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'Teaching Them to Observe All that I Have Commanded You'

The History of the Interpretation of the 'Great Commission' and Implications for Marketplace Ministries

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In their comments on the Great Commission's command to 'make disciples of all nations' (Matt.28:18-20), the editors of the *Promise Keepers Men's Study Bible* note

that these words imply '... changing your attitude and being a more positive force at work.'¹ The editors of the *Christian Growth Study Bible* comment that Jesus' command to teach 'all that I have commanded' applies to '... every aspect of life—to our education, our finances, our sexuality, our families ... our government and every other influential area'.² Astonishing as it may seem, there appear to be only a few scattered examples in the history of the church's interpretation of the 'Great Commission' where the powerful implications of this text for the mar-

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¹ *The Promise Keepers Men's Study Bible*, New International Version (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997), on Mt. 28:18-20.

² *The Christian Growth Study Bible*, New International Version (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997), on Mt. 28:18-20.

ketplace ministries of the laity have been developed.

In this paper it will be argued that the history of interpretation of Matthew 28:18-20 from the time of the early church to the present shows that the full meaning of the text has been obscured by the ecclesiastical controversies of the day, and by the particular concerns of its clerical and academic interpreters. For many centuries—from the fourth century to the time of William Carey—the full *mis-siological* implications were largely forgotten. The *marketplace* implications of this crucial text are just beginning to receive attention at the present time. Having examined the history of interpretation of this text, it will then be argued exegetically that the Great Commission inescapably commands the *whole church* to extend the kingdom of Christ not only through personal evangelism and foreign missions, but through witness and discipleship in the workplace and daily life as well.

Matt.28:18-20 in the History of Interpretation:³

From the Early Church to William Carey:

At a very early period in the history of the early church the idea took hold

that the apostles of Christ had taken the gospel to the limits of the known world and had, as a result, 'fulfilled' the Great Commission in their own lifetime. In the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, for example, a document from the early third century, probably originating in eastern Syria, it is stated that the apostles, gathered in Jerusalem cast lots and 'divided the regions of the world, that each one of us might go to the region which fell to his lot, and to the nation to which the Lord had sent him'.⁴

In the fourth century the church historian Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Ecclesiastical History* cites Tertullian to the effect that the emperor Tiberius actually favoured the Christian message and helped to spread it throughout the empire. According to Eusebius, with this providential help the whole world '... was suddenly lit by the sunshine of the saving word ... the voice of its inspired evangelists and apostles went forth into all the earth ... In every town and village ... churches shot up bursting with eager members.'⁵ One must question the triumphalistic version of first-century Christian history that Eusebius presents, but the text nevertheless gives witness to the belief that the gospel had reached the limits of the known world in the lifetime of the apostles. Consequently, 'foreign missions' as

³ On the history of interpretation of Matthew's gospel generally, see Sean P. Kealy, *Matthew's Gospel and the History of Biblical Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Lewiston, ME: Mellen Biblical Press, 1997). Kealy deals with issues of overall interpretation and not the Great Commission text specifically. For a brief overview of trends in the interpretation of this text see David J. Bosch, 'The Structure of Mission: an Exposition of Matthew 28:16-20,' in *Exploring Church Growth*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983), pp. 218-248 at pp. 218-19, and David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), pp. 56-7.

⁴ *The Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas*, 1, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., New Testament Apocrypha, v.2 (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1989), p. 339.

⁵ Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, tr. G.A. Williamson (London: Penguin Books, 1989) 3.2; 39. Cf. also the statement of Origen in his commentary on Mt. 24:9 that the apostolic preaching had reached Ethiopia, China, India, and other lands: cited in Gerhard Rosenkranz, *Die Christliche Mission: Geschichte und Theologie* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1977), p. 40.

we now understand it was not seen as an urgent and unfulfilled task for the church.

During the patristic period, the reading of Matthew 28:18-20 is dominated by concerns relating to the nature and proper forms of baptism and by controversies relating to the doctrine of the Trinity. Writing in the second century, Irenaeus states that Christ gave the apostles the 'power of regenerating in God' when he said to them, 'Go and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'⁶ In so doing the disciples would be renewing the pagans 'from their old ways into the newness of Christ.'⁷ This appears to be one of the earliest references to the notion of baptismal regeneration.

Tertullian's treatise *On Baptism*, written between the years 200 and 206 A.D., is perhaps the earliest Christian writing devoted specifically to this subject. He quotes Matthew 28:19 in order to demonstrate that the proper form of baptism has been commanded by Christ: 'The law of washing has been imposed, and the form has been prescribed: 'Go,' he says, 'teach the nations, washing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.'⁸ For Tertullian, it is in the church's baptism that '... the sins of our earlier blindness are washed away'.⁹

In his *Commentaries on Romans*,

probably written some time after 244 A.D., Origen quotes Matthew 28:19 in order to argue that valid baptism must be performed in the name of the Triune God: '... the Lord himself told his disciples that they should baptize all peoples in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit ... for indeed, legitimate baptism is had only in the name of the Trinity.'¹⁰

Athanasius cites the 'Great Commission' passages several times in the context of the fourth-century controversies over the doctrine of the Trinity. In his *Four Letters to Serapion of Thmuis*, written in the years 359-360 A.D., the great defender of Nicene orthodoxy refers to those who undermine the doctrine of the Trinity by saying that the Holy Spirit is only a creature, differing from the angels only in degree. These heretics should realize that such teaching is inconsistent with the faith of the Catholic Church, which the Lord founded and rooted on the Trinity when he said, 'Go out and instruct every people, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.'¹¹ In *On the Incarnation of the Word of God*, written c. 365 A.D. against the Arians, Athanasius quotes the tri-

⁶ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3, 17, 1; in W.A. Jurgens, tr., *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, 3v. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1970, 1979) 1:92. The following patristic citations were found, for the most part, through the use of the helpful scripture index in Jurgens.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Tertullian, *On Baptism*, 13,3, in Jurgens, 1:127.

