Aedesius (4th century). Syrian pioneer missionary to Ethiopia. Aedesius and his brother Frumentius were traveling on a ship with their father from Tyre to India when the ship was wrecked. All on board except the two brothers were killed; they were found by representatives of the Ethiopian King Ella Amida and taken into his service. Their education stood them in good stead and they introduced the king and his young son to the Christian faith. When Aeizanas, the prince, became king he and his court gave themselves to Christ. Eventually Aedesius returned to Tyre, while Frumentius was appointed bishop and returned to Ethiopia.

A. SCOTT MOREAU

Bibliography. S. C. Neill, HCM.

Africa. The growth of the church in Africa is one of the most surprising facts of twentieth-century church history. From an estimated 4 million professing Christians in 1900 African Christianity has grown to over 300 million adherents by the year 2000. What accounts for such growth? The common notion that nineteenth-century missionary efforts explain African Christianity's recent explosion is an oversimplification. The true story behind these statistics reaches back to the very earliest centuries of Christian history.

Beginnings. The roots of African Christianity are to be found in the four regional churches of Africa in the Roman era—Egypt, North Africa, Nubia, and Ethiopia. The origins of Christianity in Egypt are obscure. The first documentary evidence of the existence of an Egyptian church dates from A.D. 189 with Bishop Demetrius. Persecution in the third century caused the faith to spread down the Nile into rural Egypt among the Coptic-speaking population, where it found a new champion in Antony, the father of monasticism. After a period of syncretism in the fourth century, mature Coptic churches emerged in the fifth century under the leadership of independently minded monastic leaders such as Shenout. The signs of an indigenous Christianity rooted in the language and life of the people were everywhere evident, including Coptic-speaking clergy and Coptic liturgies together with Scripture translations.

North Âfrica. While Egyptian Christianity was a testimony to the importance of a contextualized Christianity, North Africa was a sober reminder of the fragility of a faith insufficiently rooted in the life of the people. The Roman segment of North Africa embraced the gospel with vigor but the Punic and Berber peoples were never adequately reached. The brilliance of North African Christianity cannot be doubted. The genius of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine is well known, yet even their brilliance could not prevent the decline of a church troubled by sepa-

ratism and persecution. Despite the failure of North African Christianity to contextualize the faith, Augustine's observation that the story of the African church is the story of the clash of two kingdoms, the City of God and the earthly city, continued to illuminate African church history.

Ethiopia. Solid evidence for the conversion of Ethiopia appears in 350, when King Ezana begins to ascribe his victories to the "Lord of All . . . Jesus Christ who has saved me" rather than to the traditional gods. Crucial to this change was the ministry of Bishop Frumentius, who had been commissioned by Athanasius of Alexandria as a missionary to Ethiopia. The precedent set by Athanasius became entrenched and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church continued to receive its abun (bishop) by appointment of the Egyptian Coptic patriarch. By Ezana's death in 400 Christianity was firmly rooted at court but had made little impact on the countryside. That changed in the sixth century with the coming of a new missionary force from Syria. The tesseatou Kidoussan ("nine saints") established monasteries in the rural areas and engaged in widespread evangelism. Linked with the Egyptian Coptic Christianity and armed with the Scriptures in the vernacular the Christians of Ethiopia entered the Middle Ages, where they "slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten" (Gibbon).

Nubia. Like Ethiopia, Nubia (modern Sudan) was never part of the Roman Empire. The Christianity that infiltrated Nubia began a religious revolution in Nubia that transformed both people and prince by the sixth century. Archaeological evidence that came to light only in the 1960s has revealed the vigor of Nubian Christianity. Two sixth-century missionaries from Byzantium, Julian and Longinus, are credited with officially introducing the Christian faith, in its Monophysite form, to this kingdom along the Blue Nile.

The African Middle Ages. These four original sources of African Christianity faced their greatest challenge during the African Middle Ages. The first challenge, which inaugurated the African Middle Ages, came from a new religion—Islam. The second challenge, which brought the African Middle Ages to an end, came from the kingdoms of European Christendom represented by the Portuguese and the Dutch.

North African and Nubian collapse. The rise and spread of Islam across Africa's northern shore in the seventh and eighth centuries was followed in the tenth and eleventh centuries by a southward expansion led by the merchant and the missionary. North Africa was most dramatically affected by this expansion of Islam. The decline of North African Christianity was nearly total by the sixteenth century. Attempts by the

1

fourth crusade (1215) to liberate North Africa politically and Franciscan attempts to revive it spiritually ended in failure. A faith only lightly rooted in the life of the people faded into memory.

Nubia proved more resistant. During the eighth through tenth centuries, while Islam continued to expand in Africa, Nubian Christianity reached its height. But in 1272 Muslim Turks sent by the legendary Saladin overthrew northern Nubia. In 1504 the southernmost kingdom, Alwa, was conquered by a tribe from the south recently converted to Islam. The last word from Nubian Christianity occurs in 1524 when they wrote to the Coptic patriarch of Egypt for help to meet their critical shortage of clergy. The lack of indigenous church leaders combined with the failure to evangelize the peoples to the south conspired to undermine Nubian Christianity.

Egyptian and Ethiopian survival. Christianity survived the onslaught of Islam but not without losses. Caliph Umar had forbidden new churches or monasteries but under the Umayyids (661–750) this law was not enforced. Other forms of pressure, however, were applied. In 744 the Muslim governor of Egypt offered tax exemption for Christians who converted to Islam. Twenty-four thousand responded. Throughout the African Middle Ages the Coptic church suffered from a lack of trained leadership, discriminatory laws, and a stagnant ritualism in worship. Nonetheless, it survived. By 1600 Egypt was a "country of dual religious cultures."

Ethiopian Christianity also followed the path of survival. After a crisis in the tenth century when the pagan Agau nearly toppled the king, Ethiopian clergy began to work for reform and revival of the national faith. One movement of renewal brought a new dynasty to the imperial throne of Ethiopia. The most popular leader of the Zagwe dynasty, Lalibela, strengthened Ethiopia's religious patriotism by building a New Jerusalem in the Ethiopian highlands and strengthening the belief that Ethiopians were the new Israel through whom God would bring light to the nations. Under the missionary monk TEK-LA-HAYMANOT Ethiopian Christianity experienced revival. New missionary efforts among the Shoa of the south met with success. Emperor Zara-Yagob (d. 1468) brought Ethiopia to new heights of glory but by 1529 the kingdom was in decline. Ahmad Gragn, a Muslim, successfully overthrew the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia but his reign was short-lived. Within a few years Christian Ethiopia was restored, this time with the help of a new player on the African stage—the Portuguese.

The Portuguese. Inspired by their visionary leader, Prince Henry, the Portuguese embarked on a campaign of aggressive expansion between 1450 and 1700. This expansion led to the Euro-

pean "discovery" of Africa and the establishment of a trading empire that spread from Lisbon to India. Christian communities were established in West Africa and in port cities along the southern and eastern coasts but Portuguese missions enjoyed its greatest success in the ancient kingdom of Congo, where the king Afonso I promoted the new faith aggressively. Yet the missionary efforts of the Catholic missionaries were eventually undermined by the commercial interest of Portuguese merchants who quickly saw potential for a profit in the slave trade. Hatred of the Portuguese trader soon was directed at the Portuguese priest. By the time of Livingstone's travels in the mid-nineteenth century few vestiges of Portuguese Christianity could be found.

Dutch Expansion. In 1652, one hundred representatives of the Dutch East India Company landed on Africa's southernmost tip and proceeded to establish a way station for the company ships traveling from Amsterdam to Batavia in the Pacific. From this modest beginning came Cape Town and the beginnings of the nation of South Africa. The first church established was that of the Dutch Reformed Church but by 1900 Lutherans and Moravians had also begun their work. The churches of the settlers soon came into conflict with a missionary Christianity spawned by the wave of GREAT AWAKENINGS that were sweeping North America, England, and Europe in the eighteenth century. An early representative of this new evangelical movement was the Moravian Georg Schmidt, who began work among the Khoisan of the Cape in 1738. He soon came into conflict with the established church and was stopped from further mission work in 1748.

African Christianity in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. The Antislavery crusade. While Schmidt was struggling with the stubbornness of his Dutch hosts, English evangelicals began to struggle with the issue of slavery. John Wesley condemned slavery in a pamphlet of 1774, and a number of his followers took up the cause. Early opposition to slavery came from Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce through the support of his upper-class evangelical friends (the CLAPHAM SECT). The first breakthrough came in 1807 with the passage of a bill prohibiting the slave trade but allowing ownership. By 1833 legislation was passed abolishing slavery everywhere in the British Empire. British evangelicals had opposed slavery both on humanitarian grounds as well as missiological ones. They realized that their desire to engage in missions in Africa would be seriously thwarted by the existence of slavery. The missionaries that English societies sent out to Africa were therefore equipped with the dual message of "Christianity and commerce." It was thought that Western-style commerce would

make slavery economically unnecessary, thus permitting the message of Christianity to make its way deep into the lives of the hearers.

The growth of Christianity in Western Africa. In 1787, 411 freed blacks left London to found a community called Freetown in what is now Sierra Leone. It became a haven for freed slaves and an outpost for the spread of the gospel. Like the Puritans who settled New England, these early settlers burned with religious zeal. Freetown became a Christian commonwealth that inspired similar Christian communities farther down the coast in the Nigerian towns of Abeokuta and Badagry. "Recaptives" (slaves liberated by the British Navy) added to the population of Freetown. Many converted to the Christian faith and found an opportunity for training at Freetown's Fourah Bay college, established in 1827.

One of the most outstanding graduates of the college was a young recaptive named SAMUEL AJAYI CROWTHER. Crowther was ordained in 1843, and in 1864 became Africa's first Anglican bishop. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) recognized in Crowther the leader they needed to further the spread of Christianity in Africa. Under HENRY VENN, an aggressive program of Africanization was adopted that called for the immediate building of self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing local churches. Crowther was asked to implement this strategy in the Nigerian interior. Through the failure of some members of his team and through the hostility of white missionaries opposed to Venn's policies, Crowther was forced to resign. Leadership of the CMS work in West Africa fell into white hands. This led to a number of African-initiated churches. In addition to Nigeria, work went on in Liberia, Ghana, Cameroon, Gabon, Senegal, and Zaire, which was the main arena for Catholic missions.

Southern Africa. While West Africa was evangelized largely by Africans returning to their motherland, South Africa from the very earliest days of Christianity was dominated by the white expatriate. Despite the common denominator of white domination, there was little unity in South African Christianity, which saw three distinct and mutually hostile expressions of Christianity emerge in the nineteenth century.

The first expression was that of Afrikaner Christianity and the Dutch Reformed Church. After England gained control of South Africa in 1815, conflicts between Boer farmers and English administrators multiplied, which led to mass migrations of Afrikaner families to northeastern regions of South Africa. One small party of "voortrekkers" encountered an army of Zulu warriors. Their surprising victory at the battle of Blood River in 1838 coupled with the tradition that the trekkers had made a special covenant with God prior to the battle fueled the belief that

Afrikaner Christians were an elect nation endowed by God with both a right to rule the land and a right to resist the nonelect. This religious tradition became a political and cultural force that found expression in the formation of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party.

A second expression of South African church life in the nineteenth century was that of "missionary Christianity," which made major inroads into the Xhosa community and produced outstanding believers such as the hymn writer Ntsikana and the African Presbyterian leader, Tivo Soga. Such African leaders encouraged the missionary-dominated churches to engage in programs of training, including Lovedale College and Fort Hare University. DAVID LIVINGSTONE'S fame exceeded that of all other nineteenthcentury missionaries despite his failure as evangelist (he saw only one convert, who eventually fell away). His achievements as an explorer, an antislavery crusader, and missions promoter established his place in history.

Though missionary Christianity tended to emphasize an inward piety and a broadly evangelical theology that stood in contrast with the more reformed Afrikaners by the late nineteenth century, attempts were made to bridge the gap. Most successful was Andrew Murray Jr., moderator of the DRC and champion of both evangelical piety and missions. His emphasis on "Absolute Surrender" and the formation of new agencies such as the South Africa General Mission (now African Evangelical Fellowship) acted as a corrective to the Afrikaner Christianity.

A third expression of South African Christianity was that of the social gospel championed by people like the Anglican bishop John Colenso and John Jabavu. The emphasis of this form of Christianity was upon economic and political justice. Colenso opposed the Afrikaner and English messianic nationalism, which he saw at the root of injustice in South Africa. His clash with Bishop Robert Gray of Cape Town ended with the formation of an independent Anglican communion in South Africa. Like Colenso, John Jabavu regarded politics as an appropriate arena for Christian involvement. A tireless campaigner for African rights, he founded his own independent newspaper. This third expression of Christianity would become a major force in the years following South Africa's Sharpville massacre of 1960.

Despite the fragmented witness to the kingdom of God provided by South African Christianity, this region entered the twentieth century as one of the most Christianized regions in all of Africa. Yet white domination of the churches would eventually spawn a vigorous movement of "Ethiopianism"—separatist churches that demanded respect from the Westerner and a greater share of church leadership. Eastern Africa. The nineteenth century witnessed the reintroduction of Christianity into the former Nubia (Sudan) and in Mombasa (Kenya). Ethiopian Christianity was also revitalized during the century. Additionally the lands of Tanzania and Uganda saw the initial introduction of this ancient African faith among their own people.

Ethiopia and Sudan. In 1830 the CMS arrived in Ethiopia. Originally working within the Coptic church, Protestant missionaries such as J. Ludwig Krapf clashed with Coptic church authorities, leading to expulsion in 1843. Under Emperor Menelik II, Ethiopian Christianity experienced a new surge of life and entered the twentieth century carefully guarding its dearly won political and religious independence. In Sudan, Catholic work under the leadership of the Verona Fathers was swept away by the Islamic Mahdist movement.

Kenya. Krapf began work in Kenya in 1844 after his expulsion from Ethiopia. Together with his colleague Johann Rebmann, Krapf envisioned a chain of mission stations across the continent, linking up with Freetown in West Africa. His vision would guide numerous mission agencies for the next century. Though he attempted to establish the eastern link of this chain at Rabai Mpyia, it was the later formation of Freetown in 1874 as a refuge for runaway slaves that gave Christianity its firmest foothold in British East Africa. Outstanding Christian leaders came from the community at Freetown, including David Koi, Kenya's first Protestant martyr. These missionary efforts on the coast were soon augmented by a new thrust inland. James Stewart, a Presbyterian missionary at Lovedale College, was recruited by Livingstone to establish an industrial mission in the Kenyan interior in 1891. The CMS began work among the Kikuyu of Kenya's central highlands in 1901. PETER CAMERON SCOTT and his newly founded AF-RICA INLAND MISSION began churches among the Kamba people in 1895. The Holy Ghost Fathers began work in Nairobi in 1899.

Tanzania. Catholic missionary efforts centered around the formation of a "Christian Village" at Bagamoyo (1868), where three hundred freed slaves found a place of refuge. Protestant work was conducted by the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), who were vigorous in their opposition to the Arab slave trade that was decimating the inland peoples of Africa's Great lake region, where the LMS and CMS had established a presence. Through the intervention of Germany the Arab slave trade was broken and a number of German mission agencies introduced Lutheranism.

Uganda. More dramatic than in any other part of East Africa was the response to the gospel in Uganda. Christianity was introduced by the CMS in 1877 and flourished under the zealous leadership of Alexander Mackay. White Fathers intro-

duced Catholicism in 1879. Despite the indifference of King Mutesa I and the violent hostility of his son Mwanga, Protestant and Catholic Christianity eventually produced a religious revolution in Uganda that spilled beyond the borders of the kingdom of Buganda into the smaller kingdoms that make up the modern-day nation of Uganda.

The missionary factor. The colonial era (1885–1960) brought sweeping changes to African Christianity. The most notable change was the proliferation of missionaries and agencies from the West and the corresponding growth of African Christianity. In 1900 there were an estimated 4 million Christians spread throughout the continent compared to 60 million Muslims. By the autumn of colonialism in 1950 the number of African Christians had reached 34 million.

The missionaries of the colonial era were, on the whole, a remarkable lot. Like ROWLAND BING-HAM of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM; now SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL MINISTRIES), they were a tough-minded breed who often buried their colleagues and kept going. Like George GRENFELL of the Baptist Mission Society of Congo, they were tireless explorers and enemies of the slave trade. Like Albert Schweitzer of Gabon they were often humanitarians. Like Mary Slessor of the Calabar mission many were single women who gave their entire lives to the work. Like P. A. Bennett, acting secretary of the CMS in Nigeria, they were sometimes incorrigible racists. But like Archdeacon Dennis, also of the CMS in Nigeria, they more often opposed racism with equal vigor. Like Father Shanahan of Nigeria they aggressively founded schools. Most important, like Carl Christian Reindorf of Ghana, they mastered the vernacular languages of the people and like George Pilkington of Uganda, they translated the Scriptures and trained indigenous evangelists. This last factor, vernacular translations and the training of national evangelists, accounts for the remarkable church growth that took place during the colonial decades.

Independent religious movements. One reaction to the missionary factor was the birth of the Afri-CAN INITIATED CHURCH MOVEMENT. The independent churches that were founded tended to fall into distinct groupings. Some were primarily concerned with African leadership and only secondarily concerned with changing missionary theology or worship. A second grouping emphasized healing and the supernatural. Armed with Scriptures in their own languages they struck out on their own, like WILLIAM WADE HARRIS of Liberia, whose preaching in West Africa between 1913 and 1915 claimed over one hundred thousand adherents. Others like SIMON KIMBANGU of Zaire catalyzed separation from missionary churches into new denominations. In some cases these prophet churches moved clearly outside the

bounds of orthodoxy. Such was the case with Isaiah Shembe and his Church of the Nazarites in South Africa. After his death in 1935 his followers proclaimed that he had risen from the dead and was in fact the true Christ for Africa. A third category covers movements of revival within established denominations. The passion in these types of movements was the discovery of a vital Christianity to replace a numbing nominalism in the church. The outstanding example of this third type of movement is the East Africa Revival that swept much of East Africa from 1930 onwards.

Christianity in Independent Africa. In 1960, fourteen African nations achieved selfhood and inaugurated a new era within African Christianity. Henry Venn's vision of an African Christianity that was self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting was at last realized. In denomination after denomination African leaders replaced missionaries. The new leaders faced a number of new challenges in the modern era. Five challenges in particular have dominated African Christianity in the closing decades of the twentieth century.

Church and state. The overarching fact of modern African life since the late 1960s was widespread disillusionment with the nation-state. As the promise of the new African ruling elite turned sour, criticism began to mount. The common response of the ruling elite to the growing chorus of criticism was tightened control, promotion of personality cults and messianic nationalism, and growing conflict with the church. Kwame Nkrumah's tragic rise and fall in Ghana was all too typical. Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, Liberia's Samuel Doe, Uganda's Idi Amin, and Ethiopia's Mengistu Haile Mariam were typical of leaders who saw the church as a dangerous independent voice. Church responses have varied from silent partnership with the ruling elite (Roman Catholicism in Rwanda, DRC in South Africa) to critical protest of state injustice (Desmond Tutu in South Africa, NCCK in Kenya). Occasionally the state has lashed out violently against the church as in the cases of the martyred Archbishop Janani Luwum of Uganda and the numerous imprisoned pastors of Mengistu's Ethiopia.

Unity and diversity. Over six thousand different independent churches were documented in Africa by the late 1960s. Organizations like the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), the Organization of African Instituted Churches (OAIC), and the Association of Evangelicals in Africa (AEA) have sought to bring some unity to the fractured body of Christ in Africa. A series of Pan-African Christian Leadership Assemblies (PACLA) have sought additional harmony by bringing leaders of the AACC and AEA together. Parachurch agencies have also played their part

in bridging denominational dividing lines, some by working with the independent churches.

Theology and culture. In Roman Catholic as well as Protestant circles great effort has gone into the formation of a Christian theology that would adequately address the modern African context. The varieties of theologies within the African context range from theologies of identity to traditional evangelical formulations to radical liberation theology. African evangelical theology is still emerging, but important voices include Tokunboh Adeyemo, Kwame Bediako, Byang Kato, Lamin Sanneh, and Tite Tiénou.

African missions and church growth. In the 1970s Kenyan Presbyterian leader John Gatu called for a Moratorium on Western missionaries in order to foster "selfhood" within the church. The outcome of this debate has been a decrease in "mainline" missionaries (5,000 in 1959 to 3,000 in early 1970) At the same time there has been a resurgence of missions in three other groups. In 1974 a Synod of Bishops at Rome rejected the call for moratorium and pledged 100,000 new missionaries by the year 2000. Evangelical missionaries from the faith missions grew from 11,000 in the 1970s to over 16,000 in the late 1980s. In addition dozens of new African mission agencies emerged in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The most dramatic story of church growth in Africa, however, was the expansion of Pentecostal and charismatic preachers, evangelists, and missionaries in the closing decades of the twentieth century. The gospel of health, wealth, and wholeness accounted for much of the appeal of this form of Christianity.

Discipleship, leadership, and nominalism. The greatest challenge facing African Christian leadership was the challenge not of the unreached but of the undiscipled. If one accepts the statistics that African Christianity has grown from an estimated 4 million professing Christians in 1900 to some 300 million adherents today then one is forced to ask how these huge numbers of people can be discipled. Though the promise of African Christianity is great, the church of Africa must wrestle with the dilemma of a Christianity that may be "expanding at the periphery" even while it is "collapsing at the center" (Roland Oliver). Leadership development and the training of the laity seem to be the crucial needs of this continent "shaped like a question mark" (Ali Mazrui).

