Werner Georg Kümmel, *The Theology of the New Testament According to its Major Witnesses—Jesus, Paul, John* [trans. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1973], 294-95; Barrett, *John*, 68-69; Burge, *Community*, 115). Bultmann's forced-choice logic that requires him to excise such passages as secondary ignores the coexistence of realized and future eschatology in the Qumran scrolls or, for that matter, Jesus' teachings and Paul's letters.

[66]Some texts admittedly look beyond the death and resurrection to Jesus' longer-range presence with the Father away from the disciples (14:12; 16:10); John's love for riddles and wordplays leaves considerable ambiguity, probably deliberately.

[67]On Jesus as the "way" to the Father's presence here, see e.g., Robert H. Gundry, "'In my Father's House are many Monai' (Joh 14:2)," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 58 (1967): 68-72, here 70.

That is to say, Jesus' coming in 20:19-23 to give his disciples the Spirit inaugurates his presence in their lives in a new dimension. We can do God's work because God's Spirit lives in us.

3. "I Send You" (20:21)

Jesus sends the disciples into the world just as the Father sent him into the world (Jn 17:18). Some may object that such passages apply specifically only to the first disciples in John's narrative world. This objection, however, misunderstands the function of John's narrative.[68] Just as John the Baptist functions as a paradigmatic witness in the opening of John's Gospel,[69] so do Jesus' disciples function as paradigmatic for the community of believers. John is interested in those who believe through their proclamation (17:20). It is not only the first disciples who are fruit-bearing branches on Jesus the vine (15:1-8), who must abide and bear fruit (15:2-5, 8), persevere (15:6), and so forth. In his epistles John does not limit the Spirit to the Twelve (who receive the promises of the advocate in Jn 14—16); rather, he limits the Spirit to all true believers (1 Jn 2:20, 27; 3:24; 4:2, 13).[70] Not all believers in the community have the same role as the first disciples, but the community as a whole shares their same mission and purpose: to make Christ known.

a. Christological Confessions

A central part of this mission is proclaiming Jesus' identity. Among the models of preaching Jesus in the Gospel that we have noted are Philip and the Samaritan woman. Yet John himself offers us a model of how we should preach Jesus by how John himself, inspired by

---

[68]For broader applicability of Johannine promises of the Spirit, cf. e.g., Beare, "Spirit"; D. Moody Smith, "John 16:1-15," *Interpretation* 33 (1, Jan. 1979): 58-62, here 60; George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 220, 268, 296; Boice, *Witness*, 143-44; Horton, *Spirit*, 120-21.

[69]Cf. Hooker, "Baptist," 358; James Montgomery Boice, *Witness and Revelation in the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970; Exeter: Paternoster Press, n.d.), 26; Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1968), 105; Collins, *Written*, 8-11; Harrison, "John 1:14," 25; Mathias Rissi, "Jn 1:1-18 (The Eternal Word)," *Interpretation* 31 (1977): 394-401, here 398; C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1965), 299.

[70]Indeed, 1 Jn 2:27 may deliberately echo Jn 14:26 (with Dunn, *Baptism*, 197).

the Spirit, preaches Jesus in this Gospel. One may compare the various christological confessions he records in the Gospel:[71] John the Baptist calls Jesus the "Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!" (1:29);[72] Nathanael declares, "Rabbi, you are God's Son! You are the king of Israel!" (1:49). The Samaritans acknowledge, "This one is truly the world's savior!" (4:42). Peter confesses, "You are God's holy one!" (6:69).[73] The climactic confession of faith, though, is Thomas': "My Lord and my God!" (20:28). Jesus affirms as true this confession as faith, yet praises those who can have such faith without a resurrection appearance (20:29), whereupon John explains that this is why he wrote this Gospel: so those who have not seen may nevertheless believe Jesus' identity (20:30-31).

Let us add to these confessions Jesus' own declarations of his identity in this Gospel: "I am the bread of life" (6:35, 41, 48, 51), to sustain us; "I am the light of the world" (8:12; 95), to enlighten us; "I am the door" (10:7, 9), to welcome us; "I am the good shepherd" (10:11, 14), to protect and care for us; "I am the resurrection and the life" (11:25), to raise us; "I am the way and the truth and the life" (14:6), to bring us to the Father; "I am the true vine" (15:1), to nourish us with continuous life; and greatest of all, simply "I am" (8:58)—as the God of the patriarchs and prophets.[74] Such declarations are a fitting

---

[71]These confessions need not all progress from lesser to greater (M. Baron, "La progression des confessions de foi dans les dialogues de saint Jean," *Bible et Vie Chrétienne* 82 [1968]: 32-44), though 20:28 is certainly the climactic one.

[72]The background probably involves the sacrificial lamb, with Schnackenburg, *John*, 1:299; G. Ashby, "The Lamb of God—II," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 25 (1978): 62-65; Bruce H. Grigsby, "The Cross as an Expiatory Sacrifice in the Fourth Gospel," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 15 (1982): 51-80; Lightfoot, *Gospel*, 97; Craig Keener, "Lamb," 641-42 in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament & Its Developments* (ed. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), 641. This might be combined with the servant in Is 53:7; so Schnackenburg, *John*, 1:300; Brown, *John*, 1:60-63; George L. Carey, "The Lamb of God and Atonement Theories," *Tyndale Bulletin* 32 (1981): 97-122. Cf. also the sacrificial lamb of Ex 29:38-46, in Enz, "Exodus," 214.

[73]The probable reading here, with e.g., Bernard, *John*, 1:223; Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 215. Against some scribes' attempts to harmonize readings, John supplies a variety of christological confessions.

[74]Some of these evoke divine or Wisdom images in Scripture or early Judaism, but "I am" is the most explicit (Ex 3:14; Is 41:4; 43:10; cf. Lightfoot, *Gospel*, 134-35; Hunter, *John*, 89; David Mark Bell, *'I Am' in John's Gospel: Literary*

focus for a Gospel whose prologue is framed by confessions of Jesus' deity (Jn 1:1, 18).[75] Indeed, so is the body of John's Gospel, if we connect the prologue's claim (1:1, 18) with Thomas' confession in 20:28.[76] Biographies were supposed to focus on their protagonists;[77] John naturally focuses on Jesus in this Gospel, and preaches him while he does so. He preaches Jesus' identity to his audience so "that you may believe" (20:31), as the Spirit brings the hearers into real encounters with Jesus himself (16:7-15).

b. Jesus Revealed in the Community's Love

But we who are sent to preach Jesus present Jesus to the world not only through our words, but like Jesus himself, also through our "works." Believers will do the kinds of works Jesus did (14:10-12). Many of Jesus' works in this Gospel are his miraculous signs (5:20; 7:3, 21; 9:3-4; 10:25, 32, 37-38; 15:24), but his work also summarizes his entire mission (4:34; 17:4). Presumably, John, like Luke and other New Testament writers, does expect continuing miracles among Jesus' followers. But there is a kind of sign that John specifies, one that reveals God's character and light in a dark world. In 15:1-11, Jesus says that disciples, as branches bearing the fruit natural to the vine, should love one another. By loving one another, we show the world more of God's heart.

In 17:21, Jesus prayed that his followers would be one, "that the world may believe that you sent me." In 17:23, Jesus went on to pray that we would be perfected in unity, "that the world may know that you sent me, and that you loved them, even as you loved me." Part of our

---

Function, Background and Theological Implications [JSNTSup 124; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996], 258). Priests apparently used these very Isaiah texts during the festival at which Jesus declared, "I am" (Ethelbert Stauffer, *Jesus and His Story* [trans. Richard and Clara Winston; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960], 91).

[75]With Boismard, *Prologue*, 76-77.

[76]Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster; London: SCM, 1959), 308. I do argue for reading Jn 21 as part of the Gospel (Keener, *John*, 1219-22; cf. also Bruce, *John*, 398; Paul S. Minear, "The Original Functions of John 21," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102 [1, 1983]: 85-98); my point here is only that it is not part of the main body of the Gospel.

[77]On ancient biographies and the Gospels see especially Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (SNTSMS 70; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992).

greatest witness is the supernatural testimony of the reality of Jesus by the divine love that believers demonstrate to one another—at least, when we are truly depending on and imitating our Lord. Assuming the posture of a servant,[78] Jesus washes his disciples' feet in 13:4-10, in the context of the impending passion (13:1-3, 11).[79] Although disciples did almost anything for their teachers that servants would do, the one exception was apparently the demeaning work of dealing with the feet (washing them, carrying sandals, etc.)[80] Yet Jesus adopts this servile posture and summons his disciples to follow his example, doing the same for one another (13:12-15). In 13:34-35, he commands us, "Love one another, even as I have loved you. By *this* behavior everyone will know that you are *my* disciples." Jesus titles this injunction a "new" commandment not because it involves love (which was already commanded, Lev 19:18),[81] but because of the new standard: "as I have loved you." That is, to love one another as he loved us is to love to the extent that we lay down our lives for one another (cf. 1 Jn 3:16). This is the greatest sign of Jesus' reality and character that he has given to us his people. The God of grace and truth, the God who revealed his glory in the cross, makes that message believable to the world when they see the church believing and living the heart of God.

Recall Jn 1:18: "No one has beheld God at any time, but the only God, who is in the Father's bosom, has made him known." Compare 1 John 4:12: "No one has beheld God at any time. If we love one another, God abides in us, and his love is perfected in us." How will the world see God's heart now? Not only through our words preaching Christ, but also through our lives following his example.

---

[78]Cf. Homer *Od*. 19.344-48, 353-60, 376, 388-93, 505; Apollodorus *Epitome* 1.2; Thomas, *Footwashing*, 40-41, 50-55.

[79]Jesus' act here prefigures the passion (with R. Alan Culpepper, "The Johannine *Hypodeigma*: A Reading of John 13," *Semeia* 53 [1991]: 133-52).

[80]*B. Ket*. 96a, cited by various commentators (cf. W. D. Davies, *The Sermon on the Mount* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1966], 135; Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971], 141).

[81]Early Judaism stressed the love commandment (e.g., *Jub*. 36:4, 8; *m. Ab*. 1:12; *Sipra Qed*. pq. 4.200.3.7; Thomas Söding, "Feindeshass und Bruderliebe. Beobachtungen zur essenischen Ethik," *Revue de Qumran* 16 [4, 1995]: 601-19; Reinhard Neudecker, "'And You Shall Love Your Neighbor as Yourself—I Am the Lord' [Lev 19,18] in Jewish Interpretation," *Biblica* 73 [4, 1992]: 496-517).

Conclusion

Jesus is the model for what it means to be sent in this Gospel: "*As the Father sent me, even so* I send you." The object of this mission, as in the case of Jesus, must be the world: "*For God in this way loved the world*." The Spirit who comes to testify about Jesus enables this mission by continuing to make Jesus the Word present in his followers' word: "*Receive the Holy Spirit*." Finally, Jesus' followers must present the living Lord Jesus both by our words and by our works, by our witness and by our love.

Our mission is to present Christ in prophetic power, Jesus speaking in us; to bring people to experience our Lord Jesus for themselves; and to be a community of such divine love that outsiders can see and are drawn to God's heart for the world.

[*AJPS* 12:1 (2009), pp. 47-73]

POWER OF PENTECOST: LUKE'S MISSIOLOGY IN ACTS 1—2

Craig S. Keener

I have been writing a commentary on Acts, a biblical book that provides more than enough insights by itself for this series on New Testament missiology. The line between writing a missiological commentary on Acts and developing Luke's missiology in Acts would be rather thin; Acts is about mission. I am therefore focusing the discussion on the opening two chapters of Acts, which set the tone for the rest of the book by showing how God's Spirit empowers crosscultural mission.[1] The beginning of Acts recapitulates the end of Lk 24,[2] hence functions as the pivot between Luke's Gospel and Acts. It is thus a critical section for showing how the message of his Gospel will apply to the church. In this introductory section of Acts, Acts 1:8 is central: "You will be witnesses … to the ends of the earth once the

[1]These two chapters go beyond the introduction proper (and certainly beyond the preface), but are nevertheless foundational for the rest of Acts (with e.g., Steve Walton, "Where Does the Beginning of Acts End?" 447-67 in *The Unity of Luke-Acts* [ed. Joseph Verheyden; BETL 142; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999], esp. 466).

[2]As generally noted, e.g., Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (2 vols.; Evangelisch-KathKomNT 5; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1986), 1:61, 72; J. Bradley Chance, *Acts* (SHBC; Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2007), 34; Denzil R. Miller, *Empowered for Global Mission: A Missionary Look at the Book of Acts* (foreword by John York; N.p.: Life Publishers, 2005), 56-60; M. D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: S. P. C. K., 1964), 16-17; Mikeal C. Parsons, *The Departure of Jesus in Luke-Acts: The Ascension Narratives in Context* (JSNTSup 21; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 189-90. For such recapitulation elsewhere, see e.g., Josephus *Ag. Ap*. 2.1; Chariton *Chaer*. 5.1.1-2; David Edward Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (LEC 8; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 90, 117; Daniel Marguerat, *Les Actes des Apôtres (1-12)* (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament, 2nd series, 5 A; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2007), 36.

Spirit comes on you." We will examine this verse in more detail in a few moments.

In this essay we will briefly survey the following points:

1. The *Promise* of Pentecost (1:4-8)
2. *Preparation* for Pentecost (prayer and leadership; 1:12-26)
3. The *Proofs* of Pentecost (2:1-4)
4. The *Peoples* of Pentecost (2:5-13)
5. The *Prophecy* of Pentecost (2:17-21)
6. The *Preaching* of Pentecost (2:22-40)
7. The *Purpose* of Pentecost (2:41-47)

Thus, I will try to survey some elements of various paragraphs in this opening section of Acts, though some of these paragraphs (especially the first one) will require much fuller comment for our purposes than others.

1. The *Promise* of Pentecost (1:4-8)

Jesus calls his disciples' attention to a source of power that is so central that they must remain in Jerusalem, awaiting the Father's promise, rather than attempting to fulfill the mission in their own strength (1:4). Luke here emphasizes that we cannot succeed in Christ's mission without Christ's power. Jesus already set the example for this dependence in Luke's Gospel (as Acts will reiterate, 10:38).[3] As introductions in ancient literature often traced the primary themes that a book would address,[4] this introductory paragraph is one of the paragraphs in Acts' opening section that we must explore in greater detail.

Jesus talks with his disciples about the "kingdom" (1:3) and the Spirit (1:4-5). Biblical prophets had already associated the outpouring

[3]For parallels between the model of Jesus in Luke's Gospel and the church's experience of the Spirit, see e.g., Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1974), 16; Roger Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984), 51; Robert L. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (SBLMS 33; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 24-25.

[4]See e.g., Polybius 3.1.3—3.5.9, esp. 3.1.7; 11.1.4-5; *Rhet. Alex*. 29, 1436a.33-39; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Thuc*. 19; *Lysias* 24; Cicero *Or. Brut*. 40.137; Virgil *Aen*. 1.1-6; Aulus Gellius pref. 25; Soranus *Gynec*. 1.intro.2; 1.1.3; 2.5.9 [25.78]; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll*. 7.1; 8.1.

of the Spirit with the end-time restoration of Israel (e.g., Is 44:3; 59:21; Ezek 36:26-27; 37:14; 39:29; Joel 2:28-29).[5] The disciples, then, ask the obvious question: is Jesus about to restore the kingdom? (1:6).

Jesus answers that the consummation of the kingdom will eventually come (1:7), but the Spirit is given now so that the disciples can prepare for the kingdom's coming by evangelizing the nations (1:8). Because the disciples expected the Spirit eschatologically, they would understand Jesus' promise of the Spirit as involving the coming of the future. Once the disciples understood that the Spirit would precede the consummation of the kingdom, they should understand that the Spirit was giving them power to live out some of the life of the future kingdom in the present, an idea found in many first-century Christian texts (Rom 8:11, 23; 14:17; 1 Cor 2:9-10; 2 Cor 5:5; Gal 5:5; 6:8; Eph 1:13-14; 2 Thess 2:13; Heb 6:4-5).[6]

In 1:8, Jesus promises that they will receive "power" when the Spirit comes. What does Luke mean by power? Although not all references involve healing and exorcism, these constitute the most common expressions of that power in Luke's narrative. Thus Jesus casts out demons with power in Lk 4:36; power was present for healing

---

[5]The eschatological association of the Spirit is stronger in the prophets than in early Judaism, but cf. Sir 36:14-16; Max-Alain Chevallier, *Souffle de Dieu: le Saint-Esprit dans le Nouveau Testament* (vol. 1: *Ancien Testament, Hellénisme et Judaïsme, La tradition synoptique, L'oeuvre de Luc*; Le Point Théologique 26; Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1978), 31-32; Wonsuk Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes: The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah* (JSOTSup 271; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 175-78, 210-11; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (4th ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 208-17; Robert P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with special reference to Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 54; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 104-8; idem, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (London, New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 94-98, 232-43.

[6]E.g., the "downpayment" of the Spirit (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Eph 1:14); on this meaning, see e.g., Gen 38:17-18, 20 LXX; Oscar Cullmann, *The Early Church* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; London: SCM, 1956), 117; George Eldon Ladd, *The New Testament and Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), 91; *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri published in 1976* (vol. 1; ed. G. H. R. Horsley; North Ryde, N.S.W.: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981), 1, §33, p. 83; for first fruits (Rom 8:23), see Neill Q. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul* (Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers 6; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 19; George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 370.

in Lk 5:17; power was coming from Jesus to heal in Lk 6:19; power came from Jesus to heal in Lk 8:46; and Jesus gave the Twelve power over demons in Lk 9:1. Likewise, in Acts 3:12, Peter insists that it is not by their own "power" or holiness that the man was healed, but by Jesus' name. The authorities demand in Acts 4:7, "By what *power*, or in what name," the man was healed, inviting the same emphasis. In Acts 6:8, Stephen, "full of grace and power," was doing wonders and signs.[7] In Acts 10:38, Peter declares that Jesus healed all who were oppressed by the devil because he was anointed with the Spirit and power. When John Wimber and others have spoken of "power evangelism," they have echoed a frequent Lukan motif.[8]

We should note how closely Luke's account connects this empowerment with the Spirit. The Hebrew Scriptures often associated the Spirit with prophetic empowerment, among other activities. By the era of the early church, early Jewish sources are apt to focus on this activity even more specifically, as a number of scholars, most extensively Robert Menzies, have shown.[9] Because the Spirit was so

---

[7]A dominant Greek term for "miracles" in the Gospels and Acts is literally "powers"; we should perhaps not read too much into the etymological connection, but Luke might at least play on it (cf. e.g., Lk 10:13; 19:37; Acts 2:22; 8:13; 19:11; see *BDAG*). Paul can also associate "power" with miracles in Paul (Rom 15:19), though he more often associates it with the "weak" miracle-working message itself (Rom 1:16; 1 Cor 1:18, 24; 2:4-5; Phil 3:10; 1 Thess 1:5; cf. 2 Tim 1:8). On power's association with the Spirit in Paul, see Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), 35-36; Peter J. Gräbe, "Du/namiq (in the Sense of Power) as a Pneumatological Concept in the Main Pauline Letters," *BZ* 36 (2, 1992): 226-35.

[8]See John Wimber with Kevin Springer, *Power Evangelism* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1986).

[9]See e.g., Menzies, *Empowered*, 49-101; idem, *Development*, 53-112; idem, "Spirit and Power in Luke-Acts: A Response to Max Turner," *JSNT* 49 (1993): 11-20; Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 86-104; Youngmo Cho, *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul: An Attempt to Reconcile these Concepts* (foreword by R. P. Menzies; Paternoster Biblical Monographs; Waynesboro, GA; Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2005), 10-51; Craig S. Keener, "The Function of Johannine Pneumatology in the Context of Late First Century Judaism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1991), 69-77; idem, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts: Divine Purity and Power* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 10-13, 31-33; in the OT, Christopher J. H. Wright, *Knowing the Holy Spirit through the Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2006), 63-86.

closely associated with prophecy and the kinds of activities undertaken by prophets, Jesus was promising the disciples that the same Spirit who spoke through the prophets would speak through them. If we are too accustomed to that notion to catch its full force, we might imagine Jesus speaking to us and saying, "You will be like Isaiah," or, "You will be like Jeremiah," or, "You will be like Deborah."

Because Luke has already noted that Jesus' commission is grounded in Scripture (Lk 24:44-46), he invites us to hear echoes of Scripture in Jesus' words here. The promise that the Spirit would empower them[10] as "witnesses to … the ends of the earth" reflects the language of Isaiah.[11] Isaiah spoke of Israel or its remnant being "witnesses" for YHWH (Is 43:10; 44:8), a role here applied to witnesses for Jesus. Isaiah spoke of God empowering his people through his Spirit in that time (e.g., Is 32:15; 44:3), including to speak for him (Is 42:1; 48:16; 59:21; 61:1). The "ends of the earth" also echoes Isaiah, especially Is 49:6, later quoted in Acts 13:47.[12] In that

[10]In the narrative itself Luke refers especially to the Eleven (1:2), but they become paradigmatic, rather than exclusive, witnesses (see 2:33; 22:14-15, 18; 23:11; 26:16). Luke writes history, but ancient historiography usually deliberately provided role models (refs). For the Twelve as the witnesses, cf. Max Turner, "Every Believer as a Witness in Acts?—in Dialogue with John Michael Penney," *AshTJ* 30 (1998): 57-71; Andreas J. Köstenberger and Peter T. O'Brien, *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2001), 126-27; but even the immediate context indicated witnesses present for the events beyond the Twelve (Lk 24:33, "those with them"; see Richard J. Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word* [AnBib 82; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978], 291). For their paradigmatic role, cf. Roland Gebauer, "Mission und Zeugnis. Zum Verhältnis von missionarischer Wirksamkeit und Zeugenschaft in der Apostelgeschichte," *NovT* 40 (1, 1998): 54-72; Peter G. Bolt, "Mission and Witness," 191-214 in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (ed. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

[11]On Isaiah in Acts, including Acts 1:8, see especially and most usefully David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002).

[12]The exact phrase is quite rare in pre-Lukan Greek literature; see Robert C. Tannehill, *The Acts of the Apostles* (vol. 2 of *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*; 2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 17; followed also by Pao, *Isaianic Exodus*, 94. Most recognize the Is 49:6 allusion based on Acts 13:47; see e.g., Tannehill, *Acts*, 17; Jacques Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. John R. Keating; New York: Paulist, 1979), 18; French L. Arrington, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988), 9; Thomas S. Moore, "'To the End of the Earth': The Geographical and Ethnic Universalism

passage, it applies to Paul's mission,[13] indicating that this mission in Acts applies not only to the Twelve, but to Jesus' movement of whom they were the most visible representatives and leaders. That is clear also because Luke is explicit that the empowerment of the Spirit necessary for the task is not only for the Twelve but also for all believers (2:38-39), whatever our various roles.

Ancient writers sometimes stated a thesis or offered a preview toward the beginning of their work,[14] and scholars often observe that Acts 1:8 provides one very rough outline for Acts, which moves from Jerusalem (Acts 1—7) to Judea and Samaria (8; 9:31-43) and toward the ends of the earth (10—28).[15] Whereas Luke's Gospel begins and ends with the Temple in Jerusalem, Acts moves from Jerusalem to Rome. The overall narrative movement in Acts, then, is from heritage to mission.[16]

Where does Luke envision the "ends of the earth"? His contemporaries in the Mediterranean world spoke of the far west as Spain or (beyond it) the "river" Ocean.[17] To the east, they thought of such regions as Parthia, and beyond it, India[18] and China.[19] They knew

---

of Acts 1:8 in Light of Isaianic Influence on Luke," *JETS* 40 (3, 1997): 389-99; Pao, *Isaianic Exodus*, 92.

[13]Paul's own letters suggest that he read his own mission in light of them; cf. J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "In Concert" in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 32-33 (more fully, see 29-33).

[14]Cf. e.g., Thucydides 1.23.6; Pliny *N.H.* 8.1.1; 18.1.1; 33.1.1; 34.1.1; 36.1.1; 37.1.1; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* 7.1; 8.1.

[15]E.g., Tannehill, *Acts*, 9; Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 106; Martin Hengel, "The Geography of Palestine in Acts," 27-78 in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. Richard Bauckham; vol. 4 in The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995), 35; Marguerat, *Actes*, 20.

[16]A central argument in my forthcoming Acts commentary, but often emphasized, though stated differently, especially as "from Jerusalem to Rome" (e.g., Homer A. Kent, *Jerusalem to Rome: Studies in the Book of Acts* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1972]).