⁹ Ibid., 1,1, in Jurgens, 1:126.

¹⁰ Origen, *Commentaries on Romans*, 5,8, in Jurgens, 1:209. Origen also states that the church '... received from the Apostles the tradition of giving Baptism even to infants', for the Apostles knew that in everyone is found the 'innate stains of [original] sin, which must be washed away through water and the Spirit'. 5, 9.

¹¹ Athanasius, *Four Letters to Serapion of Thmuis*, 1,28 and 3,6; in Jurgens, 1:336, 337. Serapion was bishop of the church in Thmuis, near Alexandria, Egypt. Canon 19 of the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) required the rebaptism of heretics who had not been properly baptized according to the triune formula: Philip Schaff, ed., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, v.14, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, repr. 1979), p. 40.

une formula of Matthew 28:19 in order to prove the full deity of Christ and the equality of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: 'Just as we are baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son, so also in the name of the Holy Spirit; and we are made sons of God, not of gods ... for the Godhead is one and there is one God in three Persons.'¹²

Writing during the years 356-359 A.D., during his exile in Phrygia, Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, cites Matthew 28:19 in his treatise in defence of the Trinity and the deity of Christ. The Lord commanded his disciples '... to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit: that is, in a confession of the Author, and of the Only-Begotten, and of the Gift.' With respect to Christ, '... many of us, indeed, are the sons of God, but not in the way that He is the Son. For He is both truly and properly the Son by origin and not by adoption.'¹³

The fourth-century Greek father Basil of Caesarea also quotes the Great Commission text in the context of trinitarian considerations. Having insisted that the Son alone is 'begotten,' and that the Spirit 'proceeds' from the Father, Basil also notes that there is a certain order or way of speaking of the three persons in divine revelation. 'Indeed', says Basil, 'we must preserve unaltered and inviolate the order which we have received from the very words of the Lord when he said, 'Going forth, make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy

Spirit'.¹⁴ It is clear from the context that Basil's reading of the text is focused not on missiological concerns but rather on those of trinitarian doctrine.

Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, writing in the fifth century, cites our passage on at least two occasions. In his *Commentary on Isaias* he quotes the words 'All power in heaven and on earth is given to me' to prove that Christ had asserted his authority over all the world.¹⁵ In his *Dialogues on the Holy Trinity* Cyril appeals to the baptismal formula to defend the trinitarian faith of the church: 'Did he not command that Baptism be given 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit?'¹⁶

In his great treatise on *The Trinity*, perhaps the most important contribution to trinitarian theology from the Latin fathers, Augustine confesses, 'O Lord our God, we believe in You, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit.' This confession is consistent with the scriptures, for Christ would not say, 'Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit', unless God were a Trinity.¹⁷ Like his predecessors, Augustine's interest in the text is doctrinal rather than missiological.

While in this latter instance Augustine quotes the text for trinitarian purposes, it is not the case that the great North African church father is without missionary concern. In a letter written c. 419 to his fellow bishop Hesychius, he states that

¹⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *Transcript of Faith* [A.D. 373] 125, 3, in Jurgens, 2:5.

¹⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Isaias* 3,5, in Jurgens, 3:218.

¹⁶ Cyril of Alexandria, *Dialogues on the Holy Trinity*, 2, in Jurgens, 3:214.

¹⁷ Augustine, *The Trinity*, 15, 28, 51, in Jurgens, 3:81.

¹² *On the Incarnation of the Word of God*, 10, in Jurgens, 1:340.

¹³ Hilary of Poitiers, *The Trinity*, 2,1 and 3, 11; in Jurgens, 1:373, 375.

there are '... among us, that is, in Africa, innumerable barbarian tribes among whom the Gospel has not yet been preached.'¹⁸ Augustine dissents from the opinion current in his day that the gospel had already been preached throughout the whole world by the apostles.

In the Middle Ages the patristic tendency to read the Great Commission text in terms of Trinitarian and baptismal concerns continues largely unabated. Thomas Aquinas cites this text some nine times in the *Summa Theologica*.¹⁹ Two of these citations relate to the doctrine of the Trinity, five to baptism, two to other subjects, and none to missions. For example, when exploring the question of whether a person can explicitly believe in the mystery of Christ without having faith in the Trinity, he answers that '... once grace has been revealed, all were bound to explicit faith in the mystery of the Trinity ... all who are born again in Christ have this bestowed on them [in baptism] by the invocation of the Trinity, according to Matt.28:19.'²⁰ If the question is whether or not belief in the Trinity is necessary for salvation, he notes the progressive unfolding of divine revelation over the course of redemptive history, and then cites the Matthean text: 'Afterwards in the time of grace the mystery of the Trinity was revealed by the Son of God Himself, according to Matt.28:19, "Going ...

teach ... baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."'²¹

In his five citations of Matthew 28:19 in relation to baptism, Aquinas makes the points that Christian baptism is hallowed by the invocation of the Triune name;²² that the text requires a valid baptism to use a specific form of words;²³ that Christ gave his disciples the command to baptize after his death and resurrection;²⁴ that proper baptism requires the use of the words of the Triune formula;²⁵ and that the words of Christ in this text confer on the priest the spiritual authority to baptize and to absolve sins.²⁶

Aquinas cites the text in two other instances, in relation to issues unrelated to baptism or the Trinity. It was fitting that the gospel be preached first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles, because Christ did not wish his doctrine to be preached to the Gentiles before his passion, according to the statement 'Going, teach ye all nations', and so forth.²⁷ Matthew 28:18 is also quoted to demonstrate that Christ has judicial power over all temporal affairs of humanity, not just authority over matters that pertain to eternal salvation.²⁸

The scholastic theologians of the middle ages discussed Matthew 28:19 in regard to the particular questions raised by the difference between Matthew and the book of Acts as to the proper words of baptism. The first gospel uses the trinitarian formula; the book of Acts

¹⁸ Augustine, *Letters*, v.4, tr. Wilfrid Parsons (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1955) 394; Letter 199, ch.46. I wish to thank my colleague Timothy Tennent for drawing this reference to my attention.

