

ALISON DIANE VORSTER

"SEEK THE WELFARE OF THE CITY"

A REFLECTION ON THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE SPIRITUAL AND THE MATERIAL
IN THE WELLBEING OF A CITY

SUBMITTED AS THE DISSERTATION COMPONENT
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF THEOLOGY
(LEADERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT), IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

PIETERMARITZBURG

January 1996

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine the contention by Dr Robert C. Linthicum (Linthicum 1991) that every city has a "soul" or inner spirituality which influences that city's life through its political, economic and religious systems, and which has the power to either enhance or diminish the quality of life of that city's inhabitants.

This examination is approached from within Linthicum's context of a Biblical theology of the city. It covers his contention of the urban environment of the Bible, and tests this against archeological and Biblical records.

His theology of the city is considered from within classical and reformed theology and is contrasted with a secular theology of the city.

The central contention of the "soul" or inner spirituality of a city is described, as understood by Linthicum, from two aspects of the Biblical record. The first is the gradual development of oppression, exploitation, marginalisation, poverty and powerlessness in the city, as a result of the corruption of the political, economic and religious systems of the city.

The second aspect is that of the spiritual power associated with the city which may initiate such events in the city, or result from them.

Linthicum's brief exegesis of New Testament power language is taken further, as a more thorough study of the Biblical record of the spiritual powers is attempted, which includes the pre-exilic period of the Old Testament, the post-exilic and intertestamental periods, and the New Testament.

Linthicum's purpose in producing his Biblical theology of the city was to provide ministers and church workers with a Biblical theological basis from which to understand their city and begin to address the overwhelming needs within it. Having considered the basic contention of this Biblical theology - that a city has its own inner spirituality, which influences its life through its systems - the concluding chapter deals with the implications of this for city church ministries in our own country, and how this might be applied in the upliftment and empowerment of the marginalised of the city.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to record my gratitude to the congregation of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Dundee, who willingly granted me the extra time required away from pastoral duties, in order to complete this course of study. Although they did not understand why it was necessary, they were unfailingly supportive in interest, encouragement and prayer.

My thanks are also due to my colleagues in the Presbytery of Drakensberg, who, though equally mystified at the self-inflicted work overload, were always willing, despite their own workloads, to step in and help out when asked to do so. A special word of appreciation and encouragement is directed to my associates in the Dundee Ministers' Fraternal for whom the subject of this work is not a theoretical exercise, but the painful reality of ministry in this town. A particular word of thanks must go to the Pastors and team of Mahyeno Mission, Dundee who like the "cloud of witnesses" have urged me on to the completion of this task, and to Mrs Terry Vorster for so willingly and competently typing this thesis.

Lastly, to the Lord who has taught me, in and through the years, not to "lean on my own understanding", but "in all my ways to acknowledge Him", I offer grateful thanks for His "directing of my paths".

ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliography

N.B.D.

The New Bible Dictionary

General

I.S.B.

Institute for the Study of the Bible

PREFACE

This study is motivated by a concern for people entrapped in their human need. It has grown out of ongoing pastoral reflection which has developed over a fourteen year period of ministry in this rural "city" of Dundee which is situated in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

A sense of oppression lies over this city; the sense of an inability to move forward, and achieve its obvious potential. The relationship between ability, application and results leaves one perplexed by the poor returns.

There is a history of ineffective dealing with the basic requirements of the town, such as the provision of potable water; the creation of meaningful employment; the failure of the best efforts at municipal level to improve the economic prospects. Even a nation-wide, popular chain store business is lifeless and unprofitable in this town.

There has been a lethargy in leadership over the years, the illusion of progress, but nothing sustainable.

The record of the church as a whole in this area is little different. In fact, it seems as if it too, is invaded and controlled by an all-pervading apathy. From time to time there is a spurt of enthusiasm and activity, which dies down as quickly as it has appeared; good plans, good intentions, no ongoing impressions.

Perhaps the most troubling of all is that much of the church in this town has been plagued by division and strife, which makes it powerless in its witness to and leadership of the community. This state of affairs has been experienced both within the various congregations which make up the church as a whole, and between the different church groups. Attitudes of independence, power-seeking, self-exaltation and distrust contribute towards

the divisions. However, there is another very disturbing feature of the church life, which has become so clearly a pattern in this town that it cannot be ignored. That is, the fate of the ministers/pastors of the different congregations. What has been seen over the years is the relentless attack on every one of them whose ministry has begun to discern and address the oppression over the area.

When it is encountered repeatedly, in different congregations, the realisation begins to grow that there is more to it than meets the eye. There is a power operating that is malevolent, controlling, guarding its territory, and will brook no challenge to its supremacy.

These perceptions, arrived at individually, as a result of experience, reflection and study, have been shared at Fraternal level, where a concerted effort is now being made by church leaders to unmask and engage these powers of evil holding the town in bondage. There is an urgency to reclaim the "gates of the city", so as to release life and blessing into it, a future and a hope.

Although the study as presented is wider than just this town, the principles operating remain the same, and the hope is that it will shed light on not only this local problem, but the same influence, wherever it is found.