[17]For Spain, see e.g., Strabo 1.1.5, 8; 3.2; Seneca *Nat. Q.* 1.pref.13; Silius Italicus 1.270; 15.638; Pliny *Ep.* 2.3.8; *Greek Anthology* 4.3.84-85; for Oceanus, see e.g., Pliny *N.H.* 2.67.167; Philostratus *Hrk.* 8.13.

[18]Contrasting Spain and India as opposite ends of the earth, see Strabo 1.1.8; Seneca *Nat. Q.* 1.pref.13; Juvenal *Sat.* 10.1-2.

[19]China was well known, and the Roman empire had trade ties there; e.g., Pliny *N.H.* 12.1.2; 12.41.84; Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (2nd ed.; Princeton, NJ:

of peoples to the north such as Scythians, Germans, Britons, and a place called Thule, possibly Iceland.[20] They thought of the southern ends of the earth as what they called "Ethiopia," meaning Africa south of Egypt.[21] In addition to important trade ties with China over the Silk Road (and Roman merchants traveling as far as Vietnam),[22] they had trade ties as far south in Africa as Tanzania.[23] The most common sense of "Ethiopia" involved the Nubian kingdom of Meroë, so that Philip is proleptically reaching the southern "ends of the earth" already when he shares good news with an official from that kingdom later in Acts (8:26-40).[24]

The "ends of the earth" thus does not simply involve Rome, where Luke's narrative ends.[25] Yet Rome is strategic for his narrative,

---

Princeton University Press, 1991), 198, 206. China also knew of Rome (Lin Ying, "Ruler of the Treasure Country: the Image of the Roman Empire in Chinese Society from the First to the Fourth Century AD," *Latomus* 63 [2, 2004]: 327-39), and the "Silk Road" already functioned by this period (Kevin Herbert, "The Silk Road: The Link between the Classical World and Ancient China," *Classical Bulletin* 73 [2, 1997]: 119-24).

[20]On Thule at the ends of the earth, see e.g., Seneca *Med*. 379; Pliny *N.H.* 4.16.104; Eric Herbert Warmington and Martin J. Millett, "Thule," 1521-22 in *OCD*.

[21]E.g., Strabo 1.1.6; Paus. 1.33.3-6; Josephus *Ant*. 11.33, 186, 216, 272; see further Clarice J. Martin, "A Chamberlain's Journey and the Challenge of Interpretation for Liberation," *Semeia* 47 (1989): 105-35, here 118-19; T. C. G. Thornton, "To the end of the earth: Acts 1:8," *ExpT* 89 (12, 1978): 374-75; James M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon." 483-544 in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf; vol. 2 in The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting; 6 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1994), 536; Martin Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM, 1979; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 80; Witherington, *Acts*, 290.

[22]Casson, *Mariners*, 205 (also noting trade "with Malaya and Java").

[23]J. Nelson Kraybill, *Imperial Cult and Commerce in John's Apocalypse* (JSNTSup 132; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 104.

[24]It proleptically foreshadows the future mission to the south (Martin, "Chamberlain's Journey"; Craig Keener, "The Aftermath of the Ethiopian Eunuch," *A.M.E. Church Review* 118 [385, Jan. 2003]: 112-24). Favoring the historical plausibility of that narrative, see Craig Keener, "Novels' 'Exotic' Places and Luke's African Official (Acts 8:27)," *AUSS* 46 (1, 2008): 5-20.

[25]Cf. also Tannehill, *Acts*, 17; Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEKNT 17; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 116; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 2003), 65-66; Bertram Melbourne, "Acts 1:8: Where on Earth Is the End of the Earth?" 1-14

because Luke writes to people in the Roman Empire for whom the evangelization of Rome would impact the entire empire, the sphere where most of his original audience lived. Paul reaching Rome in Acts 28 is thus a proleptic fulfillment of the mission, like Philip preaching to the African official or Peter preaching to the Diaspora crowds present at the feast of Pentecost. Acts does not conclude with the completion of the mission but offers a model for its continuance and completion: the good news to the ends of the earth, including parts of the world that Luke's audience could not have known about.[26] We may add that if any starting point was privileged, it was Jerusalem (cf. also Rom 15:19), but otherwise God's people have just started where they were.[27] When the west sent most missionaries, the west may have been their own practical starting point, but missions has never been a distinctly western idea. Indeed, in ancient Mediterranean conceptualizations of the world, the movement of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome specifically involved an Asian movement missionizing southern Europe.[28]

Another biblical allusion appears in Acts 1:9-11, in addition to the allusion in Acts 1:8. This allusion, like the allusion to Isaiah we have

---

in *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa* (ed. Emory J. Tolbert; n.p.: Sabbath in Africa Study Group, 2005), esp. 11-14.

[26]On the open-endedness of Acts, see e.g., James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 278; Daniel Marguerat, *La Première Histoire du Christianisme (Les Actes des apôtres)* (LD 180; Paris, Genève: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999), 333; idem, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the 'Acts of the Apostles'* (SNTSMS 121; trans. Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery and Richard Bauckham; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 152-54, 230; Brian Rosner, "The Progress of the Word," 215-34 in *Witness to the Gospel*, 232-33. Open or incomplete endings were frequent in ancient literature (e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Demosth*. 58; Valerius Maximus 9.15. ext. 2; Plutarch *Fame Ath.* 8, *Mor*. 351B; *Fort. Alex*. 2.13, *Mor*. 345B; *Fort. Rom.* 13, *Mor*. 326C; *Uned. R.* 7, *Mor*. 782F; Isocrates *Demon*. 52, *Or*. 1; Demetrius *Style* 5.304; Hdn 8.8.8; *L.A.B.*; Mk 16:8; especially J. Lee Magness, *Sense and Absence: Structure and Suspension in the Ending of Mark's Gospel* [SBLSemS; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1986]).

[27]For such local applications, see e.g., Musimbi Kanyoro, "Thinking Mission in Africa," 61-70 in *The Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine with Marianne Blickenstaff; Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark International, 2004), 62. On Jerusalem's theological, salvation-historical priority, see e.g., Dunn, *Acts*, 3-4.

[28]See Craig Keener, "Between Asia and Europe: Postcolonial Mission in Acts 16:8-10," *AJPS* 11 (2008): forthcoming.

noted above, also implies Spirit-empowered witness, because it evokes the model of prophetic empowerment. In this passage, Jesus ascends to heaven after promising the Spirit. The most obvious allusion to an ascension that Luke could expect all of his biblically informed audience to catch is an allusion to Elijah.[29] When he ascended to heaven, he left for Elisha, his successor, a double portion of the Spirit who had rested on him (2 Kgs 2:9-14).[30] As that OT account provided for the transition between narratives about Elijah's ministry and those about Elisha's, so the present account functions as a transition between Jesus' ministry in Luke's Gospel and that of his appointed agents in Acts.[31] Again, we see an allusion to the same Spirit who empowered the prophets.

2. *Preparation* for Pentecost (Acts 1:12-26)

Although we will address preparation for Pentecost much more briefly than the promise of Pentecost, this account is also crucial to Luke's point. Part of the narrative involves reestablishing the leadership structure of the Twelve, assigned by Jesus, presumably (as in some other ancient models) as an expression of expectation in Israel's restoration.[32] For them to restore the leadership structure was

---

[29]On Gentile ascension narratives more generally, see e.g., Charles H. Talbert, "The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer in Mediterranean Antiquity," *NTS* 22 (4, July 1976): 418-40; Rick Strelan, *Strange Acts: Studies in the Cultural World of the Acts of the Apostles* (BZNW 126; Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 42-47; Wilfried Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Der Weg des Evangeliums von Jerusalem nach Rom* (2 vols.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 57-60; for the closer Jewish ascension narratives, see e.g., Arie W. Zwiep, *The Ascension of the Messiah in Lukan Christology* (NovTSup 87; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 41-75; Paul Palatty, "The Ascension of Christ in Lk-Acts (An exegetical critical study of Lk 24,50-53 and Acts 1,2-3, 9-11)," *Bible Bhashyam* 12 (2, 1986): 100-17.

[30]For this biblical account as the closest model, see also e.g., Zwiep, *Ascension*, 59-63, 194; Kenneth Duncan Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God's People Intertextually* (JSNTSup 282; London, New York: T&T Clark International, 2005), 149-50.

[31]On succession narratives and Acts, see Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke-Acts in its Mediterranean Milieu* (NovTSup 107; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 19-55 (though most scholars do not find as much biographic character in Acts as Talbert does).

[32]See discussion in Turner, *Power*, 301; Pao, *Isaianic Exodus*, 123-29. Most scholars recognize the choice of the Twelve as symbolizing a restoration

to prepare for Jesus' promise in faith. Some things happen only when God is ready, but he allows those who trust him to prepare for them in advance (e.g., 1 Chron 22:14-16; 28:11-19).

A key element that frames the section about preparing for the Spirit's coming is the emphasis on prayer together and unity (1:14; 2:1). Prayer is a frequent theme in Luke-Acts,[33] and often precedes the coming of the Spirit there.[34] Thus of the four Gospels only Luke mentions that the Spirit descended on Jesus when he was "praying" (Lk 3:21-22). When the assembly of believers prayed together in Acts

---

movement, analogous to 1QS 8.1-2; 4Q259 2.9 (Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971], 234-35; F. F. Bruce, "Jesus and the Gospels in the Light of the Scrolls." 70-82 in *The Scrolls and Christianity: Historical and Theological Significance* [ed. Matthew Black; London: S.P.C.K, 1969], 75-76; James H. Charlesworth, *Jesus within Judaism: New Light from Exciting Archaeological Discoveries* [ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1988], 138; E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985], 104).

[33]See e.g., François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-Three Years of Research (1950-1983)* (trans. Ken McKinney; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1987), 400-3; Allison A. Trites, "The Prayer Motif in Luke-Acts," 168-86 in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978); Robert J. Karris, *What Are They Saying about Luke and Acts? A Theology of the Faithful God* (New York: Paulist, 1979), 74-83; Steven F. Plymale, *The Prayer Texts of Luke-Acts* (AUSt 7, Theology and Religion 118; New York: Peter Lang, 1991); Kyu Sam Han, "Theology of Prayer in the Gospel of Luke," *JETS* 43 (4, 2000): 675-93; Ignatius Jesudasan, "Prayer in the Acts of the Apostles," *Journal of Dharma* 28 (4, 2003): 543-48; Michael Green, *Thirty Years that Changed the World: The Book of Acts for Today* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002), 268-73; Frank Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 142-46; David Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor: Prayer and Christology in Luke-Acts* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999; originally WUNT 2.49; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992); S. John Roth, "Jesus the Pray-er," *CurTM* 33 (6, Dec. 2006): 488-500; Peter T. O'Brien, "Prayer in Luke-Acts," *TynBul* 24 (1973): 111-27.

[34]For the connection, cf. e.g., J. H. E. Hull, *The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Lutterworth, 1967; Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1968), 48; Earl Richard, "Pentecost as a Recurrent Theme in Luke-Acts," 133-49 in *New Views on Luke and Acts* (ed. Earl Richard; Collegeville, MN: Glazier, Liturgical Press, 1990), 135; Ju Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 211; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 270. The point need not be prayer for the Spirit so much as the Spirit coming to prayerful people (Graham H. Twelftree, "Prayer and the Coming of the Spirit in Acts," *ExpT* 117 (7, 2006): 271-76).

4:31, they were filled with the Spirit. Peter and John prayed for the Samaritans to receive the Spirit (8:15). Saul was filled with the Spirit (9:17) after he had been praying (9:11). The Spirit likewise fell on Cornelius and his guests (10:44), and Cornelius had been praying (10:30). Although Luke does not always associate the Spirit with prayer, the connection is frequent enough, and sometimes clear enough (especially in 4:31), to reinforce the importance of prayer in preparing for the Spirit's coming. Luke's first volume is most explicit on this point: the discussion of prayer in Lk 11:1-13 climaxes in prayer's chief object, the gift of God's own person and presence, namely, the Holy Spirit (Lk 11:13). In that passage, Jesus promises that God will not withhold this blessing from any who ask and seek insistently for it.[35]

3. The *Proofs* of Pentecost (2:2-4)

Three signs publicly demonstrate the Spirit's coming on the day of Pentecost: wind (2:2), fire (2:3), and worship in languages unknown to the speakers (2:4).[36] Of the three, the third will call for the greatest comment.

The wind and fire here both evoke earlier biblical theophanies (e.g., Ex 3:2; 2 Sam 5:24; 1 Kgs 19:11-12; Job 38:1; Ps 29:3-10; 97:2-5; 104:3; Is 6:4; 29:6; 30:27-28; 66:15; Ezek 1:4),[37] and scholars often compare them with phenomena accompanying God's revelation at Sinai (Ex 19:16-20; Deut 4:11, 24).[38] Moreover, these theophanic

---

[35]The context may involve persistence, but it probably also involves the issue of honor and shame, perhaps the honor of God bound up with his promise or with the need of his people (see Kenneth Ewing Bailey, *Poet and Peasant: A Literary Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976], 126-28; Alan F. Johnson, "Assurance for Man: The Fallacy of Translating *Anaideia* by 'Persistence' in Luke 11:5-8," *JETS* 22 [2, June 1979]: 125-31; E. W. Huffard, "The Parable of the Friend at Midnight: God's Honor or Man's Persistence?" *Restoration Quarterly* 21 [3, 1978]: 154-60).

[36]I treated Acts 2 at greater length in Keener, *Spirit*, 190-213; and especially in my forthcoming Acts commentary.

[37]Cf. also *Jub.* 1:3; *L.A.E.* 25:3; *4 Ezra* 3:19; for Greek analogies to theophanies, cf. Pieter W. Van der Horst, "Hellenistic Parallels to the Acts of the Apostles," *JSNT* 25 (Oct. 1985): 49-60, here 49-50. In the context of Elijah's succession, see 2 Kgs 2:11.

[38]E.g., Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 133, 138; Matthias Wenk, *Community-Forming Power: The Socio-Ethical Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts* (JPTSup 19; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 246-51; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*

elements recall a theme that we observed earlier: the Spirit comes as a foretaste, an initial experience, of the future world.[39] Wind evokes the image of end-time, resurrection life that may be inferred in Ezek 37:9, 14;[40] fire often evoked eschatological judgment,[41] including when paired with the Spirit in Lk 3:16 (see Lk 3:9, 17).[42] The eschatological era was breaking into the present, a point reinforced explicitly by Peter's opening explanation that the outpoured prophetic Spirit demonstrated the arrival of the "last days" (2:17), the eschatological time of salvation (2:20-21).

Tongues, however, is the most significant of the three signs for Luke, being repeated at initial outpourings in Acts 10:46 and 19:6. This speaking in tongues is also more strategic for Luke's narrative because what follows hinges on it: tongues provides the catalyst for the multicultural audience's recognition of God's activity (2:5-13), and the

---

(AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 234. Scholars differ on whether this passage in Acts contains specific allusions to Sinai, however.

[39]Cf. also e.g., C. F. Sleeper, "Pentecost and Resurrection," *JBL* 84 (Dec. 1965): 389-99, here 390; William Barclay, "Acts ii.14-40," *ExpT* 70 (1958-59): 196-99, here 198-99; Henry J. Cadbury, "Acts and Eschatology," 300-11 in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology: Essays in honour of Charles Harold Dodd* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1964), 300; A. P. O'Hagan, "The First Christian Pentecost (Acts 2:1-13)," *SBFLA* 23 (1973): 50-66; M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Les Actes des Deux Apôtres* (Études Bibliques, n.s. 12; 3 vols.; Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1990), 2:101.

[40]For this background here, see e.g., Joseph A. Grassi, "Ezekiel xxxvii.1-14 and the New Testament," *NTS* 11 (2, Jan. 1965): 162-64, here 164; F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 54; Richard N. Longenecker, *Acts* (ExpBC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 66; Eddie Gibbs, "The Launching of Mission: The Outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, Acts 2:1-41," 18-28 in *Mission in Acts: Ancient Narratives in Contemporary Context* (ed. Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig; AmSocMissS 34; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 21.

[41]E.g., Is 26:11; 66:15-16, 24; CD 2.4-6; *1 En.* 103:8; *Sib. Or.* 4.43, 161, 176-78; 2 Thess 1:6-7.

[42]See discussion in Menzies, *Development*, 137-44; Keener, *Spirit*, 127. Cf. also Lk 12:49-50 (as understood in John A. T. Robinson, *Twelve New Testament Studies* [SBT 34; London: SCM, 1962], 161; James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in relation to Pentecostalism Today* [SBT, 2d ser., 15; London: SCM, 1970], 42).

starting point for Peter's message: "*This* is what Joel meant …" (2:16-17).

Further, tongues does not appear here arbitrarily, as one possible sign among many. Instead, it relates to Acts' theme articulated in Acts 1:8: Spirit-inspired, cross-cultural witness. Luke recounts that they were "speaking in other languages even as the Spirit was giving them inspired utterance" (2:4). Peter goes on to explain the phenomenon biblically as a form of inspired, prophetic speech, noting that it fulfills Joel's prediction that God's people would prophesy (2:17-18). But Luke's emphasis in 1:8 is prophetic witness for Christ, bringing the "word of the Lord" (e.g., 8:25; 12:24; 13:48-49). Why then does he choose to point to tongues as an important example of this, mentioning it at three distinct outpourings of the Spirit? Undoubtedly, Luke emphasizes the connection between tongues and the Spirit because it so well symbolizes his theme of Spirit-empowered *cross-cultural* witness. If God's people can worship God in other people's languages, how much more can they share the good news through languages that they share in common? That is, worshiping God in other people's languages shows that God has empowered the church to cross all cultural and linguistic barriers with his gospel.[43]

Here is where early Pentecostals picked up on a connection that most (though not all) traditional scholars historically missed.[44] Late

---

[43]See Craig S. Keener, "Why Does Luke Use Tongues as a Sign of the Spirit's Empowerment?" *JPT* 15 (2, 2007): 177-84; idem, *3 Crucial Questions about the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), 69; idem, *Gift & Giver: The Holy Spirit for Today* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 180; John V. York, *Missions in the Age of the Spirit* (foreword by Byron D. Klaus; Springfield, MO: Logion, 2000), 80, 185-86; Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 68-69; cf. earlier e.g., William Wrede, *The Messianic Secret* (trans. J. C. G. Greig; reprint, Cambridge: James Clarke & Company, 1971), 232; Alfred Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte übersetzt und erklärt* (RNT 5; Regensburg: Pustet, 1938; 4th ed., 1961), 38; R. P. C. Hanson, *The Acts in the Revised Standard Version, With Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 63-64; and especially George Eldon Ladd, *The Young Church* (New York: Abingdon, 1964), 56; Dupont, *Salvation*, 52, 59; Krister Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 118-19; John J. Kilgallen, *A Brief Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (New York, Mahwah: Paulist, 1988), 16.

[44]Still, some others have seen the connection between tongues and crosscultural ministry or unity, especially earlier in history; see e.g., Origen *Comm. Rom.* on Rom 1:14; Chrysostom *Hom. Cor*. 35.1; Bede *Comm. Acts* 2.3A; Leo the Great

nineteenth-century radical evangelicals stressed holiness, missions, and healing. Many sought what they called the "baptism in the Holy Spirit" and were praying for God to provide "missionary tongues," which they believed were supernaturally endowed languages that would enable them to skip the lengthy process of language-learning in missions.[45] The early Pentecostals experienced tongues-speaking in this expectant milieu.

The earliest Pentecostals sought "missionary tongues" and sought the Spirit for empowerment for mission (1:8).[46] Many left for foreign countries to try out their "missionary tongues," and many were cruelly disappointed. Although Pentecostals kept tongues for prayer (as in 1 Cor 14:13-14), most abandoned the "missionary tongues" idea.[47] Yet

---

Sermon 75.2; more recently, cf. J. W. Packer, *Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: University Press, 1966), 27; and most scholars listed above.

[45]See e.g., Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 33-34; Gary B. McGee, "The Radical Strategy in Modern Mission: The Linkage of Paranormal Phenomena with Evangelism," 69-95 in *The Holy Spirit and Mission Dynamics* (ed. C. Douglas McConnell; Evangelical Missiological Society Series 5; Pasadena: William Carey, 1997), 77-78, 80-83.

[46]Gary B. McGee, "Early Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Tongues as Evidence in the Book of Acts," 96-118 in *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism* (ed. Gary B. McGee; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 102; idem, "The Radical Strategy," 47-59 in *Signs & Wonders in Ministry Today* (ed. Benny C. Aker and Gary B. McGee; foreword by Thomas E. Trask; Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1996), 52-53; James R. Goff. Jr., "Initial Tongues in the Theology of Charles Fox Parham," 57-71 in *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism* (ed. Gary B. McGee; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 64-65; Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2003), 25, 49-50, 74, 76, 97; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission & Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 41-42, 236-37, 243, 252; see especially Gary B. McGee, "Shortcut to Language Preparation? Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues," *IBMR* 25 (July 2001): 118-23.

[47]Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2001), 47-51; Gary B. McGee, *People of the Spirit: The Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2004), 77-78; Neil Hudson, "Strange Words and Their Impact on Early Pentecostals: A Historical Perspective," 52-80 in *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives* (ed. Mark J. Cartledge; SPCI; Waynesboro, GA;

at the risk of sounding controversial, I believe that they were *right* about the connection between missions and tongues-speaking that they saw in Acts. Granted, neither in Acts nor in early Pentecostalism did tongues provide a substitute for language-learning (nor, I might add regretfully, does it usually perform that service for scholars preparing for their doctoral language exams). While people have sometimes recognized the languages spoken,[48] that does not seem to be the primary purpose of the gift.

Yet tongues is important precisely because it aptly illustrates Luke's emphasis on the power of the Spirit to speak for God across cultural barriers. Tongues is not an arbitrary sign, but a sign that God has empowered his servants to exalt him in others' languages. Even among charismatic scholars, there is not absolute agreement whether every *individual* who receives this empowerment prays in tongues.[49] Nevertheless, those who observe Luke's narrative closely should recognize, whatever their own experience or theology, that tongues evidences the *character* of the experience: God has empowered his witnesses to cross cultural barriers with his gospel.

Bletchley, Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2006), 61-63; Allan Anderson, "To All Points of the Compass: The Azusa Street Revival and Global Pentecostalism," *Enrichment* 11 (2, Spring 2006): 164-72, here 167; especially Gary B. McGee, "Strategies for Global Mission," 203-24 in *Called & Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective* (ed. Murray A. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus and Douglas Petersen; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 204 (noting its waning already by 1906). By contrast, Parham never abandoned it (Anderson, *Pentecostalism*, 190).

[48]E.g., Wayne E. Warner, *The Woman Evangelist: The Life and Times of Charismatic Evangelist Maria B. Woodworth-Etter* (Studies in Evangelicalism 8; Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1986), 256-57; Rex Gardner, *Healing Miracles: A doctor investigates* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), 38, 142-43; McGee, "Shortcut"; idem, *People of Spirit*, 24, 46-47, 57, 61, 64, 75; Robeck, *Mission*, 268-69; Gordon Lindsay, *John G. Lake: Apostle to Africa* (Dallas, TX: Christ for the Nations, 1981), 25, 27; Edith Blumhofer, "Portrait of a Generation: Azusa Street Comes to Chicago," *Enrichment* 11 (2, Spring 2006): 95-102, here 96, 99; Vinson Synan, *Voices of Pentecost: Testimonies of Lives Touched by the Holy Spirit* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant Publications, 2003), 60, 76-77, 84, 101-2; most extensively, Ralph W. Harris, *Acts Today: Signs & Wonders of the Holy Spirit* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1995), 108-30.

[49]See e.g., Henry I. Lederle, "Initial Evidence and the Charismatic Movement: An Ecumenical Appraisal," 131-41 in *Initial Evidence*; earlier, see e.g., McGee, "Hermeneutics," 107-10; Jacobsen, *Thinking in Spirit*, 293, 314-13, 395 n. 4.

It is probably no coincidence that Pentecostalism in one century experienced perhaps the most massive growth rates of any Christian movement in history, given that it was birthed in a context that emphasized holiness (uncompromised devotion to God), prayer, faith and missions. Of course, that connection also serves as a warning, because many movements that began with such emphases and growth rates eventually cooled and were supplanted by other movements of God's Spirit. We do not retain the Spirit merely by retaining a heritage or tradition that enshrines a past experience of the Spirit, or simply repeating what our predecessors have done. As we have seen, the earliest Pentecostals were flexible, correcting their ideas where needed.[50] To maintain the blessing that inaugurated Pentecostalism, we need what made it really work: *God's Spirit*. As we noted at the beginning of this paper, we cannot do his work without him.