¹⁹ The following citations from the *Summa* are from the translation of the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 3 volumes (New York: Benziger Bros., 1947).

²⁰ Pt.II-II, Q.2, art.8.

²¹ Pt.II-II, Q.174, art.6.

²² Pt.III, Q.39, art.8.

²³ Pt.III, Q.60, art.7.

²⁴ Pt.III, Q.66, art.2.

²⁵ Pt.III, Q.66, art.5.

²⁶ Pt.III, Q.84, art.3.

²⁷ Pt.III, Q.42, art.1.

²⁸ Pt.III, Q.59, art.4.

speaks of 'baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus' alone (Acts 2:38; 10:48; 19:5). Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, Aquinas, and Duns Scotus held that the apostles baptized in the name of Jesus alone in view of a special dispensation. In the period following the Council of Trent (1545-63), however, the prevailing Roman Catholic view became that the apostles in fact made use of the triune formula, but the language of the book of Acts was intended to emphasize the distinction between the baptism of John the Baptist and the proper Christian baptism commanded by Christ.²⁹

During the Reformation period it is of interest to see how Luther, Erasmus, and Calvin understood the Great Commission passage. There are some 46 citations of the text in the collected works of the great German reformer.³⁰ Three citations relate to the papacy;³¹ three to the nature of priesthood and ordination;³² fourteen to controversies concerning baptism and the Anabaptists;³³ five to the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper or the

Mass;³⁴ one to the doctrine of the Trinity;³⁵ five to the nature of a true apostle;³⁶ thirteen to the nature of the true church and its teaching;³⁷ two to the enduring nature of the Word of God;³⁸ and five relate to a variety of other topics.³⁹

In the one instance that Luther cites the text in a missiological context, he does not see in it a present-day 'missionary' obligation! In a letter of October 2, 1539 to the Elector John Frederick, Luther comments on the use of Matthew 28:19 by Martin Bucer to appeal to Luther to send Melancthon to England to help the cause of the Reformation there. Luther states that this verse does not obligate him to send Melancthon, because he [Luther] is 'Going into all the world ... to preach' through *his writings*—and he also does not wish to leave the present work.⁴⁰

Elsewhere in his writings Luther does recognize the church's task now called 'foreign missions'. Christians must go to those to whom '... Christ has not been proclaimed ... so that they, too, may be brought to the spiritual kingdom of Christ.'⁴¹ In his com-

²⁹ Bernard Henry Cuneo, *The Lord's Command to Baptize: an Historical-Critical Investigation with special reference to the works of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1923), p. 20. This doctoral dissertation is a valuable study on the history of the interpretation of Mt. 28:19 in relation to such questions as the necessity of the use of the triune formula in baptism and the validity of baptisms, in the triune name, performed by heretics.

³⁰ These citations were located with the aid of the scripture index in Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehman, eds., *Luther's Works*, 55 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959-1986). The following citations refer to the volume and page numbers from this edition of Luther's works.

³¹ 2:99; 35:148; 41:330.

³² 36:111; 38:196; 38:212.

³³ 3:104; 8:81ff.; 23:78; 35:91; 38:24; 38:27; 38:87; 38:198; 40:245; 40:252; 51:320; 51:376; 54:55; 54:113.

³⁴ 30:38; 34:74,75; 36:351; 37:331; 38:161.

³⁵ 12:288. Citations of Matt.28:19 in the context of Trinitarian controversy, common in the patristic period, are not frequent in Luther.

³⁶ 13:272; 25:8; 26:100; 27:156; 38:161.

³⁷ 13:19; 13:49; 15:350; 41:196; 41:481; 41:581; 41:107; 41:132; 41:148; 41:155; 41:202; 46:222; 47:117.

³⁸ 17:309; 17:374.

³⁹ 6:311 (comfort in affliction); 6:128 (nature of true worship); 20:338 (the Day of Judgment); 28:262 (secret will of God); 51:308 (prayer and faith).

⁴⁰ 50:203.

⁴¹ WA, 16, 215ff., cited in John Warwick Montgomery, 'Luther and Missions,' *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 3:4 (1967), pp. 193-202 at p. 197. See the entire article for other citations in Luther on this point. I wish to thank my colleague Garth Rosell for drawing my attention to this article. WA refers to the *Weimar Ausgabe*, the standard, critical, German-Latin edition of Luther's writings.

mentary on Psalm 117 and the words, 'Praise the Lord, all you heathen', Luther writes that the heathen will not praise God unless they have first heard his word. 'If they are to hear His Word, the *preachers must be sent to proclaim* God's Word to them' (emphasis added).⁴² In his commentary on Psalm 2:9 Luther states that 'Even the Turks, whom today we seek to overcome only by the sword, ought to be conquered by increasing the number of Christians among them'.⁴³

This missionary task is not based, however, on the 'Great Commission' text. Luther's many citations of this text indicate that his understanding of the passage is more influenced by current ecclesiastical controversies than by what later generations would consider the obvious 'historical-grammatical meaning'.⁴⁴

Erasmus of Rotterdam (c.1466-1536) was perhaps the earliest biblical scholar to recover the 'modern' understanding of the Great Commission text, in terms of its original historical context. This recovered understanding was reflected in his 1522 preface to the New Testament, his paraphrase of the Great Commission, and in his annotations to the New Testament.