MARK SHAW

Bibliography. J. Baur, 2000 Years of Christianity in Africa; J. de Gruchy, The Church Struggle in South Africa; R. Gray, Black Christians and White Missionaries; C. P. Groves, The Planting of the Church in Africa; A. Hastings, The Church in Africa, 1450–1950; E. Isichei, A History of Christianity in Africa; L. Sanneh, West African Christianity; M. Shaw, The Kingdom of God in Africa.

Ansgar (801–865). Early French missionary to Sweden. Known for his humility, courage, and initiative, he was born in northwestern France. Displaying serious Christian commitment at an early age, his missionary zeal came most likely from the Corbey monastery, which found spiritual roots in Columban and Irish monasticism (see Celtic Missionary Movement). Later he helped found a monastery in Westphalia (New Corbey) for newly converted Saxons, holding the office of preacher and first master.

Ansgar's first mission was to Denmark (c. 823), accompanying recently baptized King Harald to establish converts in Schleswig. In 829 Swedish officials arrived at the court of Louis the Pious (successor to Charlemagne) asking for missionaries. Ansgar responded, leaving Denmark. He and his companions endured hardships and piracy, eventually arriving in Birka on the island of Björkö in Lake Mälar, west of present-day Stockholm.

Among Ansgar's first acquaintances were Christian slaves, brought to Sweden from Viking raids. These and others (including members of the royal court) were organized into Ansgar's first congregation. Ansgar left Sweden to assume the archbishopric of Hamburg. His return to Sweden was delayed nearly twenty years by pagan reactions to Christianity. Upon returning, he reorganized the congregation, later abandoned when commerce moved from Birka to Uppsala. Ansgar's legacy is that of a harbinger. Although his personal efforts yielded little lasting fruit, Christianity would be established in Sweden some 250 years later with the destruction of the pagan temple at Uppsala.

STEVEN J. PIERSON

Bibliography. K. S. Latourette, *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty;* R. Murray, *A Brief History of the Church of Sweden;* Rimbert, *Anskar, the Apostle of the North.*

Asia. Asia covers thirty independent nations in the vast areas of land from Japan in Northeast Asia, numerous other nations in Southeast Asia and South Asia, and up to Turkey in West Asia. Asia represents three major cultural blocs (Mesopotamia, India, and China) and the birthplaces of the major living WORLD RELIGIONS of Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. The region's population of approximately three billion represents 60 percent of the world's total population. Its five thousand years of history have made it a continent of rich cultural heritage. The major wars of the past four decades have been fought in Asia, bringing much suffering to millions of Asians but also awakening them to their need for spiritual values.

Historian Arnold Toynbee once stated, "The changing events of Asia will decide the future of the world tomorrow." With the rapid moderniza-

tion and economic dynamism of Asian nations, particularly in the Asia-Pacific basin (Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and China), many are saying that "the 21st Century will be the Age of Asia."

Changing Patterns of Asian Societies: Politi*cal Changes.* Politically, there are three major factors affecting Asia and the Asian church. First, every nation in Asia except Japan and Thailand have experienced bitter foreign colonial domination, especially from the Western nations. But today all nations in Asia are politically independent. National independence from political COLONIALISM has brought enormous changes in the political structures of the national governments as well as many internal conflicts and wars among different ethnic groups in many Asian nations. Related to independence and strong Nationalism is the withdrawal of Western powers, finalized for Britain in July of 1997 when Hong Kong reverted back to China. The mass exodus of British troops from the former colonies in South and Southeast Asia, the French defeat in former French Indo-China (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), and the American military withdrawal from South Vietnam, Taiwan, and the Philippines have created a political vacuum in many regions.

In the past it was the foreigners who controlled the internal as well as foreign affairs of their colonies. The expatriates regulated missionary activities according to their own national interests. In contrast today an increasing number of Asian nations have used political pressures against foreign missionary activities in their countries, especially in the communist (China, North Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos) and Islamic (Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Central and Middle Eastern) nations. Hindu nations (India and Nepal) and Buddhist nations (Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Myanmar) also bring pressure against Christian activities. In 1997 more than 83 percent of the Asian population resided in countries where the acquisition of a missionary visa was very limited. A creative access strategy is needed in order to facilitate alternative ways of carrying on missionary activities (see Creative Access Coun-TRIES).

Second, as a result of this self-control, Asian nations are experiencing a resurgence of nationalism and traditional values. This resurgence which derives from chauvinistic, patriotic passion has been expressed in cultural, linguistic, and religious ways. A common motto throughout Asia is "Import Western technology, but retain your own traditional culture."

Third, the rise of the communist threat was real throughout Asia during the Korean War (1950–53) and the Vietnam War (1964–75). Communist ideology still controls over two billion

people in China, North Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. In these countries the activities of national churches and of foreign religious workers are restricted.

Economic and Social Changes. One word that describes Asia the best is "changes," for Asia is rapidly changing in social and cultural patterns as well as in economic living standards. New building construction sites for high-rise apartments, department stores, and government offices are commonly observed in major cities of Asia. Rapid Urbanization, traffic congestion, air, noise, and water pollution, drugs, prostitution, and crime have marred the dreams of many Asians. The lifestyle of the urban cities is getting more materialistic, secularistic, and Westernized. However, rural people are still living as they always have for hundreds of years. There is a widening gap between urban and rural and between rich and poor. With the increase in economic power, many Christians in Asia are not only able to manage their churches financially but also to support their own missionaries within and outside their borders.

With the rise of living standards and the rapid MODERNIZATION of Asian society, Asians are facing many social and cultural changes. The influx of Western cultures into Asia through mass media by introducing Hollywood movies into theaters and TV, rock music, fashion shows, and other secular and hedonistic events along with fast food chains have made a tremendous impact upon Asian lifestyles. Consequently, there is an increasing gap between the older and younger generations. Young people today care much less about traditional culture, have no memory of the wars and the sufferings of their parents' generation, and readily accept new ideas and practices.

Religious Resurgence. There are three large non-Christian religious groups which constitute the majority of Asia's three billion people: one billion Muslims, 700 million Hindus, and 300 million Buddhists (see ISLAM, HINDUISM, BUD-DHISM). There has been a resurgence of major religions in Asia and religions are used by the national governments to promote unity among different tribes, cultural groups, and languages. The influence of Islam, seen in the reintroduction of Shari'a and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, is growing. Malaysia exemplifies this. The Federation of Malaysia consists of West Malaysia, Sarawak, and Sabah. It has 22.3 million people, 52.5 percent of whom are Malays, 30 percent Chinese, 8.1 percent Indians, and 8.9 percent tribals. The Federation is trying to unite these different races through the unification of language and religion. The Malaysian government enforced the Bahasa Malaysian program in which the Malay language is used, instead of the vernaculars. Consequently, there has been a gradual assimilation of the Chinese and Indians into the Malay Islamic culture.

Buddhism, too, has been revived in Thailand, Myanmar, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, and other Buddhist nations. Throughout urban cities and rural communities one can observe thousands of devout Buddhists worshiping the statues of Buddha and offering food and burning incense in Buddhist temples.

In India, Hinduism was also revived through its reform movements such as Brammo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Rama Krishna Mission of the nineteenth century. Radical Hindu followers of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) contributed significantly to rejuvenate Hinduism and Hindu nationalism in India and make minority communities of Muslims and Christians feel threatened and insecure by insisting that a true Indian must be a Hindu.

In Japan, there is a renewed interest in traditional religious traditions, including some signs of increasing links between the state and Shintoism. Nevertheless, with rapid church growth in many nations in Asia, there has been an increasing confrontation between Christianity and other traditional religions of Asia. Therefore, it is crucial for the Asian church to learn how to deal with the traditional religions of Asia.

Asia: The Least Evangelized Continent. Asia is the least evangelized continent in the world, with approximately 3 percent of the three billion people following Christ. Johnstone provides statistics of seven large Asian nations which have small Christian populations, including China, Taiwan, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Japan, and Thailand. The vast majority of the unreached people today reside in these countries.

The AD2000 and Beyond Movement has emphasized the evangelization of unreached peoples in the 10/40 Window. These countries cover the whole continent of Asia from Japan to India, and from Central Asia to North Africa. The Adopt-a-People Campaign of the U.S. Center for World Mission in Pasadena reports that there are approximately two billion people in 11,000 unreached people groups (out of a worldwide total of 24,000).

The vast majority of these two billion are found in four major blocs. The Islamic world contains over one billion Muslims, most of whom reside in Asia, with over 4,000 unreached Muslim people groups in the world. The Hindu world of India and Nepal represents more than 700 million Hindus in 2,000 unreached groups. Most of the 300 million Buddhists are found in Southeast and Northeast Asia, representing approximately 1,000 unreached people groups. The Chinese in China today represent by far the largest number of unreached peoples in the world with 1.2 billion people, living in some 1,000 un-

reached people groups. There are millions of other people who belong to 3,000 small individual tribes. Therefore, Asia still presents the greatest challenge to Christian missions today and in the next century.

Most nations in the 10/40 WINDOW do not easily grant visas for foreign missionary work. Approximately 20 percent of the total missionary force in the world works in these restricted nations in Asia. This means that the future focus of world missions in the twenty-first century must be on the two billion unreached peoples of Asia. With the development of modern transportation and mass media through television, film, radio, telephone, fax, and e-mail service, we can now know the background of these unreached peoples in Asia (see also Information Technology, MEDIA, and MASS COMMUNICATION). The GLOBAL CONSULTATION OF WORLD EVANGELIZATION (GCOWE '95) which met in Seoul, Korea, with 4,000 participants from 186 nations in May 1995 adopted a motto, "A church for every people and the gospel for every person," and challenged all participants to pray especially for the unreached peoples of the world within the 10/40 Window.

Expansion of Christianity in Asia. The history of Christianity in Asia goes back to the first century. According to the Acts of Thomas, St. Thomas came to the Malabar coast of Kerela, South India, to preach the gospel to the Indians and became a martyr near Madras in A.D. 72. The Christian message penetrated into the regions of Media, Persia, Parthia, and Bactria (modern Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan) by A.D. 150. According to the Nestorian Tablet which was discovered in the city of Sian in central China in 1625, a Nestorian missionary from the Syrian church, Alopen, went to China in A.D. 635. During the Mongolian Empire of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, several Roman Catholic friars such as John of Plano Carpini, John of Montecorvino, and William Rubruck went to China as missionaries.

With the historic voyage of Vasco Da Gama to Capetown, South Africa, in 1498 and to Malabar, India, two years later, the Western colonial age known as "the Vasco Da Gama Age" began in Asia, Africa, and South America. Francis Xavier, a Jesuit missionary, came to Kagoshima, Japan, in 1549 and ministered to the Japanese for more than two years, moved to South China in 1552, and died there after four months. Since then, thousands of other Roman Catholic missionaries have been commissioned to Asia.

The beginning of the Protestant missions in the early eighteenth century heralded another era in Asia's mission history. In 1706 the first Protestant missionaries arrived in South India from Europe. The Danish-Halle Mission sent Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Henrich Plutschau to Tranquebar to work among the

Tamil-speaking Indians. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society in England commissioned William Carey to Calcutta, India. He did missionary work in India for forty-one years. In 1807 Robert Morrison of the London Missionary Society came to Macao and translated the Bible into the Chinese language. In 1813 Adoniram Judson from the United States arrived in Rangoon, Burma, and ministered to the Burmese for thirty-seven years. Since then, thousands of other Protestant missionaries from Europe, North America, and Australia/New Zealand have followed these pioneers to work in different parts of Asia

Church Growth in Asia. The amazing church growth in Asia since the end of World War II has been widely reported throughout the world. Several countries have experienced dramatic rates of church growth. The Christian population in South Korea has reached 12 million Protestants (25% of the population) and 2.4 million Roman Catholics (6% of the population) among 47 million people since the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in Korea in 1884. China, the most populous nation in the world, had never exceeded one percent Christian population until the Peoples' Republic of China was established in 1949. Since the modernization of China began in 1979, the Christian population has sharply increased. Some China watchers in Hong Kong report that there are between 50 million and 70 million Christians and 50,000 house churches (see Chinese House Church Movement), even though the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) and the Communist Party only acknowledge the growth of the church from one million Protestant members in 11,470 churches in 1949 to 7,000 state churches with 6 million Christians and 20,000 registered home meetings in 1995.

The Philippines, which is the only Roman Catholic nation in Asia, has a growing number of Protestant believers. Indonesia, with the largest Muslim population in the world, has also experienced rapid church growth. After the communist coup failed in Indonesia in 1966, President Suharto's government guaranteed religious freedom to five major religions (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism) according to the "Pantasila" policy in the Constitution. Singapore, known as the crossroads of Asia with a multiracial and multireligious background, has Protestant and Roman Catholic populations of 8 percent and 5.7 percent respectively, particularly among educated Chinese and Indians. Nepal, the only Hindu kingdom in Asia, was very hostile to the gospel until a multipolitical party system developed in 1991. It has experienced remarkable church growth from only a handful of believers to over 52,000 Protestant members (0.56% of the population) and 2,100 Roman Catholics (0.02% of the population) today.

Slower growth has been seen in countries such as Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, and India. Minimal growth has been experienced in nations where there are tremendous struggles and resulting pressures from unsympathetic governmental and religious leaders, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and the Middle Eastern nations.

Seven Basic Issues of an Asian Church. Many Asian church leaders and theologians have discussed various issues of the Asian church through different consultations. With the rapid growth of the church in different parts of Asia, the Asian churches are facing seven important issues: (1) grassroots evangelism must be emphasized in order to reach the vast number of non-Christians in Asia; (2) leadership training for both full-time Christian workers and lay leaders is needed since there is a tremendous shortage of trained leaders at the local church level; (3) since lay Christians play a very important role in church growth, there has been an increasing demand for lay training programs; (4) national Christians must seriously evaluate their own contextual situation in order to find the most effective indigenous ways to communicate the gospel of Jesus Christ (see Contextualiza-TION); (5) theological issues emerging from various kinds of Asian theologies, religious Dia-LOGUE, RELIGIOUS PLURALISM, and HUMAN RIGHTS have created theological confusion in the Asian theological arena; (6) Christian social responsibility with its holistic approach must be emphasized to help the poor and to alleviate the suffering from social injustice and discrimination; and (7) spiritual renewal within the church is desperately needed to bring spiritual revival among the members of the church. There must be a discernible difference between the lifestyles of Christians and their non-Christian neighbors.

The Asian Missionary Movement. It is encouraging to observe that many Asian churches particularly since 1970 have been sending their own cross-cultural missionaries. Many Asian church leaders who attended the international missions congresses were deeply challenged for the task of world evangelization, and as a result organized their own national and regional evangelism congresses and missions consultations (see ASIAN MISSION BOARDS AND SOCIETIES).

Consequently, the Asia Missions Association (AMA) was organized in 1973 to coordinate missions agencies throughout Asia. In 1990 the First Asian Missions Congress was held in Seoul, Korea, sponsored by the Missions Commission of the Evangelical Fellowship of Asia (EFA) with 1,200 participants from different parts of Asia. The theme of the congress was "World Missions: The Asian Challenge." The Second Asian Mis-

sions Congress was held in Pattaya, Thailand, in 1997 with 350 participants with the theme, "Into the 21st Century: Asian Churches in Missions." In 1997 approximately 30,000 Asian missionaries from India, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, and others joined their hands with Western missionaries for world evangelization. Two nations in Asia which sent out the largest number of cross-cultural missionaries were India and South Korea with 20,000 and 5,500 cross-cultural missionaries respectively.

Challenge of Asia to Christian Missions **Today.** As Paul had his missionary concern for the Jews and Gentiles in Palestine, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Achaia, and Rome in the first century, so Asian Christians today must have their deep prayerful concern to reach their own people with the gospel of Christ on the grassroots level. How Paul evangelized the largest city of Ephesus in Asia Minor in the first century provides a very significant missiological lesson to the Asian church today. There are a number of similarities between the Ephesus of Paul's time and urban cities in Asia today and between the Ephesian church then and the Asian church in our time. If Paul were to come to Asia today and walk on the streets of Bombay, Singapore, Jakarta, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Taipei, Seoul, and Tokyo, what kind of ministry would he launch to bring the good news of the gospel of Jesus Christ to Asians?

The city of Ephesus of the first century and Asian cities today have three main similarities. First, Ephesus, which was the largest city in Asia Minor with a population of 500,000, had a great harbor, emporium, library, commerce, education, and culture. Likewise, Asian cities are crowded with the masses of people and many high-rise buildings developed in modern surroundings. Second, as Ephesus was the religious city with the temple of Artemis (Acts 19:23–41), so is Asia today filled with spirits, idols, and superstitious beliefs of traditional religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Shintoism, and Islam. Third, Ephesus was a sinful city, as Paul described it as "having lost all sensitivity, they have given themselves over to sensuality so as to indulge in every kind of impurity, with a continual lust for more" (Eph. 4:19). Likewise, Asian cities are filled with sin, crime, drugs, sexual immorality, bribery, and injustice.

When Paul faced the great task of evangelizing Ephesus and many other cities in Asia Minor and Europe in his time, he concentrated on the leadership training of the Ephesian church by emphasizing the spiritual gifts: "It was he who gave some to be apostles, some to be prophets, and some to be evangelists, and some to be pastors and teachers, to prepare God's people for works of service, so that the body of Christ may

Augustine of Canterbury

be built up" (Eph. 4:11–12). There is a Chinese proverb that teaches a similar lesson, "Give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach a man to fish and he will have food for a lifetime." It was imperative, therefore, for Paul to train the leaders of the Ephesian church in order that they would be able to train others to bring the gospel to 500,000 people in the city of Ephesus. Likewise, the training of national church leaders in the Asian church today is also imperative in order to reach three billion Asians with the gospel. These spiritual leaders will be able to mobilize the laity of the church at the grassroots level in order to penetrate into the non-Christian Asian society with the gospel of Christ.

Therefore, three important proposals need to be stressed for the evangelization of Asia. First, the burden of communicating the gospel and making disciples in Asia today must rest primarily with the national Christians. Therefore, the national church must implement the concept of "Christianization of the nation" among the national Christians. Second, effective church growth in Asia depends on the creative and spirit-filled leadership of pastors and lay leaders. Third, and finally, the top priority of the Asian church in the twenty-first century must be the training of national church leaders in order that they would be able to mobilize the laity of the church.

God has always worked through his chosen people in the history of redemption. Peter says in 1 Peter 2:9-10, "But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to God, that you may declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light. Once you were not a people, but now you are the people of God; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy." In centuries past God has used the churches in Europe and North America to bring the gospel to Asia, Africa, and South America. Asia, known spiritually as the darkest continent in the world with the least Christian population of any continent, is experiencing God's spiritual awakening among its peoples. God has chosen Asia and the Asian church in the twenty-first century to proclaim his wonderful light to millions of Asians and around the world.

Bong Rin Ro

Bibliography. S. Athyal, ed., Church in Asia Today; D. E. Hoke, ed., The Church in Asia; S. H. Moffett, A History of Christianity in Asia; M. Mohamad and S. Ishihara, The Voice of Asia; B. R. Ro, ed., Christian Suffering in Asia; P. T. Welty, The Asians.

Augustine of Canterbury (d. c. 604). Churchman and missionary to England. Augustine was prior of St. Andrews monastery in Rome when he was commissioned by Gregory the Great in

596 to convert the pagan English and "refound" the church in England. He was a reluctant missionary, but one of duty who led a band of thirty monks to England. He was well received by Ethelbert, king of Kent, whose wife was already a Christian before their marriage. Within one year of his arrival, Augustine had converted the king and many of his people. In 597 Augustine traveled to Arlis, France, to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Gregory then made him metropolitan bishop of England and established England's independence from the French see. Augustine failed to regain the allegiance of the ancient Celtic church and was insensitive to local customs. He did, however, lay a firm foundation for the church in England through the establishment of the see at Canterbury and building of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul in that city. Augustine's evangelistic effort was limited primarily to Kent and the surrounding region, but led eventually to the conversion of all England.

KENNETH D. GILL

Bibliography. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*; M. Deanesly, *Augustine of Canterbury*; V. L. Walter, *EDT*, p. 105.

Augustine of Hippo (354–430). Seminal African theologian and apologist. Aurelius Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius in North Africa, is the most important Latin theologian of the Roman Catholic Church and the spiritual father of all the major Reformers. In many of his voluminous writings Augustine discusses problems of significance to missions, as he was actively involved in reaching African people as well as Roman citizens. Augustine held both a strong belief in God's predestination of people and a strong conviction that it is the will of God to preach the gospel everywhere. He denied that the Great Commission was already achieved by the apostles on the basis of his personal awareness of barbarian tribes in Africa to whom the gospel had not yet been preached. He recognized that God had not promised that Abraham would be a blessing to the Romans alone, but to all the nations. Augustine held that the majority of the nations and people would become Christians before the return of Christ, a postmillennial element in his otherwise amillennial eschatology.

THOMAS SCHIRRMACHER

Bibliography. Augustine, Confessions; P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo; H. Chadwick, Augustine; M. Marshall, The Restless Heart: The Life and Influence of St. Augustine; J. J. O'Donnell, Augustine.

Boniface (Winfrith) (680–754). English missionary to Germany. Born in Devonshire, England, in 680 and given the name Winfrith, he became the most famous of all missionaries of

the Dark Ages and one of the greatest of all

Ordained at the age of thirty, Boniface felt a strong compulsion to spread the gospel on the European Continent. Leaving England in 715, he arrived in Frisia in Holland, where he made little progress. After a temporary return to England, the missionary call led him back to Europe in 718. After laboring in Holland and Germany, Boniface traveled to Rome in 723, where Pope Gregory II consecrated him a missionary bishop to Germany. In 732, Boniface was made an archbishop.

Boniface's style was vigorous and aggressive. He attacked paganism head-on. His chopping down of the sacred oak tree of the Thundergod at Geismar typified his approach. Wherever he went, Boniface tore down pagan shrines, established monasteries, organized bishoprics, and laid the groundwork for training local clergy.