4. The *Peoples* of Pentecost (Acts 2:5-13)

Luke's narrative goes on to reinforce the point that we have just observed with a proleptic foreshadowing of the gospel reaching the ends of the earth. Luke indicates the presence of Diaspora Jews "from every nation under heaven" (2:5). Although they are Jewish, the breadth of their geographic exposure foreshadows the mission to the nations laid out in 1:8,[51] just like the African "ends of the earth" in 8:26-40 or evangelizing in the heart of the empire in 28:16-31.

Although there is no absolute consensus, most scholars think that Luke here alludes to the account of the Tower of Babel.[52] (This was

[50]Early Pentecostalism exhibited flexibility on secondary theological questions (Henry I. Lederle, *Treasures Old and New: Interpretations of "Spirit-Baptism" in the Charismatic Renewal Movement* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988], 29-31, esp. 29; see also Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988; reprint of London: SCM, 1972], 32, 331-36). Among more recent examples of change: today Pentecostal scholarship is flourishing. The Spirit's shaping of our intellectual perspectives, though not always emphasized traditionally, is important (cf. Craig Keener, "'Fleshly' versus Spirit Perspectives in Romans 8:5-8," 211-29 in *Paul: Jew, Greek and Roman* [ed. Stanley Porter; PAST 5; Leiden: Brill, 2008]).

[51]Cf. e.g., Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. H. Greeven. Trans. M. Ling; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), 106; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (MNTC; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1931), 11; Robinson, *Studies*, 167.

[52]E.g., C. F. D. Moule, *Christ's Messengers: Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Association, 1957), 23; Bruce, *Commentary*, 64; Justo L.

the view of many ancient commentators[53] and early Pentecostals[54] as well as that of many modern scholars.) Luke provides a list of nations from which these Jewish worshipers came (2:9-11), and such a list would evoke most easily the Bible's first list of nations in Gen 10.[55] That list was followed in Gen 11:1-9 by God coming down to scatter the languages.[56] Whereas God scatters languages there in judgment, he scatters languages here to bring a new cross-cultural *unity* in the Spirit.[57]

Cross-cultural unity is a major activity of the Spirit. The Azusa Street Revival occurred in a historical context of revivals elsewhere in

---

González, *Acts: The Gospel of the Spirit* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2001), 39; Stendahl, *Paul*, 117; Bert B. Dominy, "Spirit, Church, and Mission: Theological Implications of Pentecost," *SWJT* 35 (2, 1993): 34-39; D. Smith, "What Hope After Babel? Diversity and Community in Gen 11:1-9; Exod 1:1-14; Zeph 3:1-13 and Acts 2:1-13," *HBC* 18 (2, 1996): 169-91; F. Scott Spencer, *Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 32-33; Georgette Chéreau, "De Babel à la Pentecôte. Histoire d'une bénédiction," *NRTh* 122 (1, 2000): 19-36; Alexander Venter, *Doing Reconciliation: Racism, Reconciliation and Transformation in the Church and World* (Cape Town, South Africa: Vineyard International Publishing, 2004), 155; Max Turner, "Early Christian Experience and Theology of 'Tongues'—A New Testament Perspective," 1-33 in *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives* (ed. Mark J. Cartledge; SPCI; Waynesboro, GA; Bletchley, Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2006), 32.

[53]Cyril of Jerusalem *Catechetical Lecture* 17.16-17; Arator *Acts* 1; Bede *Comm. Acts* 2.4; patristic sources in Marguerat, *Actes*, 81 n. 45.

[54]Anderson, *Pentecostalism*, 44.

[55]E.g., Scott, "Horizon," 529-30. The geographic content is similar (Goulder, *Type and History*, 153-54, 158; Moule, *Messengers*, 24); early Judaism continued to use this list of nations, as noted in Scott, "Horizon," 507-22; idem, "Geographical Perspectives in Late Antiquity," 411-14 in *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 412-13; idem, *Paul and the Nations. The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians* (WUNT 84; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1995); Dean Philip Bechard, *Paul Outside the Walls: A Study of Luke's Socio-Geographical Universalism in Acts 14:8-20* (AnBib 143; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000), 209-31.

[56]With Goulder, *Type and History*, 158.

[57]Cf. González, *Acts*, 39; Hinne Wagenaar, "Babel, Jerusalem and Kumba: Missiological Reflections on Genesis 11:1-9 and Acts 2:1-13," *IntRevMiss* 92 (366, 2003): 406-21; Frank D. Macchia, "Babel and the Tongues of Pentecost: Reversal or Fulfilment? A Theological Perspective," 34-51 in *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives* (ed. Mark J. Cartledge; SPCI; Waynesboro, GA; Bletchley, Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster Press, 2006).

the world, including the Welsh Revival and the outpouring of the Spirit at Pandita Ramabai's orphanage in India. The major human figure providing leadership in the Azusa Street Revival was William Seymour, an African-American man of prayer, in a time of severe racial segregation in the United States; the revival was multicultural.[58] Frank Bartleman, a white American participant in the revival, celebrated that "The color line was washed away by the blood."[59] Unfortunately, it was washed away only temporarily, before the social realities of Jim Crow laws in the southern U.S. and other factors led to a new segregation.[60] Seymour's white mentor Charles Parham criticized the events at Azusa Street in racial terms, and Seymour, feeling betrayed, shifted the focus that his preaching emphasized in Acts 2. Seymour noted that in Acts 2, the outpouring of the Spirit involved crossing cultural barriers. The true reception of the Spirit must involve ethnic reconciliation and unity among Christ's followers.[61] Most nations in the world have minority cultures among them; most of us can think of people groups that are despised by or hostile to our own. As Seymour came to emphasize through his bitter experience with Parham, the true experience of the Spirit must go beyond speaking in other people's languages under the inspiration of

[58]See Robeck, *Mission*, 88, 137-38; testimony in Stanley M. Horton, *I & II Corinthians: A Logion Press Commentary* (Springfield, MO: Logion, Gospel Publishing House, 1999), 66 n. 29; cf. Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 80, 109-11, 165-69, 172, 178-79, 182-83, 221; idem, "Seymour, William Joseph," 778-81 in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (ed. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 778-81; idem, "The Lasting Legacies of the Azusa Street Revival," *Enrichment* 11 (2, Spring 2006): 142-52, here 148-49; Leonard Lovett, "Black Holiness-Pentecostalism." 76-84 in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 83; David D. Daniels, III, "God Makes no Differences in Nationality: The Fashioning of a New Racial/Nonracial Identity at the Azusa Street Revival," *Enrichment* 11 (2, Spring 2006): 72-76; Jacobsen, *Thinking in Spirit*, 63, 260-62.

[59]Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (foreword by Vinson Synan; Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1980; reprint of 1925 ed.), 54.

[60]Amos Yong, *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh: Pentecostalism and the Possibility of Global Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 72-73; see similarly in India, Yong, *Spirit Poured*, 56-57.

[61]See e.g., Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "William J. Seymour and 'The Bible Evidence,'" 72-95 in *Initial Evidence*, 81-89; Jacobsen, *Thinking in Spirit*, 78.

the Spirit. We need to work for that unity to which tongues-speaking points.

The rest of Acts develops this theme. For example, despite the conflict between Hebrews and Hellenists in 6:1, the new Hellenist leaders are themselves full of the Spirit (6:3, 5, 10; 7:51, 55).[62] These bicultural ministers carry the mission forward across a cultural barrier not yet breached by the Twelve, setting the example for them (e.g., 8:25).[63] The Spirit continues to drive God's own resistant people across cultural barriers (8:29; 10:19; 15:28); God baptizes new groups in the Spirit so that they become the Jerusalem believers' partners in mission, not just recipients of their ministry (8:15-17; 10:44-46; 19:6).

5. The *Prophecy* of Pentecost (Acts 2:17-21)

As we have been noting, the disciples' worship in other tongues (2:4) fulfilled Joel's prophecy about prophetic empowerment (2:16-18). As readers of this passage have long noted: when the crowd heard "this" sound (2:6), they asked, "What does 'this' [praise in many languages] mean?" (2:12; cf. 2:11). Peter then responded, "'This' fulfills what Joel said" (2:16) about God's people prophesying (2:17-18).[64]

In light of Joel, all God's people are now to be empowered as end-time prophets for Christ. Peter quotes Joel 2:28-32, but he also adapts the wording at points to bring out the meaning (a common Jewish practice).[65] Joel said that God would pour out the Spirit "afterward"—

---

[62]The seven selected in 6:5 are surely Hellenists, given that all had Greek names (a unanimity that is surely deliberate, with e.g., Craig C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 47). Even in Rome, where only 1% of Jewish inscriptions are in Semitic languages, 15.2% of the names include Semitic elements (Harry J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* [Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960], 107-8).

[63]For Philip as Peter's "forerunner," in terms of narrative function, see F. Scott Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts. A Study of Role and Relations* (JSNTSup 67; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 220-41.

[64]For the connection, cf. e.g., Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:119.

[65]E.g., Lou H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle. A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher," *RevQ* 3 (1961-1962): 323-64, passim; Cecil Roth, "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis," *VT* 10 (1, Jan. 1960): 51-68, here 64-65; Timothy H. Lim, "Eschatological Orientation and the Alteration of Scripture in the Habakkuk Pesher," *JNES* 49 (2, 1990): 185-94; on adaptation of quotations to fit new contexts, see especially Christopher D.

in the context, after a period of terrible judgment (Joel 2:25-27), at the time of Israel's restoration (3:1). Emphasizing that the eschatological promise was now being fulfilled, Peter adapts the wording in line with the original context: God pours out the Spirit "in the last days" (Acts 2:17). "Last days" is eschatological language,[66] yet it was being fulfilled already in the present (cf. similarly Rom 8:22; 1 Tim 4:1; 2 Tim 3:1; Heb 1:2; 2 Pet 3:3; Rev 12:5-6, 10). Peter's adaptation underlines the fact that Jesus' first coming had already introduced the end-time, though it will be consummated only with his return.

Peter adds another line that highlights the prophetic nature of the gift: "And they will prophesy" (2:18). This line simply reiterates what Peter has already quoted directly from Joel: "your sons and daughters will prophesy"; they will also dream dreams and see visions (2:17), experiences most typical in biblical history for prophets. Acts is full of examples of such activity, which are meant to characterize the Spirit-empowered, eschatological people of God, i.e., the church.

The universality of the gift is one of its most striking features in this passage. The promise involves "sons and daughters," that is, both genders (Acts 2:17).[67] Not surprisingly, Luke tends to pair female

---

Stanley, *Paul and the language of Scripture: Citation technique in the Pauline Epistles and contemporary literature* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 291; cf. 335, 337, 342-44. Targum typically proved more expansive (though apparently more in later targumim), and midrash even more so. A primary function of midrash was to reapply texts to contemporary settings (Addison G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," *CBQ* 28 [2, April 1966]: 105-38, here 133-34).

[66]E.g., Is 2:2; Ezek 38:16; Hos 3:5; Mic 4:1; Dan 2:28; 11Q13, 2.4; *1 En*. 27:3-4; *T. Iss*. 6:1.

[67]In Ecuador, women Pentecostals tend to prophesy and have visions more (though prophetic dreams less) than men (Joseph L. Castleberry, "It's Not Just for Ignorant People Anymore: The Future Impact of University Graduates on the Development of the Ecuadorian Assemblies of God" [Ed.D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1999], 142). Historically, many women have found empowerment for their ministry in this text (Janice Capel Anderson, "Reading Tabitha: A Feminist Reception History," 108-44 in *The New Literary Criticism and the New Testament* [ed. Edgar V. McKnight and Elizabeth Struthers Malbon; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994]), particularly prominently in Pentecostalism (see Janet Everts Powers, "'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy': Pentecostal Hermeneutics and the Empowerment of Women," 313-37 in *Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* [ed. Douglas Petersen, et al.; Oxford: Regnum, 1999], 318; Yong, *Spirit Poured*, 190-94; in early Pentecostalism, see Wacker, *Heaven*, 158-65 [though note countervailing

prophetesses with male prophets (Lk 2:26-38; Acts 21:9-11; cf. Lk 1:41-45, 67-79); because Philip has *four* prophesying daughters, Luke actually mentions more prophetesses than prophets.[68] The mention of young and old (Acts 2:17) shows that the gift is for all ages; although ancient Mediterranean society respected elders,[69] Luke reports the prophetic young daughters of Philip (21:9)[70] as well as the aged widow Anna (Lk 2:36-37). Luke obliterates the class distinction in Joel's promise that the Spirit will also fall on slaves (Joel 2:29), but only because Luke emphasizes that the prophets are *God's* slaves (Acts 2:18),[71] a common biblical designation for prophets.[72] That they are

---

cultural and traditional tendencies, 165-76]). For women's ministry in Pentecostalism, see e.g., Powers, "Daughters," 313 (worldwide); Julie Ma, "Asian Women and Pentecostal Ministry," 129-46 in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (ed. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang; foreword by Cecil M. Robeck; Regnum Studies in Mission, AJPS 3; Oxford: Regnum; Baguio City, Philippines: APTS, 2005), 136-42 (the Philippines); Abraham T. Pothen, "Indigenous cross-cultural missions in India and their contribution to church growth: With special emphasis on Pentecostal-Charismatic missions" (Ph.D. Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, 1990), 191-92, 255 (on Indian missionaries); Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2008), 161-62 (in Africa).

[68]This does not count the likelihood of the "prophets" in Acts 11:27 being male, since a gender-mixed company would be less likely to travel together in this period (except with relatives; Lk 8:2-3 was exceptional). But of these prophets, only Agabus is given an active role in the narrative (11:28).

[69]E.g., Homer *Il.* 1.259; 23.616-23; Livy 5.25.3; 6.24.7; Diogenes Laertius 8.1.22 (Pythagoras); Pliny *Ep*. 8.14.4, 6; *Select Papyri* 3, pp. 476-77, §116; *4 Bar*. 5:20; Sir 8:6; Ps.-Phoc. 220-222; Syriac Menander *Sentences* 11-14; *Epitome* 2-4; *t. Meg.* 3:24; 1 Tim 5:1-2; 1 Pet 5:5. Also in some other societies (e.g., Confucius *Analects* 2.8; 13.20).

[70]"Virgins" probably suggests that they are no older than their teens, since women usually married young and "virgins" thus often functioned as a designation for age. Comparing Mishnaic usage, Hilary Le Cornu with Joseph Shulam. *A Commentary on the Jewish Roots of Acts* (Jerusalem: Nitivyah Bible Instruction Ministry, 2003), 1159, suggests that they had not yet reached puberty.

[71]Finny Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology: The Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit upon Gentiles in Judaism and in the Early Development of Paul's Theology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 213, suggests that this limits "all flesh" to all *believers*.

[72]2 Kgs 9:7, 36; 10:10; 14:25; 17:13, 23; 21:10; 24:2; Ezra 9:11; Is 20:3; Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; Dan 3:28; 6:20; 9:6, 10; Amos 3:7; Zech 1:6; later, cf. *'Ab. R. Nat*. 37, §95 B.

"male" and "female" servants reinforces the transcending of gender barriers.

But perhaps of most immediate importance for Luke's larger narrative in Acts is Joel's "all flesh" (Joel 2:28; Acts 2:17).[73] The point of the phrase that may elude Peter within the narrative at this point will be obvious to Luke's own audience (cf. Lk 2:32; 4:25-27); for them it may recall a programmatic text from Isaiah, cited in Lk 3:6, about "all flesh" seeing God's salvation. When Peter concludes the sermon with an echo of Is 57:19, indicating that the promise of the Spirit is for all who are "far off," whoever God will call (Acts 2:39),[74] he reinforces (again perhaps unknown to himself at that point) God's plan to transcend all cultural barriers to reach all peoples (cf. 22:21). God wants to pour out his Spirit on everyone who will call on his name.

6. The *Preaching* of Pentecost (Acts 2:22-40)

Although 2:22-40 is one of the longest sections we are covering, my comments here will be relatively brief. In keeping with the preaching throughout Acts, this passage underlines the sort of Christocentric message that the Spirit particularly empowers. Having quoted the passage from Joel relevant to the current outpouring of the Spirit, Peter now begins to explain the part of that passage most relevant to his audience: "whoever calls on the Lord's name will be saved" (Acts 2:21).

Joel announced that "whoever calls on the name of YHWH will be delivered," among "those whom the Lord calls" (Joel 2:32). In Acts, Peter breaks off the quote at "whoever calls on the name of the Lord will be saved" (Acts 2:21) and then picks up some of the rest of it at Acts 2:39: "as many as the Lord our God shall call." In accord with common midrashic procedure, between these two lines he is expounding the line he has quoted. Given that the eschatological time, the time of salvation, has broken in upon them, they must now call on the Lord's name to be saved.[75]

---

[73]Cf. e.g., I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 73 n. 3; York, *Missions*, 82; Hans F. Bayer, "The Preaching of Peter in Acts," 257-74 in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (ed. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 268.

[74]Pao, *Isaianic Exodus*, 230-32.

[75]With e.g., Dunn, *Acts*, 27; José Geraldo Costa Grillo, "O discurso de Pedro em Pentecostes: Estudo do gênero literário em Atos 2:14-40," *VS* 7 (1, 1997):

But what is the Lord's name on which the text invites them to call? The Hebrew text of Joel refers to YHWH, but Jewish people generally avoided pronouncing the divine name, and the Greek text uses the normal surrogate for YHWH, namely, "lord." By linking together texts with common key words, a common Jewish interpretive technique,[76] Peter shows that Jesus is the "Lord" at the right hand of the Father, hence the "Lord" on whom they are to call. (He thereby implicitly preaches Jesus' deity.) The apostolic witnesses (and the Spirit) testify that Jesus has risen, and Peter argues that Scripture makes the theological implications of this reality for their situation clear. In Ps 16:8-11 the risen one (according to Peter's application) is at God's side (Acts 2:25-28); in Ps 110:1, the one at God's right hand is the "Lord" (Acts 2:34-35). They must therefore call on the name of the divine Lord, Jesus.[77]

For Peter, this "calling on" the Lord Jesus is not simply reciting a prayer; it is a public profession, and one that was no less offensive in that culture than John the Baptist immersing fellow Israelites as if they were Gentiles. The concrete expression of "calling on" the Lord that Peter demands is repentance and baptism "in the name of Jesus Christ" (2:38). Baptism in Jesus' name in Acts does not involve a formula that one says over a person being baptized; the expression "in Jesus' name" accompanies the verb for "baptize" only when it is in the passive voice, i.e., when people are *receiving* baptism. It thus involves not the baptizer's formula, but the prayer of one receiving baptism (cf. 22:16: "be baptized … calling on his name"). The temple mount was full of

---

37-52; I. Howard Marshall, "Acts," 513-606 in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 536, 543; Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 184 n. 5; Dupont, *Salvation*, 22; Richard F. Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Reinterpretation in Peter's Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (SBLMS 15; Nashville: Abingdon, for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1971), 34; Pao, *Isaianic Exodus*, 231-32.

[76]E.g., *Mek. Pisha* 5.103; *Nez.* 10.15-16, 26, 38; 17.17; in this passage, see Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 97.

[77]For devotion to Jesus in Luke-Acts, see Larry W. Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God? Historical Questions about Earliest Devotion to Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 160-62; cf. Robert F. O'Toole, *Luke's Presentation of Jesus: A Christology* (SubBi 25; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), passim; C. Kavin Rowe, "Luke and the trinity: an essay in ecclesial biblical theology," *SJT* 56 (1, 2003): 1-26.

baptismal pools for ceremonial washings;[78] to publicly accept immersion as would one turning from former Gentiles ways, however, constituted a radical declaration of new obedience.

7. The *Purpose* of Pentecost (Acts 2:41-47)

God poured out the Spirit to empower his people to evangelize cross-culturally, but what was the anticipated outcome of cross-cultural evangelism? God intended to create a new community in which believers would love one another and demonstrate to this age the very image of the life of his kingdom.

We can see this purpose of evangelism in the structure of this closing paragraph of this opening section of Acts:[79]

- Effective *evangelism* (2:41)
    - Shared worship, meals, and prayer (2:42)
        - Shared *possessions* (2:44-45)
    - Shared worship, meals, and prayer (2:46)
- Effective *evangelism* (2:47)

At the heart of the outcome of the new life of the Spirit is not only the Spirit's power and gifting for ministry, but what we might call (in Paul's language) the Spirit's "fruit." Spirit-empowered believers loved one another so much that they valued one another more than they valued their possessions (2:44-45).[80] Just as tongues is repeated at

---

[78]See Bill Grasham, "Archaeology and Christian Baptism," *ResQ* 43 (2, 2001): 113-16; for the temple's water supply, see S. Safrai, "The Temple," 865-907 in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* (2 vols.; ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern with D. Flusser and W. C. van Unnik; vol. 1: Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., B.V., 1974; vol. 2: Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 884; John McRay, *Archaeology and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 123.

[79]Acts 2:41-47 is the first major summary section; for discussions of such sections, see e.g., H. Alan Brehm, "The Significance of the Summaries for Interpreting Acts," *SWJT* 33 (1, 1990): 29-40; S. J. Joubert, "Die gesigpunt van die verteller en die funksie van die Jerusalemgemeente binne die 'opsommings' in Handelinge," *SK* 10 (1, 1989): 21-35.

[80]On this passage, see e.g., Thomas Hoyt, Jr., "The Poor in Luke-Acts" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University Department of Religion, 1974), 213-22; Alan C. Mitchell, "'Greet the Friends by Name': New Testament Evidence for the Greco-Roman *Topos* on Friendship," 225-62 in *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship* (ed. John T. Fitzgerald; SBLSBS 34; Atlanta: Scholars, 1997), 237-40; on Acts and sharing possessions, see e.g., Luke Timothy Johnson, *The*

various initial outpourings of the Spirit, this sharing of possessions recurs as a dominant element in the revival in 4:31-35, underlining the importance of this theme (cf. also Lk 12:33; 13:33). Whereas Peter's preaching leads to many converts on one occasion in Acts 2:41, it is the believing community's *lifestyle* that leads to continuous conversions in 2:47.

It also fits a pattern in Luke's theology of Christian transformation. When the crowds ask Peter what they must do to be saved, he summons them to repent and be baptized in Jesus' name (2:38). But this passage goes on to show us something of what a repentant lifestyle looks like. This fits a pattern of answers to the "What must I do?" question in Luke-Acts. When John the Baptist demands the fruits of repentance (Lk 3:8) and the crowds ask what to do, John admonishes whoever has more than their basic subsistence needs to share the rest with those who have less (Lk 3:11). When a rich ruler asks Jesus what he must do to have eternal life (Lk 18:18), Jesus urges him to donate all his resources to the poor and follow him (Lk 18:22). Even later, when the Philippian jailer asks Paul and Silas, "What must I do to be saved?" (Acts 16:30), they respond that he must believe in the Lord Jesus (16:31). Lest that seem like a lesser demand than those mentioned above, consider that the jailer then brought them to his own house and fed them (16:34), behavior that could have gotten him in serious trouble with the authorities.[81] After all, he was ordered to securely guard these people

---

Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts (SBLDS 39; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1977); idem, *Sharing Possessions: Mandate and Symbol of Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981); Bovon, *Theologian*, 390-96; see more recently John Gillman, *Possessions and the Life of Faith: A Reading of Luke-Acts* (ZSNT; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1991); Kyoung-Jin Kim, *Stewardship and Almsgiving in Luke's Theology* (JSNTSup 155; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 218-33; Karris, *Saying*, 84-104. For partial Qumran analogies, see e.g., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (2d ed.; Sources for Biblical Study 5; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1974), 284-88; David L. Mealand, "Community of Goods at Qumran," *TZ* 31 (3, 1975): 129-39; Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Umkehr und Metanoia als monastisches Ideal in der 'Mönchsgemeinde' von Qumran," *ErAuf* 53 (3, 1977): 163-80; Hans-Josef Klauck, "Gütergemeinschaft in der Klassischen Antike, in Qumran und im Neuen Testament," *RevQ* 11 (1, 1982): 47-79; Reta Halteman Finger, *Of Widows and Meals: Communal Meals in the Book of Acts* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 146-66.

[81]Dining with prisoners could be punishable even by death (Josephus *Ant*. 18.230-33; Brian Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody* [vol. 3

(16:23) who were accused of preaching customs illegal for Philippian citizens to observe (16:21).