Erasmus insisted that those who were baptized must be *taught* the '... rudiments and first beginnings of the gospel. For if a man will not believe these rudiments and principles, his baptism will avail him nothing'.⁴⁵ Erasmus's exegesis greatly influenced the Anabaptist's critique of infant baptism, and also spurred the Anabaptist reading of Matthew 28:18-20 as obligatory in a missionary sense on the church of their own day. Anabaptists such as Hans Hut and Balthasar Hubmaier and their followers frequently quoted the Great Commission in their sermons and writings and understood it to apply to all believers at all times.⁴⁶ The Anabaptists, with their passion for the 'restitution' and rediscovery of the early, apostolic church, anticipated the recovery of the fuller meaning of the Matthean text that was to be crystallized and popularized by William Carey at the end of the eighteenth century.

The Swiss Reformer Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) quotes the Great Commission text on several occasions, but his concerns are baptismal rather than missiological. He cites Matthew 28 in order to defend the practice of infant baptism against the Anabaptists, to argue that baptism was instituted with John the Baptist rather than after the resurrection, and that the sacraments signify grace, but do not convey grace in

⁴² Martin Luther, 'Selected Psalms III,' in *Luther's Works*, v.14, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1958), p. 9. I wish to thank Thorkild Jensen for showing me this and the following reference in Luther.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁴⁴ Timothy Tennent and others have noted that the Reformer's view of missions was hampered by the prevailing 'territorial' view of Christianity, in which it tended to be assumed that the gospel was to be spread only in areas governed by a Christian ruler; each region was to follow the religion of its ruler (*cuius regio eius religio*). Timothy C. Tennent, 'William Carey as a Missiologist,' *ABE Journal* 7:1 (1999), pp. 3-10 at p. 4. On this point see also David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), p. 246.

⁴⁵ *Erasmii Opera Omnia*, 7:674, cited in Abraham Friesen, *Erasmus, the Anabaptists, and the Great Commission* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), p. 116. I wish to thank my colleague Timothy Tennent for drawing to my attention this definitive study of the influence of Erasmus' exegesis on the Anabaptist understanding of baptism, theology, and mission.

⁴⁶ On this, see Franklin H. Littell, 'The Anabaptist Theology of Missions,' *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 21 (1947), pp. 5-17, containing many citations from Anabaptist writings.

and of themselves in some material way.⁴⁷ Zwingli's associate and successor in Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) quoted Matt.28:19 in order to argue that the right administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper required that they be joined to the sincere preaching of the Word of God.⁴⁸

John Calvin shared the common opinion of his time that the Great Commission had been fulfilled during the time of the apostles. In his comments on I Corinthians 12:28, for example, he writes that the apostles were appointed to spread the gospel 'throughout the whole world'. They differed from pastors of the present day, who do not have a mandate to preach the gospel all the world over, but to look after the churches committed to their charge.⁴⁹ In his *Harmony of the Evangelists* his comments on the text 'Go out, therefore, and teach all nations' are to the effect that the Pope and his successors disqualify themselves as true successors of the apostles by their failure to teach the true apostolic doctrine. No missiological point is made.⁵⁰ Calvin did not advocate a self-conscious missions programme, but believed that the gospel would be extended in ever-widening circles through the normal preaching of the

church and by the dispersion of Christians through persecution.⁵¹

In the seventeenth century the predominant opinion among Protestant theologians seemed to be that the Great Commission was no longer binding on the church.⁵² The Lutheran theologian Johann Gerhard (1582-1637) argued that the universal preaching of the gospel was no longer necessary, the apostles having finished the job. Theodore Beza (1519-1605), Calvin's successor in Geneva, was of a similar opinion. Matthew Poole (1624-1679) discusses Matthew 28:18-20 in connection with infant baptism, and believes that the text authorizes pastors in any given place to preach and baptize, but does not obligate them to 'go up and down preaching in all nations'.⁵³

There were some exceptions, however. The German nobleman Justinian von Weltz and the Dutchman Adrianus Saravia⁵⁴ (1531-1613) argued that the Great Commission applied to the church in all ages, but their voices were in the minority. The Protestant churches on the continent felt themselves to be an embattled and threatened minority in the face of the Counter Reformation attack, and were more concerned for survival and preserv-

⁴⁷ Zwingli, 'Of Baptism' and 'An Exposition of the Faith,' in *The Library of Christian Classics*, v.24, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, tr. G.W. Bromiley (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953), pp. 141ff., 160, 161, 248.

⁴⁸ Bullinger, 'Of the Holy Catholic Church,' in Bromiley, op. cit., p. 300.

⁴⁹ Calvin, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, tr. John W. Fraser (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1960), pp. 270, 271. For similar comments, see Calvin's expositions of Romans 15:20 and Ephesians 4:11.

⁵⁰ John Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists*, tr. William Pringle, v.3 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1949), p. 383.

⁵¹ Harry R. Boer, *Pentecost and the Missionary Witness of the Church* (Dissertation, Free University of Amsterdam, 1955), p. 17.

⁵² For this period, see R.E. Davies, 'The Great Commission from Calvin to Carey,' *Evangel* (Summer 1996), pp. 44-49 at p. 45.

⁵³ Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (New York: Robert Carter and Bros., 1852), v.3, p. 146. Poole, a London pastor, was ejected from his church in 1662 because of his Puritan and Nonconformist convictions.