A.D. Vorster
December 1995

CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	i
Abbreviations	ii
Preface	iii
Introduction	1
 CHAPTER 1 FACED WITH THE URBAN EXPLOSION OF THE 20TH CENTURY WHAT POINT OF CONTACT MIGHT THERE BE BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE BIBLE?	 6
1.1 Linthicum's understanding of the Bible as an urban book	6
1.1.1 His brief discussion of theological conditioning	6
1.1.2 His brief overview of historical data	7
1.1.3 Response to Linthicum's discussion	10
1.1.4 Linthicum's exegesis of selected Biblical passages	11
1.2 Does Archeological Evidence give support to the claim of an urban civilisation in Biblical Palestine?	12
1.3 What internal Biblical evidence is there for an urban Biblical focus?	16
1.3.1 Cities of antiquity	16
1.3.2 Jerusalem	20
1.3.3 Babylon	25
1.4 "Seek the Welfare of the City"	27
1.5 "The Welfare of the City" from a 20th century urban Christian worker	37
1.6 Urbanisation in the 20th century and beyond	38
1.7 Summing up	40
 CHAPTER 2 THE BIBLE - AN URBAN BOOK - THEN WHAT IS THE STARTING POINT FOR AN URBAN BIBLICAL THEOLOGY?	 42
2.1 Linthicum's starting point - the city as the battleground between God and Satan	42
2.2 Does this thesis find support from Classical, Reformed and Secular theologies?	46
2.2.1 Augustine - the City of God	46
2.2.2 Calvin - the City of Geneva	52
2.2.3 Cox - the Secular City	55
2.3 Critique	60

CHAPTER 3 WHAT IS LINTHICUM'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE "SOUL" OR INNER SPIRITUALITY OF A CITY AND HOW DOES IT DEVELOP?	62
3.1 The "soul" or inner spirituality of the city as both individual and corporate/ systemic sin	63
3.1.1 An introduction from the prophets	63
3.1.2 God's requirements for a godly spirituality in the city	64
3.1.3 The development of an ungodly spirituality in the city	66
3.1.4 The "soul" or inner spirituality of the city	70
CHAPTER 4 CAN LINTHICUM'S CLAIMS FOR THE PRESENCE AND ACTIONS OF EVIL SPIRITUAL POWERS WITHIN THE CITY BE SUBSTANTIATED FROM A STUDY OF THE POWERS IN BIBLICAL TIMES?	76
4.1 What may be learnt from the Pre-Exilic period of the Old Testament concerning spiritual powers or beings?	77
4.2 What development of these ideas may be found in the Post-Exilic and Intertestamental periods?	83
4.3 What may be learnt from the language of Power in the New Testament?	87
4.4 Discussion of the study of the Powers, and an assessment of Linthicum's claims	97
CHAPTER 5 IN WHAT AREAS MIGHT THE INSIGHT GAINED FROM THE STUDY OF LINTHICUM'S CONTENTION OF THE "SOUL" OR INNER SPIRITUALITY OF A CITY BE APPLIED?	108
5.1 Application to Christian ministry in the city	110
5.2 Application to the theological training of Christian ministers	115
5.3 Application to meaningful upliftment and empowerment programmes	118
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION	125
BIBLIOGRAPHY	129

INTRODUCTION

This thesis arises out of the discipline of Church Leadership and Development.

The concern of the thesis is the wellbeing of a city, where "wellbeing" is narrowly defined and discussed from the standpoint of the Biblical understanding of the Hebrew word "shalom".

The theme of the thesis is that the wellbeing of a city is not a function of the material aspects of city life, alone, but of the interplay between the material and spiritual dimensions of its life.

The focus, then, is two-fold; first on the city itself whether it approximates to Calvin's Geneva, Biblical Nineveh or the mega-cities of today's world. It is possible that an understanding of the dynamics of a micro-city would allow a strategy to be developed which could be successfully applied within a macro-city.

Second, on the spiritual forces which influence the life of the city.

It is for the church in the city, seeking answers to the problems of life in the city, and the place of church ministry in the city. It comes out of the dismayed awareness of the fact that the church has been overtaken and left behind by the wave of change which has broken over the world in general and our country in particular; and the need to both re-affirm her spiritual identity, and radically change her concept of evangelism and ministry.

So this study is undertaken as a function of church leadership, and with a perceived mandate to the church to be active in the redemptive transformation of society, working to this end within the particular geographical area where it may be situated.

The mandate is given to the church because of its specific nature, and authority, which is spiritual, rather than temporal, and because of its specific gifting, which is discernment in the spiritual realm, and the power to act in this realm. Added to this is the power of prayer, encompassing faith, confession and repentance, intercession and spiritual warfare. Furthermore, it is to the church that the assignment is given to reveal to the principalities and powers the "manifold wisdom of God". (Eph. 3:10). In this we are dealing with that which is not visible, yet, as understood in the Scriptures, exerts great influence on the lives of people, cities and nations.

In focussing on the spiritual aspect of reality in this study, it should be understood that this in no way suggests an attitude of non-involvement in the pain and suffering, deprivation and inauthentic living of the victims of the past, but rather points to an even fuller involvement in their plight.

It is to move out of the traditional mode of church practice, of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, to a practical and effective way of empowering the poor and needy to do this for themselves. This involves more than exhortation, direction and the implementation of prepared programmes. It involves harnessing the latent abilities of the community or group to think for themselves, isolate what they perceive their problem to be, and to work together to change the situation.