In Luke-Acts, true conversion involves repentance and commitment to a new Lord. Such commitment to the new Lord also involves commitment to one's new siblings in the new community. As Acts progresses, it becomes clear that this new community will not belong to simply one culture, its table fellowship circumscribed by sacred food customs (10:28; 16:34; 27:35-36).[82] Sometimes Christians in Acts do prove reluctant to cross such boundaries (10:28; 11:3; cf. Gal 2:11-14), just as the Pharisees had about Jesus' table fellowship with repenting sinners in Luke's first volume (e.g., Lk 5:30; 7:34; 15:2);[83] but God gives them no rest until he brings them past these barriers. God is creating a new community that transcends human boundaries. God empowers his people with the Spirit to cross cultural barriers, to worship God, and to form one new, multicultural community of worshipers committed to Christ and to one another.

Conclusion

Acts 1—2 is a pivotal section for Luke-Acts, revealing the importance and purpose of the Spirit's empowerment for global mission. The promise of Pentecost (1:4-8) emphasizes the need for the Spirit, the eschatological character of the Spirit, and the prophetic empowerment dimension of the Spirit. Preparation for Pentecost (1:12—2:1) involves prayer together and getting ready for God's

---

in The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 392).

[82]The meal in 16:34 cannot have been kosher (cf. Josephus *Life* 13-14), reinforcing the emphasis on crossing cultural barriers there (with Rapske, *Custody*, 215). Common meals in Luke-Acts reveal Christ's family transcending ethnic and cultural barriers (Finger, *Meals*, 280-81, 286; cf. John Ashworth, "Hospitality in Luke-Acts," *BibT* 35 (5, 1997): 300-4). The importance of table fellowship may be more intelligible in a modern Asian than a modern western context (Santos Yao, "Dismantling Social Barriers through Table Fellowship, Acts 2:42-47," 29-36 in *Mission in Acts: Ancient Narratives in Contemporary Context* [ed. Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig; AmSocMissS 34; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004], 33-35).

[83]Pharisees emphasized pure table fellowship (Martin Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, A. D. 132-212* [Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies; Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, Publishers, 1983], 77). For *Christian* resistance to the gospel in Acts, see Brian Rapske, "Opposition to the Plan and Persecution," 235-56 in *Witness to the Gospel*, 239-45.

promise of the Spirit's empowerment in faith. The proofs of Pentecost (2:2-4) reveal eschatological signs, with tongues-speaking signifying the Spirit's empowerment for cross-cultural witness. The "peoples" of Pentecost (2:5-13), though Diaspora Jews, foreshadow the Gentile mission and probably evoke a partial inversion of Babel. The mission, this passage reiterates, is for all peoples. The prophecy of Pentecost (2:17-21) underlines the eschatological, prophetic and universal character of their empowerment. The preaching of Pentecost (2:22-40) models the Christocentric message that the Spirit particularly empowers. Finally, the purpose of Pentecost (2:41-47) involves the new community that the Spirit-inspired message is meant to form. The Spirit's empowerment of the church is central for Luke, and is inseparable from the church's mission in the present age.

[*AJPS* 12:1 (2009), pp. 75-92]

ONE NEW TEMPLE IN CHRIST (EPHESIANS 2:11-22; ACTS 21:27-29; MARK 11:17; JOHN 4:20-24)

Craig S. Keener

One striking image in the New Testament is that of a new temple in Christ. Ephesians 2 connects this new temple with the bringing together of Jew and Gentile in shared worship to God. Although the theology of this multicultural temple is most obvious in this passage, it develops not only Paul's earlier theology of ethnic reconciliation in Christ (which we may observe, for example, in Romans), but Jesus' and Paul's own challenges to the traditional temple's ethnic barriers (as in Mk 11:17; Jn 4:20-24; and Acts 21:27-29).

Traditionally Christians have defined "missions" in terms of crosscultural evangelism and discipleship. The biblical goal of such crosscultural ministry, however, was never meant to yield a long-range distinction between "sending" and "receiving" churches. Partnership between churches, with reciprocal gifts and responsibilities, is a much closer idea (cf. Rom 15:27; 2 Cor 8—9), though the defined roles and differentiation often attached to notions of partnership must be adaptable, pragmatic tools, not inflexible boundaries. The eschatological reality and present ideal in this passage point to a more ultimate principle, proclaiming an equal citizenship in God's kingdom, a unity in worship that welcomes all contributions without ignoring the diversity of the contributing cultures.

1. Eph 2:11-22 and Paul's Experience with the Divided Temple (Acts 21:27-29)[1]

[1]I have treated this subject elsewhere in Craig Keener, "Some New Testament Invitations to Ethnic Reconciliation," *Evangelical Quarterly* 75 (3, July 2003): 195-213, here 210-13; idem, "The Gospel and Racial Reconciliation," 117-30, 181-90 in *The Gospel in Black & White: Theological Resources for Racial Reconciliation* (ed. Dennis L. Ockholm; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997), 118-22.

Paul's image of a temple uniting Jew and Gentile challenged the ethnically segregated reality of the temple standing in his own day. The ancient Israelite temple did not segregate Gentiles from Jews or women from men, but just priests from laity (1 Kgs 8:41-43; 2 Chron 6:32-33). By the time of Jesus and Paul, however, Herod's temple segregated all these groups to fulfill a stricter understanding of purity regulations.[2] The outer court was now divided into the court of Israel (for Jewish men); on a lower level outside it, the court of women, for Jewish women; and on a lower level outside that, the outer court beyond which Gentiles could not pass. Strategically posted signs, attested both in Josephus and archaeology, warned Gentiles that those who passed this point would be responsible for their own immediate execution.[3] Judeans normally were not allowed to execute death sentences directly, but violation of their temple constituted the one exception![4]

Both Paul and his audience would have been well-aware of this symbol of Jewish-Gentile division at the very heart of divine worship.[5] In Acts 21:27, some Jewish people from the Roman province of Asia saw Paul exiting the temple. Much of the Jewish community in Ephesus, that province's most prominent city, felt that they had reason for animosity against Paul. In 19:9, he split their synagogue; in 19:33-34, they were blamed for a riot that was reacting against his monotheistic preaching. They had also seen him in Jerusalem with

---

[2]See e.g., Josephus *Ant*. 3.318-19; 15.417; *War* 5.194; 6.124-26, 426-27; *m. Kel*. 1:8. Such purity regulations may be partly in mind in Eph 2:15 as it relates to shattering the dividing wall in Eph 2:14.

[3]Josephus *Ant*. 15.417; *War* 5.194; 6.125-26; cf. Philo *Embassy* 212; the inscription in Efrat Carmon, ed., *Inscriptions Reveal: Documents from the Time of the Bible, the Mishna and the Talmud* (trans. R. Grafman; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1973), pp. 76, 167-68, §169; G. Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978), 80-81; comment in Jack Finegan, *The Archeology of the New Testament: The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1969), 119-20. Most ancients could not read, but presumably word would spread; many ancient temples had various sorts of purity regulations, some requiring death for violation (e.g., Strabo 14.6.3; Hesiod *Astron*. frg. 3).

[4]Cf. Josephus *War* 6.126; *m. Sanh*. 9:6; discussion in Peretz Segal, "The 'Divine Death Penalty' in the Hatra Inscriptions and the Mishnah," *JJS* 40 (1, 1989): 46-52.

[5]I cover these observations from Acts in much more detail in my forthcoming Acts commentary (Hendrickson).

Trophimus, a Gentile they recognized from Ephesus (21:29). Knowing Paul's commitment to Gentiles as well as Jews (19:10), they drew a faulty conclusion. They accused Paul of having violated the temple's sanctity by bringing a Gentile inside (21:28)! A riot quickly ensued,[6] and God ironically used the Roman garrison on the temple mount to protect Paul, even though the garrison commander wrongly initially presumed Paul the instigator of the unrest.

Paul's ensuing speech to the crowd[7] was in Aramaic and offered abundant common ground with his audience (e.g., 22:12). They patiently listened to his testimony about Jesus, perhaps because of the culturally sensitive witness of the Jerusalem church (cf. 21:20). Paul could have built on this hearing as Peter did in 2:37-41, summoning people to repentance. Paul, however, would not leave out his call to the Gentiles (22:21-22), and the riot resumed. Why did Paul insist on talking about Gentiles, even when it risked alienating a hostile crowd?[8] Judean nationalism had been on the rise since Judea had briefly had its own king (41-44 CE) and suffered abuses under subsequent Roman governors; revolt against Rome (66-73 CE) was probably less than a decade away. The Jerusalem church successfully identified with their culture in proclaiming Christ to them (21:20), but they did not prophetically warn their culture that their nationalism was leading them toward cultural destruction. We should indeed identify with our peoples (cf. 21:26; 1 Cor 9:20-21), but not to the extent of breaking fellowship with believers of other cultures. If Christ is truly our Lord, then we must be loyal to Christ's body, despite its diversity of languages and customs, more than to any ethnicity. For Paul, as we shall see, the true gospel involved ethnic reconciliation, and someone truly embracing Christ could not hate other peoples. Paul's provocative message was rejected, but God vindicated Paul's message, and Jesus' warning (Lk 19:41-44; 21:20-24), when Jerusalem fell in 70.[9]

---

[6]Dangerous riots sometimes occurred in the temple (Josephus *War* 2.224-27), requiring extra precautions during the festivals (*War* 5.244); this is probably a festival or just after one (see Acts 20:16).

[7]From the staircase (Acts 21:40) noted in Josephus *War* 5.243-44.

[8]Paul did exercise the rhetorical sensitivity to otherwise establish rapport first (as recommended in rhetoric; see e.g., *Rhet. Alex*. 29, 1436b.17-19, 38-40; 1437a.1-1438a.2; 1442a.22-1442b.27).

[9]I treat this question more fully in my forthcoming Acts commentary, passim. Since Jesus prophesied this event before 70, this issue differs from the question of Acts' dating; some evangelicals date Acts after 70 (e.g., F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* [3rd

Paul's failure to accommodate hatred of Gentiles ironically led to several years in Roman custody. He was held for up to two years in Caesarea, Rome's capital for Judea (Acts 24:27), then sent to Rome. On what I currently think the likeliest background for Ephesians, Paul writes to the churches of the Roman province of Asia, starting in Ephesus, from Roman custody (Eph 3:1; 4:1; 6:20).[10] (Ephesians circulated in Roman Asia beyond Ephesus, but that was probably the center of his audience.)[11] Because both Trophimus and Paul's accusers

---

rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leicester: Apollos, 1990], 18, in contrast to his earlier view; Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 165-72), others before (e.g., E. M. Blaiklock, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Historical Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959], 16; tentatively, Darrell L. Bock, *Acts* [BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007], 25-27).

[10]Many scholars have argued against Pauline authorship; see e.g., Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Dallas: Word, 1990), lix-lxxiii; D. E. Nineham, "The Case Against the Pauline Authorship," 21-35 in *Studies in Ephesians*, ed. F. L. Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1956); C. L. Mitton, *Ephesians*, NCBC (Greenwood, SC: Attic Press, 1976), 4-11; John C. Kirby, *Ephesians: Baptism and Pentecost. An Enquiry into the Structure and Purpose of the Epistle to the Ephesians* (Montreal: McGill University, 1968), 3-56. But in favor of Pauline authorship, see e.g., Harold W. Hoehner, *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 2-61, 114-30 (thoroughly); J. N. Sanders, "The Case for the Pauline Authorship," 9-20 in *Studies in Ephesians*, ed. Cross; John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press; London: SCM Press, 1976), 63; Markus Barth, *Ephesians* (2 vols.; AB 34-34A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1974), 1:3-60; cf. A. Van Roon, *The Authenticity of Ephesians* (NovTSup 39; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 37-44; Henry J. Cadbury, "The Dilemma of Ephesians," *NTS* 5 (2, Jan. 1959): 91-102. I believe that the style is sufficiently Pauline, if one allows for some "Asianist" rhetoric and his increased skill in using Stoic language (as in Philippians; cf. Acts 19:9), and that Hoehner's argument (favoring Paul's authorship) is compelling.

[11]For this approach to the circular letter, see e.g., Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 78-79, 144-48; J. Armitage Robinson, *St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (2nd ed.; London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1904), 11; Frank Stagg, *The Book of Acts: The Early Struggle for an Unhindered Gospel* (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1955), 199; J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation* (AB 38; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1975), 389; Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic. The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of its Historical Setting* (SNTSMS 63; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989), 5-6. Manuscripts could also generalize originally more specific addressees; see Harry Y. Gamble, "Canonical Formation of the New Testament," 183-94 in *Dictionary*

were from the area of Ephesus, believers in Ephesus would know why Paul was writing to them from Roman custody.

Thus for Paul, and for his audience, there could be no greater symbol of the division between Jew and Gentile than this dividing wall in the temple. Yet Paul declares that this barrier, established by biblical laws dividing Jews from Gentiles, has been shattered by Jesus Christ (Eph 2:14-15)! "For he himself is our peace, who forged both Israelite and Gentile into one and abolished the dividing barrier, annulling the enmity …" Paul offered this startling claim in a setting where many would have resented it. He was declaring that there was neither Jew nor Gentile in Christ (1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28) in a world of mutual hostility between these groups; just a few years later Jews and Syrians began massacring each other in the streets of Caesarea,[12] and less than a decade afterward Romans devastated Jerusalem, burning its temple and enslaving its survivors.

Yet with a vision to the future, Paul goes on to speak here of a new temple, in which Jews and Gentiles together become a holy temple, God's household, the dwelling of the Spirit (2:19-22). Paul's conceptualization of this new temple related concretely to his own situation, but it also reflected antecedent teaching by Jesus himself, who both predicted the temple's destruction[13] and posed theological challenges to the segregation there.

2. Jesus and the Divided Temple (Mk 11:17; Jn 4:20-24)

Paul had significant precedent for the connection between the temple and perceptions of Jewish-Gentile separation.[14] As we have noted, Herod's temple separated Gentiles, who risked carrying impurity associated with idolatry, from the courts of Jewish women and men. When Jesus overturned merchants' tables in the temple, he challenged the one part of the temple where Gentiles were welcome. While we

---

of New Testament Background (ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 186; Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 1-4.

[12]Josephus *War* 2.266-70, 457-58.

[13]Historically, see Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 560-63, and the many sources cited there; also my forthcoming work on the historical Jesus of the Gospels.

[14]Qumran also spoke of a spiritual temple (e.g., 1QS 8.5-9; Bertril Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1965], 16-46), but Gentiles were excluded.

might doubt a connection between these two features (we could find other activities limited to the outer court as well), Mk 11:17 indicates a concern for Gentiles' worship in God's house.[15]

Jesus cried out two texts as he overturned the tables: Is 56:7 and Jer 7:11. The context of Is 56 welcomes Gentiles to worship God, removing their stigma as second-class citizens among the true God's worshipers. The particular verse (56:7) declares, "I will bring foreigners to my holy mountain and give them joy in my house for prayer … because my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations." From the beginning, God had intended his house to welcome all peoples! Gentiles' restriction to the outer court, however, cannot have encouraged them the way that Isaiah intended.

Jesus blends his reference to Is 56:7 with another allusion, when he indicates that the Sadducean elite who currently controlled the temple had turned it into a "robber's den." The phrase derives from Jer 7:11, in a context emphasizing judgment against the temple. Israel thought that God would not destroy his own temple (7:4); in their estimation, shared with their contemporaries in many surrounding cultures, judgment was not what a god was for. But God challenged their blindness: Will you mistreat your neighbor and worship other gods, then come into this house that is called by my name and say, "We are protected!" (7:5-10). God goes on to warn that they are treating his house like the way robbers treat their lairs—a safe place to store their loot and hide out. But the temple would *not* protect them; they could not hide from God's anger there, for he would destroy that temple and banish them from the land (7:12-15).

Jesus does not simply echo texts casually to sound "biblical"; he selects these texts deliberately. Jesus pronounced judgment against the temple (Mk 13:1-2), just as Jeremiah did. Overturning tables in the temple offered an even more overt symbol of judgment than Jeremiah smashing a pot (Jer 19:10-12) had.[16] His other teachings[17] suggest that

---

[15]Matthew and Luke, laying emphasis instead on the judgment element, omit "Gentiles" here.

[16]Cf. e.g., E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 70, 368. Skeptics about Jesus' prediction exercise a double standard against canonical texts; some other Jewish people expected judgment on the temple before the event occurred (*T. Mos*. 6:8-9; *1 En*. 90:28-29; 11QTemple 29:8-10; Josephus *War* 6.301, 304, 306, 309), and others also prophesied Roman conquest before it happened (e.g., 1QpHab 9.6-7). Many less skeptical scholars also point to multiple attestation in favor of Jesus' warning.

he, like Isaiah, also wanted Gentiles to be welcome in God's eschatological temple.[18] False witnesses seem to have twisted his words about a new temple (Mk 14:58; 15:29; cf. Acts 6:14), but John declares that the new temple that Jesus really proclaimed was his body (Jn 2:19-21).

The Gospels also offer us other indications that Jesus considered a new, spiritual temple, or at least offered the raw material (cf. e.g., Lk 19:40, 44; 20:17-18)[19] that coalesced into an early Christian consensus about this image (cf. e.g., 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; 1 Pet 2:4-8; Rev 3:12; 13:6). Clearest among these are Jesus' words to the Samaritan woman in Jn 4.[20] In this passage, Jesus seeks a true worshiper of God (Jn 4:23), hence "must" pass through Samaria (4:4) even though that route was merely the shortest way, not a strict geographic necessity.[21]

Jesus crosses multiple barriers to talk with this woman. First, Jesus crosses a gender barrier. Strict Jewish pietists did not wish to be seen talking alone with a woman; in their estimation, not only might this arouse temptation, but it might hurt one's reputation for piety.[22] Thus the text notes that Jesus' disciples were surprised to find him

---

[17]See e.g., Michael F. Bird, *Jesus and the Origins of the Gentile Mission* (LNTS 331; London: T&T Clark International, 2006).

[18]On the eschatological temple in Jewish expectation, see Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 77-90.

[19]Cf. my forthcoming article, "Human Stones (Lk 3:8//Matt 3:9; Lk 19:40) in a Greek Setting."

[20]I treat this in greater detail, and with further documentation, in Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (2 vols.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 611-19.

[21]The verb *dei* refers to divine necessity elsewhere in John (3:7, 14, 30; 4:20, 24; 9:4; 10:16; 12:34; 20:9), and probably bears this sense here (Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971], 255; Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* [2 vols.; AB 29-29A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1966-1970], 1:169; J. Ramsey Michaels, *John* [GNC; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984], 59). Samaria was the preferred route (Josephus *War* 2.232; *Ant.* 10.118), but "necessary" only if one required haste (*Life* 269), which Jesus apparently did not (Jn 4:40).

[22]E.g., Sir 9:9; 42:12; *m. Ab.* 1:5; *Ket.* 7:6; *t. Shab.* 1:14; *b. Ber.* 43b, bar. More widely, see e.g., Euripides *Electra* 343-44; Livy 34.2.9, 18 (though most Romans were more progressive). In the Middle East today, Carol Delaney, Seeds of Honor, Fields of Shame." 35-48 in *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (ed. David D. Gilmore; AAAM 22; Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1987), 41, 43.

speaking with a woman, though it also implies that they knew Jesus well enough not to question him (4:27).

Second, as with tax collectors and sinners in the other Gospels, Jesus crosses a moral barrier that his strictest contemporaries normally would not have crossed. In this culture, most women came to the well together; that this woman came separately, and at the hottest time of day (about the sixth hour, 4:6),[23] made it obvious that she was not welcome in the company of the other women.[24] Shockingly, Jesus asks her for a drink (4:7), something normal religious Jewish men would not do. Jewish law treated Jewish women as unclean one week of every month, but strict Jewish pietists viewed Samaritan women as unclean every week of every month since they were babies (immoral or not)![25]

Pietists would have also resented the setting's ambiguity, because wells were notorious. It was at wells that Isaac's steward met Rebekah (Gen 24:11, 15-19), Jacob met Rachel (Gen 29:10), and Moses met Zipporah (Ex 2:15-17). Other sources show us that some people considered wells to be appropriate places to find mates.[26] When Jesus asks the woman to bring her husband (Jn 4:16), she assumes that he is questioning whether she is married, and she responds that she is not (4:17)—i.e., that she is available. At this point Jesus clarifies the real point: she is not married to the man she is living with (4:18). Thus, she responds that he is a prophet (4:19). He would not have to be a prophet to discern that she had a bad reputation—coming to the well alone might have suggested that. But that she was married five times and was not married to her current boyfriend was not the sort of knowledge a stranger could simply infer.

Her indication that Jesus was a prophet, however, brings us to the third barrier, which pervades the entire encounter, namely the cultural and ethnic barrier. As we learn in 4:9, Jews did not deal with Samaritans. Now she claims that Jesus is a prophet; but as best as we can reconstruct on the basis of later Samaritan traditions, Samaritans

---

[23]E.g., Sophocles *Antig*. 416; Apollonius Rhodius 2.739; 4.1312-13; Ovid *Metam*. 1.591-92; *Jos. Asen.* 3:2/3:3. People thus normally broke from work and found shade at this time (e.g., Columella *Trees* 12.1; Longus 2.4; Ovid *Metam*. 3.143-54). It aroused thirst (Livy 44.36.1-2; Longus 3.31), also relevant here (Jn 4:7).

[24]Cf. e.g., Brown, *John*, 1:169.

[25]*M. Nid*. 4:1; *Toh*. 5:8; *t. Nid*. 5:1; see comments in David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judais*m (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, n.d.; London: University of London, 1956), 373.

[26]Arrian *Alex*. 2.3.4; perhaps *Lam. Rab*. 1:1, §19.

did not believe in regular prophets, apart from an end-time prophet like Moses.[27] By calling this Jew a prophet, she implicitly acknowledges that the Jews rather than the Samaritans are right about God (as Jesus reaffirms in 4:22).

When she goes on to note, "Our ancestors worshiped at this mountain" (Mount Gerizim,[28] in full view of the well), "but you Jews worship in Jerusalem," we might suppose that she is changing the subject to evade the issue of her immorality. But such a cultural reading is far from how Samaritans would have understood it. If Jesus is a prophet, then her entire religious worldview must be reconstructed. The most fundamental point of contention between Jews and Samaritans was their respective holy sites. This is evident already in the verb tenses she employs: "our ancestors *worshiped*" (aorist), but "you Jews *worship*" (present). Jews had destroyed Samaritans' temple on Mount Gerizim about a century and a half earlier.[29] Samaritans would never have been able to destroy Jerusalem's temple mount, but they had once desecrated it[30] and they continued to ridicule it.[31] Samaritans were now barred from Jerusalem's temple.[32] If the Jewish people are right and the Samaritans are wrong, how can this woman worship God?

---

[27]F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1972), 37-38; idem, *The Time is Fulfilled* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 39. Josephus' Samaritan prophet on Mount Gerizim (*Ant*. 18.85-86) possibly fits this expectation.

[28]For Samaritan emphasis on Mount Gerizim, see Josephus *Ant*. 18.85-87; *War* 3.307-15; *t. A.Z.* 3:13; John Bowman, *Samaritan Documents Relating to Their History, Religion & Life* (POTTS 2; Pittsburgh, PA: Pickwick, 1977), 14.

[29]Josephus *War* 1.63-66; *Ant*. 13.255-56. Scholars have cited possible archaeological evidence for its destruction; see Robert J. Bull, "Field Report XII," *BASOR* 180 (Dec. 1965): 37-41, here 41; Finegan, *Archeology*, 35; Howard Clark Kee, "Tell-Er-Ras and the Samaritan Temple," *NTS* 13 (4, July 1967): 401-2; G. G. Garner, "The Temples of Mt. Gerizim. Tell er Ras—Probable Site of the Samaritan Temple," *Buried History* 11 (1, 1975): 33-42; Benedikt Schwank, "Grabungen auf 'diesem Berg' (Joh 4,20-21). Der archäologische Beitrag," *BK* 47 (4, 1992): 220-21. Others, however, find this more questionable; see Robert T. Anderson, "The Elusive Samaritan Temple," *BA* 54 (2, 1991): 104-7; but cf. John McRay, "Archaeology and the NT," 93-100 in *Dictionary of NT Background*, 96.

[30]Josephus *Ant*. 18.29-30.

[31]See e.g., *Gen. Rab*. 32:10; 81:3; cf. Lk 9:51-53.