⁵⁴ Adrianus Saravia, *De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus* (London: George Bishop, 1590): Microfiche: Inter Documentation Company AG, Poststrasse 14 Zug Switzerland.

ing the purity of doctrine than extending the gospel to foreign lands.⁵⁵

Eighteenth-century interpretation prior to William Carey largely followed the lines that had come to prevail since the fourth century. The Anglican commentator Daniel Whitby, writing in 1703, uses Matthew 28:19 as the occasion to present an elaborate defence of the practice of infant baptism;⁵⁶ there is no indication of interest in 'world missions' or 'marketplace ministries'. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* ('Great Works of Christ in America'), written in 1702, directs the reader's attention to the work of Thomas Mayhew, who in the year 1642 settled at Martha's Vineyard and began evangelistic work among the Indians. Mather connects the work of Mayhew with the words of Christ who said, 'Go teach all nations: lo I am with you,' but the missiological significance of the text is not developed.⁵⁷

The influential commentator Matthew Henry, writing during the years 1708-1710, expounds the words 'Go ye therefore' as given primarily to the apostles, whose task was to transmit the gospel 'from nation to nation'. In a secondary sense, however, present-day ministers have a commission to transmit the gospel 'from age to age, to the end of the world in time'—i.e., maintaining the gospel witness within the

bounds of the existing churches, until the end of the age.⁵⁸ Henry does comment that ministers of the gospel have an obligation to teach the commands of Christ by assisting the people 'in applying the general commands ... to particular cases'. He notes further, 'there is no day, no hour of the day, in which the Lord Jesus is not present with his churches', thus hinting at a 'marketplace' application of the text but not fully developing it.⁵⁹

The commentary on the New Testament by the Lutheran scholar J.A. Bengel, *Gnomen of the New Testament* (1742), was widely used in its day, by John Wesley as well as by many others. Bengel's comments on the Great Commission text focus on the confession of the Trinity as seen in the baptismal formula. The words 'I will be with you always' signify that the '... church of Christ will never die out entirely', but there is no discussion of the ongoing extension of the church in unevangelized lands.⁶⁰

Philip Doddridge (1702-51) was a friend of Isaac Watts, the Wesleys, and George Whitfield. In his comments on the Great Commission passage in his *Family Expositor* he writes that no arguments to the prejudice of infant baptism can be drawn from the text. Christ's words 'I will be with you always, even to the end of the world', cannot be limited to the first generation of the apostles—but Doddridge seems to stop short of

⁵⁵ J. Herbert Kane, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1982), p. 73-75.

⁵⁶ Daniel Whitby, *A Commentary on the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament* (London: William Tegg and Co., 1853; orig. 1703), p. 186-191.

⁵⁷ Cotton Mather, *The Great Works of Christ in Americana*, v.2 (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, repr.1979), p. 429.

⁵⁸ Matthew Henry, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible*, v.5 (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., n.d.; orig. 1708-1710), p. 256.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁶⁰ John Albert Bengel, *Gnomen of the New Testament*, v.1 (Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins, repr.1864) 312. Bengel's critical text and apparatus of the Greek New Testament (1734) can be seen as pioneering work in this field of study.

drawing clear missiological implications for his own time.⁶¹ The apostles evidently fulfilled the command to 'go into all the world,' and 'We, to this day, in our remote land [England], enjoy the benefit of it.'⁶²

In his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (1754), John Wesley follows the then traditional lines of interpretation. Discipling the nations involves baptizing and teaching; in the case of children, baptism will precede the teaching, as was the case in the Jewish era of the divine economy.⁶³ No missiological implications are drawn from the text.

'Sit down, young man; when God wants to convert the heathen, he'll do it without your help or mine.'⁶⁴ These now-famous words spoken by John Ryland of Northampton, England in 1785 to William Carey at a ministers' meeting expressed a common sentiment of the day among hyper-Calvinists concerning the heathen overseas. It was necessary to pray for them, but not to use 'means' to bring the gospel to them. Seven years later Carey published his famous pamphlet, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the*

Heathen (1792), responding to Ryland and arguing for the present-day validity of the Great Commission. This commission originally given to the apostles is still binding upon the church today, because the command to 'make disciples of all nations' is bound up with the commands to teach and to baptize, both of which are still practised by the church today; Christ's promise to be with the church till the end of the age is still valid; and unlike the ceremonial laws of the Old Testament, there is no indication in the New Testament that the missionary mandate of Christ has been repealed. Neither do unfulfilled prophecies in the Old Testament or the existence of unevangelized persons closer to home invalidate the missionary obligation.⁶⁵ There is little evidence that Carey's pamphlet was widely read when it first appeared,⁶⁶ but this seminal document has been widely seen as marking the birth of the modern Protestant missionary movement and of the modern evangelical understanding of the Great Commission text of Matthew's gospel.

From William Carey to the Present:

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries conservative commentators generally affirm the continuing validity of the Great Commission, while liberal Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars increasingly become preoccupied with source-

⁶¹ Philip Doddridge, *The Family Expositor*, v.2 (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1828; orig.1739-56), p. 466.

⁶² Ibid. p. 468. The miraculous gifts given to the apostles have ceased, but the promise 'I will be with you' remains in force, according to Doddridge. His somewhat traditional view of Mt. 28:18-20 notwithstanding, Doddridge was in fact a promoter of evangelical revival in England and of the modern missionary enterprise.

⁶³ John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (London: Wesleyan-Methodist Book Room, repr.1800), on Mt. 28:19 [no pagination].

⁶⁴ Quoted by Ernest Payne in an Introduction to William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen* (London: Carey Kingsgate Press, facsimile ed. 1961; orig. 1792), p. iii.

⁶⁵ Carey, op. cit., pp. 8-13.