That is the practical and material dimension. The question this thesis seeks to explore, and which is inextricably linked to the material dimension is what the forces are which operate in the city to bring about the kind of situation, of poverty and disempowerment that are found there.

It also seems that powerlessness is more than just the experience of the poor. There appears to be a powerlessness gripping the nation, and felt in its cities. This is a powerlessness to move out of the hopeless situation of poverty, but also a

powerlessness to move into the situation and begin to transform it. Powerlessness is experienced at both government and local levels. There is also a powerlessness to curb the violence wracking the cities of the land; a powerlessness to deal effectively with corruption and the idolatry of mammon, as well as to control criminal activity and uphold the sanctity of life. Powerlessness or inertia seems to lie over the nation and its cities.

The contention of this thesis is that this is the product of spiritual powers operating in the cities, throughout the nation. These powers which hold lives in bondage and block the attainment of authentic human life as God ordained it to be, only the church can address, discerning, unmasking and engaging the powers. This is the unique contribution of the church to the "New South Africa", and very specifically her calling for the healing of lives through the healing of the bondage of the past.

In undertaking such a study, one is aware that a presupposition such as the presence of spiritual forces exerting an influence on human life might be viewed as a return to the primitive, naive, superstition filled past. Also that in the scientific, Western, materialistic world view, there is no place accommodation of the spiritual. But that also has its challenge, because apart from the very specific focus of this study, the context is Africa, where the spiritual informs all of life, and where, in that reaction against the Western mindset, and the reclaiming of their identity, African people are reasserting their own worldview, and spirituality.

The contention is that the recognition of the presence and power of the spiritual dimension of reality, as testified to in the Biblical record, is absolutely crucial to the successful implementation of any plans for the reconstruction and development of our nation's life, largely lived out in the cities, and for the full liberation of the people of this land. This is not a lone voice crying in the Wilderness!

There is also a groundswell of realisation among urban practitioners (meaning those church and social workers working in inner city slum areas as well as squatter settlements in all parts of the world) of the reality of the Powers at work in our highly advanced, technical, individualistic world. A world which has produced large scale conflict as well as greater discrepancies between rich and poor people and nations. This in turn has created more destitution and absolute poverty than ever before known. New generations see no future and find escape in addictions and a dropping out of life. Permanent, meaningful relationships are under severe threat and somehow there seems to be a force operating which is independent of human control.

Amongst theologians, as well as urban practitioners, the realisation has become more emphatic, that what we see isn't the whole story. Wink, in his well known trilogy on the Powers, battles to come to terms with his acknowledgement of these forces involved in the world, is both disbelieving of his own position, and embarrassed that he should be saying what he is - speaking of Satan, angels and demons - because of the strong rejection of this as a subject to be treated seriously in academic circles, in a scientific and secularised world. Yet he is compelled to do so by his own experience of the dark spiritual forces and institutionalised evil in Latin America. Even so he struggles to give to the Powers anything other than interiorised form, and whilst dealing most meticulously with the subject, yet has a subtle contradiction permeating his work, which is an unconscious acknowledgement that there is more involved in the whole concept of the powers, than interiorisation and exteriorisation of systems (Wink 1986:4).

Unless we come to terms with this reality, the situation of the poor and marginalised, who suffer from intimidation and crime, corruption and exploitation, powerlessness and need - inauthentic living - will remain unresolved.

The title of this thesis is taken from Jeremiah 29:7, which is Jeremiah's instruction to the exiles in Babylon, "Seek the welfare of the city ...". A brief section will give consideration to the import of this verse as it might have applied in that situation, and whether it informs the topic of this thesis.

The way that the reflection on the inter-relationship of the material and spiritual dimensions in the welfare of the city will be approached, is by a thorough examination of the position of Dr Robert C. Linthicum - an ordained minister and inner city pastor in various cities of the U.S.A., and a development agent with World Vision International.

The examination will include his position with regard to the city, which he approaches from his context of a biblical view of the city, and his involvement in the cities of the 20th century. It will also include a consideration of his Biblical theology of the city, and his contention that each city has a "soul" or inner spirituality; (which is the central contention for this study). His views will be very fully stated, and both compared and contrasted with those of other scholars, city pastors and Christian workers in the inner city, slum and squatter areas of cities in different parts of the world. They will also be tested against the Biblical evidence especially with respect to the Biblical power language.

In addition, the examination will be followed by an assessment of his position, and the possible applications of the findings of this study, to the church's ministry; the equipping of aspirant ministers and the empowerment and upliftment of the poor in those cities.

CHAPTER 1 FACED WITH THE URBAN EXPLOSION OF THE 20TH CENTURY, WHAT POINT OF CONTACT MIGHT THERE BE BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE BIBLE?

1.1 Linthicum's understanding of the Bible as an urban book

Before entering into his discussion on the "soul" or inner spirituality of the city, Linthicum puts forward what he discovered when searching for a Biblical basis from which to develop a theology of the city which would make sense of urban ministry. This was, that the Bible is an urban book.

This understanding he consolidates by exposing the nature of the theology which has been most formative in shaping the Christian faith; by the use of some historical data, and by Biblical exegesis of selected passages.