Toward the close of his ministry Boniface longed to return to Frisia, where his mission had started and which was still largely pagan. Having relinquished his administrative duties in Germany, he returned to Frisia in 753. There he and his companions were attacked and killed in 754 by pagan Frisians, bringing to an end his brilliant missionary career.

ROGER S. GREENWAY

Bibliography. E. S. Duckett, Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars; D. Keep, St. Boniface and His World: A Booklet to Commemorate the Thirteen Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth a Crediton in Devon; T. Reuter, ed., The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton; J. C. Sladden, Boniface of Devon: Apostle of Germany; R. A. Tucker, FJIJ.

Celtic Missionary Movement. Ardently missionary, with a strong focus on Scripture and personal piety, the Celtic movement had a major impact on the evangelization of the British Isles, western Europe, and northern Europe in the fifth through tenth centuries. The founder was PATRICK, born about 389 in a Christian family in Britain, who was kidnapped as a teenager and taken to Ireland, where he was a slave for six years. After his escape he studied, was ordained a priest, and in 432, in response to a vision, returned to Ireland as a missionary bishop, where he remained until his death (c. 461). His ministry led to the conversion of thousands, the ordination of priests, and the establishment of monasteries, which became centers of evangelization, learning, and civilization.

Patrick's theology was evangelical; he quoted the Bible frequently, especially Romans. A man of deep spirituality and prayer, his greatest desire was to spread the gospel. The Irish monasteries became known as seminaries for the study of Scripture and for strict discipline, drawing students from the Continent and England. Streams of dedicated men poured from them to go on pilgrimages for Christ wherever they might feel led. In 563 COLUMBA landed at Iona in Scotland with twelve companions and established monasteries from which missionaries went to barbarian tribes, north into Scotland and south into England. They were more effective in evangelizing England than were the missionaries from Rome, led by Augustine of Canterbury.

Beginning in 590 COLUMBANUS established monasteries that evangelized barbarian tribes in Burgundy while bringing a measure of renewal to the Frankish church. Expelled by the corrupt court, he established other houses in Switzerland and northern Italy.

The Celtic movement differed from the Roman church on several issues: the dating of Easter, the tonsure of the monks, and, most important, submission to the authority of Rome. But at the Synod of Whitby in 664 the movement began to come under the authority of Rome. Two of the greatest Celtic missionaries were consecrated as missionary bishops by Rome. WILLIBRORD (658–739) evangelized the Frisians, and Boniface became the apostle to central Germany. He was martyred in 753.

The Celtic missionaries were characterized by spontaneity, a lack of traditionalism, and rugged individualism. They went where others would not go, without credentials or material support, self-reliant, trusting in God, and accomplished much more than their numbers would warrant. Theirs was a type of monasticism that was ardently missionary; thus the monastery was not a place of retreat from the world but a place of preparation for mission. Women played an important role in the Irish church, and Boniface used communities of women in mission, perhaps for the first time. Many of the Celtic institutions and much of the movement were destroyed by the Viking invasions in the eighth and ninth centuries. Yet the vigor of the tradition continued in England to some degree. Missionaries from England coming from Celtic roots were used to bring the Scandinavians into the Christian faith in the tenth century.

PAUL E. PIERSON

Bibliography. R. P. C. Hanson, The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick; L. Hardinge, The Celtic Church in Britain; J. T. McNeill, The Celtic Churches, a History, A.D. 200–1200.

Church and State. The expression "church and state" refers to the relationship between two sets of authority structures that have shaped human existence. The concern of the state is temporal life whereas the church's concern is spiritual life. The question as to what is the most desirable relationship between the two has been a persistent theme throughout history. The following discussions.

sion will present an overview of these historic tensions and their influence on the expansion of Christianity.

In Matthew 22:21 Jesus taught that the two structures are separate. The statement "render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" distinguishes the responsibilities between church and state, but does not detail the obligations. Paul followed with instructions to Christians to "be subject to the governing authorities" (Rom. 13:1) unless the submission contradicted the Scriptures (Acts 5:29). The Pax Romana of the Roman Empire with its peace and ease of travel together with Alexander's legacy of the Koine Greek language allowed the gospel to spread quickly over large areas. Formal missionary bands spontaneously spread the faith into Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, India, Armenia, Rome, Gaul, Britain, and North Africa. These advances were met by local and sporadic persecution by Decian (249–251), Valerian (257), and Diocletian (303), who saw the church as politically subversive.

It was not until Christianity became a state religion in the fourth century that scholars began to grapple with a clearer definition of the relationship between church and state. In 313 Christianity became an officially recognized religion and Emperor Constantine became responsible for directing the church. The temptation for the church was to lose evangelistic fervor and conform to culture rather than continuing to penetrate culture. In 330 with the division of the empire into East and West came also two different approaches to church–state relations. In the Byzantine Empire the secular ruler held absolute authority over both the church and the state whereas in the Western Empire the church had more freedom to direct its own affairs. By the fifth century the Roman popes took responsibility for civil justice and military matters.

During the Dark Ages the idea of a society with two realms of responsibility, one over spiritual and the other over temporal matters, became clearer. God ordained the state to strengthen and propagate the faith, and to protect the church against heretics. However, the tension over supremacy was always a struggle. It was during this time that monasticism responded to the increasing institutionalization and nominalism of the church. By secluding themselves for prayer and devotion lay people sought life consistent with the gospel. Committed communities formed and unintentionally produced the majority of missionaries for the next thousand years (see MONASTIC MOVEMENT). Monks like Benedict of Nursia preserved ancient learning and raised the level of civilization and Christian understanding in Western Europe. Beginning as peripheral renewal movements many of these monastic orders eventually became centers of power and lost sight of their original vision. Alongside the Western monastics were the Celtic missionaries. Persons like Patrick, Columba, Columbanus, Willibrord, and Boniface evangelized Ireland, Great Britain, and much of northwestern Europe and established important centers of biblical learning. These two great missionary movements were largely independent of both the institutional church and government.

After the sixth century the popes increased their power in both the spiritual and temporal spheres. Then in 800 Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne as emperor and the event revived the centuries-old debate between church and state. Did the emperors receive their crowns from the papacy, or was it the emperors who approved the election of the popes?

By the eleventh century the confrontation between the two structures reached a zenith. In 1075 Pope Gregory VII decreed that he had the divine power to depose Emperor Henry, thus declaring that secular authorities had no jurisdiction to appoint ecclesiastical positions. Although a compromise came in 1122, the issue faded only with the gradual dominance of the papacy. By the end of the reign of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) the issue had arrived at a solution—royal power was under submission to the authority of the church. The thirteenth century saw papal power in supreme control over the state, but this was to change soon as the European monarchs strengthened their national supremacy.

The Reformation brought fresh challenge to the authority of the papacy both spiritually and politically, and further diminished the church's control. Martin Luther did not consider ecclesiastical administration important, so many of the Lutheran states had rulers that controlled the church. John Calvin clearly differentiated between church and state by declaring that governments were to protect the church and manage society by following biblical principles. On the other hand, the Anabaptists believed that Scripture indicated the need for a complete separation of church and state, and subsequently suffered intense persecution. They believed that secular government had no authority over the religious beliefs of people and therefore the church had no right to claim financial assistance from the state. Their political views influenced other related movements in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the Baptists and Quakers.

During the ENLIGHTENMENT of the eighteenth century John Locke and others propagated the concept that secular government was a matter for society rather than God. Thus the institutional church gradually became dominated by rising national powers and lost much of its voice in political affairs. In the United States the

founding government separated church and state to protect Religious Freedom from state intervention and to protect the state from the dominance of the church. Religion was a private matter between an individual and God, yet religion remained a part of national life. This strict separation of the two institutions was the commonly held view among Western nations of the nineteenth century.

From the beginning of this century Western countries have experienced increased social pressure to exclude anything religious from national life. They have secularized governments that want to severely restrict the influence of religion on political affairs. The influx of diverse ethnic and religious groups together with the erosion of Judeo-Christian values has amplified this call for a secularized society. On the other hand, most of the non-Western nations have not had to struggle with the theory of separation of church and state. For instance, Islam, Hinduism, and other religions dominate many nations which desire to protect their faith from secular contamination.

For modern missions the answer as to what is the most desirable relationship between church and state may be glimpsed in church history. The institutional church has always had struggles between itself and the state. Nonetheless, there is the government of God and then that of the state and the church. How that triad of tension plays out in life is sometimes difficult to determine and will vary depending on the historical and cultural context. However, the growth of the KINGDOM OF GOD over the ages has largely been achieved through a remnant of believers on the periphery of power regardless of their political or ecclesiastical status. It is in this position of faithfulness and obedience to the Lord of the church that future missionary endeavors will continue to see the expansion of Christianity.

ROBERT GALLAGHER

Bibliography. S. Escobar and J. Driver, Christian Mission and Social Justice; E. L. Frizen and W. T. Coggins, Christ and Caesar in Christian Missions; K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols.; S. Neill, Colonialism and Christian Missions; P. Niles, Resisting the Threats to Life; L. Pfeffer, Church, State and Freedom; L. Pfeffer, God, Caesar and the Constitution; A. P. Stokes, Church and State in the United States, 3 vols.; D. Tutu, Crying in the Wilderness; J. E. Wood, Religion and the State; A. J. Van der Bent, Between Christ and Caesar; M. A. C. Warren, The Functions of a National Church.

Columba of Iona (521–597). Irish missionary to Scotland. Columba was born in Ireland of royal lineage through both parents. In accordance with his royal status, he benefited from the care of a priest and was brought up in the Christian faith. As a young man he entered a monastery;

he was ordained a deacon and later a priest. Between 545 and 562 Columba founded numerous churches and monastic societies, the chief centers of education. Legends and traditions surround much of Columba's life, including his departure from his homeland at the age of forty-two. Whatever the actual precipitating circumstances, he, with twelve Irish monks, settled on the small island of Iona, where he established his headquarters for the missionary work to which he devoted his remaining years. There he founded a monastic community, an Order not for solitaries but one that provided training for evangelists sent to preach the gospel, build churches, and establish other monasteries. Securing good relations with King Brude enabled the Ionian community to work among pagans in the western highlands of Scotland.

Of equal concern to the Ionian Christians was the copying of Scripture. Columba himself is said to have written out over three hundred copies of the Vulgate and the Psalter. Only a few hours before his death, at the age of seventy-six, he was engaged in copying the Psalter.

The influence of the founding abbot of Iona and his community spread beyond Scotland to many parts of the British Isles, Europe, and Iceland. Columba, known as "the Apostle of the Western Isles," has also been called "the Moses of Iona" because, like Moses, he refused to take his place among royalty and chose rather the call of service to a higher King. One biographer claims that one cannot truly understand the history of the Scots without knowing something of the man Columba. *Life of Columba*, written by Adamnan, his eighth successor in the abbacy of Iona, is considered more of a hagiography than a biography.

FLORENCE R. SCOTT

Bibliography. R. B. Hale, The Magnificent Gael; F. MacManus, Saint Columban; L. Menzies, St. Columba of Iona.

Columbanus (c. 543-615). Irish monastic missionary to Europe. Though little is known of his early life, Columbanus was purportedly a strong, good-looking man who may have entered monastic life in part to escape the temptations of the flesh. He actually called himself Columba, but historians often refer to him by the Latin spelling to avoid confusing him with the earlier Irish missionary by the same name. He was one of the most important missionaries in the Celtic MISSIONARY MOVEMENT. His efforts, coming after Ireland and Scotland had been reached and the Anglo-Saxon work was well established, focused on the areas that were to become France, Switzerland, and Italy. They had been reached for Christ once before, but had reverted to paganism. Though foundations of Christian influence still survived, those foundations were in desperate need of shoring up.

Columbanus is perhaps best remembered for founding influential monasteries and developing a strict set of monastic rules that affected monasteries throughout France for centuries. The first monastery he founded was in Luxeuil in the northeast part of the country. He lived there from the time of its founding (c. 590) until 610, when he was expelled by political leaders whose goal was to deport Columbanus and his twelve Irish companions back to Ireland. The boat that was to take them to Ireland, however, ran aground before they were picked up. Departing from Luxeuil, the company traveled through northern France, then along the Rhine River, down through western Switzerland (where GALL parted from the company because of illness and later founded his own significant monastery), and finally into northern Italy, where Columbanus established another monastery at Bobbio that in the Middle Ages became a center of scholarship.

A. SCOTT MOREAU

Bibliography. W. H. Marnell, Light from the West: The Irish Mission and the Emergence of Modern Europe.

Contextualization. The term "contextualization" first appeared in 1972 in a publication of the Theological Education Fund entitled Ministry in Context. This document laid out the principles which would govern the distribution of funds for the Third Mandate of the TEF. The scholarships were awarded for the graduate education of scholars in the international church. Contextualization was described as "the capacity to respond meaningfully to the gospel within the framework of one's own situation." A precedent for the new term, "contextual theology," resulted from a consultation held in Bossey, Switzerland, in August 1971. The Ecumenical Institute of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES had sponsored that earlier discussion under the theme "Dogmatic or Contextual Theology."

The lament behind the Third Mandate of the TEF was that "both the approach and content of theological reflection tend to move within the framework of Western questions and cultural presuppositions, failing to vigorously address the gospel of Jesus Christ to the particular situation." Further, it was declared that "Contextualization is not simply a fad or catch-word but a theological necessity demanded by the incarnational nature of the Word."

While the document had a limited purpose, the implications coming from it resulted in a movement which has had an impact on the theory and practice of mission. The contextualization concept was a timely innovation. New nations were struggling for their own life. The

mission enterprise needed new symbols to mark a needed separation from the colonialistic, Western-dominated past (*see* COLONIALISM).

There is no single or broadly accepted definition of contextualization. The goal of contextualization perhaps best defines what it is. That goal is to enable, insofar as it is humanly possible, an understanding of what it means that Jesus Christ, the Word, is authentically experienced in each and every human situation. Contextualization means that the Word must dwell among all families of humankind today as truly as Jesus lived among his own kin. The gospel is Good News when it provides answers for a particular people living in a particular place at a particular time. This means the WORLDVIEW of that people provides a framework for communication, the questions and needs of that people are a guide to the emphasis of the message, and the cultural gifts of that people become the medium of expression.

Contextualization in mission is the effort made by a particular church to experience the gospel for its own life in light of the Word of God. In the process of contextualization the church, through the Holy Spirit, continually challenges, incorporates, and transforms elements of the culture in order to bring them under the lordship of Christ. As believers in a particular place reflect upon the Word through their own thoughts, employing their own cultural gifts, they are better able to understand the gospel as incarnation.

The term "contextualization" is most commonly associated with theology, yet given the above definition, it is proper to speak of contextualization in a variety of ways encompassing all the dimensions of religious life. For example, church architecture, worship, preaching, systems of church governance, symbols, and rituals are all areas where the contextualization principle applies. Context, on which the term is based, is not narrowly understood as the artifacts and customs of culture only, but embraces the differences of human realities and experience. These differences are related to cultural histories, societal situations, economics, politics, and ideologies. In this sense contextualization applies as much to the church "at home," with all its variations, as it does to the church "overseas."

In mission practice the more visible aspects of contextualization were closely related to older terms such as Accommodation, Adaption, Inculturation, and Indigenization. Issues such as forms of communication, language, music, styles of dress, and so on had long been associated with the so-called three-self missionary philosophy which was built around the principle of indigenization. Indigeneity often was understood as "nativization," in that the visible cultural forms of a given people would be used in expressing Christianity. In going beyond these

more superficial expressions, the new term "contextualization" tended to raise the fear of Syncretism. This would mean the "old religion" would become mixed in with the new biblical faith and that culture would have more authority than revelation. Some felt, therefore, that the older concept of indigenization should not be changed but, rather, broadened to cover more adequately the field of theology.

In addition to giving greater attention to the deeper levels of culture, the new term "contextualization" became distinguished from indigenization in other ways. Indigenization always implied a comparison with the West, whereas contextualization focuses on the resources available from within the context itself. Indigenization was static while contextualization is dynamic, as a still photograph might be compared to a motion picture. The older indigenization was more isolated while contextualization, though locally constructed, interacts with global realities.

The fact that the early documents about contextualization were formulated in offices related to the World Council of Churches also made the concept difficult to accept in the nonconciliar circles. The heavy emphasis on justice and social development left little, it seemed, for evangelism and conversion. Scholars in Latin America were among the earliest to write about what they saw as an appropriate theology for their context. The direction this new theology took alarmed many evangelicals.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY became almost as a household word in the 1970s and 1980s. Evangelicals felt it demonstrated an inadequate use of the Bible and relied too heavily on a Marxist orientation. This was difficult for North American conservatives to accept. Even before his book, Ministry in Context, Gustavo Gutiérrez had already written his *Theology of Liberation* (1971). Soon afterward J. MIGUEZ BONINO followed with Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation (1978). These major innovations opened up further thinking on contextualization. They followed closely the volatile 1960s in the United States. Ideas about contextualization in the United States first became associated with the controversial issues raised by the Vietnam War and American racism. "Black Power," as advocated by James Cone (1969), had become a popular application of what contextualization is.

Because of this ferment HERMENEUTICS quickly became the central point of contention among evangelicals. The question was asked whether truth is derived primarily from human experience or from REVELATION. At first there was little consensus among evangelicals about the role of CULTURE and social issues, especially in theology. The contextualization debate made serious new thinking possible, especially with regard to cul-

ture and the way in which it connects to the biblical record.

Throughout the 1970s the writing and discussion on contextualization began to clarify directions that evangelicals should take. A Lausanne-sponsored gathering at Willowbank (Bermuda) in 1978 adopted the theme "Gospel and Culture." The conference took seriously the role of the cultural context of the believer as well as the biblical text in defining evangelization and church development. The late 1970s also saw the rise (and demise) of the quarterly, *The Gospel in Context*. The journal's brief life demonstrated how creative and stimulating worldwide contextualization could be.

The decade of the 1970s also brought remarkable progress in finding ways to carry out contextualization. Each of the ways, or "models," as they are called, carries certain epistemological assumptions, as well as philosophical ideas about truth. While the models each have their differences, they also have several features that they share in common. Some are more centered on human experience while others show a greater dependence on widely accepted teachings of the church and the Bible. Thus, the assumptions undergirding some of these models make them less acceptable to evangelicals. Variations exist within a given model and certain features of more than one model may be combined. A brief review of the models will show how diverse the approaches to contextualization are.

Adaptation model: One of the earliest approaches was to make historical-theological concepts fit into each cultural situation. Traditional Western ideas are the norm. These are brought to the local culture. What is irrelevant may be set aside and what must be modified can be changed. The faulty assumption here is that there is one philosophical framework within which all cultures can communicate, assuming that other forms of knowledge are not legitimate.

Anthropological model: The beginning point is to study the people concerned. The key to communication and pathways to the human heart and spirit lies in the culture. The assumption is that people know best their own culture; worldview themes, symbols, myths are repositories of truth for all people. While this is true, unless discernment about a culture is brought to the Word for affirmation or judgment the contextualization exercise can become distorted and misleading.

Critical model: The critical aspect of this approach centers on how features of traditional culture—rituals, songs, stories, customs, music—are brought under the scrutiny of biblical teaching. Here the culture and the Scriptures are evaluated concurrently in the search for new ways to express belief and practice. One must ask who will carry out the process, and how accurate are

the meanings derived from both customs and the Scripture.

Semiotic model: Semiotics is the science of "reading a culture" through "signs" (see SYMBOL, SYMBOLISM). This comprehensive view of culture interprets symbols, myths, and the like that reveal the past as well as studying "signs" that indicate how the culture is changing. These realities are compared with church tradition in a process of "opening up" both the local culture and Christian practice. To master the complicated method would tend to separate an indigenous researcher from the people and the context.

Synthetic model: Synthesis involves bringing together four components: the gospel, Christian tradition, culture, and social change. These elements are discussed together using insights offered by the local people. Also there must be a recognition of sharing insights with "outsiders." Each contributes to the other, while each maintains its own distinctives. The openness and legitimacy given to all views would tend toward ambiguity and a kind of universalism.

Transcendental model: This model does not concentrate on the impersonal aspect of theology, that is, to prove something "out there," but is primarily concerned with what any truth means to the subject and to members of the subject's community. Likewise revelation is understood as the active perception or encounter with God's truth. Much criticism can be raised. How can one be an authentic believer without objective context and why is such Western sophistication necessary?

Translation model: Based on translation science, the nearest possible meanings of the original text are sought out in the receiving culture. Exact forms may not be possible, but expressions and forms that are equivalent are introduced. Attempts were made to identify the "kernel" or core of the gospel which then would apply to all cultures. The problem of subjectivity in selecting forms is a risk, as is separating the Word from what is culturally negotiable.

In contextualization, evangelicals have a valuable tool with which to work out the meanings of Scripture in the varieties of mission contexts and in conversations with the churches of the Two-Thirds World. A built-in risk of contextualization is that the human situation and the culture of peoples so dominate the inquiry that God's revelation through the Bible will be diminished. To be aware of this danger is a necessary step in avoiding it. Contextualization cannot take place unless Scripture is read and obeyed by believers. This means that believers will study the Scriptures carefully and respond to their cultural concerns in light of what is in the biblical text. Culture is subject to the God of culture. Culture is important to God and for all its good and bad factors, culture is the framework within which God works out God's purposes. Some indications of the gospel's presence in the soil may be evident, but Scripture is something that is outside and must be brought into the cultural setting to more fully understand what God is doing in culture, and to find parallels between the culture and the Bible.