⁶⁶ According to Ernest Payne, op. cit., p. xv.

critical issues.⁶⁷ The 1810 commentary of the English Methodist Adam Clarke is, however, an exception to this pattern. Clark's interest in Matthew 28:18-20 is in defending the practice of infant baptism against Baptists and the doctrine of the Trinity against Unitarians and deists. There is no discussion of foreign missions or marketplace ministries.⁶⁸

Charles Simeon, pastor of Holy Trinity Church in Cambridge, England, writing in 1832, notes that while present-day pastors are not empowered to work miracles, they nonetheless have the same commission 'to make known his name to all the different generations from the apostolic age to the present day.' Preachers are to instruct their people in 'practical religion', and, in a hint of 'marketplace' application, are to 'inculcate every moral duty, and to enforce every obligation, whether toward God or man'.⁶⁹

In their widely-used commentary on the whole Bible, Jamison, Fausset, and Brown (1864-1870) write that in the Great Commission Jesus addressed all 'who, in every age should take up ... the same work'. The Great Commission is the work not only of ministers, but of the whole church; the laity is called to cooperate with, aid, and encourage the ministers in the fulfilment of the

task till the end of the age.⁷⁰

Writing in 1870, George W. Clark does presuppose the present validity of the Great Commission, and hints at 'marketplace' ministries when he notes that discipleship 'continues in the service of faith in every duty'. The predominant amount of space in his commentary on the text is devoted, however, to issues relating to the proper subjects and forms of baptism and to the Trinity.⁷¹ Lyman Abbot, writing in 1876, notes that 'Christian missions are the mother of civilization' but devotes more space to the question of baptism.⁷² The American Baptist commentator John Broadus, writing in 1886, clearly affirms the Great Commission, stating that 'Christianity is essentially a missionary religion ... it must be active at the extremities, or it becomes chilled at the heart.' The Great Commission involves not simply '... teaching them the commandments of Christ, but teaching them to observe his commandments.' The Christian teacher falls short in his task unless his students have learned both '... what Christ's commandments are, and have learned to observe them'.⁷³ Broadus clearly seeks to affirm the implication of the text for discipleship in everyday life.

In the twentieth century non-evan-

⁶⁷ 'Source-critical' in the sense of questions concerning whether the words attributed to Jesus in Mt. 28:18-20 represent the actual words of Jesus or the theology of the early church, whether the triune formula for baptism is original to Jesus or a creation of the early church, etc.

⁶⁸ Adam Clarke, *Commentary on the Holy Bible*, abridged from the original by Ralph Earle (Grand Rapids, MI: 1966; orig. 1810), p. 835.

⁶⁹ Charles Simeon, *Horae Homileticae*, v.11 (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1832), pp. 618, 619.

⁷⁰ Robert Jamieson, A.R. Fauset, and David Brown, *A Commentary Critical, Experimental, and Practical on the Old and New Testaments*, v.3 [orig. 1864-70] (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, repr. 1993), pp. 134, 135.

⁷¹ George W. Clark, *Notes on the Gospel of Matthew* (New York: Sheldon and Co., 1870), pp. 407-409.

⁷² Lyman Abbott, *The New Testament with Notes and Comments* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1876), pp. 327-329.

⁷³ John A. Broadus, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1886), pp. 593, 596.

gelical interpreters tend to become preoccupied with source-critical issues in their studies of the Great Commission text. W.C. Allen (1912) devotes a long discussion to the triune formula of Matthew 28 in relation to baptism 'in the name of Jesus' in the book of Acts. There is no discussion of world missions or marketplace ministries as such.⁷⁴ Alfred Plummer (1915) does note that making disciples obligated the apostles '... to make them [the Gentiles] as fully disciples of Christ as they are themselves,' and that the light of the world is '... to be sent forth to illuminate every branch of the human race', but most of his attention is devoted to a discussion of whether or not the triune baptismal formula is original to Jesus, and whether these words require a definite form of baptism.⁷⁵ Floyd Filson (1960) does comment on the world mission of the disciples, but sees this aspect as Matthew's reflection rather than the literal words of Jesus, and devotes a significant amount of his commentary on the text to the question of the originality of the triune baptismal formula.⁷⁶

W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann (1971) focus a disproportionate amount of attention on baptism and source-critical questions relating to the baptismal formula, and devote only two sentences to the phrase

'teaching them'.⁷⁷ David Hill (1972) thinks that the command to disciple all nations came from the early church about fifty years after the death of Jesus; there is no interest in a 'marketplace' application of the text.⁷⁸ Eduard Schweizer (1975) hints at a marketplace application, noting that the true wise men and teachers are those who '... authoritatively interpret Scripture for new situations and problems' and who '... follow his [Christ's] teaching and live by his model', but this hint is not fully developed.⁷⁹ Francis Beare (1981) notes that the 'teaching' is primarily ethical rather than doctrinal in nature, but devotes more space to the issues of baptism and the trinitarian formula.⁸⁰

Leopold Sabourin (1983) sees 'making disciples' as a reflection of the theology of the early church rather than being the actual words of Jesus.⁸¹ Benedict Viviano (1990) sees the mandate as one to continue the teaching ministry of Jesus, '... thus laying the foundations for Christian education, theology, and other intellectual work'.⁸² M. Eugene Boring (1995) focuses on the redactional history of Matthew 28:16-20,

⁷⁴ Willoughby C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Matthew*, 3rd. ed. (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1912), pp. 305-308.

⁷⁵ Alfred Plummer, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, repr. 1982; orig. 1915), pp. 429-431.

⁷⁶ Floyd V. Filson, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), pp. 305-306.

⁷⁷ W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann, *The Anchor Bible: Matthew* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), pp. 362-363.

⁷⁸ David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew: New Century Bible* (London: Oliphants, 1972), pp. 361-362.

⁷⁹ Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1975), p. 180.

⁸⁰ Francis Wright Beare, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), p. 545.

⁸¹ Leopold Sabourin, S.J., *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, v.1 (Bombay: St. Paul Publications, 1983), p. 932-939.