1.1.1 The discussion of theological conditioning

Linthicum makes the point that we do not consider the Bible to be an urban book because the theology taught in most theological training institutions has been developed in a rural setting in Western Europe. The result of this is that ministers, and churches through them are conditioned by a "rural theological perspective" (Linthicum 1991:22). This is a surprising statement, because scholarship has historically developed within the great centres of learning, which were indisputably urban.

He points out that of the theologians who had the most formative influence on the faith of the early church, Paul, John of Damascus and Augustine were the only ones who wrote from within a city environment, and that this early phase was completed by 426 C.E. In making this point Linthicum appears to deny the work of the Church Fathers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, as well as the importance of such centres as Alexandria, Antioch and Rome, for the theological development of the faith.

He states that of the later theologians, only Calvin in the 16th Century C.E. was specifically city-orientated as he tried to formulate a theology for a city environment. While Calvin's activity in the city of Geneva and his desire for a Christian city was unique he was by no means the only theologian after the 5th century C.E., who worked in a city environment. One could make mention of men such as Anselm of Canterbury, Aquinas in Paris, Francis of Assisi, moving on to the pre-Reformation and Reformation scholars. Such names as Erasmus of Amsterdam, Luther and Melancthon in Wittenburg, Bucer at Strasbourg and Zwingli in Berne are well known.

While affirming, against Linthicum, the urban development of scholarship and theological thinking, there is a point that should be made in his favour. That is, that much theology is highly intellectual and abstract making it very difficult to apply to the multiple problems of 20th century urban existence. The focus on contextualisation in contemporary theology is a positive move towards redressing the theological/life situation gap, and as such is welcomed.

1.1.2 His brief overview of historical data

Linthicum supports his view that the Bible is an urban book, by an overview of some of the great figures of the Bible, notably Moses, David, Daniel and Jesus, who, he says belonged to a world "dominated by cities" (Linthicum 1991:20).

As a matter of interest, the picture he paints of the cities of antiquity is included.

He quotes population figures for some of the cities of 2000 B.C.E. such as Ur, Nineveh and Babylon. Ur apparently had a population of a quarter million. Nineveh had a population of one hundred and twenty thousand, and its size was such that it took three days to cross it on foot (Jonah 4:11, 3:3). Babylon at the

time of Nebuchadnezzar was a most sophisticated and highly developed city with a water and irrigation system which was not equalled until the end of the 19th century (Mumford in Linthicum 1991:21).

New Testament cities of note which Linthicum lists are Ephesus, Antioch and Rome, each with its own remarkable features. For Ephesus, this was its street lighting. For Antioch, this was its sixteen miles of colonnaded streets.

Rome, however, exceeded all the other cities, both in size and development. It apparently had a population exceeding a million, in Paul's day; had buildings ranging from the mansions of the wealthy, through the apartment buildings of the comfortably off, to the multi-storey tenement buildings of the poor. (Mumford in Linthicum 1991:21). Further evidence of the size and level of development of the city is found in Lanciana's list of public works dating from 312-315 C.E. (Lanciana in Linthicum 1991:21). To highlight just a few of the public works listed, there were "1790 palaces, 926 baths, 700 public pools, 500 fountains fed by 130 reservoirs, 254 bakehouses, 290 warehouses".

This glory however, came to an end with the fall of Rome in the 5th century C.E., and in the subsequent period of the "Dark Ages", Rome's population fell to twenty five thousand. Even so, it remained the largest city in Europe. This shows what Linthicum means by the more rural type environment in which theology developed through these centuries. Growth of cities started again in the 12th century C.E., but it was only in the 19th century C.E. that a city's population reached one million, and that was London in 1820 (Linthicum 1991:22).

Linthicum lists the following cities as powerful "urban civilisations", which dominated all the systems of the city, including political, economic, social and religious systems; culture, art and education. These were:- Rome, Alexandria, Athens, Corinth, Susa, Persepolis, Babylon, Nineveh, Thebes and

Memphis (Linthicum 1991:21,22). While all of these played their part in Biblical events, the city was the focus of life in Bible times, and of all cities, Jerusalem was of central significance. David was king in Jerusalem, Isaiah and Jeremiah were prophets in Jerusalem. Sociological studies have raised the question of the prominence of Jerusalem, and have attributed this to the dominating ideology of the Zadokite priesthood and wealthy classes.

To pick up the city focus of Biblical events, Daniel was "mayor" in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon; Nehemiah, according to Linthicum was a "city planner, community organiser and governor over Jerusalem" (Linthicum 1991:22). In discussing these characters, Linthicum is not seeking to enter into discussion on the scholarly debate surrounding the dating and authenticity of the book of Daniel, or the question as to whether Daniel was a real or ideal figure. He appears to be looking for a functional model, which would give strength to his stated position.

He reminds his readers that Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, exercised his ministry in the major cities of the Roman Empire, writing his letters to the church in each city. There is no evidence that Paul spent any time in evangelism outside of a city context. That he would go to the cities was a natural choice, because of the concentration of people there and the presence of a synagogue in most of the cities of the Mediterranean area. His primary task was that of evangelism, and church organisation. He addressed the needs of a city ministry, not systematically, but as they arose. One of the problems he addressed was that of the relationship of Christians to the governing authorities. It is through these letters which mention the "principalities and powers" that the nature of power in the city is perceived.