The strength of contextualization is that if properly carried out, it brings ordinary Christian believers into what is often called the theological process. Contextualization is not primarily the work of professionals, though they are needed. It is making the gospel real to the untrained lay person and the rank-and-file believer. They are the people who know what biblical faith must do if it is to meet everyday problems. The term "incarnational theology" is another way of speaking about contextualization (see INCARNATIONAL MIS-SION). This means that Christian truth is to be understood by Christians in the pews and on the streets. The objective of contextualization is to bring data from the whole of life to real people and to search the Scriptures for a meaningful application of the Word which "dwelt among us" (John 1:14). The missiological significance for contextualization is that all nations must understand the Word as clearly and as accurately as did Jesus' own people in his day.

DEAN GILLILAND

Bibliography. S. B. Bevans, Models of Contextual Theology; D. S. Gilliland, The Word Among Us: Contextualizing Theology for Mission Today; D. J. Hesselgrave and E. Rommen, Contextualization: Meaning and Methods; W. A. Dyrness, Learning About Theology from the Third World; R. J. Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies.

Crusades, The. Military expeditions against various enemies of the medieval church, especially the campaigns that tried to free the Holy Land from the Muslims. Christians had gone on pilgrimages to the Holy Land during much of the medieval period, but with the arrival of the Seljuk Turks their travels were hampered. These invaders also pressured the Eastern Empire to such an extent that the emperor contacted the pope and other leaders of Western Europe to send mercenaries to help defend the Byzantine Empire. Pope Urban II responded to this appeal by proclaiming the First Crusade in a sermon at Clermont (1095). The primary reason for the Crusades was religious, for they constituted a holy war, and following Urban's appeal there was an outpouring of religious enthusiasm. In addition, the pope saw in the Crusades an outlet for the energies of the warring nobles of Europe. The First Crusade, consisting of about five thousand fighting men, moved overland to Constantinople and proceeded to conquer territory in Asia Minor and the Levant. The conquest of Jerusalem was accompanied by a frightful slaughter of

the inhabitants. The Crusaders did not drive the Turks from the Middle East, but they established several states that resulted in a balance of power among them, the Byzantines, and the Muslims. When the Crusader states were endangered, Bernard of Clairvaux organized the Second Crusade (1147), which was defeated. A Third Crusade (1189–92) resulted in a three-year truce and the granting of free access to Jerusalem for Christian pilgrims. This arrangement collapsed and further Crusades were necessary. The few knights who answered Innocent III's call to the Fourth Crusade (1202–4) were unable to pay the passage charges demanded by the Venetians. This led the two groups to strike a bargain and agree to attack Constantinople. After conquering and sacking the city, the Crusaders set up the Latin Empire of Constantinople and forgot about recovering the Holy Land. During the thirteenth century there were more Crusades such as the Children's Crusade, the Sixth Crusade led by the excommunicated Frederick II, and the Seventh Crusade of Louis IX. Each of these failed in its efforts to shore up the Latin crusading kingdoms and in 1291 Acre, the last stronghold of the Christians in the Holy Land, fell to the Muslims. Despite the loss of the Middle Eastern territories the Crusades did not end. Along the Baltic the Teutonic knights conquered the Prussians and the Balts and fought the Poles and the Russians. The military orders of the Mediterranean fought several crusades as did the rulers of the Balkans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Crusades, although credited with reviving Europe economically and commercially, were actually a failure. They poisoned relations between the Eastern Orthodox and Western church and increased Islamic hatred of Christianity. The faith had been perverted by vicious knights and greedy merchants who inflicted terrible suffering on thousands of Muslims, Jews, and Christians.

ROBERT G. CLOUSE

Bibliography. E. Christiansen, The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier; N. Housley, The Later Crusades, 1274–1580; B. Z. Kedar, Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims; S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades; K. M. Setton, A History of the Crusades.

Cyril (826 or 827–869). Greek missionary to the Slavic people. Christened Constantine, he was born in Thessalonica (Saloniki), the youngest child of a Byzantine official. When he was fourteen Constantine went to Constantinople to study. He excelled and soon was teaching philosophy at the university. After 855, he retired to live and study at the Mount Olympus monastery (where his brother METHODIUS was a monk). Because of his fame as a teacher, he and his brother were made part of delegation sent in 860 to present Christianity to the Khazar people. They met

with little lasting success. The Slavic ruler, Rastislay, asked the patriarch of Constantinople for Greek priests in 862. Constantine and Methodius were selected. In preparation, the brothers translated the Gospels and prepared a liturgy. In 863 they traveled to Rastislav's court and began preaching and started a seminary for Slavic priests. Opposition developed from the Frankish missionaries, and in 868, they went to Rome to defend their work. Pope Hadrian II approved their liturgy and had Methodius and three of the Slavic priests ordained. The pope also intended to consecrate Constantine as archbishop of Moravia. However, Constantine died in Rome on February 14, 869, after becoming a monk and taking the name of Cyril. The ministry of Cyril and Methodius is traditionally regarded as the major means by which the gospel was brought to the Slavic people.

ROBERT SHUSTER

Bibliography. F. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius.

Diaspora(s). The role of the Jewish diaspora is seen clearly in the Acts of the Apostles. Stephen, Philip, Barnabas, and Paul were all Jews of the diaspora who were at home in both Jewish and Greek culture. And it is clear that the first to preach the gospel to Gentiles were such bicultural Jewish followers of Christ. The first specific mission to the Gentiles was called out from the Antioch church which included both Gentile and diaspora Jewish believers. Acts tells us that the nucleus of the churches planted in the Roman Empire came from diaspora Jews and "God fearers." The Syriac-speaking church in the East which took the gospel to India and, through the Nestorians, to China probably had its beginning in synagogues of the diaspora in Mesopotamia.

Through the centuries Christians have been scattered in other diasporas because of religious or political persecution or to seek economic opportunities and political freedom. The Waldensian movement arose in Lyon, France, in the twelfth century and spread across southern and central Europe, only to suffer Persecution and Martyrdom. Some Waldensians joined remnants of the Hussite movement which arose in Bohemia and Moravia in the fifteenth century to form the *Unitas Fratrum*. It was a few members of that group who became the nucleus of the Moravian movement which became a major catalyst of the modern Protestant missionary movement (*see* Moravian Missions).

The Mennonites are the primary heirs of the sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement. They have been scattered through a number of European countries as well as North and South America at first because of persecution by the state churches and also in an attempt to preserve their

sense of community and their pacifism (*see* PACIFIST THEOLOGY). While in some cases their communities have turned inward, in others they have reached out in mission (*see* Mennonite Missions). Part of the evangelical movement in Russia has its roots in the Mennonites.

The Puritans came to North America in diaspora and it was a latter-day Puritan, Jonathan Edwards, who played a key role in the first Great Awakening which laid the foundation of the American missionary movement. Swedish Baptists and other free churches persecuted by state churches in Europe came to the United States seeking religious freedom and economic opportunity. Such groups have made a contribution to missions far beyond the proportion of their numbers. For example, the Covenant Church, of Swedish origin, was originally the Mission Covenant Church.

In the twentieth century the Chinese have established churches in at least thirty-three countries, probably more. Koreans began to flee from their homeland after 1910 and established churches in Siberia and China. It is estimated that there are two million Koreans in China, and that at least 12 percent are Christians. The more recent Korean diaspora has taken them to 170 countries, and they have established churches in at least 150 nations. In some cases they are reaching out to non-Koreans. That has no doubt been a factor in the growing Korean missionary movement. Now many of the second-generation, bicultural youth are showing interest in missions. Like the first cross-cultural Christian missionaries who were Hellenistic Jews at home in two languages and cultures, bicultural Christians today, Koreans, and others, have great potential for missions.

PAUL E. PIERSON

Bibliography. R. DeRidder, Discipling the Nations; F. Gibson, ed., You Are My Witnesses, The Waldensians across 800 Years; W. Shenk, ed., Anabaptists and Mission.

Europe. Mission in Europe, as also in Africa and Asia, must start with the biblical record: thus the importance for Europeans of the Syrophonecian woman in Mark's Gospel who used Jesus' sense of humor to secure the healing of her daughter, and the Greeks in John's Gospel "who would see Jesus." Building on this the record indicates European participation in the Pentecostal experience: Peter's direction by vision to accept Cornelius as a fellow follower of the Way, and the Macedonian appeal to Paul to render help to the vouthful churches of Europe. Thus bound up with the early history of Europe is the growth of the early Christian community, the story of how it came to define its core beliefs in relation to incipient heresy, and how from being a persecuted sect it became the state religion of the Roman Empire. This process was not all gain, for with it, as Eusebius (c. 260–340), the church's first historian, observed, there came social advantage in adopting the Christian faith, whose adherents came to represent a range of motivations from continued faithfulness to more pragmatic reasons ("the hypocrisy of people who crept into church" with an eye upon securing imperial favor).

With the Christianization of the Roman world, the expansion of the empire itself came to have mission implications. Some have suggested that the expansion of Christianity among the Teutonic peoples pressing on the borders of the empire was in the first place a product of Christians who had been taken prisoner by, for example, the marauding Goths. Franks and Celts were to follow in accepting the Christian faith and among them some remarkable early missionaries responded to the missionary call to evangelize the continent: receiving cultures soon became also sending cultures, seen, for example, in the lives of COLUMBANUS (c. 543-615) and BONI-FACE (680–764) (see also Celtic Missions). Later the missionary endeavors in the East of two Greek brothers, Cyril (826-869) and Methodius (c. 815–885), saw the gospel taken in 862 to Moravia, where Cyril's educational activities led to the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet, which it is claimed became the foundation of all Slavonic languages. The Eastern Church's use of the vernacular in early missionary activities was in marked distinction to the Western Church's concentration on Latin.

In the fifteenth century the missionary endeavors of a reinvigorated Catholic Church were more obvious than the outreach of Protestantism, which remained confined to Europe. In the West the sending of priests alongside the conquistadores to colonize the new world that Columbus had "discovered" was seen as simply a continuation of the Christianization of the Iberian peninsula, or *Reconquista*, the driving of the Moors out of Spain. Columbus's famous journey and the fall of Granada both occurred in 1492. At the same time militant Islam, in the form of the Ottoman Turks, was pressing the Christian East with great ferocity until 1683, when Vienna in the center of Christian Europe came under siege by these alien forces. The most remarkable missionary story of the sixteenth century was that of the Jesuit, Francis Xavier (1506-52), who in the last decade of his life undertook a formidable program of evangelization starting in Goa. From there he traveled to Sri Lanka and the islands of Indonesia, going as far east as Japan and founding a church there before continuing his mission work in China. In the process he was surprised to find a Christian presence already in India in the form of the Malabar Christians whom he

thought most dreadfully ignorant. MATTEO RICCI (1552–1610), born in the year of Xavier's death and also a Jesuit, won the trust of the Chinese court through his demonstrated mastery of science and technology and exploited this for missionary purposes.

In the Protestant world it was not until the era of Pietism had succeeded that of the Reforma-TION that the churches began to look to wider missionary horizons. In England the Society For THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS was founded in 1701. Although much of its work was among European ex-patriots it did provide a mechanism to evangelize non-Christian populations, a theme that in continental Europe came to be championed by Count von ZINZENDORF (1700–1760) and the Moravians. By the end of the eighteenth century, Protestants, under the influence of Calvinism modified by the experience of the Evangelical Revival inaugurated what LA-TOURETTE has called 'THE GREAT CENTURY' of missionary endeavor. The Baptist Missionary Soci-ETY was formed in 1792, with the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY following in 1795 and the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY in 1799. In Europe, where Bremen led the way with the founding of a new missionary society in 1819, Hamburg followed in 1822; the Basel Mission was established in 1815, the Rhineland Society in 1828, and the Berlin Society in 1824, two years after French Protestants had formed the PARIS EVAN-GELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Missiology in such a context was born out of shared experiences and soon implanted within the university curriculum with the establishment of the Halle chair of mission studies in 1896. Missiological scholars networked with one another and with practitioners through the activities of the International Missionary Council, itself a child of the historic World Missionary CONFERENCE meeting in Edinburgh in 1910, which played such a crucial part in bringing the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT to maturity. Consent between Christians on the style and content of Christian mission was not easily obtained and was not resolved by the integration of the IMC into the work of the World Council of Churches in 1961.

Already, by the second half of the nineteenth century, denominational endeavors were supplemented by interdenominational initiatives in which a new kind of missionary society was born, of which Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission of 1865 was archetypal. The new Faith Missions did not overtly solicit funds from supporters, who no longer controlled policy, for decision making was now invested in the hands of missionaries to identify with those to whom they ministered in dress and culture.

The century which followed that of Europe's unstinted investment of human resources and fi-

nances in both home and foreign missions, has been a century of Secularization. Fundamentally, it was the fruits of Enlightenment thinking as well as scientific advances which, for many of Europe's citizens, in a century of troubled political and economic development, pushed matters of faith to the margins of life and concern. In the East the legacy of the years of Marxist constraint and persecution is still painfully present. Regrettably the relationships between evangelical minorities and state orthodoxy have all too often deteriorated since the end of the Cold War, while in the former Yugoslavia, as in the island of Cyprus, ethnic tensions and conflict have all too often set Christians against their Islamic neighbors

In the West, folk or national churches still claim large baptismal memberships and maintain an excellent range of worship buildings and ancillary facilities, even though regular worshipers form only a small percentage of secular Europe's population. Europe hardly needed the reminder of the Mexico City Conference on World Mission in 1963 that witness was to take place in all six continents. Those who had been sending nations now desperately needed to receive something of the buoyancy and hope of the churches of the south. Many North American missionary societies increasingly saw Europe as a mission field needing urgent attention.

In its turn this has led to a new relationship between mission agencies and the churches which had been born out of the labors of their missionaries. First, within the Ecumenical Movement younger mission-founded churches sought recognition as churches in their own right, not to be represented by proxy through mission boards. Second, questions were raised about missionary structures and some of the old societies chose to reconstruct themselves more into mission partnership organizations. Perhaps the classic transformation was the way in which the London Missionary Society became first the Congregational Council for World Mission in 1966. This body was in turn fully internationalized as the COUNCIL FOR WORLD MISSION in 1977. The new council, it was hoped, recognizing a diversity of leadership through equality of presence around a single partnership table, would combine a commitment to unity with a commitment to mission. In Europe, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society went through a similar change in 1971 when it became the Communaute Evangelique d'Action Apostolique (CEVAA). Other societies were reluctant both to unite home and foreign mission and to replace the societal model by one of world PART-NERSHIP.

Europe has seen the uniting of some churches, especially within the Methodist and Reformed traditions, the continuation of large national churches though with serious loss of member-

ship, and the revival of orthodoxy in the context of political freedom but economic constraint. The Roman Catholic Church at the end of the century recognizes other Christians in a way that would have seemed impossible at its beginning. In some countries it has joined national ecumenical bodies as an equal partner, and there are good relationships between the Conference of European Churches and the Conference of European Bishops, so that they are able to have joint continent-wide celebrations. Moreover, the influence of the CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT among Roman Catholic laity and clergy has opened up new and fruitful lines of communication, but a reluctance to go further still emanates from the Vatican on such issues as the recognition of non-Roman orders and the possibilities of shared communion. Undoubtedly, a major aspect of the century has been both the growth of Pentecostalism alongside historic Protestantism and the wide impact of the Charismatic movement both within the mainstream churches and the new house and community churches. Together, these have contributed to growth in Christian witness in Europe.

JOHN H. Y. BRIGGS

Francis of Assisi (c. 1182–1226). Italian founder of the Franciscan Order. Francis worked in his father's textile trade until a serious illness brought him to a deep internal struggle. This conflict and a vision in 1205 led him to dedicate himself to a life of prayer and ministry among the poor. After a pilgrimage, during which he traded clothes with a beggar and personally experienced poverty, he broke from his father and turned to work with beggars and lepers.

In 1209, responding to another visionary call, he discarded the last of his worldly possessions and began evangelizing. A small band gathered around him, and he drew up a simple set of rules for living. They traveled throughout France and Spain evangelizing, though his hope to reach Africa went unfulfilled due to illness. Papal permission to establish the Order of Friars Minor was granted in 1209. In 1212, during the Fifth Crusade, Francis and some followers traveled to eastern Europe and Egypt. In his absence, leadership of the Order passed to others and he never sought to regain it. The rest of his life was spent preaching, writing circular letters to and admonishing members of his Order, and taking repeated breaks for solitary retreats.

A. SCOTT MOREAU

Bibliography. D. W. H. Arnold, Francis: A Call to Conversion; M. Bishop, Saint Francis of Assisi; G. K. Chesterton, St. Francis of Assisi; M. A. Habig, ed., St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis; L. Hardick, NCE, 6:28–31; ODCC.

Frumentius (c. 300–380). Pioneer missionary to Ethiopia. Greek and Roman historians recount how the youthful Frumentius and his brother Edesius on a voyage from Tyre about 330 were shipwrecked on the Ethiopian coast and captured. They subsequently impressed the royal court at Axum so much that they were allowed to preach the gospel—a work continued by Frumentius after Edesius had returned to Tyre. About 339 Frumentius went to Alexandria, where Bishop Athanasius consecrated him as bishop and arranged for missionaries to join Frumentius in Ethiopia whose future church heads were known as "Abuna" ("Our Father").

J. D. Douglas

Gregory the Illuminator (c. 240–332). Founder of the Armenian Church. Born in Armenia, he fled to Cappadocia when Persian rulers temporarily took control of Armenia. In Cappadocia he received Christian instruction. Returning home once Armenian king Tiridates gained power, he faced persecution after refusing to participate in a pagan ritual. Eventually, however, Tiridates came to Christ and declared Christianity the official religion. Neill relates that this is the first clear historical example of a whole country won to Christ through the conversion of the king, and Gregory is consequently remembered as the "Apostle to Armenia." Throughout the rest of his life, Gregory continued the work of evangelizing Armenia and the surrounding regions, baptizing four other kings in the process.

A. SCOTT MOREAU

Bibliography. F. X. Murphy, *NCE*, 6:790–91; S. Neill, *HCM*; *ODCC*.

History of Missions. The Apostolic Age. The story of how the followers of a first-century itinerant Jewish preacher spread his message of God's kingdom to the entire world is amazing. The initial conquest of the Roman Empire and the subsequent planting of the Christian church around the earth were the result of the witness of countless believers. A great number of these missionaries are known, but there is an even greater number whose names are unknown to subsequent generations. This lack of a complete history forces us to recognize that God empowered ordinary believers to carry out the missionary task. While Jesus limited his ministry to the areas of Judea and Galilee, with occasional forays into non-Jewish territory, he gave his disciples specific instructions to be his witnesses in "Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and even to the remotest parts of the earth" (Acts 1:8). The Acts of the Apostles is organized along that plan, with the gospel emanating in an ever-increasing circle. With the coming of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, the gospel was preached in Jerusalem to Jews and proselytes "from every nation under heaven" (Acts 2:5).

The first persecution that dispersed the church after the stoning of STEPHEN (Acts 7) resulted in the scattering of the believers throughout Judea, Samaria (Acts 8:1), Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch (Acts 11:19-20). It is noteworthy that the movement commanded by Jesus to disciple the nations only commenced with Persecution. This theme of God's using what seemed like tragic events to propagate the gospel is repeated throughout history. The bringing of the gospel to the Samaritans bridged two major hurdles, religion and culture. The first recorded preaching to Gentiles is Peter's interaction with Cornelius (Acts 10). Some of those who were scattered because of persecution went to Antioch, where they shared the message with Gentiles (Acts 11:20). Since these Gentile converts were not proselytes, it is not strange that the disciples were first called Christians in Antioch to distinguish them from a sect of Judaism (Acts 11:26). The missionary journeys of Paul originated from this church, the Holy Spirit directing the sending of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:2ff.), indicating where Paul and his team were forbidden to preach the gospel (Acts 16:6-10). At the end of Acts Paul is in Rome preaching Christ unhindered while awaiting the disposition of the charges against him.

The early expansion of the church is a paradigm for understanding how the gospel traveled around the world in the succeeding two millennia. Under the Pax Romana the gospel spread rapidly in the major centers of commerce and government. Even during Jesus' ministry, the gospel had penetrated government circles (cf. Luke 8:3, where Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, is numbered among the circle that traveled with Jesus). Paul can write from Rome that the reason for his imprisonment is well known in the palace (Phil. 1:13). This interest in Christianity by the ruling authorities is indicative of the interaction that the gospel would have throughout history. Up through the twentieth century, the conversion of a ruler often meant gaining at least the nominal adherence of that ruler's subjects to Christianity. The close connection between the ruler's religion and the subjects' adherence is particularly pronounced through to the sixteenth century in Europe, and it is always common in close knit societies.

The interaction of the gospel with commerce is something that is seen in Acts and has been repeated in various periods of missionary work. At times the gospel was bad for business (Acts 16:19; 19:23ff.). The commercial motive drove the sponsors of both Catholic and Protestant missions. Another theme that is repeated is the interaction of the gospel with other religions. The main rivals of the Christian faith in the first

century were the mystery religions; elements of these religions addressed similar questions answered in the Christian gospel. There was a spiritual hunger that the gospel could meet. However, the pagan religions did not give in easily, necessitating Power Encounters such as those in Acts (e.g. 6:8; 8:9ff.; 13:6ff.; 16:16ff.)

The First 500 Years. As we do not know the identity of the disciples who first preached to the Gentiles in Antioch, so we do not know who first preached the gospel in Rome. But Paul found believers there to welcome him. The earliest converts were most likely from the lower classes. However, during the persecution under the emperor Domitian (c. A.D. 96), a cousin of the emperor was put to death and his wife banished because of "sacrilege," the usual charge against Christians. Some take this as an indication of the penetration of the gospel to the highest reaches of society. At the end of the first century and throughout the second century, severe persecutions arose against Christians because of their refusal to pay homage to the Roman gods. Their loyalty to Christ alone as God earned them the name atheists since they would not acknowledge the Roman pantheon of deities. Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) was one of the early apologists who sought to defend the Christian faith against misrepresentation. By the year 251, there is an estimate of the Christian population in Rome numbering thirty thousand. The persecution did not eliminate the church, as the clear testimony of the martyrs often bore eloquent witness to the reality of the Christian faith. Because of their courageous witness, Tertullian (c. 160/70-c. 215/20) could write that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church (see also MARTYRDOM).