⁸² Benedict T. Viviano, 'The Gospel According to Matthew,' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1990), p. 674.

and is concerned to argue that resurrection faith '... is not identical with affirming the historical factuality of any of the Gospels' resurrection stories' or of the empty tomb.⁸³ George Wesley Buchanan (1996) focuses on the Old Testament and Jewish backgrounds of the text and is not interested in the marketplace implications of the command to make disciples.⁸⁴ W.D. Davies and Dale Allison in their recent magisterial commentary (1997) note that this text, so important to William Carey and the nineteenth-century Protestant missionary movement is, from a literary point of view, 'perfect, in that it satisfyingly completes the Gospel', and in fact is a compendium and summary of the theology of the entire book.⁸⁵

In recent evangelical interpretation the missiological significance of the Great Commission is assumed, and there are occasional hints of marketplace applications. In 1968 Robert Culver, noting that the imperative 'make disciples' controlled the force of the participles 'going', 'baptizing', and 'teaching', argued that the proper sense of the Commission was 'As you go, therefore, and wherever you may be, make disciples ... in the particular nation among which you dwell.'⁸⁶ Culver was arguing that the

customary interpretations of the text placed too much emphasis on 'going', i.e., 'foreign' missions, and not enough on making disciples. Peter O'Brien concurred, writing that the central point of the text was '... bringing men and women to submit to Jesus as Lord, to become his disciples, wherever they may be'.⁸⁷ This proposed shift of emphasis has not gained universal consent among conservative interpreters, however. Cleon Rogers agreed that 'making disciples' is the main verb in the text, and that such discipleship involves putting the commandments of Jesus into practice in daily life. Nevertheless, this does not reduce the 'going' to a non-imperative sense; 'going' remains an integral part of making disciples.⁸⁸

Robert Gundry (1982), notes the Old Testament background of Matthew's phraseology, and observes that '... learning includes doing'.⁸⁹ Robert Mounce (1985) comments that 'teaching' in the Great Commission is primarily ethical rather than doctrinal in nature; the converts are to be taught to obey all that Jesus has commanded.⁹⁰ Leon Morris (1992) states that Jesus is not concerned about '... education for education's sake ... Jesus is con-

⁸³ M. Eugene Boring, *The Gospel of Matthew: The New Interpreter's Bible*, v.8 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), p. 502-505.

⁸⁴ George Wesley Buchanan, *The Mellen Biblical Commentary*, v.1, Book 2, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1996), pp. 1029-1033.

⁸⁵ W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, v.3 (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1997), pp. 676-689 at p. 687.

⁸⁶ Robert D. Culver, 'What Is the Church's Commission? Some Exegetical Issues In Matthew 28:16-20,' *Bibliotheca Sacra* 125 (1968), pp. 239-253 at pp. 252, 253.

⁸⁷ P.T. O'Brien, 'The Great Commission of Matthew 28:18-20,' *Reformed Theological Review* 35 (1976), pp. 66-78 at p. 78.

⁸⁸ Cleon Rogers, 'The Great Commission,' *Bibliotheca Sacra* 130 (1973), pp. 258-267 at p. 266. For similar conclusions, see also D. A. Carson, *Matthew: The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, v.8 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), p. 595.

⁸⁹ Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), p. 597.

⁹⁰ Robert H. Mounce, *Matthew: New International Biblical Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985), p. 268.

cerned with a way of life.⁹¹ Craig Blomberg (1992) argues that the text is to be fulfilled by the whole church. New converts are to be nurtured in the whole counsel of God's revelation; every individual is to develop their gifts and strengths for ministry. 'Jesus calls all Christians to be both witnesses and disciples.'⁹²

Commentaries in the popular study Bibles in general reflect the concerns and emphases of the more specialized scholarly literature.⁹³ Harold Lindsell in the Harper Study Bible (1964) focuses his comments on baptism and the doctrine of the Trinity.⁹⁴ The Lindsell Study Bible (1980) likewise focuses on the proper mode and subjects of baptism, and defends the triune formula against modern critics.⁹⁵ The *Life Application Bible* (1988) notes that all believers have been given gifts to

help fulfil the Great Commission, but no marketplace applications are suggested.⁹⁶ The *Serendipity Bible* (1989) is unusual in that in one of the study questions an explicit marketplace connection is made: 'In what ways can you fulfill the Great Commission in the context of your family? Work? Community?'⁹⁷

The notes in the *Word in Life Bible* (1993) challenge the reader to ask seriously what it means to accept Jesus' lordship for all nations in a global, cross-cultural context, but, surprisingly, no direct marketplace applications are suggested.⁹⁸ The *Quest Study Bible* (1994) comments that all believers are called to share the ministry of disciple-making, but the sphere of this ministry seems to be limited to the traditional evangelistic and missionary contexts.⁹⁹ The *Study Bible for Women* (1995) focuses its attention on the appearances of the Risen Christ to women.¹⁰⁰ The *New Geneva Study Bible* (1995) notes that this text is the primary reason for missions and evangelism, but more space is devoted to baptism and the sacraments. The editors comment that 'teaching' means that 'Disciples are not just taught what to believe, but how to obey', but explicit marketplace connections are not drawn.¹⁰¹

As previously noted at the begin-

⁹¹ Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992), p. 749.

⁹² Craig L. Blomberg, *Matthew: The New American Commentary*, v.22 (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992), p. 433.

⁹³ Roman Catholic and 'mainline' Protestants study Bibles tend to focus on 'source-critical' questions such as the originality of the triune baptismal formula, and so forth: see, for example, *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha: Oxford Study Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 41; *The New Jerusalem Bible* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), p. 1659 ['This (baptismal) formula is probably a reflection of the liturgical usage established later in the primitive community.']; *The Catholic Study Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 65 ['It may have been the baptismal formula of Matthew's church, but primarily it designates the effects of baptism, the union of the one baptized with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.']; *The Oxford Study Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 1303; *The HarperCollins Study Bible* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 1914 ['This explicit trinitarian formula is rare in the NT and probably derives from early Christian worship.']