Next he points out that John describes God's final redemption of humanity in terms of the great city of Rev. 21:2. Lastly, Linthicum mentions Jesus' crucifixion, which took place in the city of Jerusalem, as a result of the combined forces of Roman

political power and Jewish religious control.

So, by this brief synopsis he makes and supports the point that the Bible is the product of an urban setting, and presents an urban world view. Reflecting on this statement, one must concede that it was in an urban setting that the Bible received its completed edited form. The Old Testament was formulated in Jerusalem and Alexandria, the work of an educated elite, the scribal class. The New Testament presents a contrast between the rural village setting of Judea and Galilee, and the urban Roman civilisation of the Mediterranean world. As the Gospel moved out of Judea and into the Roman world of the day, the sophisticated, urban worldview inevitably influenced its presentation.

1.1.3 Response to Linthicum's discussion

In response to the stated view that the Bible is urban in nature and to Linthicum's view of the way that theology is taught in the academy, a number of comments need to be made.

Linthicum's approach is from the specific angle of city ministry - his spectacles are "city ministry". Yet what he is saying about the traditional theology, "received" through the generations, is being echoed in many quarters, as the events of world history, the huge technological advances, the environmental denudation and the overwhelming human catastrophe of the 20th century cry out to the church for answers it is not able to give; or abandon the church as irrelevant. From another angle reaction to the traditional theological approach is coming from within the establishment itself, as a result of dialogue with indigenous communities of the developing world. Here the question is asked as to what the philosophical or theological Western faith formulations may mean to an illiterate peasant, in a squatter settlement! Instead the Bible is being read with these marginalised groups, in such a way as to enable the responses and understanding of the people to emerge, which empowers and affirms

them, and provides for a meaningful faith to live by. In time it is hoped that an indigenous theology will develop (Philpott 1993).

This is also the thrust of the Institute For The Study Of The Bible, with its emphasis on contextualisation as making the Bible meaningful for untrained readers (West 1993).

In terms of the urban setting and nature of the Bible, the question that must be raised is how an ancient city of Biblical times would compare with a modern day city? There could be no comparison on a scientific and technological level, yet, from the evidence presented, size and population had some parallels. Congestion was a feature of Roman life; architecture and quality of building was probably superior to modern times (!) and engineering skills were not lacking. What was also found in the cities of the Ancient Near East, as in the cities of today, was poverty, exploitation, oppression and the power structures of the cities that maintained them.

1.1.4 Linthicum's exegesis of selected Biblical passages

In seeking to establish the urban nature of the Bible, Linthicum next turns to an exegesis of some specifically "city" sections. First, the Psalms, where he finds forty nine out of the one hundred and fifty Psalms, to be "city" Psalms, of which Ps. 42, 46, 48 are discussed.

It should be noted that in the general classification applied to the Psalter by Gunkel and Mowinckel, no such category is mentioned, but Eaton, following Gunkel lists Ps. 46 and 48 as "Zion songs" (Anderson 1974:175-77; Eaton 1967:16-17). As "Zion" is the hill upon which the city of Jerusalem was built, and is used interchangeably with the name "Jerusalem", to denote the city, Linthicum's use of the term "city Psalms" is not inaccurate. The general point that Linthicum makes about these

three Psalms is that they assume God's presence in the city.

Ps. 42 portrays a person cut off from the city of Jerusalem and its sanctuary, where God is to be found (Linthicum 1991:29-30).

Ps. 46 states that God's dwelling place is in the city, which he blesses, sanctifies and protects, keeping it from "chaos, collapse and evil dominion" by his presence (Linthicum 1991:30-31).

Ps. 48 - Linthicum gave this Psalm the title of "the urban dweller's 23rd Psalm"! It affirms God's presence in the city, specifically Jerusalem, which is called the "city of the great king". It also affirms God's protection of his people, and the defeat of his enemies. This Linthicum sees as God being able to enter and transform the political order of a city (Linthicum 1991:31).

Continuing his study of this Psalm, he adds that God loves the city, 'invests himself in it, and is committed to it. The Psalm ends with the call to celebrate the city - to "go walk about" and admire her distinguishing features, to see them as originating in God, and his love for the city and to teach succeeding generations that the city belongs to God, and that he is in it (Linthicum 1991:33).

Linthicum makes the point that if the proclamation is made to the cities of today with all their problems, that God is in the city, and that God loves the city, it will have a transforming effect on the people and the city.

1.2 Does archeological evidence give support to the claim of an urban civilisation in Biblical Palestine

There is much concern about urbanisation in this last decade of the 20th century, but is urbanisation a new phenomenon? In particular, as this study is interested in establishing the

nature of the city as seen from a Biblical perspective, is there evidence of urbanisation in the territory in which the Biblical history had its origin, and took its shape? Further, what evidence is there to suggest that the people of Israel developed an urban culture? Is there a Biblical focus on the city? Does this speak to the current problems being experienced in the cities of the world?

Archeological Evidence for the Urbanisation of Palestine - a summarised overview.

From an archeological viewpoint, Kenyon states that, "the first step towards civilisation is the beginning of permanent settlement", after which she traces the development of Palestine as revealed in the excavation of these permanent settlements - all of which are referred to as "cities" (Kenyon in Peake 1962:44). Of these Jericho is stated to be the earliest proven site of a fully developed permanent settlement, of a degree of development only reached elsewhere in West Asia some two thousand years later.