The gospel entered Egypt at an early date, though again the original missionaries are not known. Alexandria became a major Christian center with teachers like Clement (c. 150–215) and Origen (c. 185–254) holding firmly to the biblical revelation but also recognizing Greek philosophy as a preparation for the gospel. This is the first example of discerning the seeds of a pre-gospel understanding in a people's culture as a forerunner to evangelization. The results of both the Alexandrian model and applications of the same principle throughout the history of the church have been debated. The danger of Syncretism is ever present in such formulations.

Christianity spread quickly across Roman North Africa among the educated colonial classes. These were the first Latin-speaking churches in the world. There was some use of the Punic language, brought by the Phoenicians who had colonized Carthage, but it is not clear that the church ever penetrated to the Berber vernacular of the villages and nomads. By not using the heart language of the peasant population, it was assured that these groups would turn

History of Missions

to Islam in the seventh century. The major lesson learned from the experience in North Africa is that the church needs to penetrate the common language of the people. While the church in this area produced outstanding theologians, including the key figure in Western theology, Augustine OF Hippo, the theological formulations did not stop the rapid spread of Islam.

The Donatist controversy, which revolved around what was to be the church's stand toward those who deny the faith during times of persecution, further weakened the church of North Africa. Nevertheless, from a missiological perspective it is sobering to note the absence of Christianity today in what had been an influential center.

The earliest Christian kingdom was Edessa, which was one of the sources for the spread of the gospel in Armenia, the second Christian kingdom. Tradition tells of the visit of the apostle Thomas to India. Such a voyage would have been possible; Roman coins found in India indicate a trading pattern. The Mar Thoma (St. Thomas) Christians regard their origin in the ministry of the apostle. The church certainly was in India in the first centuries of the Christian era.

The conversion of the emperor Constantine dramatically changed the picture for the developing church. From a persecuted minority, the church became legal and then socially acceptable. The peace of the church from external persecution provided the opportunity to solve its theological disputes, a process in which the emperors from Constantine on took part. The trinitarian and christological disputes gave rise to what are sometimes called the Oriental Eastern churches, which adopted a doctrinal stance different from the Chalcedonian formulas. These churches were missionary centers, with the NESTORIAN MISSION movement reaching into China.

Even before Christianity became recognized as the official religion of the Roman Empire (A.D. 333), the gospel had penetrated the western and northern provinces of the empire. Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200), bishop of Lyons, writes of using Celtic as well as Latin in the church, which signifies the presence of the church among the less educated population. When Christianity became the religion of the empire, more direct assaults could be made against paganism. However, the gain in legitimacy was at the expense of an increasing nominalism. Monasticism was in part a reaction to the lower standard of Christianity.

PATRICK (c. 389–461) was captured by Irish raiders from his home in England as a youth. After six years, he escaped and entered a monastery in France. Persistent visions led him to return to Ireland at the age of forty-three, where he labored until his death. When he began his work, Ireland was nearly entirely pagan but by the time

he died, Ireland was largely Christian. Later Celtic monks would be responsible for evangelizing large parts of Europe (*see* Celtic Missionary Movement).

One of the turning points in Europe was the baptism of Clovis, king of the Franks. He had married (in 493) a Christian princess, Clotilda of Burgundy, who did her best to convert him. Clovis vowed if the Christian God would help him defeat his enemies, the Alemanni, he would convert. On Christmas day 496 he was baptized along with three thousand of his soldiers. Other rulers had converted, but Clovis was the first to accept, to the extent he understood, the Catholic faith instead of Arianism.

The Dark Ages, 500–1000. The classical world was passing. The barbarians pouring out of the Central European plain overran western Europe. The Vikings raided as far as Constantinople and terrorized Britain and northern Europe. Centers of learning were special targets because they were wealthy, yet even the horrors of these encounters presented an opportunity for the gospel. These five hundred years were the time when the church attempted to tame the barbarians and make their conversion more than nominal. The three key factors in this period were royal patronage, martyrdom, and monasticism (see also Monastic Movement).

Another challenge to Christendom came from Arabia, where Muhammad gathered his followers and provided them with a sense of unity and mission. They swept over Christian lands and within a hundred years of Muhammad's death, all of North Africa and most of Spain, as well as Palestine and Syria were under Muslim control. Checked for the first time by Charles Martel at Tours in 732, Muslims still sacked Rome in 846. Sicily was a Muslim country by 902. Finally in 1453, Constantinople itself fell to the Muslims, ending over a thousand years of primacy in Christendom.

Yet in spite of perilous times, the church continued to be found in new places. Irish missionaries established monasteries on the rugged Scottish coast and evangelized Britain. At the same time a mission was sent by Pope Gregory the Great to the Anglo-Saxons who had supplanted the native Britons. In 596 Augustine and a party of monks made their way to Kent, where Ethelbert (c. 560–616) was king. He had married Bertha, a Christian princess from Gaul and by the end of the year, Ethelbert and ten thousand Saxons were baptized. The Celtic missionaries had slightly different customs which had been preserved in their more isolated settings. While these differences seem insignificant to modern readers, it raised the question that reappears in other ages: Who has the right to resolve differences? In the end Rome prevailed, which set a pattern that endured until the REFORMATION.

The advance of the church was not without compromise, exemplified by Pope Gregory, who advised his missionaries to reconsecrate the pagan temples, destroying only the idols in them. Likewise, pagan festivals were remade into Christian holy days and traditional religious customs baptized as Christian symbols. The origins of the Christmas tree, the Yule log, and even the traditional date of Christmas are examples of this ACCOMMODATION.

There were POWER ENCOUNTERS between the missionaries and the indigenous people. BONIFACE, apostle to the Germans, felled the sacred oak of Thor in Hesse. The gospel made a slow, steady advance through Europe, though it is doubtful that the pagan influences were ever fully rooted out, surfacing again in folk stories of trolls and fairies, with syncretism affecting church life. Some peoples were more resistant to the gospel and many monks were martyred.

The schism between the church in the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire was not official until the bull of excommunication of 1054 and even then it was only the hierarchies that were excommunicated. However, the drift can be detected earlier in the different theological foci that were developing. The importance for missions is that the eastern church did not insist on the same linguistic unity that the western church did. It is significant that ULFILAS (c. 311–383), the missionary bishop who translated the Bible for the Goths, was consecrated at Constantinople, though his Arianism keeps him from being claimed by the Eastern Orthodox. In the eighth century when CYRIL and METHODIUS undertook missionary work among the Slavic-speaking Moravians, they were opposed by missionaries connected with the pope because of their translation work. The three principles that these two brothers from Thessalonica put forward were the use of the vernacular in worship, the employment of indigenous clergy, and the eventual selfhood of the church. They traveled to Rome, where they were able to celebrate the Slavonic liturgy in the pope's presence. However, when Methodius returned to Moravia as a bishop, he faced opposition and eventual expulsion. Their disciples spread throughout the Slavic lands, giving rise to the circumstances that led to the conversion of Vladimir in 988. PRINCE VLADIMIR, who was descended from Vikings, used his authority to force his followers into the fold of the church, thereby setting one of the patterns for successive rulers of Russia. In spite of its beginnings, the church in Russia has endured for more than a thousand years, at times under repressive rulers who tried to control it.

The Medieval World, 1000–1500. As the Christian church entered its second millennium, it was a mainly European phenomenon. Vestiges

of the ancient churches existed in Muslim-controlled territory, the church had a foothold in India and Ethiopia, but the Nestorian work in China had been suppressed. The Scandinavian peoples were initially resistant to the gospel, but by the late twelfth century, the church had been planted in the Nordic lands. The paganism that had been the religion was hard to suppress and still carries on in Nordic folklore.

The Crusades are perhaps the least likely vehicle for missionary expansion in the history of the church. Conceived as an attempt to wrest control of the Holy Land from the Muslims, the military adventures spanned two hundred years and resulted in thousands of lives lost. The attempt to use force to convert unbelievers, while it had a seven-hundred-year tradition in the church, was a failure, in part because the Crusaders found it easier to kill the infidels than reason with them. The attempts to witness to Muslims by the humble Francis of Assisi (1181-1226) and the scholarly RAYMOND LULL (c. 1235-1315) are bright spots on an otherwise bleak landscape. Lull was martyred in North Africa. Francis managed to preach before the Sultan of Egypt, who is reported to have said, "If I meet any more Christians like you I will become one myself." The lasting legacy of the Crusades is enmity between Muslims and Christians that exists to this day.

The rumored existence of a Christian kingdom to the east of the Muslim-dominated lands prompted speculation. Several expeditions were undertaken to the Mongols, with varying degrees of success. The Christian kingdom was not found. However, the Mongols who ruled Central Asia threatened the Muslim Empire, capturing and destroying Baghdad in 1258 and reaching Damascus two years later. The Nestorian church enjoyed a favorable position under the Mongols it had not known before. But in the end the Mongols came under the Muslim culture and the opportunity was lost to bring them into the realm of the church.

The traveler Marco Polo brought back tales of the Chinese Empire and a request from the Kublai Khan for one hundred scholars to debate the virtues of the Christian faith. JOHN OF MONTECORVINO (c. 1247–1328), a Franciscan, undertook the journey, reaching Beijing in 1294. By the time of his death (1328), he had been joined by three other Franciscans and had been appointed archbishop by the pope. John had baptized several thousand people; however, after his death, the church in China declined because more missionaries were not sent.

The Age of Discovery, 1500–1600. The Crusades fueled a desire to reach the East by circumventing the lands under Muslim control. Voyages of exploration were undertaken to reach the East Indies to secure a trade route for the spices of the East and to attempt to find allies in

History of Missions

the continuing crusade against Islam. Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) had sent crews down the coast of Africa. Christopher Columbus tried to reach the East by sailing west and desired to bring the benefits of Christianity as well as securing lands and riches for his patron, Isabelle, queen of Spain. In 1493, to settle a dispute between two Catholic sovereigns, the pope divided the world between the nations of Spain and Portugal with the commission to bring the true faith to the lands that they conquered. All the lands west of the line were to belong to Spain, those to the east to Portugal. When the line was moved to the west a year later, Brazil came under Portugal. The conquest of the New World was accomplished with considerable violence by the *conquistadors*. Some of the missionaries to Spanish America became vocal champions of the Indians. The best known was Bartholomew de Las Casas (1474-1566), who petitioned the Spanish throne for fair treatment of the Indians. Pedro Claver (1581–1654), a Jesuit, devoted his life to ministering to the African slaves brought to work the plantations. It is said he baptized over three hundred thousand slaves.

When in 1534 IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA gathered with his six friends to form the Jesuits, a potent missionary force was launched. This new order was subject to the pope and devoted to the reconversion of heretics and the conversion of pagans to the Catholic faith. By 1640 Jesuit missionaries had been in most of the then known world. One of the original six, Francis Xavier, was not only to become a famous Catholic missionary, but arguably one of the greatest missionaries of all time. Xavier first worked among the illiterate fisherfolk in India, but news of the potential for evangelism in Japan led him there. One of Xavier's lasting contributions to missionary thinking arose out his experience in Japan. His previous ministry among low-caste people did not prepare him for the advanced culture and traditions of the Japanese. Rather than tear down everything in the culture, Xavier sought to refine and re-create elements of tradition. In some ways, this is an extension of the policy carried out during the evangelization of Europe when pagan customs were incorporated into the faith. It was to have great consequences and some controversy in the missionaries who followed Xavier.

Another great innovative Catholic missionary was MATTEO RICCI (1552–1610), who labored in China. An expert clockmaker, he presented clocks as gifts to the Chinese and when the clocks needed to be wound he used the opportunity to preach. He dressed as a Confucian scholar and allowed his converts to observe the rites that honored Confucius and the family. Ricci's principle was to make the gospel as acceptable as possible to the Chinese and, judging by

the number of converts of high rank, he was successful. The question of accommodation, however easy to enunciate, is extremely difficult to practice without compromising the gospel.

Roman Catholic Missions, 1600 to 1800. The advantages of the Padroado, which divided the world between Spain and Portugal, meant that the missionaries could count on support, if not overly generous, from the colonial authorities. But it broke down because Portugal, whose population at the time was around one million, could not fulfill the missionary mandate. Thus in 1622 Pope Gregory XV established the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to assume the missionary task. Francesco Ingoli, the first head of the Propaganda, was a remarkable missionary statesman. Ingoli pushed for the rapid development of indigenous clergy and the freeing of Christian work from colonial attachments. In 1659 the Propaganda issued instructions to the vicars apostolic (heads of missionary regions) not to attempt to change customs of indigenous peoples unless these practices were distinctly non-Christian. "What could be more absurd than to transport France, Spain, Italy or some other European country to China.

In India ROBERT DE NOBILI (1577–1656) followed the methods of Ricci by adapting his method of presentation to Brahman customs. While he gained some success with the upper castes, he faced opposition from other European missionaries who accused him of theological compromise. It was only when the lower castes were the target of missionary work that what might be termed a MASS MOVEMENT occurred.

With the decline of Spain and Portugal, France became the great Roman Catholic missionary source. French expeditions had priests with them who journeyed with the explorers into the interior of North America, establishing missions among the indigenous populations. In France a nun of the Ursuline order, Mary of the Incarnation, had a vision of missionary work in Canada. Arriving in Montreal in 1639, the first six members of the order were the forerunners of the considerable involvement of nuns in missionary work. In Paraguay Jesuits established self-sufficient villages or reductiones in which they gathered their Indian converts. These were places of safety to protect the converts from hostile tribes and the colonial slave traders. While the church was the center of the community life, from the standpoint of expansion of the church, the work among the Guaraní was a failure because while the Jesuits conducted their mission for more than a century, they brought no candidate for the priesthood forward from the Indians.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw the eclipse of Roman Catholic missions. Among the reasons for this change was the evolving political situation with Protestant nations becoming world powers. In some countries a reaction against Christianity set in and many missionaries were martyred. The final blow was the suppression of the Jesuits by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. The loss of their missionaries and influence was at that time irreplaceable.

Eastern Orthodox Missions. After the Great Schism (1054), the histories of the Western and Eastern branches of Christianity drifted even farther apart. The Tartar invasion was the crucible that forged the Russian nation but it also hindered evangelism. However, there were notable missionary heroes of the Orthodox Church, all of whom shared the same concern for the Bible and liturgy to be in the language of the people. STE-PHEN OF PERM (1340–96) evangelized the Zyrians, reducing their language to writing. MAKARIUS GLOUKAREV (1792-1847) worked in the Altai Mountains, incorporating education and health care into his missionary work and being one of the first to see the ministry of women. Nicholas Illiminiski (1821-91) was a linguist who became a brilliant missionary strategist. While he was never a missionary in the traditional sense, he discovered that the use of Arabic script was reinforcing the Tartars' allegiance to Islam rather than instructing them in Christianity. Illiminiski reduced the Tartar language to writing using Russian script and promoted the use of vernacular languages to teach Christian truth. INNOCENT VENIA-MINOV (1797-1878) answered the missionary call to Russian Alaska, planting the church among the Aleuts. He also adopted the use of the vernacular and was proficient in navigating his kayak around his island parish. After his wife died, he became a monk, taking the name Innocent, and was made a missionary bishop for the vast territory of Siberia. He ended his service to the Church by occupying the highest office, metropolitan of Moscow. One of the missionaries that he influenced was NICO-LAS KASATKIN (1836–1912), who pioneered the Orthodox Church in Japan. Kasatkin's method of making each believer responsible to teach another person mobilized the Japanese.

The common elements in these examples were the use of the vernacular and the creation of an indigenous clergy.

The Beginnings of Protestant Missions. At the time of the Protestant Reformation, the countries that embraced the Reformation were not the world's dominant powers. Furthermore, internal squabbles as well as pressure from the Catholic Church made missions impossible. The response of the Reformers was to teach that the obligation for missionary work had ceased with the apostles (see also Reformation and Mission). There were notable exceptions, such as Justinian von Welz (1621–68), who advocated missionary work. When Holland became a world power, chaplains were sent to its colonies. However, any

missionary effort was to come after their primary task of meeting the needs of the colonists.

The discovery of America prompted a new interest in reaching the Native American population. The charter of the colony of Massachusetts included the statement that the principal purpose of the plantation was to convert the natives to Christianity. The first successful attempt was by John Eliot (1604–90), who learned the language of the Pequots and organized his converts into "Praying Towns" so they could live Christian lives. He is remembered for his Bible translation into the Indian language. David Brainerd (1718–47), a close friend of Jonathan Edwards, also labored among the Indians. When he died, exhausted by his labors, he left behind a diary that influenced both William Carey and Henry Martyn.

The European missionary enterprise had its start in the movement known as PIETISM. Pia Desideria written by Philip Jakob Spener outlined the necessity for personal conversion, holiness, fellowship, and witness. As the movement grew in the churches, King Frederick IV of Denmark decided that he should send missionaries to his tiny colony of Tranquebar. He turned to the center of pietism in Halle in Germany for recruits. August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) selected two men, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Henry Plüschau, who arrived on the field in 1706. the first non-Roman Catholic missionaries in India. Ziegenbalg (1683–1719), with no precedence to guide him, unerringly made the right choices and the best of missionary work followed the principles he laid down for Bible translation, an accurate understanding of local culture, definite and personal conversion, and development of indigenous clergy as quickly as possible. He saw the potential of using education to spread the gospel because Christians must be able to read the Word of God.

Another missionary leader influenced by pietism was Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, who had welcomed the Brethren of the Common Life who had been exiled from Moravia to settle on his estate at Herrnhut. Hearing that the Danish mission to Greenland would likely be abandoned, he proposed that the Moravians undertake the mission. August 21, 1732, is celebrated by the Moravian churches as the beginning of their missionary work. In addition to the work in Greenland, the Moravians sent missionaries to the West Indies and Surinam (see also Moravian Missions).

The Great Century of Missions. The explosion in Protestant missions coincided with the European mastery of speed in the form of the steamship and power in the form of the steam engine. As the European powers scrambled to carve out colonies in the rest of the world, so missionary interest in the spiritual welfare of these peoples

increased. The voyages of Captain Cook stirred WILLIAM CAREY, whose An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of Heathens (1792) was a stirring call to missions. Carey challenged the generally accepted theological notions that the missionary mandate had ceased. Carey (1761-1834) was a shoemaker and schoolteacher. A self-taught man, he is sometimes referred to as "the father of modern missions." This is not accurate, as Carey knew about the work of previous missionaries. However, Carey's importance was as a forerunner in the English-speaking world which has produced in the time since Carey the overwhelming majority of Protestant missionaries. Landing in India in 1793, he worked as a plantation manager for five years. With the arrival of more Baptist missionaries in 1799, the missionary work pro-

Carey was persuaded to join Joshua Marshman (1768–1837), a schoolteacher, and William Ward (1769–1823), a printer, in establishing a station at the Danish enclave of Serampore, sixteen miles from Calcutta. They established a Baptist church and engaged in preaching tours. Their great work was in translation. In thirty years, six whole Bibles, twenty-three complete New Testaments, as well as Bible portions in ten additional languages were printed. They were students of Indian culture, with Ward publishing a book on Hindu culture in 1811.

While the SERAMPORE TRIO had education as one of their goals, it was Alexander Duff (1806–78) who opened the first English-speaking institution of higher education in India. Duff's aims were both educational and evangelistic and while he only saw thirty-three converts in eighteen years, these were solid conversions. Duff's methods were widely copied in other areas.

ADONIRAM JUDSON (1788–1850) was the pioneer in Burma (Myanmar). Ann Hazeltine Judson (1789–1826) was one of the first missionary heroines, literally keeping her husband alive during his captivity in the Anglo-Burmese war. Judson's work lived on in his translation of the Bible into Burmese. But a greater legacy was to be found in one of his converts, Ko Tha Byu, who brought the gospel to his own Karen people. The Karens had a tradition of a Creator God whom they had displeased because of their sin. The gospel told them of a Savior who paid the price of their sin. A mass movement occurred among the Karens.

By no means the first missionary to Africa, DAVID LIVINGSTONE (1813–73) is known for his explorations and opposition to the slavery. Son-inlaw to ROBERT MOFFAT (1795–1883), who served for forty-eight years among the Tswana people of Southern Africa, Livingstone was not content to stay in one place. Beckoned on by "the smoke of a thousand villages" that had never heard the gospel, he explored the interior. It was his con-

viction that only as Africa became Christian and developed economically could the horrors of the slave trade be stopped.

Christianity's entrance into China was with the accompaniment of commercial interests. The first Protestant missionary in China was ROBERT MORRISON (1782–1834). He arrived when it was illegal for missionaries to preach the gospel and was compelled to live in hiding. However, his fluency in Chinese was so great that he became a translator for the East India Company. The trade in tea was causing an imbalance of payments for the British as the Chinese demanded silver for their tea. The answer for the British, who controlled the areas that produced opium, was to force China to allow trade in the narcotic. Two opium wars opened China to trade and allowed the residence of foreigners in China and transferred Hong Kong to Britain. KARL F. A. GÜT-ZLAFF (1803-51) envisioned a grand strategy for evangelizing the interior of China by employing native agents as colporteurs (see Colportage) and evangelists. Unfortunately, his agents were not always trustworthy and did not carry out the missionary work for which they were paid. However, Gützlaff's work was not in vain as he made the outside world aware of the provinces. Another result of the opium trade and the entrance of missionaries was the T'ai P'ing rebellion. Hung Hsiu-Ch'uan (1814-64) had received Christian literature from Liang Fah (1789–1855), the first ordained Chinese Protestant pastor. Through a series of dreams he conceived of his destiny to reform China through Christian principles as he understood them. The extent of his sect's orthodoxy is debated, but he used the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, with the fifth enhanced to include filial piety and the seventh to prohibit opium use. This peaceful movement was transformed between 1848 and 1853 into a revolutionary army that had its goal of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. Nanking was captured by the rebels in 1853 and for eleven years was the capital of Hung's dynasty. The imperial forces assisted by the Western powers crushed the revolt. Ironically Charles Gordon, the British Army officer who commanded the imperial troops, was as much a Bible reader as Hung, whose printers had been distributing Morrison's translation at a great rate.