[32]Josephus *Ant*. 18.30. This exclusion began in the time of Coponius (*Ant*. 18.29), who was governor from 6-9 CE.

Jesus responds that the true site of worship is neither in Jerusalem nor on Mount Gerizim. Rather, the true "place" of worship is in Spirit and in truth (possibly a hendiadys for, "in the Spirit of truth").[33] That is, no physical location defines where God is to be worshiped; what matters is Spirit-empowered worship (4:24).[34] God is so great that no worship of him is adequate unless God's own Spirit births it. The true temple is dwelling in God, and God dwelling in us (cf. Jn 14:23). Even in Revelation, where we might expect an eschatological temple like the one described in Ezek 40—48, we find something better, not worse, than Ezekiel's vision.[35] The entire New Jerusalem is shaped like the holy of holies; the city has no need of a temple, for God dwells with all his people in all the city. God himself, and the lamb, are its temple (Rev 21:22).

Because the true temple is one in the Spirit, Jesus crossed three barriers to make this woman a true worshiper of God. Because true worship is not limited to any geographic location or ethnicity or culture, we must cross every barrier to introduce people to new life, hence true worship of God, in the Spirit.

3. Paul's Theology of Multicultural Unity in Christ (Romans)[36]

Paul's vision of a new, spiritual temple in Ephesians is no afterthought to his theology; in earlier letters he already addresses all believers as a spiritual temple (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16) and those who offer spiritual worship (Rom 12:1). Even more critically, the bringing together of Jews and Gentiles had always been a dominant element in his preaching of the gospel. In the United States, where in some locations blacks and whites once had to eat at different lunch counters, I like to remark that Paul once challenged Peter at a segregated lunch counter (Gal 2:11-14).

Paul is most explicit about this perspective in Romans, probably because the church in Rome had special problems surrounding it.

---

[33]With Brown, *John*, 1:180.

[34]Cf. Phil 3:3; discussion in Keener, *John*, 615-19.

[35]See Craig Keener, *Revelation* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 497, especially 504.

[36]I address this theme in Romans in more detail in Keener, "Gospel and Reconciliation," 122-25; idem, "Invitations," 208-10; also my forthcoming Romans commentary (Wipf & Stock).

Following Claudius' edict (probably c. A.D. 49),[37] many Jewish Christians left Rome (Acts 18:1-3), but a few years later, when Claudius died, some returned (Rom 16:3). Many or most scholars believe that the consequent influx of Jewish believers into what had for several years been a largely Gentile movement in Rome set the stage for the clash of cultures there.[38] I agree that this scenario is very likely, but in any case we may be even more certain about Paul's solution, since it remains explicit in the letter itself: Paul goes out of his way in Romans to emphasize that salvation is for both Jew and Gentile (e.g., Rom 1:16; 10:11-13). The body of his letter climaxes with scriptural proofs for Jews and Gentiles worshiping God together (15:6-12).[39]

---

[37]Suetonius *Claud*. 25.4. For the date, see e.g., Arthur Darby Nock, "Religious Developments from the Close of the Republic to the Death of Nero," 465-511 in *The Augustan Empire: 44 B.C.-A.D. 70*, vol. 10 in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (12 vols., ed. S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock and M. P. Charlesworth; Cambridge: University Press, 1966), 500; Rudolf Brändle and Ekkehard W. Stegemann, "The Formation of the First 'Christian Congregations' in Rome in the Context of the Jewish Congregations," 117-27 in *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome* (ed. Karl P. Donfried and Peter Richardson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 125-26; George Howard, "The Beginnings of Christianity in Rome: A Note on Suetonius, Life of Claudius XXV.4," *ResQ* 24 (3, 1981): 175-77; Stanley E. Porter, "Chronology, New Testament," 201-8 in *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, 206; Robert O. Hoerber, "The Decree of Claudius in Acts 18:2," *CTM* 31 (11, 1960): 690-94; Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEKNT 17; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 458; Lo Lung-Kwong, *Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans: The Upbuilding of A Jewish and Gentile Christian Community in Rome* (Jian Dao DS 6, Bible and Literature 4; Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1998), 78-82; Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (ed. Marshall D. Johnson; trans. Michael Steinhauser; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 11-16.

[38]E.g., A. Andrew Das, *Paul and the Jews* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), 53-61; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans* (2 vols.; WBC 38A, B; Dallas: Word, 1988), 1:liii; Lung-Kwong, *Purpose*, 78-82; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996), 5; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 12-14, 797-98; Thomas H. Tobin, *Paul's Rhetoric in Its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 35-41; A. Katherine Grieb, *The Story of Romans: A Narrative Defense of God's Righteousness* (Louisville, London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 7.

[39]For Paul seeking to reconcile Jewish and Gentile believers in Rome, see e.g., W. S. Campbell, "Why Did Paul Write Romans?" *Expository Times* 85 (9, 1974) 264-69; Bruce Chilton, *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels* (USFISFCJ,

Paul constructs the entire letter to advance this theme. Jewish hearers[40] would agree with Paul's verdict that the Gentiles are lost (1:18-32); but Paul uses this verdict to establish in the next two chapters that Jews are also lost (2:1—3:23). Thus, Paul argues, all must come to God the same way, through Jesus Christ (3:24-31). Some Jewish people would have demurred; they believed that they were saved because they were chosen in Abraham![41] Paul thus responds that, far from being able to depend on ancestral merit, they must follow Abraham's model, hence be justified through faith (4:1—5:11). Moreover, if they wished to appeal to their ancestry in Abraham, Paul reminds them of everyone's common ancestry in Adam, who introduced sin (5:12-21).[42]

Jewish people might object that the law gave them a righteousness that unconverted Gentiles could not possess (and, close to Paul's concern here, that converted Gentiles could acquire only with difficulty). Many sages felt that most Jews usually kept all 613 commandments that Jewish tradition found in the Torah, but most Gentiles could not even maintain the seven commandments that Jewish tradition attributed to Noah. But Paul insists that the law facilitated his death, though it was meant to bring life, because it could not transform him (7:7-25).[43] The law could *inform* him about righteousness, but it could *transform* him only if written in his heart by the Spirit (8:2; cf. Ezek 36:26-27; 2 Cor 3:3-6).

Now in Rom 9—11 Paul comes to the heart of his argument about the relation between Jew and Gentile. Jewish people believed that they were chosen in Abraham, but Paul insists that with respect to salvation,

---

vol. 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 222-24; Schreiner, *Romans*, 19-21; Lung-Kwong, *Purpose*, 413-14.

[40]Technically, most of Romans' audience is ethnically Gentile (cf. 1:5, 13; 11:13), though they will identify with the Jewish roots of their faith.

[41]Neh 9:7; Mic 7:20; E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 87-101; Marcus J. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness & Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (SBEC 5; New York: Edwin Mellen, 1984), 207.

[42]Jewish people agreed that Adam introduced sin and death (*4 Ezra* 3:7; 4:30; *2 Bar*. 17:2-3; 23:4; 48:42-45; 56:5-6; *L.A.E*. 44:3-4; *Sipre Deut*. 323.5.1; 339.1.2), but many believed that his descendants also replicated the sin (*4 Ezra* 3:21; *2 Bar*. 18:1-2; 54:15, 19; cf. *4 Ezra 4 Ezra* 7:118-26).

[43]I agree with most scholars that the point of Rom 7 is life under the law more generally, not Paul's personal autobiography, but believe that Paul's own background enables and informs his description. The point would not differ for our purposes in any case.

God is not bound to choose based on ethnicity. Indeed, he warns that "not all Israel's descendants are Israel" (9:6), nor are all Abraham's descendants counted as his children (9:7). Abraham had two sons while Sarah remained alive: Isaac and Ishmael. Yet Paul points out in 9:7-8 that only one received the promise (though both were blessed). Isaac had two sons, but only one received the promise (9:10-13). In view of this pattern, how could Jewish people assume that they automatically belonged to the saving covenant based on their ethnicity?

But lest we think that Paul lectures only the minority of Jewish believers in Jesus involved with the Roman church, he decisively challenges the now-complacent and dominant Gentile believers as well. Not only is there still a remnant of Jewish believers (11:1-5) and a long-range hope for the Jewish people submitting to Jesus (11:12, 15, 26-27),[44] but Gentile believers are merely grafted as *proselytes* into Israel's heritage (11:17-21).[45] As God used Israel's disobedience to afford opportunity for Gentiles' repentance before the end of the age, he also uses Gentiles' obedience through Christ to provoke Israel's jealousy that eschatological expectations about Gentiles are being fulfilled through Christ (11:13-14).[46]

Having established the theological groundwork, Paul turns to the practical demands that follow from these observations. Believers need to serve one another (12:9-15), for the real heart of the law is loving one another (13:8-10). On a practical level, this teaching especially meant that Gentile believers must not look down on Jewish people's food customs or holy days (Rom 14:1—15:6), as ancient sources show

---

[44]The sense of "Israel" in the immediate context of 11:26 seems ethnic rather than spiritual; cf. Johannes Munck, *Christ & Israel: An Interpretation of Romans 9-11* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 136; George E. Ladd, "Israel and the Church," *Evangelical Quarterly* 36 (1964): 206-13.

[45]For Gentile converts as proselytes here, see Terence L. Donaldson, "'Riches for the Gentiles' (Rom 11:12): Israel's Rejection and Paul's Gentile Mission," *JBL* 112 (1, Spring 1993): 81-98; idem, "Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles: The Origin of Paul's Gentile Mission," 62-84 in *The Road from Damascus: The Impact of Paul's Conversion on His Life, Thought, and Ministry* (ed. Richard N. Longenecker; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 81-82; idem, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 230-47; also Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005): 5.

[46]See discussion in Mark D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 249-50.

us Roman Gentiles frequently did.[47] Paul urges unity in Christ that welcomes rather than suppresses the diversity of our cultures. Paul concludes that argument by citing Scriptures for Jews and Gentiles united in common worship of Israel's true God (15:6-12). He then offers examples of Jewish-Gentile cooperation: Jesus, though Jewish, became a minister to the Gentiles (15:8-9); the Jewish missionary Paul evangelizes Gentiles (15:18-24) and brings an offering from the mixed Diaspora churches to the needy believers in Jerusalem (15:25-27). He also invites the largely Gentile Roman believers to partner with him in prayer (15:30) and support (15:24, 28). His final closing exhortation is to beware of those who cause division (16:17).[48] From start to finish, a central concern of Paul in writing Romans appears to be the uniting of believers of different backgrounds.

When I was going through the deepest crisis of my life since my conversion, an African-American family basically adopted me into their family and circle of churches and nurtured me back to wholeness. African-Americans had survived slavery and countless other trials, and had learned how to depend on God on times of difficulty in ways that I had not discovered in the white church circles of which I had usually been a part. Since 1991, I have been a minister in a largely African-American church movement.[49] My wife, who is from Congo in Central Africa, survived eighteen months as a refugee during an ethnic war in her country. During this time, she and her family showed love to people from the other side of the war; they even provided for a foreign mercenary working for the other side who had been captured and abused.[50] We have observed that Christ's love must transcend ethnic boundaries, no matter what the cost.

---

[47]See e.g., Juvenal *Sat.* 14.96-106.

[48]Perhaps even over food (16:18). Nevertheless, "belly" was used widely in moralistic literature for any uncontrolled passions; see e.g., 3 Macc 7:11; Philo *Spec. Laws* 1.148, 192, 281; 4.91; further sources in Keener, *Matthew*, 342; for "slave of the belly," as here, see e.g., Maximus of Tyre *Or*. 25.6; Achilles Tatius 2.23.1; Philostratus *V.A.* 1.7.

[49]On the story, see e.g., Lynette Blair Mitchell, "Charismatic Scholar Targets Racism," *Charisma* (June 1996): 28, 30; Gayle White, "Colorblind Calling," *The Atlanta Journal & Constitution* (Nov. 3, 1991): M1, 4; Flo Johnston, "Ordination will cross racial lines," *Religious News Service* (e.g., in *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 9, 1991, secton 2.9).

[50]See e.g., Craig Keener and Médine Moussounga Keener, "Reconciliation for Africa: Resources for Ethnic Reconciliation" (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2006), 12.

4. Eschatological Unity and God's Temple (Rev 5:9; 7:9)

The image of united, multicultural worship to God continues into the latest parts of the New Testament, the closing witness of the first apostolic church. Thus the "furniture" it depicts in heaven evokes that of the biblical temple: the ark (Rev 11:19); an altar of sacrifice (6:9); an altar of incense (8:3-5); a sea (4:6; 15:2; cf. 1 Kgs 7:23-25); lamps (Rev 4:5); and even harps (14:2; 15:2). Indeed, it is called both a tabernacle (Rev 13:6; 15:5) and a temple (14:15, 17; 15:5-8; 16:1, 17). What does one do in a temple? In particular, one worships. Whereas the scenes of earth in Revelation involve judgment (e.g., chs. 6; 8—9; 16) or the worship of the beast (13:4, 8, 12, 15; 14:11; 16:2; 19:20; cf. 9:20), the scenes of heaven involve worshiping God and the lamb (4:8-10; 5:9-14; 7:11; 11:1, 16; 14:7; 19:4).[51]

Likewise, in the eternal future, the very shape of the New Jerusalem evokes, as we noted earlier, the Holy of Holies (21:16; cf. 1 Kgs 6:20). One would normally not expect a city to be over two thousand kilometers high, but the equal length, breadth and height of the city reinforces the allusion to the holy of holies. When God promises that he will dwell among his people there (21:3), he portrays the city not only as a temple, but as the holy of holies itself! Thus the eternal future, involving "heaven on earth," so to speak, continues this worship that Revelation reveals already in heaven (22:3). Although the New Jerusalem is for all believers, it is founded on the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve apostles of the lamb (21:12, 14).

One of Revelation's scenes of worship, in 7:9-17, shows that the multicultural multitude has been grafted into Israel's heritage. Although they are from all peoples (7:9),[52] Jesus' followers are depicted in language evoking prophetic promises to Israel, because devotion to Israel's true king rather than ethnicity determines one's status in the covenant (cf. 2:9; 3:9). Thus they neither hunger nor thirst nor suffer from the sun, but the lamb leads them to springs of water (7:16). Revelation's language here evokes Is 49:10, where God would protect his people from hunger, thirst, and the sun, and would lead them to springs of water. In Rev 7:17, the lamb wipes away the tears of his

[51]See also Keener, *Revelation*, 91-92.

[52]This echoes Nebuchadnezzar's empire (e.g., Dan 3:7, 31; 5:19; 6:25; 7:14; esp. 3:4), but God's kingdom would supplant all worldly empires (2:44-45), and will include representatives from all peoples (7:13-14; see Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993], 326-29).

followers; in Is 25:8, at the resurrection God would wipe away his people's tears. By the way that this passage reframes OT prophecies, it emphasizes that Jesus is God and that his followers are together God's people.

This scene immediately follows another vision in which God has 144,000 servants from Israel's twelve tribes. Since Scripture predicts the turning of the Jewish people to Christ in the end-time (Rom 11:26-27), we cannot rule out the possibility that this eschatological event is the point of this image. Sometimes in Scripture, however, a second vision or dream simply rearticulates the point of the first one (e.g., Gen 37:7, 9; 40:1-7), and that may be the case here.[53] We have already seen that 7:9-17 portray believers from all nations as part of God's people. What is the likelihood that this is the case for the 144,000? We do know that Revelation portrays all believers as spiritually Jewish, grafted into Israel's heritage (e.g., 1:20;[54] 2:9; 3:9). Moreover, the 144,000 are the number of God's "servants" (7:3-4)—which elsewhere in Revelation involves believers, the saved (1:1; 10:7; 11:18; 19:2, 5; 22:3, 6). The seal on them connects them with all believers (3:12; 22:4; cf. 2 Cor 1:22; Eph 1:13; 4:30; Ezek 9:4; *Ps. Sol*. 15:6-9). Further, John's vision omits from the list of tribes the tribe of Dan, which is a curious omission if he intends the designation literally, since in Ezekiel Dan receives the first eschatological allotment (Ezek 48:1).

---

[53]With most commentators, e.g., G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John the Divine* [HNTC; New York: Harper & Row, 1966], 94-95; Mathias Rissi, *Time and History: A Study on the Revelation* (trans. Gordon C. Winsor; Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1966), 89, 110; Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977], 168-70; George R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (NCBC; Greenwood, SC: Attic Press; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1974], 140; Bauckham, *Climax*, 399; Alan F. Johnson, *Revelation* (Expositor's Bible Commentary; Zondervan, 1996), 85; J. Ramsey Michaels, *Revelation* (IVPNTC; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997), 113; Gregory K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 412-23. I address this in Keener, *Revelation*, 230-33.

[54]Lampstands were the most pervasive symbol for Judaism in the Roman empire; see e.g., *CIJ* 1:8, §4; 1:16, §14; 2:12, §743; 2:32, §771 and passim through 2:53, §801 (*CIJ* altogether contains about 200 examples); Harry J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960), 49, 196-97; Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (13 vols.; New York: Pantheon Books for Bollingen Foundation, 1953-1965), 12:79-83.

Most importantly, Revelation reuses these numbers later. Although translations sometimes obscure the figures, the New Jerusalem is 12,000 stadia cubed (about 1500 miles or 2400 kilometers cubed), with a wall of some 144 cubits (over 200 feet or nearly 80 meters; 21:16-17). A wall of 200 feet or 80 meters is utterly disproportionate to a city that is 1500 miles (2400 kilometers) long, wide, and tall.[55] But Revelation elsewhere informs us that the measurements involve the people, not just the place (Rev 11:1). The New Jerusalem is the city of God for the people of God, a city whose very dimensions evoke the 144,000. When John saw the lamb's followers standing on Mount Zion (14:1), it was likely because they symbolized the citizens of the new Zion. Revelation portrays two cities: first, the city of the present evil empires, this present world, portrayed as Babylon the prostitute, decorated with gold and pearls (17:3-5).[56] Those without faith to await the future city settle for the prostitute. But those who keep themselves chaste (like the 144,000, in Rev 14:4) await a better city, New Jerusalem the bride, whose very streets are gold and her gates are pearls (21:2, 10-11, 18-21). This world is nothing compared to the world to come!

Ancient cities always had temples, but John says, "I saw no temple there …" (21:16).[57] In a city whose gates were named for the twelve tribes and its foundation stones for the twelve apostles, Jew and Gentile together worship God and the lamb in the fullness of their glory forever and ever. The city of God for the people of God includes all who follow the lamb.

Conclusion

---

[55]To compensate, some translations assign the cubit measure to the wall's thickness (see Ezek 41:9, 12; see Aune, *Revelation* [3 vols.; WBC 52, 52b, 52c; Dallas: Word, 1997], 1162), but this is still utterly disproportionate from an ancient or even modern engineering standpoint.

[56]I do agree with those who see Babylon through the lens of Rome, because Rome was the "Babylon" of John's day (having destroyed Jerusalem like Babylon of old, and becoming even a Jewish cipher for Rome; see 1 Pet 5:13; *Sib. Or*. 5.143, 159-61; *4 Ezra* 3:1-2, 28; *2 Bar*. 11:1-2; 67:7). But the very use of the symbolic title "Babylon" also looks beyond Rome, epitomizing more generally evil empire (i.e., what is analogous to Babylon).

[57]This contrasts starkly with ancient Jewish expectations (*Jub*. 1:27-29; *1 En*. 90:28-29; *Sib. Or*. 3.702-6; *m. Ab*. 5:20; *Taan*. 4:8; fully Charles H. Talbert, *The Apocalypse: A Reading of the Revelation of John* [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994], 102).

How central is our unity in Christ? It is central enough to transcend all other loyalties, so that loyalty to Christ as Lord entails loyalty to one another as God's family, above all ethnic, cultural, and earthly kinship connections. It is central enough that Paul repeatedly emphasizes it as a necessary corollary of the gospel. It is central enough that the worship that God desires is a united worship of believers from many different peoples and languages. We are different, bringing diverse cultural gifts; but we are one, for God, the Lord whom we worship, is One.[58]

[58]I evoke here the Shema (Deut 6:4), a fundamental principle of Judaism (cf. e.g., *Let. Aris*. 131-32; *m. Ber*. 1:1 and passim; *Tam*. 5:1; *Sipre Deut*. 31.4.1; William Oscar Emil Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 42-46; Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; trans. Israel Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1979), 1:19-36, 400-2) and a basic presupposition of NT theology (Mk 12:29; Rom 3:30; 1 Cor 8:6; Jms 2:19).

[*AJPS* 12:1 (2009), pp. 95-112]

PENTECOSTAL ESCHATOLOGY: WHAT HAPPENED WHEN THE WAVE HIT THE WEST END OF THE OCEAN

Wonsuk Ma

1. Introduction

As half a billion Pentecostal believers celebrate one-hundred years of growth, Asia has reason to be thankful to the Lord and to early Pentecostal pioneers in North America and Asia. As the spiritual eruption made waves across the Pacific Ocean, its power generated varying effects in different parts of Asia, just like the recent tsunami force experienced by areas across the Indian Ocean.

It is completely reasonable to expect continuity, as well as discontinuity, between the Azusa Street spirituality and what is found among Asian Pentecostals today. Azusa's unique spiritual tradition continues, but the temporal and spatial gaps between the extreme ends of the Pacific Ocean resulted in marked differences. These are often a creative modification of existing traditions or even the emergence of something quite new in Asia.

How much direct correlation one can trace between these two entities is another challenging question. There is no doubt that the early Pentecostal movement began as a powerful missionary force, and many "Pentecostal missionaries" reached parts of Asia and preached the Pentecostal message. However, an increasing number of studies, primarily based on Asian evidence, have issued a challenge to the "one-fountainhead" theory of the movement, that is, the Azusa Street Mission as the mother of all Pentecostal churches.[1]

Asian Pentecostalism has come a very long way, and now it is a vanguard in its growth and development. The size of Pentecostal

[1] E.g., Yung Hwa, "Endued with Power: The Pentecostal-Charismatic Renewal and the Asian Church in the Twenty-first Century," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6:1 (2003): 63-82, (66).

Christianity in Asia, around 135 million according to Barrett and others, is quite comparable to its counterparts in Africa (142 million) and Latin America (142 million).[2] However, what makes up this proportion in Asia is surprisingly distinct: 1) the astonishingly high proportion of Pentecostals to the total Christian population (43.1% in Asia, in comparison with 29.4% and 40% in Latin America and Africa, respectively); and 2) an equally stretching "growth-room" of Pentecostal Christianity with the total Asian population to reach (27 times that of the Pentecostal-Charismatics in Asia, in comparison with 3.7 times and 6.2 times in Latin America and Africa, respectively) considering their total populations.[3] This expectation may not be a distant dream, but may actually happen in the near future. For example, the robust expansion of the house church networks in China, currently estimated as 70 million, can impact the topography of Asian Christianity in the coming decades.[4]

My reflection is intentionally theological, and this focus comes from a few assumptions: 1) theological conviction directly influences behavior, and 2) theology is shaped through constant interaction between the (imported, thus, foreign) message and the real life situation where the message should be received as the word of God to receptors. Using hindsight, many feel that Asian Pentecostal theology has been shaped not through intentional reflections, but often by default; that is, by the lack of intentional action in preserving Azusa theological traditions and in bringing these to an active dialogue with a given socio-cultural context.

This discussion focuses on one theological issue, eschatology, which shaped the Pentecostal ethos in the early days. The inquiry has four aspects: 1) how did eschatology impact early Pentecostal theology, 2) how was this transmitted to Asians (as it crossed the ocean), 3) how does this Asian version of Pentecostal eschatology give birth to unique spiritual traditions that we see in Asia, and 4) in what areas do Asian

---

[2] David B. Barrett, G. T. Kurian and T. M. Johnson, eds. *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001), 12–13.

[3] For a detailed discussion on its future, see Wonsuk Ma, "Asian Pentecostalism: A Religion Whose Only Limit Is the Sky," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 25:2 (August, 2004): 191-204, esp. 193.

[4] A recent popular portrait of Chinese Christianity and its possible impact on China and the world is found in David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Powers* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2003), esp. 285-92, for its future impact.

Pentecostals need to exert an intentional theological engagement for the sound future of the Asian Pentecostal movement? In the course of discussion, the contextual elements will come into constant interaction with the "message."

This discussion also centers on classical Pentecostals, although due to the ambiguous nature of Asian Pentecostalism, Charismatic Pentecostalism will naturally be considered when needed. An equally important consideration for the reader is to keep in mind the complexity and diversity of Asian countries in their history, society, culture, religion, economy and political systems.