Other cities one could single out in terms of degree of development include Megiddo, Ai, Ophel (original site of Jerusalem), Beth-Shan. This was in the 4th millenium, a time of "urban development", when migration of tribes from the north was taking place, in a time which is described as most formative for Ancient Near Eastern history, and after which there was a two thousand year period when Palestine was a country of city states.

Urban development continued through the next millenium, with Jericho and Megiddo singled out for comment on account of the former's defensive walls, and strategic position, and Megiddo's "grandiose town planning".

1900-1200 B.C.E. was a period of further development of urban civilisation, comparable with that of the Early Bronze Age. In the later, Hyksos period, towns were described as being very

prosperous, and the feature of this period was the appearance of fortress cities as mentioned in Num. 13:28; Jdg. 1 (Gray in Peake 1962:50).

Albright has shown that there was a feudal system of town planning at this time, which was the system at the time of the Hebrew settlement and early monarchy (Albright in Peake 1962:51). Refer also to 1 Sam. 27:6; 8:11-18; 17:25. He considers that Saul was a feudal warlord, and that this was also the strength of David's kingship.

In the following period, 1000-800 B.C.E., specifically during Solomon's reign, there was a fresh spate of building, at Megiddo, Gezer and Lachish. This included the building of defences, as well as administration quarters and chariotry; the cities of Elath and Ezion-Geber were fortified, as were Hazor, Jerusalem and Gezer (1 Kgs. 5:18; 9:15). Eglon and Taanach were built as chariot cities. Thompson and Birdsall mention Megiddo as a huge grain storage city at this time (Thompson and Birdsall in N.B.D. 1962:236). Subsequent tension between Israel and Judah led to the fortification of Mizpah and Bethel (1 Kgs. 15:16-22). In the Northern Kingdom of Israel, the first capital city was Shechem followed by Tirzah, then Samaria, built in 800 B.C.E. (1 Kgs. 16:18). This was built by the Omride dynasty, and especially under King Ahab, was developed to rival Jerusalem. Evidence of fiscal organisation in grain distribution, has been found in excavations, but most luxurious of all was Ahab's palace of ivory (1 Kgs. 22:39).

A most interesting city is Lachish, which fell twice to the Babylonians, and in which the "Lachish letters" reveal much to substantiate the Biblical record of that period. Gray continues that potsherds from Lachish confirm the destruction of Lachish, Jerusalem and other settlements in the South, plus their abandonment for a long time (Am. 9:14; Is. 61:4). There is also evidence of the deportation of the elite and artisans to Babylon as recorded in 2 Kgs. 25:11-12 (Gray in Peake 1962:54).

The arrangement of the settlements was of a fortified town, with satellite villages around it engaged in agriculture, and which looked to the fortified city for protection in time of threat (Num. 35:2; Jos. 14:4; 1 Chron. 5:16, 6:55).

De Vaux discusses the gates of the cities which were also fortified in order to strengthen the walls, and set up a series of barriers for protection (De Vaux 1973:233f, 152-3). There were different ways of doing this practised at different times. At Tirsah and at Debir, benches were found fixed in the wall of the gate, possibly for elders who sat in the gate to dispense justice (Gen. 23:10,18). These courts are what the prophets are referring to when they speak about "justice in the gates" (Am. 5:10-12,15; Zech. 8:16).

One aspect of life that has not been mentioned in connection with these cities is that of the religious institutions, but remains of Temples have been found at Megiddo, Ai and Jericho (Kenyon in Peake 1962:47). De Vaux mentions the debate as to whether these Temples were religious buildings or not, whether they were palace or temple, the point being that the house of the god and the house of the king were built on the same plan (De Vaux 1973:283). In the three cities mentioned the Temples follow the plan of the Assyrian Temple, reflecting a religious approach which was both personal and mysterious.

Judging from the comments on the existence and style of the Temples found, it would appear that the local deity formed an important part of the life of the city. A sense of a power outside of and greater than humankind and able to influence the affairs of the city would have been part of the religious understanding of the people.

From this brief overview of the archeological evidence for urbanisation in Palestine, we find that urbanisation is an early phenomenon, and that it is clearly attested in the area under discussion.

Cities functioned for defence; mutual benefit in provision of food supply, various skills and protection; and a form of community justice was exercised by the clan or tribal elders. Trade other than within the immediate vicinity would have been practised according to the location on a trade route, as in the case of Jericho. In the period of the monarchy, especially under Solomon and from his time onwards, there is evidence of a well-developed urban culture.

The focus on the city would have begun during the settlement of Canaan, moved to Jerusalem with David's kingship, thereafter becoming the virtually exclusive focus of the Biblical record.

Although the archeological evidence shows that the culture of Old Testament times was largely urban, as Thompson and Birdsall point out, the size and rights of what is called "city" or "'ir" in Hebrew, were not defined, and a number of different settlements were included (Thompson and Birdsall in N.B.D. 1962:236). Although some were undoubtedly sophisticated, the best one could say with regard to the cities of today, is that they were in their times what urban culture is in the 20th century. As such - one would look for principles of living - the way they ordered their lives - in order to consider whether the ancient Biblical urban culture has anything to say to the 20th century urban culture.