The great visionary for China was James Hudson Taylor, who founded the China Inland Mission to place missionaries in the interior of China. His workers wore Chinese dress and adapted as much as possible to the Chinese way of life. Taylor accepted missionaries who had little formal education, which was a change from the societies that were growing more professional. In most cases his recruits were fine missionaries and many became superior linguists. He also had the mission headquarters in China

so that the work could be directed by those who knew the local situation.

The gospel had some success in China so that by the end of the nineteenth century there were about half a million adherents, but it also spawned fear and resistance. China was still in turmoil, with foreign nations making more demands and in some cases occupying territory. Opposition to foreigners and Christians exploded in 1900 with the formation of Righteous Harmonious Fists (Boxers), supported by the empress dowager. The Boxers killed Chinese Christians and missionaries and destroyed mission property. It was the greatest loss of missionaries' lives to that time. A military force from the Western powers finally suppressed the rebellion.

Missionary work in the twentieth century expanded dramatically. The Bible was translated into more languages. As the Bible was made available in Africa, the phenomenon of separatist churches erupted. The result of a vision of their founder, such as the Church of Simon Kimbangu, these groups which are variously called Zionist or Ethiopian are conveniently referred to as African Independent Churches to indicate their nonmissionary origin. Their doctrines are typically a mixture of traditional African cultures and the biblical revelation. These indigenized forms of Christianity engaged the concerns of the people and provided an answer to a population transitioning to the pressures of the modern world (see AFRICAN INITIATED CHURCH MOVEMENT).

The twentieth century was also marked by a worldwide charismatic phenomenon, that grew out of the Holiness movement. This renewal, which resulted in the formation of Pentecostal denominations, provided a fresh impetus for missionary work. The outbreak of charismatic activity in the older traditional denominations has prompted a new interest in spreading a gospel of power encounters with the forces of evil (see also Pentecostal Missions).

In this survey of expansion of the church, several themes have reappeared. The Bible, in the vernacular of the people, is a powerful force for transformation of societies. Empowerment of converts, either by recognizing them as leaders through ordination or through separatist movements, is the way the church grows in a culture. The contagious sharing of what has been experienced in Christ empowered by the Holy Spirit, either by missionaries or converts, is the key to church growth.

JAMES J. STAMOOLIS

Bibliography. J. Beeching, An Open Path: Christian Missionaries 1515–1914; S. Bolshakoff, The Foreign Missions of The Russian Orthodox Church; A. J. Broomhall, Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century; J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa; F. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions Among The Slavs; H. M. Goodpasture, Cross and Sword: An Eyewit-

ness History of Christianity in Latin America; C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa; M. Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns of Christian Acceptance: Individual Response to the Missionary Impact 1550–1950; S. Neill, Colonialism and Christian Missions; idem, A History of Christian Missions; K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity; idem, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: The 19th and 20th Centuries; S. H. Moffett, A History of Christianity in Asia; D. Roberts, American Women in Mission; E. Smirnoff, A Short Account of The Historical Development And Present Position of Russian Orthodox Missions; B. Stanley, The Bible And The Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries; R. A. Tucker, FJIJ; idem, GGC; A. F. Walls, The Missionary Movement in Christian History; M. Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modem History.

Ignatius of Loyola (c. 1491–1556). Spanish founder of the Jesuits. Born in the Basque region of Spain, until 1521 he pursued a military career but during convalescence from a wound he was converted to Christ through reading devotional books. His resolve to change his life led him to write the Spiritual Exercises, a program designed to produce mastery of the will. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1523 was intended to become a permanent mission to the Muslims of the Middle East and North Africa, but Christians in the area deterred him. He returned to study at the universities of Barcelona, Alcala, Salamanca, and Paris, at each place introducing students to the Spiritual Exercises. In 1540 he and six companions received papal permission to found The Society of Jesus. Ignatius trained his Jesuits for social service and missionary work, with special emphasis given to the establishment of educational institu-

From 1547 until his death, he oversaw the expansion of the order throughout Europe, Asia, and the Americas. His *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* outlined the educational philosophy of the order; it is still used in its original form today. The combination of spiritual devotion, academic rigor, and missionary fervor that came to characterize the Jesuits has been inspirational to Catholics and Protestants alike.

LARRY POSTON

Bibliography. C. De Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits;* G. E. Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola: Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works.*

John of Montecorvino (c. 1247–1330). Italian Franciscan missionary to Persia and China. Born in Montecorvino in southern Italy, John was a Franciscan missionary to Persia prior to his pathbreaking missionary work in China. In 1270, after the opening of China to trade with the West, the Mongol emperor, Kublai Khan, asked the pope to send a hundred missionaries. Although conflict within the papacy delayed the response to this remarkable request, in 1289 John of Mon-

tecorvino started his journey to Peking with a letter from the pope to Kublai Khan. During his journey, John preached for a year in India before traveling up the coast of China and arriving in Peking in 1294. By 1300 he had learned the Chinese language and had established a thriving church. A 1305 letter describing his work caused widespread excitement in the West. In 1307, Pope Clement V named John the archbishop of China and dispatched several bishops to join him.

During his successful thirty-five years of service in China, John translated the New Testament and Psalms into the Mandarin language and gained thousands of converts. His ministry also involved repeated conflicts with the Chinese Nestorian Christians, whose church he did not recognize (*see* Nestorian Missions). In view of the arduous journey from Europe to China, few European missionaries were able to join him, and the churches he established were destroyed after the emergence of the Ming Dynasty in 1368.

ALAN SEAMAN

Bibliography. J. Zubal, The Catholic Missions in China during the Middle Ages.

Lull, Ramon (c. 1235–1315). Missionary to North Africa. Ramon Lull was born on the island of Majorca. A dissolute early life was followed by marriage to Blanca Picany, who bore him two children, but not until the age of thirty did he give his life to Christ after seeing visions of the crucifixion.

The conversion of infidels became his passion. He spent nine years at the University of Palma studying Arabic, disputing with Jews and Muslims, and producing the earliest works of his prolific career. He believed that opponents of Christianity must eventually succumb to the arguments he painstakingly developed.

Another passion was the establishment of missionary training colleges, the first being founded on Majorca in 1276. After teaching for several years at the University of Paris, he made his first missionary journey to Tunis in 1292. He was almost immediately arrested and expelled, but in 1307 he returned to North Africa, only to be imprisoned for six months in Bugia. His third tour was in 1314–15, again to Bugia, but after producing at least five influential converts he was stoned to death by an angry crowd.

Besides his literary output of apologetical and devotional works—estimated at more than 250—Lull is notable for being among the first to advocate the conversion of Muslims as opposed to military crusades against them.

LARRY POSTON

Bibliography. E. A. Peers, Ramon Lull: A Biography.

Martyrdom. The role of martyrdom in the expansion of the church is the common thread that links the church of all ages with its suffering Savior. Tertullian, third-century leader in the church of North Africa, wrote to his Roman governors in his *Apology*, "As often as you mow us down, the more numerous we become. The blood of the Christians is seed." But martyrdom is not unique to Christianity. People have sacrificed their lives throughout the ages for a variety of reasons. To define the distinctive meaning of Christian martyrdom requires investigation of the Bible and church history.

Definition. The word *martyr* is an English word transliterated from its Greek equivalent (*martyrus*). It is closely associated with the word witness as used in the Scriptures. The Old Testament Hebrew equivalent is *moed*, which is used in reference to the place where God establishes his covenant with his people.

In the New Testament, the ideas of truth and Scripture are integrated into the verb form *martureō*. Jesus uses it to establish his witness as truth (Matt. 26:65; Mark 14:63; Luke 22:71). John the Baptist links Jesus, truth, and Scripture. Luke speaks of witness to the whole world (Acts 1:8).

The word *martyr* also extends its meaning to include Christ-like values, such as faithfulness, truth, witness, and lifestyle. Eventually, even "death-style" is subsumed. The first Christian-era martyr known is Stephen (Acts 7) who, interestingly, was put to death by "witnesses" for his witness. In Revelation 3:14, the last word is given concerning Jesus Christ who is "the faithful and true witness." The word does away with any distinction of what a true believer might live and die for. Death does not stop the witness given. It merely adds an exclamation point of truth, faithfulness, and love for the glory of God. It is the supreme witnessing act. Neither personal gain nor personal opinion provides the motive for such a death.

Church Growth and Martyrdom. Tertullian also wrote, "For who, when he sees our obstinacy is not stirred up to find its cause? Who, when he has inquired, does not then join our Faith? And who, when he has joined us, does not desire to suffer, that he may gain the whole grace of God?" Current estimates are that roughly 150,000 Christians are martyred each year, down from a peak of 330,000 prior to the demise of communist world powers. Some project that the numbers will increase to 600,000 by A.D. 2025, given current trends in human rights abuses and growth of militant religious systems.

Those inflicting contemporary Christian martyrdom include political regimes with counter-Christian agendas (e.g., official atheistic powers, such as China and the former Soviet Union); sociopolitical regimes enforcing religious restric-

tions (e.g., Egypt, Sudan); ethnic tribal regimes bent on eliminating minorities (e.g., Sudan, Rwanda, and Burundi) and religious regimes (e.g., Muslim countries in which *Sharia* is the official legal system).

Conclusion. Martyrdom will continue to be associated with the progress of gospel proclamation until the KINGDOM OF GOD is established. Jesus said, "Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword" (Matt. 10:34). The sword was not to be used by his disciples against others, but could be expected to be used against them. Paul said, "All this is evidence that God's judgment is right, and as a result you will be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you are suffering" (2 Thess. 1:5). Finally, as Augustine wrote in City of God: "Despite the fiercest opposition, the terror of the greatest persecutions, Christians have held with unswerving faith to the belief that Christ has risen, that all men will rise in the age to come, and that the body will live forever. And this belief, proclaimed without fear, has yielded a harvest throughout the world, and all the more when the martyr's blood was the seed they sowed."

J. RAY TALLMAN

Bibliography. R. Daniel, This Holy Seed; S. Bergman, Martyrs: Contemporary Writers on Modern Lives of Faith; J. Hefley and M. Hefley, By Their Blood: Christian Martyrs of the Twentieth Century; WCE.

Methodius (c. 815–885). Greek missionary to the Slavic people. Born in Thessalonika (Saloniki) in the Byzantine Empire, he took the name of Methodius upon becoming a monk at the Mount Olympus monastery, where his younger brother Constantine (later to take the name of CYRIL) joined him after 855. The work for which they are known began in 682 when Rastislav of Moravia requested Greek priests to teach the Slavic people in their own language. They traveled to Rastislav's court and began training Slavic priests. They ran into increasing opposition from the Bavarian Catholic missionaries there. They traveled to Rome in 868 to confer with the pope, who approved the work of the brothers and the Slavic liturgy they created. Methodius was ordained, and eventually consecrated as archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia, which was removed from the authority of the Franks (Germans). This produced a violent reaction among Frankish secular and religious leaders and in 870 King Louis the German imprisoned Methodius in Swabia. Pope John VIII secured Methodius's restoration in 873, although apparently only after a promise that use of the Slavic liturgy would be curtailed. The conflicts, however, continued. Methodius returned briefly to Constantinople (881–882) to complete the

translation of the Bible he and Cyril had begun. He died in Moravia on April 6, 885. After his death, his followers were forced out of Moravia, with the result that they began evangelistic work among the Poles, Bulgars, Bohemians, and other Slavic peoples. The ministry of Cyril and Methodius is traditionally regarded as the major means by which the gospel was brought to the Slavic people.

ROBERT SHUSTER

Bibliography. F. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius.

Middle East. Since World War II, the lands from the eastern Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf have been called the Middle East. Other designations include the Levant and Near East. Though the geographic perimeters vary, the Middle East consists of the states or territories of the Arabian Peninsula, Cyprus, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Turkey. At the core, religiously, it is a largely Islamic world. However, more than 8 million Christians live in the region. Despite the fact that massive emigration of Christians has eroded the strength of Christianity in some areas, notably Palestine, overall the Christian population is growing.

Christian presence in the region goes back to establishment of the first church in Jerusalem on Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit came upon the disciples of Jesus (Acts 1-2). From that epicenter the gospel was to spread to Judea, Samaria, and the ends of the world (Acts 1:8). Earliest Christianity in the Middle East thus had a missionary dynamic. Within the lifetime of Jesus' first followers, Christianity spread to Africa, where notable Christian populations have continued to thrive in Egypt and Ethiopia despite the rise of Islam in the seventh century; to Europe; and eastward. Christians were first so-named at Antioch (Acts 11:26). Although surviving documents provide too slender a base to support some claims made about the expansion of Christianity in Asia during the lifetimes of Jesus' apostles, an early tradition is that Thomas carried the gospel to India and established seven congregations along the Malabar coast.

Christianity spread through the Hellenistic world, largely tending to follow trade lines and attracting converts in the great urban centers of the Roman Empire such as Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. Although conversion to the new faith was uneven, by the end of the third century Armenia had became the first Christianized kingdom followed, early in the fourth century, by the Roman Empire. Within two hundred years after the death of Christ, Syrian Christians were carrying the faith into the Persian Empire and across the steppes of Central Asia. In addition to the tradition that St. Thomas visited

South India, there is another account, dating to the third century, of his visit to northwest India (what is now Pakistan). Earliest evidence of Nestorian missionary activity in the ancient Chinese capital Chang'an dates to 635.

Missionary dynamism did not endure. Contributing to this decline was the internal political and theological splintering of Christianity. However, in terms of the transformation it brought to the religious geography of the Middle East, the major factor was the rise of ISLAM. During the period from the hijrah, or emigration of the Prophet and his family from Mecca to Medina in 622 to his death in 632, Muhammad created a religious community held together by his personal presence and authority. Though it lasted only ten years, Muhammad's public mission had an impact similar to that of Jesus. After his death, his family and closest relatives by marriage transformed this community into a political and military empire. Within thirty years, the rule of the patriarchal caliphate stretched west through the richest provinces of North Africa halfway to the Atlantic Ocean, east into Asia, and north to the eastern shores of the Black Sea. Except for Asia Minor, Muslims ruled all of the ancient Christian Roman Empire in Asia.

Nonetheless, there remained a significant Christian minority population throughout the Middle East. Especially where large Arab Christian populations were involved, notably in what is now Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Yemen, Muhammad's successors granted immunity from forcible conversion. For non-Arabs, in what is now Iran or Turkey, Christianity remained as a tolerated minority, often in a sort of religious ghetto and subject to special taxes.

Gradually over the next three centuries Christianity in Asia went into decline. Under the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750) and 'Abbasids (750–1258), a numerically large body of Christians persisted faithfully, but its missionary possibilities were curtailed and its long-term survival was in doubt. The world of Islam also experienced splintering, and ancient centers of civilization came under the sway of new Islamic political empires. These forced conversion to Islam all across Asia with the exception of the Middle East. The Nestorians in China disappeared, and the Thomas Christians of southern India were isolated as a minority-caste community.

Still Christianity survived under medieval Islamic rule. From the perspective of Asian history as a whole, the most distinguishing feature of the period was the fall of the Arabs and triumph of the Turks. There are, of course, other perspectives, most notably that of European history which tends to highlight the brief, failed intervention known as the CRUSADES. The first crusade began in 1095 with a call by Pope Urban II to the Christian rulers of western Europe to res-

cue the Holy Land from the Turks. This led to creation of a Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted in various forms from 1099 until the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Properly speaking, the story of the succession of Crusades to restore Christian control of the Holy Land belongs to the history of the Western church. However, they did leave their mark on the churches of the Middle East. Negatively, they heightened the breach between Eastern and Western Christianity, and tended to unite Eastern Christians, Jews, and Muslims in their disenchantment with arrogant Western Christians. Positively, they contributed to the renaissance of European life, in part through the introduction of new architectural forms and learning to Europe. They also contributed to the emergence of two new Catholic missionary orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans.

The Castillian Dominic (1170–1221) sent preaching friars to the Middle East with a sense of mission shared by the Franciscans, to strive to heal the divisions of Christianity and to reach out in faithful evangelistic witness to Muslims. Among the early Dominican missionaries, Raymond Martin (1230–84) became a notable scholar of Islam. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), never reached the Middle East. However, his personal mission to Egypt impressed Muslims. His model of sincere Christian witness inspired Islamic rulers to allow Franciscans to remain in the region, often as custodians of the Holy Sites.

Between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, Christian missionary activity in the Middle East was limited. Early in this period, the best-known missionary was the Spanish layman, RAYMOND LULL (c. 1235), who sought to convince the Western church of the vital need for peaceful missionary work among Muslims. During his preaching journeys to Tunis and Algeria in North Africa, and to Cyprus, he was attacked, arrested, and expelled many times. He met a martyr's death by stoning in Tunis.

The Reformation period of the sixteenth century, which witnessed the creation of new Roman Catholic missionary orders and some initial Protestant outreach, quickened the pulse of Christian evangelistic activity and awakened interest in work among Jews and Muslims. However, virtually no effort to evangelize in the Middle East followed from this. It remained for the evangelical awakening of the late eighteenth century to generate missionary activity in the region.

In the nineteenth century, Protestants undertook several initiatives. Animated by Paul's example of preaching first to the Jew (Rom. 1:16), the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (Church Mission to Jews, or Church's Ministry among the Jews), founded in 1808 as an offshoot of the London Missionary Society, was the first of some twenty-three such societies in Britain alone. Many of these con-

tinue to the present. The London Society sent the Reverend Joseph Wolff (1796–1862), a converted Jew, to undertake various exploratory journeys, leading to the start of a medical ministry in Jerusalem in 1824.

Elsewhere, in 1818, the Church Missionary So-CIETY (CMS) sent a party of five missionaries to Egypt. The American Board of Commissioners FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM) established work in Beirut in 1823. Notable work was done in the area of translation of the Bible into modern Arabic and establishment of the Syrian Protestant College, which became the American University of Beirut in 1920. The American Board also began work in Turkey in 1831. The Reverend William Gordell settled in Constantinople. The educational work gradually extended to other centers in Asia Minor and Armenia. In terms of conversions, however, numerical growth came from adherents of the ancient Eastern churches as, perhaps regretfully or unwisely, the mission formed a new Protestant denomination. In Iran, HENRY MARTYN, en route to England from service in Calcutta, India, between 1806 until 1811, worked on a Persian version of the New Testament until his death at age thirty-one, having baptized one convert. Missionaries with the ABCFM who opened a station at Urmia in 1835 concentrated on adherents of Eastern Christianity, with the same results as noted in Turkey. By contrast, Swiss missionaries of the Basel Mission, who settled in Tabriz in 1813, concentrated on contact with Muslims. Among its missionaries, Karl Pfander completed in 1829 the *Mizan-al-Hagg* (Balance of Truth), a book which helped pioneer a more tolerant approach to Muslims, with an inner understanding of Islam not characteristic of earlier missionaries. This approach began to bear fruit under the ministry of an Irish Anglican Robert Bruce, who spent ten years in the Punjab and, like Martyn, obtained permission to spend a year in Iran on his way back from furlough in Britain to improve his knowledge of Persian and of Islam. His year's stay extended to two, and in 1871, as he prepared to leave for India, nine Muslims with whom he had studied Islam in Isfahan asked for baptism. He remained in Iran and was joined by another CMS missionary with a background in India, Edward Craig Stuart. Their ministry bore fruit when the first Persian, Hassan Barnabas Dehguni-Tafti, was consecrated Anglican bishop on April 25, 1961.

One additional nineteenth-century initiative is worthy of note. Even as Christianity arose in Jerusalem under the unitive ministry of the Holy Spirit, Jerusalem was the setting of an ecumenical initiative between 1841 and 1886. In 1841 the Church of England and Prussian Evangelical Union jointly established the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. The first bishop, Michael Solomon Alexander, was a converted Jewish rabbi. He

served from 1842 to 1845. His successor, Samuel Gobat, a French-speaking Swiss Protestant who had served the Church Missionary Society in Ethiopia, was bishop for thirty-three years, from 1846 to 1879. His tenure proved controversial in such areas as liturgy, missionary strategy, and relations with local political and religious authorities. When his successor, Joseph Barclay, died suddenly after less than two years in office, the joint undertaking collapsed, and the British Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a successor on a purely Anglican basis. The demise of the Jerusalem episcopacy in 1886, due to conflict in Jerusalem and imperial politics in Europe, contributed to the continued breach between the Anglican and Lutheran churches and the splintering of the Christian community in the Holy Land. Proselytizing activities among Eastern Christians and failure to establish any viable Jewish Christian community among the local inhabitants further weakened Christian witness in the Holy Land. This initiative contributed in some measure to the continued failure on the part of Western Christians to rethink attitudes toward Eastern Christians and the people of Israel.

The religious awakening of interest in the Middle East coincided with the decline of the Ottoman Empire and an awakening of European imperial ambitions in the region. At times, ecclesiastical and political rivalries often contributed directly to conflict, starting with Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798. In 1847, the Roman Catholic Church revived the Latin Patriarchate under French auspices. This in turn attracted Russian interest, allegedly in support of Orthodox authorities, and contributed in some measure to the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. Struggle among European imperial powers for control of the region intensified in the aftermath of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after World War I.