2. Pentecostal Eschatology: Then, Now and Future

2.1 One-hundred Years Ago, There…

It is not an overstatement to view an immanent eschatological expectation as the backbone of early Pentecostal spirituality. Although this may appear less unique than other cardinal Pentecostal doctrines such as baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues as the "initial physical evidence,"[5] the eschatological framework enhanced Pentecostal distinctives. In fact, Anderson forcefully argues that the primary message among early Pentecostals was "Jesus is coming soon."[6] This early Pentecostal eschatology had several unique expressions.

2.1.1 Realized Eschatological Urgency

Christianity in North America at the turn of the twentieth century was a middle-class phenomenon, with the pious anti-cultural holiness movement balancing the Christian world. Interestingly eschatological urgency was not found in either camp. It was the Keswick movement, based on John Draby's dispensationalism, that proposed a sweeping revival to usher in the eschatological climax, the return of the Lord.[7]

---

[5] Robert M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1979), 44-45. Anderson puts it, "In short, the Pentecostal movement was as much a departure from the Wesleyan tradition as a development from it," 43.

[6] Ibid., ch. 5 entitled "The Pentecostal Message," 79-97.

[7] E.g., Frank Macchia, "The Struggle for Global Witness: Shifting Paradigms in Pentecostal Theology," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion*

Thus, Pentecostalism was born as an eschatological movement, by interpreting the outbreak of the unprecedented revival as the prerequisite for the immanent return of the Lord in their lifetime. The experience of the Holy Spirit among them was quickly labeled as the "latter rain," assuming that the original advent of the Holy Spirit recorded in Act 2 was the "former rain."[8] In the premillennial framework, this also signals the last hour of the great harvest before the tribulation. That was where the baptism in the Holy Spirit to empower believers to witness found its eschatological and missionary impetus. In fact, Acts 1:8 has become the motto for Pentecostal believers: "But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (NIV). The only other passage which has attained a similar status is Zech 4:6, "'Not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit,' saith the Lord of hosts" (KJV). This eschatological urgency was evident in many early testimonies. The very first issue of *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles) reports:

> The gift of languages is given with the commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." The Lord has given languages to the unlearned Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Zulu and languages of Africa, Hindu and Bengali and dialects of India, Chippewa and other languages of the Indians, Esquimaux, the deaf mute language and, in fact the Holy Ghost speaks all the languages of the world through His children.[9]

This eschatological urgency led naturally to the missionary focus of the Pentecostal movement.

2.1.2 Other-worldly Orientation and Missionary Impetus

Almost all authors agree that the early Pentecostal expectation of the immanent return of the Lord fueled missionary zeal. Their premillennial eschatology conditioned them to view the world as the object of God's judgment for the seven-year tribulation, while the church would be taken to heaven to meet the Bride. Because of this

---

made to Travel, eds. Murray Dempster, Byron Klaus and Doug Petersen (Oxford: Regnum, 1999), 8-29, (8-9).

[8] E.g., Joel 2:23 where the "former rain" is to be moderate (KJV).

[9] *The Apostolic Faith* 1 (Sept 1906), 1.

theological orientation, they were preoccupied with "soul winning," leaving very little room for anything else. The first issue of *The Apostolic Faith* also reports, "Hundreds of dollars have been laid down for the sending of missionaries and thousands will be laid down."[10]

This commitment to mission with eschatological urgency was expressed in various ways.[11] Theological education was strictly a practical and short-term ministerial training. Unlike established divinity schools, this program was to produce pastors, evangelists and missionaries in a minimum amount of time. Their summer activities consisted primarily of evangelistic tours. The most noteworthy development was the deployment of zealous missionaries, appropriately called "missionaries with one-way tickets."[12] They left for mission fields without any intention or expectation to return home, not only due to their commitment to mission but also because of their eschatological conviction. With the experience of the baptism in the Spirit, they were experientially and theologically convinced that they were called, empowered, and were now being sent. Eschatological urgency simply "put a pair wings to a tiger," as Koreans would say.

2.1.3 Revision by Default

It is perfectly reasonable to expect that the eschatological urgency, which the Pentecostal pioneers held, would face some revisions as the second generation slowly came into leadership. Various symptoms appeared such as "spiritual dryness and lack of God's presence" as early as the 1940s, when the Latter Rain movement brought back much of the early Pentecostal emphases including the "imminence of the premillennial return of Jesus Christ, preceded by an outpouring of God's Spirit."[13] Theological revision was not unfamiliar to early Pentecostals. Parham's contention that tongues were meant to be a

---

[10] Ibid.

[11] By the printing of the second issue of *The Apostolic Faith* (Oct 1906), 3, "Eight missionaries have started to the foreign field since this movement began a Los Angeles a few months ago. About thirty workers have gone out into the field."

[12] Vinson Synan, *The Spirit Said "Grow": The Astounding Worldwide Expansion of Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches* (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1992), 39-48, coined this term.

[13] R. M. Riss, "Latter Rain Movement," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, revised and expanded edition, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 830-33, (830).

missionary gift that bypassed the language learning process[14] was quickly revised.[15] By nature, Pentecostal theology has been intuitively and experientially shaped, thus, the revision of the nature of tongues was accordingly revised through experiential observations. Worse yet, the revision of the Pentecostal notion of eschatological urgency took place by default, that is, without any explicit or intentional process.

The consequence of this seemingly irresponsible silence on the eschatological belief of the Pentecostal pioneers has been rather negative. It took until the 60s, but the message of the Lord's return began to disappear slowly but steadily from Pentecostal pulpits. This vacuum was quickly filled by the exact opposite message of this-worldly concerns such as blessing, church growth and others. This second and third-generation phenomenon coincided with the advent of the Charismatic movement, which by nature had more of this-worldly concern due to the established social and theological state of the mainline churches.

2.2 One-hundred Years Later, Here…

It is important to note that Pentecostal Christianity in Asia began to make its presence known to its own constituents in the 1960s and onwards. New Pentecostal missionaries of the second, and later, third-generations from North America and Europe came with the revised version of eschatology. This is also the period when most Asian nations

---

[14] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:2 (Oct 1906), 1, recounts Charles Parham's experience suggesting that tongues were "language of preaching": "Instantly the Lord took his [Parham's] vocal organs, and he was preaching the Word in another language. This man has preached in different languages over the United States, and men and women of that nationality have come to the altar and sought God." Under the title "Fire Still Falling," in the same issue of The *Apostolic Faith*, 2, a more explicit reference is found, "Missionaries for the foreign fields, equipped with several languages, are now on their way…." Also under "Testimonies of Outgoing Missionaries" in the same issue, 6, it is plainly reported one "received the baptism with the Holy Ghost and the gift of the Uganda language." These quick surveys prove that the notion of tongues as the missionary language was widespread.

[15] By 1909, this popular notion of tongues as a Pentecostal missionary tool was simply abandoned as "many Pentecostals were becoming skeptical." James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AK: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 16.

came out of their painful colonial past, and for some, with divided nations to begin with (such as Vietnam, China and Korea). The process of establishing their self-identity often took ideological struggles and consequent bloodsheds through civil wars (e.g., Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar and Cambodia) and even all-out wars (Vietnam and Korea).

Asia had to face much more hardship to have this unique Christian tradition introduced than, let's say, Los Angeles in the beginning of the twentieth century. It is important to remind the reader that during the 1920s and 30s when the wave of the Azusa missionaries hit this continent, most Asian countries were still under colonial rules, the majority by Christian colonizers, but some (particularly East Asia) by non-, thus, often anti-, Christian colonial forces. For the former cases, already established Christian traditions (e.g., Reformed Christianity in Indonesia, or East Indies) posed a challenge to Pentecostal pioneers. For the latter, such as Korea and in some sense China, the challenge was more severe as Christianity in general was viewed as an anti-Japanese force, thus, a threat against the colonial authorities.

2.2.1 Revised Version of Pentecostal Eschatology

Until the 1950s Pentecostal missionaries had a strong eschatological orientation.[16] For example, some Filipino *balikbayan*[17] missionaries from North America returned to the Philippines in the 1940s to preach their new-found Pentecostal message to their own people. They gave up their American dream and returned to their own provinces in the Philippines to propagate Pentecostal faith. It was their new experience with the Holy Spirit which gave them new zeal and commitment, and it was the eschatological urgency of the immanent return of the Lord that caused them to return to the Philippines.[18]

The waning eschatological expectation among western Pentecostals and the arrival of the message of hope "for here and now" through the Charismatic movement from the 1960s quickly affected the theological orientation of many Pentecostal churches in Asia. Unlike the first half of the twentieth century, the second half witnessed the influx of western (often North American) evangelists holding mass

[16] In the 1960s and the early 70s, eschatological expectation was wide-spread in my own Christian experience in Korea.

[17] Returning Filipinos from overseas residency.

[18] Trinidad E. Seleky, "The Organization of the Philippines Assemblies of God and the Role of Early Missionaries," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 8:2 (2005): 271-82, (273), "They anticipated the early return of Christ and were constrained to spread the gospel to every tribe."

evangelistic crusades, crowding radio, and later TV channels, with their messages. The speed with which the "charismatic" version of the Pentecostal message spread heavily influenced Asian Pentecostal churches whose theological foundations were not yet solid. For example, for several decades, "Christ Is the Answer" was the most popular theme song among Pentecostals. Many churches were named after this title. Currently the song reads,

> Christ is the answer to all my longing.
> Christ is the answer to all my needs,
> Savior, Baptizer, the great Physician,
> Oh, hallelujah, He's all I need.

However, the last line, as some still remember, originally read: "He is coming soon." If this popular contention is correct, then all the experiences with Christ such as salvation, the Spirit baptism and healing originally were to be understood with the end time in view. However, with this revision, the same experiences are perceived to mean for life here and now. Today, Asian Pentecostal theology, in many places, is more accurately "charismatic" with a good dose of influence from the prosperity gospel and the faith movement. The animistic orientation of Asian minds is an extremely fertile ground for such "good news," with welcome supernatural help.

2.2.2 This-worldly Attention

This revised version of Pentecostal eschatology, with the consequential lack of major eschatological components, began to direct the attention of Christian life from the "other world" to this world. In a sense, the eschatological immediacy was replaced by the immediacy of God's action in daily life.

As briefly observed above, this "here and now" relevancy of the Pentecostal message found an opportune audience in Asia, as daily suffering was the primary context. In addition to the political struggles which Asian nations faced in the latter part of the twentieth century, simple daily survival was the greatest challenge Asia has faced. Regardless of the sources of poverty in different parts of Asia, economic hardship was compounded by a rising population, to the point that, for example, China imposed the one-child policy per family. Depleted natural resources by the colonial powers, deeply rooted structural corruption, social unrest, and an inefficient socialist or communist system in some parts of Asia have driven many Asian

societies to the extreme edge for survival. The preaching of the Pentecostal message, by this time fully revised through Charismatic influences, was indeed "good news for modern men (and women)."

For instance, David Yonggi Cho, who grew up under the harsh Japanese colonial rule and the devastation of the Korean War, received a Christian message that was much different from the one that was being preached in existing churches.[19] This gospel introduced him to the God who heals and performs miracles "here and now," and this God is good, not only after death but also now. Although he was nurtured under classical Pentecostal missionaries, theological influences also came from Charismatic sources. His Yoido era (1973-present) saw pulpit guests such as Robert Schuller, Oral Roberts and other popular Charismatic preachers. His *Fourth Dimension*,[20] a million-seller throughout the world, proves that his theology has a strong charismatic character. The high expectation of God's supernatural intervention in human life is the main message of Cho, often punctuated with testimonies of healing and miracles. His message can easily be summed up as a theology of blessing through the supernatural intervention of God. This explains why 3 John 2 has been the most popular passage in his church: "Dear friend, I pray that you may enjoy good health and that all may go well with you, even as your soul is getting along well" (NIV).

However, it is unfair to give all the credit for Cho's theological shaping to charismatic influences. His theology also bears the distinct mark that Christian (in this case, Pentecostal-charismatic) theology has wrestled with the context of suffering. If we borrow Cox's theory, deprivation in human life and eschatological hope have been the main context and cause for the growth of Pentecostal churches throughout the world.[21] Like Latin America, Asia's Pentecostal growth can, in part, be attributed to the sheer challenge of life. The very fact that the majority of Pentecostal believers in Asia come from the lower social strata proves this point. It is only recently that Pentecostal

---

[19] E.g., Young-hoon Lee, "Life and Ministry of David Yonggi Cho," in *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry*, eds. Wonsuk Ma, Hyeon-sung Bae and William W. Menzies (Baguio, Philippines: APTS Press; Goonpo, Korea: Hansei University Press, 2005), 3-23, (3-4).

[20] *The Fourth Dimension*, vols. 1-2 (South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing, 1979 and 1983).

[21] E.g., Harvey Cox, *First from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), 58, for the Azusa Street Mission.

congregations have begun to attain respectability in some Asian societies, thus attracting the more educated and established in social and economic aspects.

This revised version of eschatology also came with some surprising positive contributions. Attention given to social issues and environmental concerns among some Asian Pentecostals has been possible because of the this-worldly orientation. The growing awareness of the potential of socio-political influence was clearly brought about during the 2004 presidential election in the Philippines. Not only was a Charismatic minister among the presidential candidates,[22] but also the nine-million strong Catholic Charismatic group publicly endorsed a candidate. The recent Indonesian election also witnessed many Pentecostal ministers running for public posts. Aside from the question of whether these decisions were right or not, both incidents indicate Pentecostal-charismatic believers' awareness of the potential of their socio-political influence, as well as their determination to exercise it. The Korean Pentecostals included their prayer for the environment beginning in the 1980s. During the World Assemblies of God Conference in Seoul, Korea (1994), the published prayer for the gathering listed environmental concerns among the first four prayer topics.[23] Another surprising development is the social service area. Malaysian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches, for example, have pioneered social service programs for the neglected. Homes for orphans, single mothers, the elderly and drug addicts have become a regular feature of many Pentecostal churches. This began as a creative

[22] "Brother" Eddie Villanueva, the founder (1978) of the Jesus Is Lord, the "biggest born-again Christian group" with its claim of five million members, was the presidential candidate. He recently held a prayer rally for the nation, attracting not only one million participants (according to the organizer) but also Catholic bishops, religious leaders and many politicians, Leslie Ann Aquino and Raymund Antonio, "Thousands Join JIL Anniversary Rites, Prayer Rally at Rizal Park," *Manila Bulletin*, 3 October 2005, 1, 6.

[23] See also Walter J. Hollenweger, "The Contribution of Asian Pentecostalism to Ecumenical Christianity: Hopes and Questions of a Barthian Theologian," in *Asian and Pentecostal*, 15-25, (20-21), criticizes the handicap of western Christianity to deal with this issue adequately while he expressed hope in Asian Christians. However, the question remains: Do Pentecostals have any distinct theological contribution to make or are we simply raising awareness of this concern with other Christians? One clue was suggested by Hollenweger, 23, although in inter-religious context, that the *Creator Spiritus* (in the Old Testament) and this is identified with the *Spiritus Sanctus* (of the New Testament).

evangelistic strategy because Muslim law prohibits public evangelistic activities to Muslim Malays. Also we have seen the formation of a growing number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) among Asian Pentecostal churches. Equally unexpected is the ecumenical initiatives of some Asian Pentecostal leaders and churches. Evidently, the exponential growth of Pentecostal churches has increased their influence among Christian communities. They not only cooperate in local and national ecumenical initiatives, but also have started to lead ecumenical movements. The Korean Assemblies of God, which joined the Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC) in 1996, had one of their Pentecostal ministers to became the general secretary of the ecumenical body. He in fact set a goal to merge the KNCC with its evangelical counterpart in Korea. Malaysia is another case in point. Early Pentecostal churches had traditionally kept inter-church activities at arm's length, sometimes by choice but more often by external forces. Malaysian Pentecostal leaders, on the other hand, have actively cooperated with other evangelical churches to the point that more than half of the current executive members of the National Evangelical Christian Fellowship Malaysia are Pentecostal-charismatic.[24] Also, the chairman of the board of the Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches is a Pentecostal minister, yet, it is important to note that these encouraging signs are still far from being widespread.

2.2.3 Theological Challenges

This radical shift of attention from other-worldly to this-worldly concerns has become an enormous challenge to Christianity in Asia. Asia has birthed many of the world's religions as well as plenty of animistic religious beliefs. Traditional gods have been used, even exploited for the worshiper's benefit. Spiritual power without an eschatological goal and moral commitment can easily fall into a religious utilitarianism, which is exactly what animism and shamanism are all about. It should be noted also that church growth seems to have replaced (cross-cultural) mission as the ultimate goal of the church. It is true that church growth has been a positive influence in making the presence of Christianity known in predominantly non- or often anti-Christian societies. Nonetheless, the church growth movement has evolved into a shape that represents the this-worldly orientation of Pentecostal Christianity. More seriously, this attention to the growth of

[24] Yeu Chuen Lim, "Malaysian Evangelical Fellowship" (email message to the author, limyc@tm.net.my, Oct 3, 2005). More information about the organization is available at http://www.necf.org.my (checked: Oct 3, 2005).

local churches may have taken place at the expense of global mission, an important theological tradition of Pentecostalism. Recently a serious reflection on the mega-church movement has taken place, and alternative approaches are suggested.[25]

A careful examination of the record of Pentecostal expansion seems to suggest that, unlike the common notion that Pentecostalism is predominantly a missionary movement, the movement has an equally, if not stronger renewal potential among existing churches. One can easily point to the advent of the charismatic movement which literally "renewed" existing churches as proof. Perhaps even more important is an observation that Pentecostalism seems to flourish more in already Christianized areas than in "virgin" territories.[26] If the primary missionary character of the movement is to be proven, there must be growing Pentecostal churches in places where there is little Christian witness. However, that is rarely the case.[27] Latin America and some parts of Africa are good examples. This has caused the debate of proselytism from existing churches.[28] The only exception known to the author may be China. It is true that the majority of the house church networks in China are characteristically Pentecostal in belief and worship,[29] yet, this phenomenon is more "indigenous" in nature and origin than the result of Pentecostal missionary efforts.

---

[25] E.g., David Lim, "A Missiological Evaluation of David Yonggi Cho's Church Growth," in *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry*, 181-207, strongly advocates church multiplication.

[26] This observation was made by Alan Johnson, a Pentecostal missionary to Thailand, in Feb, 2005 in Baguio, Philippines. In his follow-up, he argues, "…my gut impression is that you are hard pressed to find a place where Pentecostals went that was a resistant hard to reach group and they either a) were the first ones there or b) had a breakthrough. Instead, what you tend to see is that where the church among every stripe has grown greatly, Pentecostals have grown greatly. Where the church is small, Pentecostals are small," Allan Johnson, "On Chapel Service" (email message to the author, alan.johnson@agmd.org, Oct 6, 2005).

[27] This does not means that in "difficult" areas such as Thailand and Japan, there are no large Pentecostal-charismatic churches, but their overall impact to the larger church world and to the society has not been felt.

[28] The latest joint statement of the fourth phase of the international Catholic-Pentecostal dialogue (1990-1997) was titled, "Evangelization, Proselytism and Common Witness." For the full text, see *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 2:1 (1999): 105-51.

[29] Recently see Luke Wesley, *The Church in China: Persecuted, Pentecostal, and Powerful* (Baguio, Philippines: AJPS Books, 2005), esp. 35-67.

This calls for a recovery of the early Pentecostal commitment to soul winning, especially the cross-cultural variety. The history of the western Pentecostal movement has already demonstrated that the expansion of the missionary work is not solely fueled by eschatological urgency. Even by second and third generation Pentecostals, the missionary movement continues to flourish. For example, in U.S. Assemblies of God (2,729,000 adherents), only 5.2% of the world Assemblies of God family (52,811,000) has sent 33% (or 2,590) of the global Assemblies of God missionary force (7796).[30] Pentecostal mission has been known, however, to be triumphalistic in its attitude, in part due to its success, but also due to its "power missiology." Their aggressive approach to "convert" even believers, under the pretext that they are nominal, has been viewed as a sign of spiritual arrogance. As the centenary of the Edinburgh conference draws near the western church calls for the new shaping of Christian mission in humility and hope.[31] Pentecostal mission, as a movement of the poor fired up by the Holy Spirit,[32] needs to recover not only its trademark of power mission, but more importantly its humble attitude.

There is more reason to be mindful of the triumphalistic attitude of Pentecostal mission. The reality of human suffering cannot be ignored with simple faith statements. Asians, including Pentecostal believers, are living in constant struggle for survival. It is simply impossible to list all the factors contributing to suffering. The magnitude of natural and "(hu)man-made" disasters claim thousands of lives, as seen in the tsunami incident in the Indian Ocean in December, 2004 and the recent earthquake is Pakistan. Many of the terrorist attacks have been staged in Asia, be it in Iraq, southern Philippines or Bali, Indonesia. Turning to the Christian scene, for about three years since 1996, 275 Christian churches were closed, vandalized, destroyed or burned by Muslims in Indonesia. Close to one-half (121 churches) of them were Pentecostal churches and next on the list are Catholic churches (18).[33] In many

---

[30] Assemblies of God World Missions, "Current Facts and Highlights: As of December 31, 2004" (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God World Mission, 2005).

[31] "Edinburgh 2010—Mission in Humility and Hope" (www.towards2010.org.uk, 2005), checked: Oct 15, 2005.

[32] E.g., Wonsuk Ma, "'When the Poor Are Fired Up': The Role of Pneumatology in Pentecostal-charismatic Mission" (A paper presented at the Conference on World Mission and Evangelism, Athens, Greece, May 2005).

[33] Paul Tahalele, *The Church and Human Rights in Indonesia* (Surabaya, Indonesia: Indonesia Christian Communication Forum, 1998), 7-20; Gani

countries, gathering for Christian worship is still illegal, thus, subject to state punishment including death. An average first-generation Christian in Asia has to overcome much marginalization and even persecution from family and society.[34] Perhaps a good, if not the highest, proportion of modern martyrdom takes place in Asia, partly due to the extremely volatile religious context. A triumphalistic pronouncement of miracles and healings will not resolve this very real challenge. It will take far more than a band aid treatment, and this is where a proper understanding of Christian life from a balanced eschatological perspective becomes critical.[35]

Equally urgent is a right understanding of blessing. Due to the dire situation, God's blessing, be it supernatural, economic or social, will continue to be a main focus of Asian Christianity. In order for Asian Pentecostals to avoid the grave theological mistakes of the prosperity gospel, it is urgent to refine the popular theology blessing with the theological and eschatological understanding of Christian life in mind. It is argued contextually and biblically that the Spirit of God is the source of life, sustenance, rejuvenation and restoration of it.[36] Thus, it is legitimate to expect the Holy Spirit to "bless" lives for their material, physical, emotional, social and spiritual daily needs.[37] Here I stress the "needs" (versus "desires"), as God's blessing is interpreted as God's

---

Wiyono, "Pentecostalism in Indonesia," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, eds. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Oxford: Regnum Books; Baguio, Philippines: APTS Books, 2005), 307-328, (320), points out the aggressive evangelistic activities as the main cause, thus, in a sense, self-invited.

[34] One less-drastic and yet common example is found in Wonsuk Ma and Julie C. Ma, "Jesus Christ in Asia: Our Journey with Him as Pentecostal Believers" (A paper presented at the Asian Consultation, Global Christian Forum, May 2004, Hong Kong, to be published in *International Review of Mission* [forthcoming]).

[35] Recently David Yonggi Cho, at a monthly prayer meeting of Korean Evangelical Fellowship on April 8, 2005, publicly repented of his preaching of [God's] "cheap grace" which more accurately refers to [physical and material] "blessing," while ignoring human suffering. Keun-young Kim, "Korean Church Leaders Repent" [in Korean], *Christian Today*, April 9, 2005 (http://www.chtoday.co.kr/news/rs_6269.htm), checked: Oct 7, 2005.

[36] For a contextual argument, Wonsuk Ma, "Asian (Classical) Pentecostal Theology in Context," in *Asian and Pentecostal*, 59-91, esp. 65-66.