1.3 What internal evidence is there for an urban Biblical focus

1.3.1. Cities of Antiquity

In the pre-history of Israel, we find interesting stories told about two cities. These are, first the city built by Cain (Gen. 4:17), and second, the city of Babel with its tower reaching to heaven (Gen. 11:1-9).

Skinner makes some interesting points about the city in his discussion of the Cain legend (Skinner 1930:98-130). Firstly,

that one who was doomed to be a fugitive and the lowest form of nomad, should also be the one to build the first city; where Skinner describes a city as the "highest form of stable civilised life". With reference to Cain's distressed cry on hearing his fate, "... from Thy face I shall be hidden whoever finds me will slay me" (Gen. 4:14), Skinner sees this as pointing up the historical background to the legend, which is that Yahweh's presence is confined to the cultivated land. He is God of the settled life, both agricultural and pastoral. This is considered the sphere of Yahweh's influence, which ensures that right will prevail. By contrast, the desert is seen as the place where the rule of law does not exist and life is cheap.

From this we infer that the city was perceived as a place of justice and protection, and under the jurisdiction of Yahweh, although this was not taken to mean that Yahweh was God of Canaan alone.

Skinner further sees the genealogy of Cain as being used to provide insight into the arts and institutions of city life, a view not held by Gunkel, who considers them to be insertions into the text (Skinner 1930:115). Those listed include:- husbandry, city-life, pastoral nomadism, music and metal working.

Altogether, then, from this very early Yahwistic material, we glean some useful information about the original concept of the city. Apart from being the place where God's presence dwelt, and therefore the place where justice and protection were assured, it was also the place of the flowering of culture; the development of civil administration and a system of justice; norms controlling community life; religious system; personal enterprise and public co-operation.

The second very early account of a city, is that of the building of the city of Babel, with its tower which was to reach the heavens (Gen. 11:1-9, especially 4).

The notable fact about this legend, is that it has no parallels in the literature of its time, or in Babylonian religion, but is only found in literature of the Hellenistic period, where it is so similar as to derive from the Hebrew rather than to have been the origin of the Hebrew account (Skinner 1930:230). Its origin, then, is attributed to the experience of nomads, wandering into the highly developed, cosmopolitan, multi-lingual civilisations of Babylonia, as exemplified in the achievements of the city of Babylon; as well as what the etymology of the name would have suggested to them (Balbel - confusion of tongues). Added to this experience, would most likely have been the sight of some ruined temple tower *zikkurat*, a structure requiring huge outlay of human resources, yet seemingly easily thrown down (Skinner 1930:228).

Skinner suggests that the legend arose out of a haunting feeling that the disunity of humankind, and the separation of groups through different languages, as well as their inability to together build a lasting monument to human greatness, was the result of some act of judgement, and the attempt to explain it.

What they saw of Babylon represented for them the place of this punishment. Their understanding of the *zikkurat* was that which symbolised an ascent to heaven and a rallying point for humanity's defiance of the gods. This was to the nomadic mind not only the act of defiance against God but the place where God had met with humanity, taken revenge, and reduced them to powerlessness. So, for them it was an awesome thing.

The question is asked whether it is possible to identify the *zikkurat* that may have influenced the development of the legend, and two possibilities have been suggested (Skinner 1930:228-29). The first is that of the temple of Marduk in Babylon which was rebuilt by Nabo-polassar, because it was "dilapidated and ruined". It seems he was commanded by the god to "lay its foundations firm in the breast of the underworld, and make its top equal to heaven". This is a very important quotation, because it gives access to the spirituality of the city at that

time, and it is interesting to see the underworld, and heaven being linked, where in the religion of Babylon, the "underworld" was the dominion of the god Nergul who was lord of plagues, fevers and maladies (Wiseman in N.B.D. 1962:124). Here we are dealing with a spirituality which is not that of Yahweh.

Skinner goes on to identify a second possible *zikkurat* as the one at Ur of the Chaldees, rebuilt by Nabuna'id on the old foundations "with asphalt and bricks". The significance of this one is that it is from Ur that Abram began his journey into Canaan, so it is possible that this was the "*zikkurat* of the Dispersion".

The religious significance of this legend lies in the emphasis on the supremacy of God, and the persistent efforts of humankind to break out of the limitations set on them by God. In this story, human self-exaltation is checked, but the dispersion of humanity into nations over the earth, and into different languages, is seen as part of God's plan for their development and advance (Skinner 1930:229).

So what we learn about the city in this story is both positive and negative. It is positive, in terms of the development of human potential and civilisation; negative in the realm of religious or spiritual reality, in that it represents a trait in the whole of humanity - pride, self-exaltation, and the inherent desire to be totally in control of life.

It shows, also, the early recognition of the ultimate spiritual power of God in and over the lives of all nations and people, and that there are physical consequences to spiritual arrogance. These are dire consequences, definitely negative or as Skinner sums it up, "there is futility and emptiness in human effort divorced from 'acknowledgement and service of God'". As the name suggests, there is confusion (Skinner 1930:229). These thoughts will be picked up as we enter more deeply into the theology of the city.

1.3.2 The City of Jerusalem

No discussion of the cities of the Bible would be complete without the inclusion of the city of Jerusalem. This ancient city is first mentioned in the encounter of Abram and Melchizedek, the city of "Salem" (Gen. 14:17-20). Although there is some question about this being the same city as the later Jerusalem, there is no concrete evidence against it. (See discussion lower down). Jerusalem, throughout its long history has had other names also, such as "Jebus", and "Ophel", referring to the mound upon which the early city was built.