The lands of the Bible have extraordinary significance for Christians, Jews, Muslims, and the tiny community of Samaritans as well as for other religious communities such as the BAHA'I and Druze. Interest in and care for the Holy Land have long characterized major streams of Christian spirituality. Pilgrimage has been a major manifestation. Another has been Christian ZIONISM, a phenomenon first expressed during the sixteenth century. Especially within the Anglican and Calvinist traditions, some Protestants began to read the Bible in such a way that they expected, as a prelude to Christ's second coming, that Jews would return to their ancient homeland. By the nineteenth century, many Christians, influenced by a dispensational hermeneutic (see DISPENSATIONALISM), expressed an accepting attitude toward the desire of many diaspora Jews to return to the Holy Land and initiated political activity promoting restoration of

Miracles in Mission

Jews to the Holy Land. In effect, Christian Zionism preceded the emergence of political Jewish Zionism, an ideological instrument for mobilizing international patronage for a Jewish homeland in the Holy Land. In Britain, Canada, and the United States, Christian Zionists have exhibited considerable activity and influence, anticipating Christ's second coming by the end of the second millennium of the common era. Christian Zionists welcomed the Balfour Declaration, which, on November 2, 1917, promised the Jews a national home in Palestine; capture of Jerusalem a few weeks later; establishment of the British mandate of Palestine after World War I: appointment of a Jew, Herbert Samuel, as the first High Commissioner; Jewish emigration to the Holy Land; organization of Jewish para-military forces; creation of the State of Israel in 1948; reunification of Jerusalem under Israeli control in 1967; and the response of the world community to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Christian Zionists still engender fervent support for the State of Israel. The intimate linkage between Christian Zionism and political decision-making remains a political factor in Western diplomacy related to the Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts.

As the era of Western influence in the region waned after mid-nineteenth century, involvement by indigenous Christians in the wider social and religious life of Middle East has increased. Despite the great diversity of the region, it is possible to make a few generalizations. On the whole, the social influence of Christians is disproportionate to their numbers throughout the region. Generally, they are better educated than the Muslim majority. They are prominent in commerce, education, and the professions. Christians fare relatively well economically and are less likely to number among the poorest of the poor. Where Islamic law prevails, and in the State of Israel, Christians are generally tolerated provided there is no missionary activity from outside. In countries where so-called Islamic fundamentalism is particularly strong, or religious nationalism particularly strident, as in Iran since 1979, Christians have suffered persecution. Christians exercise considerable political power of Cyprus, which remains partitioned, and in Lebanon, where they once formed a majority of the population. Religiously, the Christian churches remain fragmented, notwithstanding the longings of ordinary Christians to live as one body, including gestures to promote unity, such as the pilgrimage of the Roman Catholic Pope Paul VI in January 1964, and the encounters he had with Benedictos I, Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Athenagoras I, Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

PAUL R. DEKAR

Bibliography. Y. Ben-Arieh, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century; R. B. Betts, Christians in the Arab East. A Political Study; S. P. Colbi, A History of the Christian Presence in the Holy Land; J. S. Conway, Holocaust and Genocide Studies 1 (1986): 127–46; K. Cragg, The Arab Christian. A History in the Middle East; R. T. Handy, ed., The Holy Land in American Protestant Life 1800–1948. A Documentary History; N. A. Horner, A Guide to Christian Churches in the Middle East; S. M. Jack, Journal of Religious History 19 (December 1995): 181–203; S. H. Moffett, A History of Christianity in Asia.

Miracles in Mission. Contemporary mission endeavor cannot and should not seek to avoid the subject of supernatural power and the miraculous. Neither, on the other hand, should missions today become obsessed with or distressed over the power and activity of evil beings under Satan's control, nor over those who teach about them. The Bible teaches Christ's victory over all the Powers (authorities), Principalities (rulers), dominions, and demons (1 Cor. 2:6; 15:24; Eph. 1:15–23; Col. 1:15–20, 2:15; 2 Thess. 2:8; Heb. 2:14). Mission today needs to rest assured that God still can and does work miracles.

Areas of Interface between the Miraculous and Mission. Missions interface with the miraculous in evangelism, healing, deliverance, and other areas.

The Miraculous and Evangelism. All evangelism is miraculous but in missions today individuals and groups are opened to the gospel in ways that can only be miraculous. The history of Christianity is replete with accounts of people movements that obviously were instigated and promoted by the Holy Spirit.

Some contemporary missionaries consider warfare prayer and the "binding" of territorial spirits as a major method in evangelistic activities. C. Peter Wagner defines Territorial Spir-ITS as members of the hierarchy of evil spirits who, delegated by Satan, control regions, cities, tribes, people groups, neighborhoods, and other social networks and inhibit evangelistic breakthrough. John Duncan and Edgardo Silvoso recount how, in Argentina, after prayer, fasting, confession, and confronting territorial spirits, the Lord granted a marvelous gospel breakthrough. John Wimber, who believes in "power evangelism" and miracles in evangelism, does not hold miracles necessary for evangelism. He sees proclamation of the gospel as the "heart and soul" of evangelism.

The Miraculous and Healing. God has used healing to reveal the truth of his message throughout history. The Lord has healed through the prophets (2 Kings 5:1–16), Jesus (Mark 1:40–41; John 4:46–54), the apostles (Acts 3:1–10), New Testament believers (Acts 14:3), and Christian missionaries today. God continues to perform miracles of healing, both to meet the phys-

ical needs of suffering people and to reveal the truth of his message.

Belief in divine healing in no way prohibits using modern medicine and using modern medicine does not indicate a lack of faith in God's power to heal. Missions today should allow God to speak both through modern medicine and God's direct healing action.

The Miraculous and Deliverance. Demons (evil spirits, powers) exist and harm, but do not possess in the sense of owning, human beings, whether believers or unbelievers. Jesus and New Testament Christians expelled demons from persons (Matt. 8:28–34; Mark 5:1–20; Acts 5:16; 16:16–18). Contemporary missionaries face expanding needs and opportunities to oppose evil spirits who demonize persons. Deliverance from evil spirits has become a growing phenomenon among evangelical missionaries. Demons who attack people can be expelled and rendered powerless through God's power (see also Demons, Demonization; Exorcism; and Spiritual Warfare).

The Miraculous and Other Manifestations. Miracles today are evidenced in tongues, knowledge, visions, and other areas (1 Cor. 12–14). These manifestations, questioned by some, indicate to others the direct action of God. Missionaries must deal honestly and directly with these manifestations.

Principles Relating to Missions and the Miraculous. Several principles relate to miracles and missionary work. First, missionaries should welcome the aid of miracles and other manifestations of SIGNS AND WONDERS in missionary ministry. In regard to supernatural power and the miraculous, missionaries must be careful never to be materialists, disbelieving in supernatural powers, nor magicians, thinking supernatural powers can be controlled by ritual (see MAGIC).

Second, missionaries must affirm that miracles, signs, and wonders are not necessary for evangelism or other missionary work. The Holy Spirit continues to grant evangelistic fruit where there are no outward signs of miracles. Signs and wonders can, however, be instrumental in helping people become more willing to hear the gospel.

Third, missionaries must accept that healing is not always God's plan for every person. God speaks through suffering as well as through healing. Missionaries should not, therefore, promise healing as God remains sovereign in granting healing.

Fourth, missionaries must also remember that power resides in the gospel itself, not in miracles (Rom. 1:16; 1 Cor. 1:18). Missionaries must be certain never to make miracles seem imperative for missionary effectiveness. They must remember that miracles, like all other Christian deeds, must glorify God rather than calling attention to

humans. When miracles are used to bring fame and notoriety to humans, these "signs" are not of God. Christians may be seen doing miracles but never be doing miracles to be seen.

Finally, missionaries should remember that miraculous events are not always of God. Pharaoh's magicians did signs (Exod. 7:10–22) as did Satan (2 Thess. 2:9). Jesus declared that false prophets would perform miracle (Matt. 24:24). Missionaries must beware of counterfeit miracles. Missionaries must remember that signs and wonders function to convey truth, especially divine compassion. The purpose of signs is that people apprehend the message the signs bring rather than dwell on the signs themselves.

EBBIE C. SMITH

Bibliography. C. E. Arnold, Ephesians: Power and Magic; idem, Powers of Darkness; D. Bridge, Signs and Wonders Today; J. Dawson, Taking Our Cities for God; N. Geisler, Signs and Wonders; P. G. Hiebert, Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues; D. Powlison, Power Encounters; E. Rommen, ed., Spiritual Power and Missions; T. M. Warner, Spiritual Warfare; C. P. Wagner, Engaging the Enemy; C. P. Wagner, and F. D. Pennoyer, eds., Wrestling with Dark Angels.

Monastic Movement. Most missionaries from the fourth to the eighteenth centuries were monks, even though mission was not part of the original purpose of monasticism. The movement developed in the late third century, drawing men and women into celibate communities of work and worship. Their primary focus was the achievement of personal salvation through prayer and ascetic practices. But some penetrated new areas, winning pagan peoples to the faith, reducing languages to writing, and translating the Scriptures.

In the West, Celtic monasticism, beginning in the fifth century, was intentionally missionary and played a great role in evangelizing the British Isles and parts of the Continent. In the thirteenth century the Franciscans initiated missions to Muslims and with the Dominicans established a chain of mission stations across Central Asia all the way to China. The Jesuits in the sixteenth century joined them as the primary missionary agencies of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in Latin America, India, and Japan.

In the East the NESTORIANS were ardently missionary, even though considered heretical. They moved across Central Asia, introduced literacy among illiterate tribes, and reached China in 635. Most of their work did not survive. Sent by Constantinope, Cyril and Methodius went to the Slavic peoples in the ninth century, devised an alphabet that became the basis of modern Slavic languages, translated the Scriptures, and established the church. In the tenth century monks took Christianity to Kiev, then to Moscow. They also did heroic work among Aleuts in Alaska be-

Nestorian Mission

ginning in the eighteenth century. The monks from the East emphasized the use of vernacular languages in liturgy and Scripture, while the Western church insisted on Latin.

Even though evangelicals would not agree with all of their theology, this movement produced thousands of men and women of prayer and devotion, who were the most important ambassadors of the gospel for fourteen centuries.

PAUL E. PIERSON

Bibliography. D. Bosch, Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission; S. Neill, HCM.

Nestorian Mission. The Nestorian movement took the name of Nestorius, who was appointed patriarch of Constantinople in 428 but deposed three years later at the Council of Ephesus over the issue of the relationship of the human and the divine in Christ. His Christology was probably orthodox, although perhaps not stated adequately. Ecclesiastical politics were also involved. The controversy was a factor in the breach between the East and the West, and the church in Persia became Nestorian.

For several centuries the Syriac-speaking Nestorians were one of the most passionately missionary branches of the church. A school was established in Nisibis with a strong focus on spiritual discipline, Bible study, and mission. In the sixth century it had over a thousand students. Nestorians spread their faith through merchants, accountants, bankers, and physicians, as well as missionary monks and priests and in some cases women who married chiefs of central Asian tribes. In the sixth century Nestorians arrived in India, while a mission to the Huns in central Asia evangelized, reduced the language to writing, and taught agriculture.

The best-known mission was to China. A monument discovered in 1623 described the arrival of Alopen, the first missionary, in 635. Churches and monasteries were established. Christian literature was produced, and the movement had the favor of the emperor. It even reached the border of Korea. It died out in the tenth century but experienced a resurgence from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, when it disappeared again. The reasons for its demise in China appear to have been threefold: overcontextualization to the point of religious syncretism, with inadequate focus on the cross and resurrection; foreign leadership of the church; and strong dependence on the imperial house. The movement disappeared first when the T'ang dynasty fell in the tenth century, and again in the fourteenth century because of government persecution.

Nestorian Christianity reached several central Asian tribes, notably the Uighurs, whose language was reduced to writing in the eighth century. From there it was passed to the Mongols. By the thirteenth century the Keraits were considered Christian. Nestorians often coexisted with Islam and served its leaders as physicians and scholars, even translating a number of Greek philosophical works into Arabic. However, the Christian faith in Asia was eventually exterminated by a combination of Islamic pressure and the massacres of Tamerlane in the fourteenth century. Scattered Nestorian communities, often calling themselves Assyrian Christians, still exist in some areas of the Middle East and the United States.

PAUL E. PIERSON

Bibliography. S. H. Moffett, A History of Christianity in Asia, vol. 1; J. Stewart, The Nestorian Missionary Enterprise.

Pantaenus (d. c. 194). Possible pioneer missionary to India. He was born in either Athens or Sicily; almost nothing is known of Pantaenus's childhood. He was head of a school in Alexandria from roughly 180 until his death, and was succeeded by Clement. While few details are known, Eusebius relates that Pantaenus responded to a call sent through the bishop of Alexandria and traveled to India. Jerome adds that his work was among the Brahmins. There he apparently met Christians who were familiar with Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew. The India mentioned by Eusebius may refer to South Arabia, and Pantaenus's work appears to have been little more than a visit.

A. SCOTT MOREAU

Bibliography. ODCC; G. Smith, *The Conversion of India*; M. Whittaker, *NCE*, 10:947.

Patrick (c. 389–461). Early British missionary; "Apostle of Ireland." Born in Roman Britain, he was captured at the age of sixteen by Irish raiders and carried into slavery in Ireland. After six years, he escaped and was eventually reunited with his family in Britain. Called in a dream to evangelize Ireland, he is said to have returned there as a bishop in 432, and from his base in Armagh carried out what he called his "laborious episcopate." He claims to have been the first to take the gospel to more remote regions of the island. Numerous legends have grown up around Patrick's life; he is said, for example, to have been trained in Gaul and to have had a close relationship with Martin of Tours (calling for a fourth-century Patrick).

Reliable data come only from his two short writings: *The Confession*, a spiritual autobiography; and a work denouncing the tyranny of a British chieftain who persecuted Christians. Patrick aimed first to convert the princes who would then give him safe conduct through their territories and access to the common people. He supported monasticism, refused all presents,

broke the power of heathenism in Ireland, and typified the enthusiasm of the Celtic Church. He was known for remarkably clear statements of faith (he continually quoted Paul), and for a missionary heart that played a major part in sending monks to evangelize Europe during the following two centuries.

J. D. Douglas

Bibliography. L. Bieler, The Life and Legend of St. Patrick; R. P. C. Hanson, The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick.

Persecution. Suffering experienced by those whose opinion or belief is being attacked by another group. For the first Christians who came from a Jewish heritage, SUFFERING and persecution were both part of their lot. Jews living under Roman rule could expect to be persecuted if they chose to follow Jesus (e.g., Matt. 5:10–12; 10:23; Luke 21:12; John 15:20).

The Jews as a people had been persecuted for centuries prior to Christ's birth. Christians who came out of Judaism still faced hostility from Rome. In addition, at least until A.D. 70, they faced persecution from the Jewish leaders. Such persecutions often had the opposite of the intended effect. The persecution of the church after Stephen's MARTYRDOM did not stop Christianity but spread the gospel beyond the confines of Jerusalem (Acts 8:1). Paul's conversion resulted from the Damascus road encounter with Jesus while he was traveling under Jewish authority to persecute the church in Damascus (Acts 9:1–31). In testimony and correspondence Paul frequently referred to his persecuting work (Acts 22:4; 26:11; 1 Cor. 15:9; Gal. 1:13; Phil. 3:6; 1 Tim. 1:13). James was martyred by Herod, and when the populace approved he had Peter arrested for the same purpose (Acts 12:1–11). Through God's intervention, the tables were turned and Herod lost his life, while Peter escaped and was able to continue sharing his faith. Jewish persecution of Paul for his evangelistic work led to his arrest and eventual transport to Rome under guard. In this, however, the Jews living in Rome as well as Paul's escorts and his guard detail all had the chance to hear the gospel (Acts 28:17–30; Phil. 1:12–14). Persecution, though violent and intended to shut down the church, often had the opposite effect.

The Roman rulers initially tolerated Christians as a subsect within Judaism, but Nero's scape-goating of them after the A.D. 64 fire in Rome started a pattern of persecution which continued for almost 250 years. With varying intensity, Christians were perceived as a threat to the state. Though not consistently applied throughout the Roman Empire, and with periods of hostility followed by temporary reprieves, the reality of Christianity's illegality as a religion remained

part of the Christian experience until the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313) officially legalized Christianity in the empire. Though two relatively brief periods of persecution followed (under Licinius in 322–23 and Julian in 361–63), official toleration of Christianity across the Roman Empire was assured.

Contemporary Situation. While it is true that Christians have over the course of history persecuted others (e.g., Muslims during the Crusades; Jews during the Middle Ages and the modern era), including other Christians (e.g., the Donatists, Anabaptists, Puritans, and Huguenots), by and large it is accurate to say that Christians have been the recipients of hostility. Far from being only a thing of the past, persecution today continues to be a reality faced by many Christians, particularly those in militant religious states. It is estimated that more Christians have lost their lives through persecution in this century than all other centuries combined, though generally there has been little publicity of this in the secular press of free countries. David Barrett estimates that some 160,000 Christians were martyred in 1996 simply because they were Christians. Contemporary researchers have begun to speak out on behalf of the persecuted (e.g., Shea and Marshall), noting that the Western church and Western governments have been largely silent in the face of an increasingly well-documented reality.

A number of mission organizations have also been founded to investigate, publicize, and advocate on behalf of those at risk, including Brother's Keeper, Christian Solidarity International, International Christian Concern, and Voice of the Martyrs. Additionally, existing agencies are incorporating departments which emphasize the persecuted church, including Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, Open Doors, and World Evangelical Fellowship Religious Liberty Commission. The National Association of Evangelicals (U.S.) published a statement of conscience in 1996 reflecting "deep concern for the religious freedom of fellow believers, as well as people of every faith" and many agencies and churches have joined the WEF-sponsored International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted

Missionary Implications. With the recent increase in interest in reaching the unreached, persecution of missionaries will likely grow rather than shrink in the coming decades, simply because so many of the unreached live under religious or political ideologies that suppress the spread of the Christian message. Additionally, Christians are often perceived as part of the West in general, and the official anti-Western tenor in these countries will exacerbate the potential problems.

Power Encounter

Almost no missiological training in the West offered today will help future missionaries training face persecution, though it appears that house seminaries in China prepare their future pastors for interrogation. Missionaries, especially those going into at-risk situations, would benefit from realistic preparation for the possibilities they may face. In addition, having been trained, they may also be more able to offer both preparation and aid to indigenous Christians who suffer because of a choice to follow Christ in a hostile environment.

A. SCOTT MOREAU

Bibliography. G. W. Bromiley, ISBE Revised, 3:771–74; W. H. C. Frend, ER 11:247–56; P. Marshall, IBMR 22:1 (January 1998): 1–8; idem, Their Blood Cries Out; E. M. B. Green, NBD, pp. 913–14; H. Schlossberg, A Fragrance of Oppression; N. Shea, In the Lion's Den.

Power Encounter. The term "power encounter" was coined by Fuller missiologist Alan Tippett to label an event commonly experienced by the peoples of the South Pacific as they converted to Christianity. Tippett noted that people usually had come to Christ in large groupings ("People Movements") soon after a major confrontation that tested the power of their ancestral gods against that of the Christian God, resulting in an obvious victory for the latter. These encounters were reminiscent of the scriptural encounters between Moses and Pharaoh (Exod. 7–12) and between Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 Kings 18)

South Pacific peoples were (and are) keenly aware of the presence, activity, and power of spirits. Their leaders were openly committed to the gods of their islands. They credited these gods with providing protection, food, fertility, and all other necessities of life for them. But they also lived in great fear of their anger and vengeance. To challenge the ancestral gods was unthinkable for most South Pacific peoples. Nevertheless, in turning to Christ, often after years of weighing the consequences, it was chiefs and priests, those who knew the gods and their power best, who chose to challenge them. In doing so, they wagered that the Christian God had greater power than their gods and cast themselves completely on him for protection from the revenge of their gods.

A typical power encounter would involve a priest or chief, speaking on behalf of his people, publicly denouncing their allegiance to their god(s) in the name of Jesus and challenging the god(s) to do something about it. When the god(s) could not respond, the victory belonged to Jesus and large numbers of the people usually converted. As Tippett noted, power-oriented people require power proof, not simply reasoning, if they are to be convinced.

The value and validity of an approach to evangelism that involves power confrontations is widely accepted today in missiological thinking and practice, since it is recognized that most of the peoples of the world are power-oriented. Current theorists, however, have expanded Tippett's original concept to include healing and deliverance from demons as power encounters. They see Jesus' ministry as including numerous such power encounters. These encounters are usually less spectacular than those Tippett described but, it is argued, qualify as genuine power encounters since they involve the pitting of the power of God to bring freedom against the power of Satan to keep people in bondage. Furthermore, such "signs and wonders" frequently result in the conversion of families and even larger groups who accept the healing or deliverance as demonstrating the presence and power of God. There is, however, some difference of opinion over whether such encounters should be planned or simply taken advantage of when they occur.

It is important to note that conversion through power encounter does not assure that the movement will be stable and enduring. Throughout the Scriptures we see that people can observe God's mightiest demonstrations of power but soon go right back to the gods who were defeated. Thus it was both after Moses defeated Pharaoh and Elijah defeated the prophets of Baal. So it has been in many of the power events in the South Pacific and elsewhere. As always, the crucial dimension in conversion is what happens after the turning, whether people feed and grow in their new relationship with Jesus Christ or neglect it and let it die.

CHARLES H. KRAFT

Bibliography. C. H. Kraft, Christianity With Power; M. G. Kraft, Understanding Spiritual Power; A. R. Tippett, People Movements in Southern Polynesia; C. P. Wagner, Confronting the Powers.