⁹⁴ *Harper Study Bible* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 1491.

⁹⁵ *Lindsell Study Bible* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1980), p. 53.

⁹⁶ *Life Application Bible* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1988), p. 1721.

⁹⁷ *Serendipity Bible for Groups* (Littleton, CO: Serendipity House, 1989), p. 1290.

⁹⁸ *Word in Life Bible* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1993; 1998) 1482. 'Surprisingly'—in light of the fact that the editor of this study Bible is a well known leader in the field of marketplace ministries.

⁹⁹ *Quest Study Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994), p. 1379.

¹⁰⁰ *Study Bible for Women* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), p. 72.

¹⁰¹ *New Geneva Study Bible* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1995), pp. 1556, 57.

ning of this paper, two recent study Bibles are unusual in the history of Christian interpretation in that they make explicit applications of the Great Commission text to the workplace. The editors of the *Christian Growth Study Bible* (1997), associated with the parachurch organization Youth With a Mission (YWAM), challenge the reader to see this text as having implications for discipleship in all areas of life, e.g., science, education, the arts, medicine, government, and many others. 'As believers,' they write, 'we must not abandon certain professions and places of influence because of the darkness there. Those are the very places where God wants to shine the light of Jesus!'¹⁰² In a similar vein, the editors of the *Promise Keeper Men's Study Bible* (1997), representing the parachurch organization of that name, tell the reader that in the words of the Great Commission Jesus promises to be with his people as they begin '... even in the smallest way within our own sphere of influence, to affect positive change in the world'. Making disciples can begin by '... changing your attitude and being a more positive force at work'.¹⁰³

In recent years Dr. Bill Bright, founder of Campus Crusade for Christ International, has given indication that his understanding of the Great Commission has developed beyond the traditional understanding to include equipping the people of God to serve in the workplace. In a letter to Campus Crusade staff workers he stated that he had come to realize that 'full-time Christian service' was not limited to pastors, mis-

sionaries, or workers in parachurch organizations. Whether Crusade's staff is working with students, mid-career people or senior executives, '... we must give special attention and follow up to those whom God calls to serve him in the secular world.'¹⁰⁴

Some Concluding Reflections

This survey of some sixteen centuries of Christian interpretation of Matthew's 'Great Commission' passage has shown how profoundly the *ecclesiastical* controversies and concerns of the day have dominated the church's understanding of the text. From the fourth century until the time of William Carey the missiological significance of the text was, with few exceptions, essentially lost. Interpreters tended to assume that Christ's mandate was fulfilled by the apostles, and read the text in terms of controversies about the Trinity and the proper subjects of and form of words for baptism. With the publication of Carey's *Enquiry* (1792) the significance of the text for foreign missions was recovered. This 'missiological' hermeneutic became the standard for subsequent evangelical Protestant interpreters.

With the rise of the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation in Europe in the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment eras, liberal Protestant and many Roman Catholic interpreters tended to become preoccupied with 'source-critical' issues such as the originality

¹⁰² *Christian Growth Study Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997), p. 1049.

¹⁰³ *Promise Keepers Men's Study Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997), p. 1087.

¹⁰⁴ In *Bright Side* 31:3 (1998). I wish to thank Kelly Madden for drawing my attention to this reference. For a statement of Bright's earlier, more traditional 'missiological' and evangelistic understanding of the Great Commission, see Bill Bright, *Revolution Now!* (San Bernadino, CA: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 1969), pp. 167-191.

of the words of the triune baptismal formula attributed to Jesus. Twentieth-century evangelical interpreters then began to defend traditional views of the text against the liberal, 'revisionist' understandings. Both liberal and conservative exegetes gave little or no attention to the implications of the text for ministry in the workplace; interpretation continued to be dominated by the ecclesiastical and academic contexts of the scholarly guild. In the late 1990s initial signs of a 'marketplace hermeneutic' began to appear, with such voices being raised from the contexts of parachurch ministries.¹⁰⁵

This paper concludes with a call to the community of interpreters and to the church as a whole to move forward to recover the full meaning of the Great Commission. This recovery involves moving beyond the usual 'clerocentric' hermeneutic focusing on the concerns of the 'full time Christian professionals' to a 'laocentric' hermeneutic focusing on equip-

ping all the people of God to be disciples in every sphere of life, including the workplace. Taking seriously Christ's mandate to make disciples by teaching them 'to observe all that I have commanded' implies concrete, practical training for all the people of God to be 'salt and light' in every sphere of service in the culture. The *horizontal extension* of the kingdom through foreign missions and evangelism must be accompanied by the *vertical penetration* of the kingdom in every dimension of life if the Great Commission is to be truly fulfilled in our or any other generation.

¹⁰⁵ I.e., in the *Christian Growth Study Bible* (1997) [Youth With a Mission], the *Promise Keeper Men's Study Bible* (1997) [Promise Keepers], and the statement of Bill Bright (1998) as noted above. For historical perspective on the emergence of a 'theology of the laity' since the Second World War, see Robert Banks, 'Appendix A: Lay Theology and Education since 1945,' in *Redeeming the Routines: Bringing Theology to Life* (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books, 1993), pp. 153-174. *The Layman in Christian History*, eds. Stephen Charles Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963) is a standard reference on the subject indicated by the title. William Diehl, *The Monday Connection: On Being an Authentic Christian in a Weekday World* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993) is a fine discussion of the problem of the 'disconnect' between much of the church's preaching and teaching and the concerns of the workplace. It could be plausibly argued that the church's less-than-adequate equipping of the laity to practice Christian discipleship in the workplace has contributed to the secularization of Western culture that has been increasingly evident since the end of the Second World War.

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