[37] This is based on the creation spirit tradition of the Old Testament, e.g., as found in Isa 32:14ff. Wonsuk Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes: The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 25-32.

gracious means for human sustenance. This may be called "theology of blessing" in comparison with a "prosperity gospel." What is more critical is the proper theological purpose of blessing. One valid Pentecostal interpretation is to view blessings as part of God's empowerment for witness (Acts 1:8). Unlike the common supernatural perception of empowerment among Pentecostals, the "power" which the Holy Spirit endows can be understood broadly, and elements seemingly less than supernatural such as circumstances, should also be viewed as part of the Spirit's empowerment. The record in the book of Acts, such as the missionary journeys of Paul, seems to suggest this point repeatedly. If we follow this interpretation, then the "blessing" attains its new missionary purpose, and thus, an eschatological significance.[38] This would safely keep the theology of blessing from the dangerous utilitarian trap.

Ultimately the formulation of a sound Pentecostal mission theology will be the goal of Pentecostal theological inquiries. It is fascinating that Pentecostal mission did not decline along with its early eschatological urgency. This perhaps explains that eschatology was not the sole or even main, driving force for Pentecostal mission. It is argued that by the time Pentecostalism reached the Asian shores, "the 'power' came but 'mission' was not in the boat." It is true that much of the emphasis of early Pentecostal preaching was on the power of God. The relative silence of mission can be explained in two ways: 1) western Pentecostal missionaries were already doing mission,[39] and 2) given the "pagan" state of Asian nations, evangelism (verses "foreign" mission) was a more urgent task. However, even after substantial growth of Pentecostal Christianity in many Asian countries, there is little evidence that the powerful missionary theology of Pentecostalism distinguished itself from the rest of the churches in crossing cultural barriers to be witnesses. For example, in Korea, in spite of its robust

[38] For an elaborate treatment of this point, see Wonsuk Ma, "Yonggi Cho's Theology of Blessing: New Theological Basis and Direction" (A paper presented at Youngsan International Theological Symposium, May 2003, Hansei University, Goonpo, Korea).

[39] It is also plausible that the early western Pentecostal missionaries, like their colleagues, may not have had the "full-circle mission" understanding as advocated by C. Peter Wagner, *On the Crest of the Wave: Becoming a World Christian* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1983), ch. 9. For a Pentecostal reflection and possibility, see Wonsuk Ma, "Full Circle Mission: A Possibility of Pentecostal Missiology," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 8:1 (2005): 5-27.

growth, the rate of cross-cultural missionary growth is not the highest among denominations. The issue boils down to the theological foundation of how faithfully the missionary nature of Pentecostal theology was transmitted to Asians by western missionaries. It is, therefore, surprisingly encouraging to see the steady and sometimes explosive growth of missionary forces among Asian Pentecostals.[40] However, the question still remains: What distinguishes the Asian Pentecostal missionary from the rest in their conviction and practices? There is no doubt that a healthy eschatology with the Pentecostal theology of empowerment will equip them to be a significant missionary force in the coming decades.

2.3. Toward Tomorrow

My suggestions here are restricted to the revision of Pentecostal eschatology particularly in Asia. As western Pentecostal scholarship continues its quest for revision,[41] Asians need to participate in this global journey by keeping in mind that every generation needs to hear the same message but often in a revised or re-cased form, and such collaborative work will benefit everyone.

Eschatology has at least two dimensions: the time of the Lord's return and the nature of the church and Christian life. Eschatological expectation involves the specific time of his return, as we have seen in early Pentecostal thought. Although no one knows when, the Lord's return is to be "soon." This can be explained through the journey of the church in history, as sandwiched between the Lord's ascension and the second coming. The end has begun and history is moving toward the end of the end time. However, this does not always generate the kind of eschatological urgency which would in turn create a "crisis mode" of life. In order for eschatology to be more relevant, it has to relate on a personal level. Casual life experiences attest amply that we will see him

---

[40] The new "Back to Jerusalem" missionary movement of the Chinese house church networks is an example. Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 103-205. Also Paul Hattaway, *Back to Jerusalem: Three Chinese House Church Leaders Share Their Vision to Complete the Great Commission* (Waynesboro, GA: Authentic Media, 2003).

[41] E.g., Frank Macchia, "The Struggle for Global Witness," 23, urges Pentecostals to "rediscover the original eschatological fervor that allowed them in the early years of the movement to swim against the stream of the spirit of the age and to advocate female participation in the ministry and interracial fellowship."

rather soon, and sometimes unexpectedly soon. Thus, either the Lord returns or we go to him, both soon. Even though the Lord's return may not take place in our own generation, this should not keep us from maintaining the eschatological urgency. Life's uncertainty and unpredictability and yet the certainty of the closure itself are signs of our eschatological life.

The more important aspect of eschatology is the nature of Christian life. We are *in* the world but not *of* the world. Asian Christians, including Pentecostal believers, are keenly aware that Christians bring "foreignness" to their context not because of its western outlook but because of its radically "other" kingdom character. This pilgrim identity should be brought into the main focus of Pentecostal Christianity, which in turn will put the powerful experiential Christian life in right perspective with eternity in sight. From the same eschatological perspective, miracles and healing can be interpreted not as the manifestation of the "kingdom now," but as the sign of the token "invasion" of the kingdom of God that was inaugurated by Christ and yet in the anticipation of its fulfillment in the unknown near future. Thus, any supernatural manifestation is to be taken as a reminder or "sign" of God's reign that has begun and yet not fully recognized. Donald Gee may be theologically sound when he argued that the gift of healing has its true value when it occurs with evangelism as the ultimate goal.[42]

The good news for Asian Pentecostals is that this is not the first revision of eschatology; in fact, church history attests well that every generation has struggled with this challenge, and there are sufficient examples from which we can learn.

3. Conclusion

Going back to the beginning of this reflection, it is not true that eschatology has been the only determinant in the shaping of Asian Pentecostal thinking and ethos to its present form. Yet, the major shift in Pentecostal eschatology in the West has had an undeniable impact to Asian Pentecostalism.

The group that began as an anti-intellectual movement has come a long way as it crossed the Pacific Ocean in the past one hundred years. Now Asia boasts more than two dozen graduate-level Pentecostal

---

[42] Donald Gee, *Spiritual Gifts in the Work of Ministry Today* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1963), 72-73.

institutions with at least four offering doctoral-level programs.[43] The appearance of three international[44] and at least three vernacular Pentecostal journals in Asia attests to the rising interest in higher learning.

The revision of Pentecostal eschatology is inevitable. With the explosive growth on one hand, and the ever-changing social situations on the other, Asian Pentecostals are called to engage in the constant process of theological reflection. This is the only way that the powerful spiritual tradition can have the same appeal to ever-changing generations in this diverse continent. Proactive and intentional theological undertaking is the key to the future of healthy Pentecostalism. With much history behind us, Asian Pentecostals need to demonstrate that we have learned an important lesson. Instead of blaming western Pentecostal missionaries who unintentionally brought a revised eschatology to this most populated continent, it is our turn to evaluate whether we made conscientious choices with proper evaluation of what was introduced to us. This may be the only way to renew this renewal movement, and to keep Asian Pentecostalism from falling into the trap of a modernist pop religion or an extremely self-centered utilitarian religion.

[43] A recent survey includes six schools in Korea, one in Japan, three in the Philippines, three in Indonesia, three in Singapore, two in Malaysia, one in Hong Kong and at least five in India. If Oceania is included, at least two more schools are added.

[44] *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* (Philippines), *The Spirit and Church* (Korea) and *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* (Australia).

[*AJPS* 12:1 (2009), pp. 113-124]

IS MONTANISM A HERETICAL SECT OR PENTECOSTAL ANTECEDENT?

Lucien Jinkwang Kim

1. Introduction

In a Pentecostal circle, it is widely accepted that Montanism is one of the Pentecostal antecedents, and yet in fact it was condemned as a heresy by the early Christian writers and bishops such as Eusebius and Epiphanius.[1] Finally, the Synod of Iconium (A.D. 230) officially rejected the Montanist baptism and excommunicated the movement.[2] Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, fiercely attacks Montanus and his enthusiastic followers by considering their "New Prophecy" movement as the work of the devil "having devised destruction against those that disobeyed the truth, and thus excessively honored by them, secretly stimulated and fired their understandings, already wrapped in insensibility, and wandering away from the truth."[3]

The question must be raised in the mind of Pentecostals: Is our antecedent a heretical sect? It's nothing to worry about. Let us be reminded that the early Pentecostals were also rejected by the Holiness movement and the Fundamentalists as well as traditional American Christianity,[4] even though they claimed to trace their roots from the Holiness movement, Fundamentalism, and the Keswick movement. Even Jesus the Messiah was rejected by the Jews who had been looking forward to the coming Messiah promised in the Old Testament. In the same way, Montanism was rejected by the Orthodox Church for some reason or other, although it was rooted mainly in Christianity.

In this essay, I would attempt to give a sound answer to the question given in the title by vindicating Montanism against the

---

[1] Eusebius, *Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History*, trans. C. F. Cruse (Grand Rapids, MI: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), 5.16.

[2] Howard A. Snyder, *Signs of the Spirit: How God Reshapes the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989), 22.

[3] Eusebius, 5.16.9.

[4] William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 80.

oppositions to its system and examining into its positive impact on the Church in relation with Pentecostal emphases.

2. The Brief Description of Montanism

Montanism, the New Prophecy, is a renewal movement "with pentecostal-like traits,"[5] such as speaking in tongues, an uninterrupted gift of prophecy, the expectation of the imminent parousia, and emphasis on ascetic life, in distinction from a growing institutionalism and secularization of the Church. The founder, Montanus, appeared in Phrygia, Asia Minor, in about A.D. 155, and began prophesying in ecstatic language.[6] He was soon joined by two prophetesses, Maximilla and Priscilla, and they claimed to possess a similar gift of prophecy.[7]

Montanus believed that the New Jerusalem would soon be set up at Pepuza in Phrygia, and Priscilla also proclaimed in her prophecy that Christ revealed to her that Jerusalem would come down from heaven to the holy Pepuza.[8] The Montanists gave strong emphasis on ascetic life—a perfectionist lifestyle mainly driven by their imminent

---

[5] Stanley M. Burgess, "Montanism," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*,eds. Stanley M. Burgess et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 903.

[6] As for his conversion to Christianity, most of modern historians claim that he was a former priest of Cybele, a pagan religion, which emphasized ecstatic prophecy. However, the sources of the 2nd century say nothing about this matter. It is more likely that "this idea was born in the antiheretical polemic of a later age," according to *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, s.v. "Montanism, Montanus." Even though we assume that he was a priest of the pagan religion, we must not ascribe his ecstatic prophecy after conversion to the previous religious practice. Dennis E. Groh, "Montanism," in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 622, rightly says, "Christianity in Asia Minor had long treasured the Gospel of John, with its promise of the Paraclete, and was the setting of the eschatological prophecy of the Book of Revelation. The daughters of Philip had resided in Asia Minor and were held to be prophetesses. Such circles seem the best explanation for the backgrounds of the movement, rather than pagan ecstatic religion or Judaism."

[7] Burgess, "Montanism," 903-4; *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Montanism."

[8] David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), 315-6.

eschatology.[9] Having a strong sense of a speedy return of Christ, they were willing to live an austere life according to the mandate of the Gospel. It also led them to a burning desire for martyrdom.[10]

The movement spread rapidly and widely to North Africa and Asia Minor, in spite of the orthodox opposition.[11] Around the year 207, it won a powerful advocate Tertullian, who was attracted by its asceticism and apocalypticism.[12] However, it was excommunicated by the Synod of Iconium and then deprived of their worship places by an edict of Constantine, and finally disappeared in the 6th century as Emperor Justinian massacred the remaining Montanists and their families.[13]

3. Reply to the Oppositions to Montanism

3.1 The Violation of the Threefold Defense against the Heretical Attacks

As the early Christianity had been flooded with the numerous heretical teachings, the Orthodox Church developed a threefold defense, namely, creed, canon, and hierarchy, in order to effectively protect the orthodox Christianity from its perversions. The Montanists were of the same faith with the orthodoxy in terms of creed, but their perception of the Holy Spirit displeased the Orthodox Church, which was engaged in defining the process of canonization. The Orthodox Church thought that the recognition of the continuous revelation of the Spirit attacked the closed concept of canonicity because it seemed that, at any time, the list of the inspired books could be changed by anyone who claimed to receive the revelations from the Spirit of God.[14] On that score, the

---

[9] Stanley M. Burgess, "Montanist & Patristic Perfectionism," in *Reaching Beyond: Chapters in the History of Perfectionism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986), 123.

[10] Aune, 315-6.

[11] Snyder, 20-1.

[12] A Pentecostal scholar, Stanley M. Burgess, *The Holy Spirit: Ancient Christian Traditions* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1984), 63, calls Tertullian "the Church's first important pentecostal theologian." For no primary sources of Montanism has almost been preserved, his writings are priceless.

[13] Burgess, "Montanism," 904.

[14] Balfour William Goree Jr., "The Cultural Bases of Montanism" (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1980), 98.

Montanist prophets who insisted that the authority of the Church be put in "a succession of divinely inspired preacher prophets"[15] were unwelcome guests of church leaders.

Moreover, the Montanists deliberately attacked the hierarchy of the Church. Frend finds two types of ministry in the wake of Paul's missionary journeys: the residential ministry of presbyter-bishops and the itinerant ministry of prophets and teachers.[16] It shows that "the flexible, more or less fluid New Testament pattern of team eldership evolved . . . into a three-part hierarchy of bishop, presbyter/priest, and deacon."[17] Montanism emphasized a liberty in the presence of the Spirit,[18] in opposition "to this hardening of leadership categories and to the development of the concept of 'office' in the church."[19] Liberty can be dangerous in a sense as seen in the problem of Corinthian Church, and yet it should be said that the church cannot be fully the church without freedom in the presence of the Spirit.

In short, the Orthodox Church seems quite likely to have opposed the Montanists for more practical reasons than doctrinal, in spite of their agreement on basic orthodoxy.[20]

3.2 The Excessiveness of the Ecstatic Prophecy

Now I will study prophecy in ecstasy by the help of Ronald Kydd's admirable examination of three passages in Apolinarius' refutation of Montanism, in which the Montanist prophecy is described as excessive ecstasy by harsh language.[21] First, Eusebius describes Montanus' prophecy as "a certain kind of frenzy and irregular ecstasy, raving, and speaking, and uttering strange things."[22] Secondly, we are told that Maximilla and Priscilla prophesied "in a kind of ecstatic

---

[15] Maurice Barnett, *The Living Flame: Being a Study of the Gift of the Spirit in the New Testament* (London: The Epworth Press, 1953), 118.

[16] W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 139-40.

[17] Snyder, 18.

[18] Barnett, 113-4. He reinforces a liberty in the Spirit with Paul's declaration: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty (2 Cor. 3:17 NASB)."

[19] Snyder, 18.

[20] Goree Jr., 97.

[21] Ronald A. N. Kydd, *Charismatic Gifts in the Early Church: An Exploration into the Gifts of the Spirit During the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1984), 34-5.

[22] Eusebius, 5.16.7.

frenzy, out of all season, and in a manner strange and novel."[23] Lastly, he calls them *ametrophōnous* prophets. The Greek word is translated differently as "talkative" by Cruse, "chattering" by Lake, and "loquacious" by McGiffert.[24] Kydd comes up with his accurate, but rough, rendering: prophets "who speak in an indefinite number of what sounds like language." [25] Summing up these observations, the Montanist prophets contained strangeness, ceaselessness, and frequency in their oracles, being fully possessed by a spirit leading them to speak. It was a prophecy in tongue speaking![26] They indeed spoke in tongues and prophesied in ecstatic language in the divine invasion, in common with the prophetic ministry in the Early Church.[27]

In fact ecstasy itself is not something heretical. The Greek noun *ekstasis* referring to a "trance" is found only three times in the Bible (Acts 10:10, 11:5, 22:17).[28] In these instances, Peter and Paul received direction and guidance from God through ecstatic experience which included both visionary and auditory components.[29] In other words, man has "direct audible communication with God" in ecstatic experience.[30] In ancient Israel prophesying also contained an ecstatic component. Hebrew people thought that every kind of abnormal behavior of prophets was attributed to the invasion of the Spirit. The historical books also prove that the prophets were usually invaded by a certain force from outside when delivering the message of or from God. This force was the Spirit of God and it made them different.[31] Therefore, it is no wonder that the Montanists prophesied in a state of frenzy and ecstasy. The prophets could experience a revelatory trance in terms of divine possession or control.

Barnett says that "one of earliest ideas is that a man possessed by or invaded with *ruach* is no longer in control of his faculties."[32]

---

[23] Eusebius, 5.16.9.

[24] Kydd, 35.

[25] Kydd, 35.

[26] Kydd, 35; Barnett, 119; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, vol. 1 (Peabody, MA: Prince Press, 1997), 128.

[27] *Oxford*, s.v. "Montanism."

[28] Bernard L. Bresson, *Studies in Ecstasy* (New York: Vantage Press, 1966), 123.

[29] Cecil M. Robeck Jr., *Prophecy in Carthage: Perpetua, Tertullian, and Cyprian* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 1992), 102.

[30] Bresson, 123.

[31] Barnett, 46-7.

[32] Barnett, 40.

However, it doesn't mean that a prophet in the state of ecstasy prophesies in disorder. Tertullian understands that a prophet loses a certain amount of his mental faculties in the Spirit's invasion, but not to the full extent. He asserts, "Although the power to exercise these faculties may be dimmed in us, it is still not extinguished."[33] The Montanist prophets might perhaps look mad or less aware of oneself and surroundings in the state of ecstasy, but their prophecy was under the Spirit's control.

The adversaries judged that the Montanists were "proclaiming what was contrary to the institutions that had prevailed in the church, as handed down and preserved in succession from the earliest times."[34] However, ecstatic language and state in prophecy can be one of the manifestations of the experience of Spirit-possession. We must not identify their ecstatic prophecy with being possessed by false spirits. The opposition to the ecstatic prophecy of the Montanists seems, on the whole, to be unpersuasive.

3.3 The First Person Oracles

The opponents of Montanism also pointed out the first person speech in a number of Montanist oracles. They argued that Montanus identified himself directly with the Holy Spirit or, according to Epiphanius, even God the Father, in his oracles.[35]

However, it should be noted that almost every Montanist oracle has been preserved in quotation made by the opponent writers of Montanism, whereas no statement of Montanus himself or his immediate followers themselves has survived unfortunately, whether they wrote or not.[36] It is likely that the adversaries quoted only fragments, with which they could denounce the Montanists for a heresy, from a longer prophetic speech.[37] Therefore, their argument against the first person speech is not acceptable for "the fragmentary nature of

---

[33] Tertullian, "A Treatise on the Soul," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 3:224.

[34] Eusebius, 5.16. 7.

[35] Philp Schaff, *History of the Christian Church: Ante-Nicene Christianity*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, n.d.), 418.

[36] Aune, 314. Also, most of the extant records/sources of Montanism come from opponents according to Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 19-20.

[37] Aune, 314-5.

these oracles provides only the most tentative glimpse into the prophetic activity of the Montanist prophets."[38]

Rather, it seems to me more likely that they delivered God's message directly word by word, as biblical prophets in the Old and New Testaments used the first person oracles in a good number of cases.[39] For instance, the Old Testament prophets Ezekiel and Amos frequently begin prophetic speech with the so-called messenger formula "thus says Yahweh," then deliver the revelatory message by direct discourse. They recognize that it is always Yahweh who speaks in the first person in their oracles following the messenger formula.[40]

3.4 Extravagant Weight and Materialistic Coloring[41]

As described, Montanus and Priscilla prophesied of the New Jerusalem to come at Pepuza. Schaff argues that this extravagant prophecy was most vulnerable to criticism among the controversial pretensions of Montanism, and, as things turned out, its failure obviously incurred the wholesale condemnation of the adversaries to its system.[42] In other words, the Montanist imminent eschatology was deteriorated by extravagant weight and materialistic coloring given to their eschatological oracles.

However, we need to carefully observe whether the prediction that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepuza came from an authentic origin. Even though scholars have often recognized it as one of the authentic Montanist oracles,[43] Lipsius suspects its origin whether oral tradition or the early source Epiphanius has employed in *Panarion haer*. 48.[44] Moreover, Voigt clearly proves that it has been drawn from

---

[38] Aune, 316.

[39] Burgess, "Montanist & Patristic Perfectionism," 120.

[40] Aune, 89.

[41] This title is borrowed from Schaff, 424. His term "materialistic coloring" suggests that the Montanist prediction visualized the end time by employing the concept of the New Jerusalem that would descend from heaven to Pepuza.

[42] Schaff, 425.

[43] In K. Aland, "Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie," in *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe* (Gütersloh, 1960), 143-8; quoted in Aune, 439, Aland divides the Montanist oracles into three categories: genuine oracles, oracles of doubtful authenticity, and remnants of the contents of oracles. He regards the prediction of the last day as genuine.

[44] D. Richard Adelbert Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios* (Wien: Braumüller, 1865), 230; quoted in Dennis E. Groh, "Utterance and Exegesis: Biblical Interpretation in the Montanist Crisis," in *The Living Text: Essays in*

a later and inferior source, excluding *Panarion haer*. 49.1.2-3 where the prediction is preserved from the original source .[45] We should not hastily jump to a conclusion at this point of time because no one can judge a historical movement heretical by unreliable sources.

Furthermore, apart from the authencity and integrity of the source, we need to look again into the Priscilla's oracle that predicts the descending of the New Jerusalem.

(Quintilla or Priscilla says:) In the form of a woman, says she, arrayed in shining garments, came Christ to me and set wisdom upon me and revealed to me that this place (= Pepuza) is holy and that Jerusalem will come down hither from heaven. (Epiphanius, *Haer*. 49. I. 2-3.)[46]

Priscilla is describing the revelatory vision from God. The concept of the "New Jerusalem" gleaned from the Apocalypse of John should be understood as a symbol of the saints themselves, not the geographical place in which the selected people reside.[47] The expressions "this place" and "hither" in her oracle evidently refer to Pepuza where she is standing. However, it is nowhere to be found that she insists that the New Jerusalem come down exclusively at Pepuza. What if a preacher should say to you that the second coming of Christ would soon take place here? There is nothing wrong. The Montanists, along with John, believed a space-transcendental parousia. Our Lord Jesus Christ will come to all the people on earth whether they are in the wilderness or in a back room, simultaneously and momentarily in a twinkling, as the Bible says, "For as lightning that comes from the east is visible even in the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man (Matthew 24:27 NIV)."[48]

4. The Impact of Montanism

Honor of Ernest W. Saunders, eds. Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewett (New York: University Press of America, 1985), 80-1.

[45] Heinrich Gisbert Voigt, *Eine Verschollene Urkunde des Antimontanistischen Kampfes. Die Berichte des Epiphanius über die Kataphryger und Quintillianer* (Leipzig: Fr. Richter, 1891), 130-1; quoted in Groh, "Utterance and Exegesis," 80-1.

[46] The translation is dependent on Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965), 687.

[47] R. H. Gundry, "The New Jerusalem: People as Place, not Place for People," *Novum Testamentum* 29, no. 3 (1987): 256.

[48] Sungdo Kim, *The Reformed Evangelical Theology of Pentecostalism* (Seoul, Korea: The Korea A/G 50-Year History Compilation Committee, 2008), 537.

4.1 The Challenge to the Secularism of the Church

The God-designed primitive Church was filled with vitality that the Holy Spirit breathed into it. There was no static and artificial organization in the Church; everything was led by the inspiration of the Spirit.[49] However, as prophets and apostles who were appointed in *direct endowment by the Spirit* was gradually superseded by the episcopate, the Church became a fixed and rigid hierarchical structure, in which the office was qualified by *outward ordination and episcopal succession*.[50] Barnett listed the abuses of the imperial system in the Church as follows:

> . . . the entire nature of Christianity was in danger of undergoing a complete change. The fellowship of believers became a rigid ecclesiastical organization. Faith which had been inward trust and immediate response to a living Christ became "the faith"—a fixed and often lifeless dogma of orthodoxy. The simple remembrances became magical celebrations. The free and spontaneous exercise of spiritual gifts gave place to an inflexible system of form and ritual.[51]

In this context, the New Prophecy movement emerged. It was representative of a renewal movement provoking spiritual vitality of the primitive Church into a growing institutionalism of the Church. Additionally, it promoted the revival of Church interest in asceticism, which had been already "advocated by Greek and Judaeo-Hellenic philosophers and popular among many first-century Christians."[52] The Montanists didn't introduce new doctrines or professions. They diligently attempted to raise a passion for purity and holiness in the people of God. In this respect, John Wesley comments that Montanus, who "appeared (without bringing any new doctrine) for reviving what was decayed, and reforming what might be amiss,"[53] was "not only a truly good man, but one of the best men then upon earth."[54]

---

[49] Barnett, 114.