Roman Catholic Missions. Roman Catholic Missions and Mission Theology Before Vatican II. It was only in the context of the Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century that the term "missions" came to be used to designate the Catholic Church's activity of preaching the gospel. The early Jesuits used the term to describe efforts (1) to revive and nurture faith among Catholics, (2) to win back Christians who had become Protestant, and (3) to convert to Christianity those who had not yet been baptized. During this period the political expansion of Europe to Asia and Latin America by the Roman Catholic kingdoms of Portugal and Spain was intimately linked to missions in the third sense of the term.

Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans accompanied the explorers of the Philippines

early in the sixteenth century, and relatively quickly and with little opposition the majority of the population was baptized. Missionaries saw little of value in Filipino culture, however, and imposed European doctrinal formulations and religious practices. Such a tabula rasa approach to evangelization was taken also in India, both with the "Thomas Christians" found there, and with new converts as well. The Jesuit Francis XAVIER also shared this attitude, although, unlike other European missionaries, he stressed the importance of preaching and instruction in the local language. When Xavier traveled to Japan, however, he was so impressed by the level of civilization and natural goodness of the Japanese that he abandoned this *tabula rasa* approach in favor of one of ACCOMMODATION, wherever possible, to local customs. This more "inculturating" approach was also championed by ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, who first came to Asia as a Jesuit visitator in 1579. Valignano strongly supported the work of MATTEO RICCI in China, who advocated the development of a Chinese Christianity, complete with the possibility of venerating ancestors. As missionaries from other orders began to work in China, however, such broad-minded acceptance of Chinese culture was opposed, and in 1742 any kind of adaptation was condemned at the conclusion of the famous "Rites Controversy."

By the mid-sixteenth century the conquest of Latin America was complete, and with conquest came Franciscan and Dominican—and eventually Jesuit—missionaries. While the missionaries were for the most part sincere, and made efforts to learn local languages and provide basic education, the success of their work was greatly hampered by the cruelty with which the indigenous peoples were treated by the conquerors. But the native people did have their champions in men like Antonio de Montesinos and especially BAR-TOLOMEW DE LAS CASAS, who worked for fifty years to convince the Spanish of the indigenous people's humanity and their need for basic human rights. Evanglization was also hampered by missionary attitudes that demeaned the local cultures and insisted that converts adopt a European lifestyle. In an effort both to protect the indigenous population from exploitation by the colonists and to form them in Christian living, villages or "reductions" were developed in which people could live in Christian community. These communities were developed especially by the Jesuits, who founded some twenty-three settlements in Paraguay in the seventeenth century. While life was peaceful in such communities, their weakness lay in failure to develop a sense of initiative and independence among the people. Until the system met its nemesis in the eighteenth century, not one candidate was brought

forward for priesthood, nor one order of women religious founded.

In the sixteenth century, missions were directed by the Portuguese and Spanish monarchs and the missionary orders. While this had a number of advantages (royal protection, ready means of travel, financial assistance), the grave disadvantages of mixing political interests and trade with mission work, rivalry between the orders, and a limited pool of missionaries prompted Rome, as it was centralizing all of Catholicism in the wake of the Council of Trent, to place all missionary activity under a new curial body—the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Established in 1622, its aims were to free missionary work from the stranglehold of Spain and Portugal, to create dioceses and promote local clergy, and to recruit diocesan clergy to balance personnel from the religious orders. In a famous set of instructions in 1659, the Congregation urged that missionaries should not destroy what is good in a culture: "What could be more absurd than to transport France, Spain, Italy, or some other European country to China? Do not bring these, but the faith."

It was in this spirit that Robert de Nobili ministered in India in the first half of the seventeenth century. Influenced by the methods of Ricci, he determined to immerse himself in Indian culture. He avoided eating meat and wearing leather shoes, wore the robe of the Indian holy man, mastered classical Tamil, and attempted to recast traditional Christian teaching with illustrations from the Indian classics. Anyone converting to Christianity need not abandon the many Indian cultural practices that de Nobili deemed inessential to Christian life. Although blessed with considerable success, de Nobili was not without his critics, and in 1703 all his methods were condemned by the Roman legate Charles Tournon.

In what is now Vietnam, Alexander de Rhodes made two significant contributions to missionary work. First, he formed a company of catechists, laymen whom he trained to give both religious instruction and medical assistance. In lieu of an indigenous Vietnamese clergy, such action assured that Christianity would be taught skillfully and accurately. Second, Rhodes developed a way to write Vietnamese using the Roman alphabet, and set Christian doctrine in the ordinary language of the people. By 1658 it was estimated that there were 300,000 Christians in Vietnam.

Between 1645 and 1700 the Capuchins baptized 600,000 people in the region of the Congo and Angola, and from 1700 on the average annual number of baptisms was 12,000. The reason for this, it seems, was a rather lax policy of baptism. Elsewhere in Africa, by 1624 the Jesuits had some twenty missionaries working in the Zambezi region, and the Dominicans and Augus-

Roman Catholic Missions

tinians had stations on Africa's east coast, but the involvement of the missionaries in various tribal wars slowed progress considerably and strengthened the impression that to become Christian was to accept the sovereignty of Portugal. Despite heroic efforts, no real commitment was made to learn local languages or cultures, and there was little attempt to follow easy baptism with extended catechesis.

In the seventeenth century, France began to exert its influence beyond Europe, particularly in North America. The first group of Jesuit missionaries was sent to Canada in 1632, and in 1639 Ursuline Marie de l'Incarnation and several companions were the first women missionaries to Canada. Work was slow and hard; the indigenous people treated each other and the missionaries with terrible cruelty, and many missionaries lost their lives, among whom were Jesuits Isaac Jogues and Jean Brebeuf and the layman Jean de la Lande. The Jesuit missionary Pierre Marquette is especially known for his explorations of the Upper Midwest.

The great effort of Roman Catholic mission work beyond Europe faltered gravely in the eighteenth century. The influence of Portugal and Spain began to diminish as Holland's and Britain's grew; the Roman decisions regarding Chinese ancestral rites precipitated a persecution in China; the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 effected the withdrawal of several thousand missionaries from Asia and Latin America; the French Revolution and its persecution of the church virtually dried up the sources for French missionaries.

It is rather astonishing, therefore, that the nineteenth century was to see an amazing revival in the Catholic Church in general, and in its missionary efforts in particular. Napoleon's humiliation of the pope at the end of the eighteenth century ultimately created a movement of papal support and religious renewal throughout the whole church. In 1814 the Jesuits were reestablished, and other orders discovered new life. In addition, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the foundation of more new orders of men and women dedicated to missionary work than had any previous era. These included the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny (1805), the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (1816), the Marists (1817), the Congregation of Mary Immaculate (1862), the Mill Hill Fathers (1866), the Comboni Missionaries (men, 1867; women, 1872), the Society of the Divine Word (1875), Sisters of the Precious Blood (1885), and the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll, 1911). The beginnings of large-scale lay participation in missionary work can be traced back to Pauline Jaricot, who in 1817 founded the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The society solicited prayers, disseminated information, and collected funds for missionary support.

As the nations of Europe entered a new age of COLONIALISM, they welcomed, for the most part, missionaries of all sorts to help in education and health care. While Catholics and Protestants often pioneered in their own missionary areas, they occasionally competed, shamefully, against one another. Missionary efforts in Africa flourished, despite the hardships of the climate. Both China and Japan opened up once more for missionaries under the pressures of the colonial powers. Korean Catholicism struggled to grow, but was severely hampered by persecution at mid-century. Such legendary figures as Peter Chanel and Father Damien participated in the evangelization of the South Pacific.

In this great missionary era, however, there was little creative thinking. Nineteenth-century Catholic theology, with few exceptions, was inspired by the false universalism of Neo-Thomism. Loyalty to the papacy did indeed revitalize the church, but also made it Eurocentric and, like the colonial powers, derogatory of local culture. Any kind of adaptation was seldom considered, and local vocations to priesthood and religious life were, in the main, rarely encouraged.

A sign of renewal in Roman Catholic mission theology was the publication of five major mission encyclicals in the twentieth century, inspired no doubt by the emergence of the Social Sciences and the pioneering missiological work of Josef Schmidlin, André Seumois, and Pierre CHARLES. Maximum illud (Benedict XV, 1919) taught the need to be sensitive to local cultures and called for the training of local clergy; Rerum ecclesiae (Pius XI, 1926), while likewise calling for a local clergy, also affirmed the pope's role in global evangelization and enlisted bishops as primary agents in the task. In Evangelii praecones (1951) and Fidei donum (1957), Pius XII stressed the supranationality of the church, and called for the development in Africa. John XXIII's 1959 *Princeps pastorum* laid the groundwork for Vati-

From Vatican II to the Present. The SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL (1962–65), the most important event of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century, thoroughly rethought the theology and practice of mission. The "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church" (Lumen gentium, 1964) defines and describes the council's teaching on the church's identity, its organization, and its authority. In highlighting the universality of Christ, the Catholic Church is also defining itself as "the universal sacrament (sign) of salvation." It senses a "special urgency" in the task of "proclaiming the gospel of Christ to every creature."

The "Dogmatic Constitution" is noteworthy for two particular reasons, the first being the ways in which the Catholic Church continues to define itself in terms of a hierarchical structure (chap. 3) in spite of using the terms "mystery" (chap. 1) and "the People of God" (chap. 2) as controlling images of the contemporary church. The second is the way in which the Catholic Church identifies itself in relation to other religious and nonreligious realities. It is not clear whether the "Dogmatic Constitution" intends to identify the people of God with the Catholic Church exclusively, but it is clear that the traditional rubric "outside the church there is no salvation" is cited in a rather nuanced way. It is certainly ironic, at least from an evangelical point of view, that the groundwork is then laid for articulation of various ways in which members of non-Christian religions and even atheists can have a relationship with the church, even unconsciously (chaps. 14-16). It is encouraging to note, nevertheless, many statements of the GREAT COMMISSION and of the obligation of all disciples of Christ to use their individual abilities in the urgent task of global evangelization.

The biblical principles of a theology of mission are outlined in the council's "Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church" (Ad gentes, 1965), the foundation of which is that "the pilgrim church is missionary by its very nature." The first paragraphs of the decree include a thoroughly biblical reflection on the trinitarian basis for mission, showing that the activity of preaching the gospel needs to be approached—even in Western culture—with different strategies. The evangelical will be uncomfortable with the juxtaposition of a particularist understanding of salvation and the assertion that "all people have a 'mysterious' relationship with the church (which) enlightens them in a way which is accommodated to their spiritual and material situation."

Some months after the publication of *Redemp*toris Missio, two Vatican congregations issued "Dialogue and Proclamation," a document which attempts to explain more fully the church's views of non-Christian religions and its efforts to interact with adherents of those faiths. The complexities of religious Pluralism are to be explored by means of dialogue, a Christian message is not to be imposed in this situation, for sincere persons are "saved in Jesus Christ and thus already share in some way in the reality which is signified by the kingdom." Proclamation, on the other hand, is based on solid biblical material; here the integrity of the gospel demands avoidance of Syncre-TISM. Dialogue and proclamation must eventually come together. The gospel message needs to be included at some point in the practice of dialogue so as to provide the belief and faith called for in all Christians.

Contemporary Roman Catholic Mission Theology. Contemporary Roman Catholic mission theology revolves, then, around several interre-

lated themes. The first theme is that of proclamation, which holds the permanent priority in mission. Proclamation is rooted in the witness of Christian action and authentic Christian living, and blossoms into communication of the word (by a variety of media) only after discerning the presence of and listening to the Spirit in a particular context.

The second theme, interreligious DIALOGUE, is recognized today as an integral element of mission that finds its deepest justification in the dialogue with which God effects salvation. While proclamation is concerned with presenting Christ, dialogue seeks to discover him in other faiths, ideologies, and secular situations, and calls for mutual conversion and transformation. Dialogue is like proclamation, however, in that it entails both nonverbal and verbal witness to the reality of Christ.

Inculturation, the third theme, finds its theological roots in the doctrines of the incarnation, sacramentality, catholicity, and revelation. Like interreligious dialogue, inculturation looks for the presence of God in human life and culture and so goes beyond the former models of adaptation; like proclamation, on the other hand, it calls for renewal and refinement of the human in the gospel's light—and so is always somewhat countercultural in intent. In theological articulation, liturgical expression, and questions of church order, not only the classical sources of Scripture and tradition need to be taken into account, but also those elements (culture, location, social changes) that make up present human experience. Pope John Paul II has characterized inculturation as the center, means, and aim of the new effort of evangelization.

In the last several decades the theme of liberation has emerged as central in theological reflection on the church's mission. While mission has almost always been involved in some kind of charitable or developmental work, current thinking would push beyond to ways of changing the underlying unjust and oppressive structures that keep people poor. Working for justice and integral liberation has been called constitutive of gospel proclamation, and inculturation is regarded as impossible without immersion in the reality of the poor and treating their religion—popular Christianity or non-Christian faith—with utmost seriousness and respect.

Finally, the church's mission is more and more recognized in contemporary theological reflection as trinitarian in both origin and aim. Mission is rooted in the God who is radically with and for humanity, and who calls humanity to become partners in the divine work of reconciling all of creation. God does this in the warp and woof of history (Spirit) and in the concreteness of history (Jesus); humanity does this most consciously by aligning with God's activity in the

Stephen of Perm

missional community of the church. The entire church is called to mission, and so laity as well as clergy and religious are to minister actively in the world.

Contemporary Roman Catholic mission theology is greatly influenced by contacts with other Christian churches, Orthodox, conciliar, and evangelical. "Christian Witness—Common Witness" (1980), a joint agreement between the Vatican and the World Council of Churches, explores ideas for ecumenical cooperation in global evangelization and witness. A contribution to the ongoing discussions between conciliar Protestants and Roman Catholics, this document affirms certain perspectives on the church, defines the characteristics and results of effective witness, and even proposes various situations in which common witness can take place.

The Evangelical-Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission (ERCDOM) took place over eight years (1977-84). The discussions demonstrated that evangelicals and Roman Catholics can talk together about issues of great importance without engaging in the usual polemics. The record of these meetings shows both integrity and candor regarding issues that have long divided the two groups. While there was considerable agreement on some of the basic points, there remains much that separates. "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" (1994) represents a more recent attempt in North America to identify areas of common concern to evangelicals and Roman Catholics and proposes strategies for future cooperation. The document demonstrates that there is much in common between the two groups, particularly when it comes to "cobelligerence," that is, a common commitment against, for example, RELATIV-ISM, anti-intellectualism, nihilism, and social abuse. Although areas of disagreement are acknowledged, there is little theological reflection, with the unfortunate result of some oversimplification and confusion. In the main, three issues need further investigation and discussion: the significance of the Protestant Reformation, the criteria for membership in the body of Christ, and the scope of the GREAT COMMISSION as a mandate that engages all believers in Christ in all parts of the globe. It is certainly good and right that such discussions have taken place; in the future, however, provision should be made for the inclusion of those who can contribute significantly from the theological and biblical disciplines.

STEVEN B. BEVANS AND JOHN NYQUIST

Bibliography. W. M. Abbott, ed., The Documents of Vatican II; W. R. Burrows, Redemption and Dialogue: Reading "Redemptoris Missio" and "Dialogue and Proclamation"; C. Carlen, ed., The Papal Encyclicals, 1939–1958; C. Colson and R. J. Neuhaus, eds., Evangelicals and Catholics Together: Towards a Common Mission; W. Jenkinson and H. O'Sullivan, eds., Trends in Mission.

Toward The 3rd Millennium: Essays in Celebration of Twenty-Five Years of SEDOS; R. Latourelle, Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives 25 Years After (1962–1987), 3 vols.; B. Meeking and J. Stott, eds., The Evangelical-Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission, (1977–1984); K. Muller, Mission Theology: An Introduction; J. A. Scherer and S. B. Bevans, eds., New Directions in Mission and Evangelization I: Basic Statements (1974–1991).

Stephen of Perm (1340–96). Russian orthodox missionary to Siberia. Stephen of Perm was one of the founding fathers of Russian Orthodox missions. Born in 1340, he was part of a small Muscovite settlement in northwest Siberia surrounded by the pagan Zyrians of Perm. In 1365, on the day Stephen took monastic vows, he voiced to the bishop his desire to one day return to Perm and proclaim the gospel among the Zyrian people.

He spent his early years in the monastery cultivating a deep spiritual life of prayer, fasting, and continual study. He also began translating the Bible and liturgical services into Zyrian, even having to create a Zyrian alphabet.

In 1378, Stephen settled among the Zyrians and began to preach against their rampant idolatry and to show the impotence of their gods by destroying their idols and shrines. Eventually he challenged their main magician to a divine trial in which both were to walk through a burning hut and throw themselves into an opening in the ice of the Vichedga river. When the magician refused, the people turned against him and demanded his death. Stephen, however, preached God's mercy and called the magician to repent or be exiled. Stephen became the first bishop of Perm in 1383. His final words before his death were, "Live godly lives, read the Scriptures, and obey the Church."

LUKE A. VERONIS

Bibliography. J. J. Stamoolis, Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today; L. A. Veronis, Missionaries, Monks and Martyrs: Making Disciples of All Nations.

Tekla-Haymanot (c. 1215–c. 1313). Ethiopian evangelist and monastic innovator. Tekla-Haymanot is a legendary figure in evangelistic renewal of the Ethiopian church. He was born into a Christian family and came to know Christ at an early age. After joining a monastery and studying for ten years, he moved to Tegré as part of an attempted pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The attempt never came to fruition, but Haymanot remained in Tegré another twelve years before returning to his home area, which was predominately non-Christian at the time. He began to preach the gospel, and disciples gathered around him. He founded a small community, which became a significant learning center and from which most of the monastic communities in Ethiopia derive

their origin. Unconfirmed stories abound concerning Haymanot's exploits, including reports of many miracles that greatly assisted his evangelistic efforts.

A. SCOTT MOREAU

Bibliography. E. A. Budge, The Life and Miracles of Tekla Haymanot; T. Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia 1270–1527.

Ulfilas (c. 311-82). Early missionary to Germany; "Apostle to the Goths." A Cappadocian captured by the Germanic tribe that posed a constant threat to the Roman Empire, he had been brought up by them beyond the Danube. There was evidently a sizable Christian community among the barbarians, and Ulfilas was consecrated bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia, whose Arian views he had espoused. He worked initially among the Goths of what is now Romania, many of whom turned to Christianity. Others resisted, seeing in the Christian missionary a device to bring them under Roman domination. After seven years Ulfilas in 348 obtained permission for himself and his converts to settle south of the Danube, and there he continued his work until his death.

His great monument, after creating an alphabet, is his Gothic translation of the Bible, the oldest written work in a Germanic language. It is said he omitted the books of Samuel and Kings to prevent the Goths' military appetite being further whetted by bloodthirsty narratives. More likely his translation was incomplete when he died, and that he had postponed parts of Scripture he regarded as least important for inculcating Christian behavior in his flock. His Arianism was later modified in a more orthodox direction, probably due to the influence of Emperor Theodosius the Great.

Many of his translations of the Gospels survive with the Pauline epistles and fragments of Nehemiah.

J. D. Douglas

Bibliography. G. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Gospel*; C. A. A. Scott, *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*.

Vladimir (956–1015). Russian prince responsible for the founding of Russian Orthodox Christianity. Vladimir came to be known as the Constantine of Russia for his Christianization of Russia. The details of Vladimir's conversion are shrouded in legend. Some accounts paint the prince as a saint who led his nation into righteousness while other accounts tell of Vladimir's sordid past and his own need for conversion before he could lead his people out of darkness into light.

Before his conversion, he killed his brother, Jaropolk, and then had a son by Jaropolk's widow,

whom he took as one of his hundreds of wives. He also maintained hundreds of concubines.

After listening to the testimonies of Muslims, Roman Catholics, Jews, and Greek Orthodox Christians in 986, Vladimir sent his nobles to see how each of these religions worshiped. The legendary report from St. Sophia's Cathedral in Constantinople: "We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth for there is not a similar sight upon earth, nor is there such beauty," convinced Vladimir to be baptized into the Greek Orthodox Church.

In 988 Vladimir was baptized as well as the nation at his command. Though the details of Vladimir's conversion from paganism to Christianity are subjectively recorded and his motives less then pure, on Vladimir's decision God has built his church in Russia.

Jamie Flowers

Bibliography. F. Butler, Images of Missionaries and Innovative Rulers in East Slavic Literature from Early Times Through the Reign of Peter the Great; P. L. Garlick, Pioneers of the Kingdom: Biographical Sketches From New Testament Days to Modern Times.

Willibrord (658–739). English pioneer missionary in Frisia. Willibrord was a pupil of WILFRID at the monastic center Wilfrid established at Ripon, and later became one of a number of outstanding Northumbrian missionaries to the Continent, specifically following up work Wilfrid had begun in Frisia, and laying important groundwork for Boniface, an Anglo-Saxon scholar-missionary. Beyond Boniface, then, we have WILLIBALD, and Alcuin, other Northumbrians, and through them eventually a large contribution to bringing Northern Europe into the sway of the Latin-Roman Christian tradition.

Earlier missionaries like COLUMBAN had been ethnically Celtic, and stood for a crusading emphasis on morality and spirituality. They were ethnically and linguistically more remote than this later Anglo-Saxon group which combined both Celtic and Roman (Gregorian) missionary zeal, and, most of all, had impeccably Roman credentials to influence the people at the top, not just antagonizing them with a kind of John the Baptist preaching.

Thus, this series of sturdy Anglo-Saxon missionaries, reached their distant cousins, spread Celtic zeal and Roman order, championed the Benedictine rather than the more austere Irish monastic model, and furnished a crucial biblical and spiritual foundation for the later role of Charlemagne in the expanding Frankish kingdom and the entire Carolingian Renaissance.

RALPH D. WINTER