[50] Barnett, 114, 117. Italics are Schaff's (424).

[51] Barnett, 117.

[52] Burgess, "Montanist & Patristic Perfectionism," 138.

[53] John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1978), 11:485.

[54] Wesley, 11:485.

4.2 The Continuance of the Gifts of the Spirit

The Passion of St. Perpetua begins by quoting Acts 2:17 and adds, "We who recognize and honour equally the prophecies and the new visions which were alike promised, deem the other powers of the Holy Spirit to be for the equipment of the Church, to whom He has been sent administering all gifts to all, according as the Lord hath allotted to each…"[55]

Having recognized the empowerment of the Holy Spirit, particularly the gift of prophecy, the Montanists sought to restore the spiritual dynamic of the primitive Church in which prophecy and speaking in tongues were considered as "a regular gift to be looked for wherever the Spirit came upon men."[56] Generally speaking, the Christian Church in the first two centuries was charismatic. The Montanists believed that the Holy Spirit still revealed God's will without cease and that their ecstatic prophecy was the medium of divine revelation.[57] Their sensitivity to the Spirit helped the second century Christians stick to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, in contrast to a dying spirituality in the Orthodox Church.

4.3 The Apostolic Expectation of the Imminent Parousia

The expectation of the imminent parousia characterized the first century church. As years went by, this characteristic was progressively forgotten by the second century Christians who felt that the present stability of the Church would be lasting.[58] Montanism sprang up in this context to revive the Christian anticipation of the imminent return of Christ to earth, tracing the apostolic expectation from Jesus and the Apostles. Jesus' saying in Mark 9:1 led people to expect that the Second Advent would take place within their own lifetime. Many disciples gave up their jobs and preached the Gospel with a strong sense of the last days.[59]

Even though some scholars have argued that the Montanists committed a serious error in the predictions of the last days, their

---

[55] *The Passion of St. Perpetua*, in T. Herbert Bindley, *The Epistle of the Gallican Churches Lugdunum and Vienna* (London: SPCK, 1900), 62; quoted in Snyder, 16.

[56] Barnett, 113.

[57] Goree Jr., 217-8.

[58] Goree Jr., 126.

[59] Goree Jr., 129.

eschatological earnestness should not be neglected. They were the fanatic millenarians who held to the speedy return of Christ in glory, "all the more as this hope began to give way to the feeling of a long settlement of the church on earth, and to a corresponding zeal for a compact, solid episcopal organization."[60] Maximilla's oracle clearly reflects an imminent eschatological perspective: "After me there will be no longer a prophet, but the consummation."[61] It is not a false prophecy, but should be understood as a succession of the apostolic expectation of a speedy return of Christ.

In short, Montanism was "a millenarian movement similar to the many millenarian movements in early Judaism including that of Jesus himself,"[62] and Pentecostal eschatology holds its millenarianism with a desire for the soon-coming Christ.

5. Summary

Most of the reasons of the opposition to Montanism are not laid on its doctrine or contents. The movement had no new doctrine at all.[63] Frend notes that "prophecy, asceticism, and martyrdom, the hallmarks of Montanism, all belong to the second century Christian tradition."[64] It was "rooted neither, like Ebionism, in Judaism, nor, like Gnosticism, in heathenism, but in Christianity."[65] Nevertheless, the Orthodox Church was very wary of this renewal movement because the Montanists were thought to attack the ecclesiastical authority in terms of canonization and hierarchy.

The ecstatic frenzy and the first person speech in the Montanist oracles also seem to be hardly problematic on the basis of two reasons. Firstly, prophecy in an ecstatic experience often appeared in the Old Testament prophets.[66] Secondly, the first person speech was popular among the Old and New Testament prophets.[67] Therefore, it is most probable that the Orthodox opponents intentionally *paganized* the

---

[60] Schaff, 424-5.

[61] Aune, 315-6.

[62] Aune, 313.

[63] Barnett, 118, 122.

[64] Frend, 254.

[65] Schaff, 421.

[66] Robeck Jr., 101.

[67] Burgess, "Montanist & Patristic Perfectionism," 120.

Montanists in terms of the mechanics of prophecy for the sake of self-protection of their institution.[68]

The impact of Montanism was to revive the spiritual vitality of the primitive Church God had designed, in opposition to a growing worldliness of the Church. Whereas the opponents of the Montanists at that time considered the New Prophecy movement as the work of *evil*, Montanism indeed was obviously the work of the Spirit to help the contemporary Christians overcome various *evils* which had brought worldliness into the Church.

6. Conclusion

Throughout church history, there have been many church renewal movements under various names and forms by way of resistance against corrupted church authorities. Montanism was one of these efforts to attempt to return to the vitality of the primitive Church, being fully led by the Spirit, in spite of being considered a heresy and expelled by the institutional Church. The elements of the primitive Church, such as millenarianism, speaking in tongues, ecstatic prophecy, and the fanatical extremes, still remain just as they were via Pentecostal antecedents like Montanism in modern Pentecostalism.

Is Montanism a Pentecostal antecedent? Yes, definitely. Montanism, the New Prophecy movement, can be recognized as a healthy renewal movement, not containing any heretical doctrine or practice, being aware of the eschatological imminence and the continuance of the work of the Holy Spirit, and in particular the gifts of prophecy and speaking in tongues upon which modern Pentecostals give emphasis. The Montanist contribution to the church, not only in its time but also today, is great in terms of the strong conviction that the Holy Spirit is always at work and that greater manifestation, not lesser, has been promised for the last days.

[68] Aune, 313. To "paganize" is Aune's term.

Christopher J. H. Wright, *Knowing the Holy Spirit through the Old Testament* (Oxford, UK: Monarch Books and Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 160 pp., paperback, ISBN: 978-1-85424-702-5, GB£7.99/US$15.00.

It is appropriate for *Knowing the Holy Spirit through the Old Testament* to start the first chapter citing Gen. 1:1-2 and have a title "The Creating Spirit." Christopher J. H. Wright sees the Spirit of God, who is usually linked with Pentecost, in "the second verse of the Bible." (13) For him "the Spirit and the universe" is about the Spirit as "hovering and speaking." Wright views Gen. 1:1, which is the gateway statement of the Hebrew Scriptures, as an essential declaration that the whole universe came into existence because God was the creator. Then, Gen. 1:2, the second verse, continues to present the very first portrayal of creation in its earliest phase with an imagery of "chaos" and "darkness." Although the raw material was present in the beginning "it has not yet been shaped to the world we now know." (14) God, through his own ruach, transforms the as yet unformed substance from being formless, chaotic and dark, to universe. The Deut. 32:11 clause about an eagle hovering over its young talks about God's protection of Israel is the sense of the Spirit's hovering ready for creative activity. (14)

The discussion about "the Spirit and the earth," which is the subtitle of the section "Sustaining and Renewing," deals with ecology. "Old Testament Israelites did not spend a lot of time wondering about how the world began, except that it began by God's say-so. Once they had affirmed that in Genesis 1-2, enough seemed to have been said." (19) For Wright, the Spirit can be grieved by intentional and casual damage made to "the good earth" which is beautifully made and kept going by God himself. (25-26) "The Spirit and humanity" are contradictory corollary of "breathing and leaving" because the Spirit of God is the source of life breath but at the same time of death when he leaves a mortal. (26-31) Another important section is "the Spirit and the new creation" which is a discussion of Romans 8 from the New Testament. The discussion of the passage is meant to have an application of the earlier materials about creation accounts, ecological concerns and human lives that God sustains by his Spirit to the New Testament teaching on the new creation and the resurrection. (31-34)

Chapter 2 expounds on the idea of "The Empowering Spirit." Wright maintains that the Old Testament connects the Spirit of Yahweh with power. (36) To demonstrate that the Spirit is God's power doing vocation among Israelites, a survey of the Spirit's equipping work is presented one at a time. Bezalel and Oholiab received excellent enablement as craftsmen from the Spirit to do their work in the sanctuary of the tabernacle. (37-39) A list of judges from Othniel to Samson received an empowering of the Spirit to provide daring

headship and heroic acts to defeat the enemies of Israel. (39-41) The lives of Saul and Moses give instruction on how the Spirit of prophecy comes to the chosen of God. However, power can bring destruction, and so humility is a necessary balance for the experience of God's empowering presence. (41-61) The significant role of the Spirit when it comes to chosen Israelites is the vocational capability to accomplish tasks that mere human skill cannot carry out.

The next chapter puts forward the key notion of "the prophetic Spirit" wherein the author asserts that: "The New Testament, then, affirms the work of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament, not only in creation (Chapter 1), not only in works of power and leadership (Chapter 2), but also in the revelation of God's word [Chapter 3]." (62) The prophets were not giving their own message but they only spoke through the Spirit. Wright invokes at this point the classical texts of the inspired Scriptures, i.e. 2 Pet. 1:20-21 and 2 Tim. 3:16, establishing the role of the Spirit in communicating God's word. (62-63) He further elaborates in most of the pages of the third chapter how the false prophecies both in the Old and New Testaments were not really from the prophetic Spirit of God. What is clear "in contrast to the false prophets who deceived people with lies of their own devising and never challenged them about the rampant injustice in society, Spirit-filled prophets spoke the truth and stood for justice." (85)

In the fourth chapter, Wright moves on to address "the anointing Spirit" that empowered the historical kings of Israel such as Saul and David. (89-92) The promised "Anointed One" or the imminent "Servant-King" of Isaiah the prophet has the anointing that is indispensably "his commissioning to carry out God's ultimate mission and purpose of the world—not just for Israel, but 'to the ends of the earth' (Isa. 49:6)." (95) The author explains that this messianic person will fulfill "mission of God" that Israel as the chosen nation was not able to accomplish. (95-111) It is for the Christian to see God's anointing of Jesus Christ who has shown "justice," "compassion," "enlightenment," and "liberation" so that he can do the mission of God to bring in every kind of people to His fold. (113-114; cf. 106-107) Then, at the end of this chapter, Wright applied the meaning of following Christ using the designation of the Church that received the anointing and the commission to do the mission of God to bring the good news to all humanity.

In the final chapter "the coming Spirit" of Yahweh is associated first with the idea of "recreation and righteousness." (120-123) The pronouncement of judgment in Isaiah 32 is with hope of restoration. The Spirit is an element of change in Isa. 32:15. The metaphor of fertility is the Spirit bringing blessings of renewal. The restitution will not happen until the ruach is poured out from heaven, the abode of God. The Spirit is viewed in Ezekiel 36-37 as the source of "renewal and resurrection." (124-140) The transformation is caused

by a totally obedient heart. But to have a transformed heart, a further action of God upon Israel is to put the Spirit in them. The effect of the Spirit will be that Israel will at last be obedient. The Spirit of God enables the obedience that God demands." (129-130) In addition, the Joel 2 oracle of "repentance and restoration" concludes all the discussions about the Spirit of Yahweh. It is the promise of the Spirit prophesied by Joel that was received by the Church. The blessing of the Spirit given to the Church according to Joel is worldwide, immense and salvific in nature. (153-159)

Although the U.K. edition does not have an index, the U.S. one provides a handy index for biblical references. The five chapters of the book are a series of lectures delivered in August 2004 at the New Horizon convention in Northern Ireland. The chapters were expositions of biblical themes about the Spirit of God: "He is the Spirit who breathed in creation and sustains all life on earth. He is the Spirit who empowered the mighty acts of those who served God over many generations. He is the Spirit who spoke through the prophets, inspiring their commitment to speak the truth and to stand for justice. He is the Spirit who anointed the kings, and ultimately anointed Christ the Servant-King. He is the Spirit whose coming in power was anticipated in words of almost unimaginable cosmic transformation. And he is the Spirit through whom the whole creation will finally be renewed in, through, and for Christ." (10) However, the expositions are not purely from the Old Testament. The author also worked on selected New Testament passages to make the expounded material relate to the Christian faith.

R.G. dela Cruz

Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *Christology: A Global Introduction*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003. 177 pp. ISBN: 0-8010-2621-0

This book clearly lends itself to the use of the classroom. The focus of this book is to relate the biblical formation of Christology with various Christologies both ecumenically broad and culturally contextual. Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen's style is lucid and comprehensive. He has been able to portray the various perspectives in a clear way without creating inaccurate representations. The author followed the same basic format that he did previously: *Pneumatology: They Holy Spirit in Ecumenical, International and Contextual Perspectives* (Baker Academic, 2002); *An Introduction to the Theology of Religions: Biblical, Historical & Contemporary Perspectives* (InterVarsity Press, 2003); and *Doctrine of God: A Global Introduction* (Baker Academic, 2004).

Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen begins his book in the first section with an introduction to the doctrine Christology. He focuses his first chapter and a discussion of the diversity of perspectives relating to Christ. He then spends the next two chapters on the Gospel portrayals of Christ and on Pauline Christology. Whereas he does a basic summary, it would be easy to see New Testament scholars responding to these chapters as painted with a very broad brush, and that the non-Pauline, non-Gospel portrayals of Christ were neglected.

In the second section, there is a historical description of Christology throughout church history. In the first two chapters (4, 5) is a summary of the Christology debates in the first few centuries, such as Ebionitism and Docetism, and the Christological debates during the times of the Council of Nicea to the Council of Chalcedon, such as Nestorianism and Apollinarianism. The following two chapters emphasize the Christology of the Reformation, like Luther's Theology of the Cross, and the later chapter summarized the Rationalism of the eighteenth century. Chapters 8-10 track the beginning of the 'Quest for the Historical Jesus' through the Classical Liberalism of the nineteenth century to the second and third 'Quests for the Historical Jesus' from the 1950's and 1980's, respectively.

In the third section, major theologians' Christologies of the twentieth century were delineated. Karl Barth's Dialectical theology in terms of Christ, Rudolf Bultmann's Christology within his 'Demythologization' project and Paul Tillich's existential Christology all from the earlier part of the century were the former presentations. John Zizoulas' Communion Christology based on the Eastern theological background, Karl Rahner's Transcendental view of Christ, Jürgen Moltmann's Messianic Christology with its suffering component, and Wolfhart Pannenberg's Universal Christology were also detailed. Norman Kraus' Christology from the Anabaptist

perspective, the Evangelical Christology of Stanley Grenz and John Hick's Universalist view of Christ round out the section.

In the fourth section, various contextual Christologies from around the world are summarized. Contemporary Process, Feminist, Black and Postmodern Christologies were presented. Then, Latin American perspectives and Jon Sobrino's, the African view and Benezet Bujo's, and Asian representation and Stanely Samartha's Christologies, were all presented with the former general perspectives and later individual representatives explicated.

Kärkkäinen sets out to achieve an admirable goal to summarize the doctrine of Christology biblically, historically, ecumenically, and contextually. In spite of the overwhelming task, his enterprise as a textbook surveying this doctrine was generally concise and accurate.

As for some basic criticisms, there were a few times where certain information was inaccurate or misleading. For instance, the author lists David Strauss's *Life of Christ Critically Examined* as being published in 1836 (p. 97), whereas the original publication was 1835, and the first English translation appeared in 1846 by George Eliot. Also, Alfred North Whitehead's noted work *Process and Reality* was cited as being published in 1957 (p. 189), whereas the original noted work actually dates from 1929. It should be noted that these are minor details and considering the large number of factual items noted in the book of this type, these mistakes are comparatively very few.

This book is a great survey of the Doctrine of Christ throughout the church. As such, this would be a very helpful book for those studying Christology in upper level in Bible College or even in seminary.

Paul W. Lewis

James H. Kroeger, with Eugene F. Thalman and Jason K. Dy, *Once Upon a Time in Asia: Stories of Harmony and Peace* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006; reprinted, Quezon City, Philippines: Claretian Publications & Jesuit Communications, 2006), paperback, x pp. + 165 pp., ISBN: 971-0305-41-4, US$ 15.00.

Once Upon a Time in Asia is an anthology of stories from different parts of Asia. As the subtitle of the book puts it, these stories are compiled based on the themes of "harmony and peace." The table of contents indicates the themes of stories. "In the Beginning" (1-11) are creation myths from different countries in Asia. "Living in Asia" (13-35) talks about the various stories of people from those who dream of utopia and blissful life to those who are marginalized and sick of AIDS virus. There is also a good collection of tales on "The Importance of Family" (37-49) which are about the kinship among Chinese people as well as Bangladeshis, Filipinos and Cambodians, kids and adults alike. The anecdotes on the theme "Caring for One Another in Community" (51-70) represent the inhabitants of Asia in terms of community life, generous hospitality, solid camaraderie and shared aims. The collection on why "Culture Matters" (73-92) reflects on the richness of the sundry way of life and unique customs of the Asian population. An interesting anthology of "Wisdom from the Orient" (95-125) insightfully instructs about everyday life and honorable manner where the journey of life is contemplated by Asian sages. There is a subject on a monotheistic view of God: "One God—Many Faith Traditions" (127-137) that confronts the pluralistic religious traditions of the natives of Asia. "Seeds of God in Asian Soil" (139-161) are accounts considered that the assurance inside a person gives birth to external manifestations of religious faith.

The choices of stories that were included in the collection are wide. They have morals and insights that are heuristic. The primary benefit to the reader of this volume is an understanding of how stories shape the lives of the people in Asia. These narratives invite the reader to be creative in deriving meanings and appropriating lessons they carry for daily life. One of the interesting features of the book is the variety of ethnic sources of the different stories. The "List of Stories" or the functional index at the end of this volume is very helpful because the list provides not only the alphabetical arrangement of the titles of the stories brought together with their page locations but also the country of their origin is indicated inside parenthesis. A quick browse of the list reveals a variety. The huge Chinese heritage is well represented. The Hindus in India and Nepal have stories to contribute. Buddhist Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and Burma have their rich tradition retold anecdotally. The Christian Philippines, Muslim Indonesia, Turkey and Bangladesh, as well as Japan and Korea have ancient tales about what is divine and human. Even little East Timor

and Israel's Hebrew Proverbs, the Mongolia of Genghis Khan, multi-racial and comparative religions in Malaysia and the hospitality of the natives of Marshall Islands contributed to enrich the purpose of the volume.

This kind of book does not only give a perspective of Asian ways of thinking through the rich resources of a diverse group of people coming from different ancient ethnicities, world religions and wide traditions but also brings with it the contemplative mind and harmonious spirit of Asians. People in this part of the world are generally contextual in logic as well as relationship oriented in accomplishing the task on hand. The types of material gathered in this compilation were from word of mouth traditions and literary sources. They include wise sayings and ancient literature. They are also in mythological, legendary, poetic and fictional forms. True experiences and devout prayers were also chronicled beautifully and arranged to fit into appropriate themes. It has been said that nobody can criticize stories because they are not meant to claim or assert facts of history or sociology. Rather, stories instruct and provide the necessary meditation about relationships in life and everyday human existence. (ix)

The creation accounts included in the books are most interesting. The theme of these creation accounts includes the explanation of the myths on why things in the world follow patterns of existence. The Samal creation myth (3-5) explains the reason why Nur Muhammad, who came from Allah's light, became a man that was the one who animated Adam, who was made by God using soil and grinded rice. God promised Nur Muhammad that if he would get inside Adam, He would meet him five times everyday during prayer. This folk story explains the reason why Muslims pray five times a day. The Indian folklore (6) about creation features the reason why the peacock flutters its wings when the rain and sunshine are together. It is because Prince Peacock and Princess Sun used to be married but Peacock decided to go down to earth to be with a golden lady which was only a mustard field. When Peacock tried to fly back to his wife Sun, he could not fly back, and thus peacocks flap their wings when there is both rain and sunshine at the same time. The Burmese tale about the reason why the cock crows three times in the morning is due to the myth that when the sun and the moon were gone, the creatures asked the cocks to crow three times until they come out again. (7-8). A Filipino story explains why mosquitoes buzz around the ear hole. It is because mosquitoes are still looking for the King Crab who hid inside a hole (9-10). And the final creation story from East Timor explains the terrain of the country because a crocodile fulfilled his promise to a boy that when he dies he will turn into a beautiful island. (11)

In the section "Culture Matters" there is a Christian story from Taiwan where the Chinese devotion to the dead family members are

important. When Tio Bi Le became a Catholic she stated: "My father isn't opposed [to my new faith] but my mother says I will be a hungry ghost after I die because no one will put out food for me. But I told my mother, 'Don't worry, I listened to the Catholic teaching very carefully, and for Christians there is an everlasting banquet after death. I won't be a hungry ghost.'" (74) The Islamic story "Between Friends" is one of the most insightful stories. The story talks about three men in a village who all got sick. Abdul was a blacksmith, dishonest and drunk. Ali was a devout farmer, God-fearing, and a good person. Karim was the village imam who lived a holy life. After three days Abdul got healed. Then, in three months time Ali was also healed. However, Karim even after years of prayers died as a leper. Ali asked God, "Why Allah?" God's voice spoke to Ali and told him that he healed the drunk Abdul after his prayers for three days because that is the only level of his faith, good enough for three days. God continued telling Ali that he healed him after his prayers for three months because beyond three months he would have no longer faith. But the imam whose faith is complete does not need healing to trust Allah. Whether Karim would be healed or not, he knows the heart of God and his faith grows no matter what happens to him. (159-161)

The above stories I summarized are simple representatives of the meaningful narratives gathered in this volume. This book is for general readership. Christians and people from other religious traditions would identify themselves in the moral of the stories in the book. Christianity is well represented and interreligious as well as intertextuality among the different religious texts may be perceived as implied in the pages of this anthology. Asian Pentecostals will benefit from these Asian stories because they tell us Asians who we are, the way we think and the rich heritage we have for reflection and appropriation of our faith. Until we reflect seriously the shape of our Asian mindset we would not really contextualize and appropriate Pentecostalism as part of our daily existence in our part of the world.

R. G. dela Cruz

CONTRIBUTORS

Roli DELA CRUZ (rolidelacruz@yahoo.com) teaches NT and Greek at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Craig S. KEENER (ckeener@eastern.edu) is Professor of NT at Palmer Seminary of Eastern University in Wynnewood, PA, USA.

Lucien Jinkwang KIM (lucien.kim@gmail.com) is a M.Div. student at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Paul W. LEWIS (paul.lewis63@gmail.com) is Academic Dean and teaches theology and ethics at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines.

Wonsuk MA (wonsuk.ma@gmail.com) is the Executive Director of the Oxford Centre for Missions Studies, Oxford, UK, and is the former Academic Dean of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines.

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies
P. O. Box 377
Baguio City 2600, Philippines

www.apts.edu/ajps

(Continued from front inside cover)

MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOK REVIEWS submitted for consideration should be sent to *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, P.O. Box 377, Baguio City 2600, Philippines (fax: 63-74 442-6378; E-mail: apts@agmd.org). Manuscripts and book reviews should be typed double-spaced. Manuscripts should conform in style to the 6th Edition of Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations.* An additional style guide will be sent upon request. The *Journal* encourages contributors to submit an electronic copy prepared through a popular world processor mailed in a Windows-compatible disk or sent as an email attachment.

BOOK FOR REVIEW: Send to the *Journal* Office.

CORRESPONDENCE: Subscription correspondence and notification of change of address should be sent to the subscription office or email to: Paul Lewis (paul.lewis@gmail.com)

For the following areas, you may contact the following friends for subscription orders and other inquiries:

For North America: Paul Elbert, Church of God Theological Seminary, Cleveland, TN 37320-3330, USA (email: pelbert@windstream.net)

For Southeast Asia (except the Philippines) and South Asia:
Mr. Tan Woon Khang, 41 Nadia, 10 Persiaran Residen, Desa Parkcity 52200 Kuala Lumpur (email: tanwk8@yahoo.com)

SUBSCRIPTIONS RATES: Annual subscription rates including surface mail are: P300 for the Philippines: US$15.00 for Asian countries; and US$20.00 for other countries, including Australia and New Zealand. For more details, see the Subscription/Order form.

THIS PERIODICAL IS INDEXED in *Religion index One: Periodicals,* the *index* to books Review in religion, Religion Indexes: Ten Subset on CD-ROM, and the ATLA Religion Database on CD-ROM, published by the American Theological Library Association, 250 S. Wacker Dr., 16th Floor., Chicago, IL 60606 USA, email: atla@atla.com, http://www.atla.com/.

Printed in the Philippines