Taking Salem to be the forerunner of later Jerusalem, the city was ruled by a king, who was also a priest of "God Most High" (Payne in N.B.D. 1962:615).

Later, with the entry of the Israelites into Canaan, the city was in the hands of the Jebusites, and named "Jebus". Because of its unassailable position, only part of the outer defences of the city were breached, and occupied by the tribe of Benjamin (Jdg. 1:8,21).

The name "Zion" is often found in the Old Testament being used as synonymous with Jerusalem, but probably originally referred to the hill on which the citadel stood (Payne in N.B.D. 1962:615). Bright points out that David took the Jebusite city of Jerusalem, with his own troops, not with tribal levies, so that it was rightly called, the City of David. This is found in 2 Sam. 5:6 (Bright 1972:194).

David's city occupied the south-east hill, and was fortified by him. In it he built a palace for himself, but his most significant act was to install the Ark of the Covenant in Jerusalem (1 Sam. 5:7,9-10; 7:1,2; 6:12-15,17). In this he drew together the old order of Israel, and the new, in a way which suggested that the new was the logical and legitimate successor to the old. Jerusalem became the national shrine, with

the priesthood having been centralised in the city (Bright 1972:196). It is probably as a result of the centralisation of the shrine that the Levitical cities came into being, for two possible purposes (Jos. 21). The first would be to supply a living for those Levites who could not be employed in Jerusalem. The second could have been the need to maintain contact with all parts of the country, and also to promote loyalty to the new system (Bright 1972:201-02).

Similarly, the cities of refuge could have been instituted at this time, as a means of coping with tribal conflicts (Jos. 20).

As Unger mentions, these arrangements, although listed in Numbers 35, could not have been carried out before because it was only after the establishment of David's kingdom that the cities concerned were in Israelite hands (Unger 1954:210). David's capture of the city was strategic, because of its situation of natural defenses; it was diplomatic, because of its position on the Judah/Benjamin border, which helped to unite the two tribes who had had a claim to kingship; and in bringing the Ark up to Jerusalem, he had centred the nation's religious focus in Jerusalem.

With David's conquests and the extension of the borders of Israel to their widest points, David had created an empire, and instituted a new order. The old tribal confederacy had been overtaken by centralised monarchic rule. Included in "Israel" were numerous peoples who belonged to the Canaanite population, and as in the case of Jerusalem itself, there were also the Semitic Jebusite people. Yet, in his discussion of the Jebusite people Wiseman notes that the name "Araunah" (2 Sam. 24:24) or "Ornan" (1 Chron. 21:15) are non-Semitic, possibly Hurrian names (Wiseman in N.B.D. 1962:601). This suggests that the inhabitants of Jebusite Jerusalem were not all Semitic, which gives support to the thought of a "mixed spirituality" in the city.

Bright goes on to say that the centre of the new Israel was David

himself, that the union of the tribes of Israel and the tribes of Judah was centred in the person of David (Bright 1972:200).

With the building of the Temple by Solomon, although local shrines remained, Jerusalem became the undisputed capital; administrative, economic, cultural and religious. Although this "Golden Age" ended with Solomon's death, and the splitting of the Kingdom into North and South, no other city equaled Jerusalem, in importance and especially in religious significance.

Jerusalem's history from the time it became the national capital of Israel was not a peaceful one, but one of internal strife and external threat and conquest (Oxford Bible Atlas 1974:132).

Its history is summarised as follows:

Jerusalem became the capital of the kings of Judah - 2 Sam. 20:3; 1 Kgs. 2:36; 3:1; 9:19; 10:27; 2 Kgs. 14:13.

Was threatened by the Assyrians - 2 Kgs. 18:35.

Taken and sacked by the Babylonians - 2 Kgs. 24:10f; 25:1f.

Restored - Ez. 1:2f; 7:7,15; Neh. 2:11f; Zech. 2:2f.

Attacked by Antiochus Epiphanes - 1 Macc. 1:29f.

Cleansed by the Maccabees - 1 Macc. 4:36-60; 6:7; but Greek Citadel remained - 1 Macc. 10:7f.

Hasmonean capital - 1 Macc. 10:10f.

City of Herod the Great - Matt. 2:11.

Religious centre of Judaea in Roman times - Lk. 2:41f; Jn. 2:13f; Mt. 21:1f; Acts 1:4f; 15:2f; Gal. 1:18; 2:1.

History records the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., by Roman forces under Titus, and the final desecration of the city after the Jewish revolt led by Bar Kochba in 132 C.E., when the city was rebuilt as a pagan city dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. This was done by the Emperor Hadrian, who called the city "Aelia Capitolina" (Payne in N.B.D. 1962:616).

Some interesting points emerge from this very brief overview of the city of Jerusalem. First, that its rooting in Yahwistic, Biblical spiritual terms was early Semitic, and, from Gen. 14:18, "Melchizedek, priest of God Most High", apparently monotheistic.

See lower down for further discussion.

Following this, the earliest king of Jerusalem named in the Old Testament is Adoni-Zedek who was killed by Joshua, in the Israelite advance into Canaan (Jos. 10:1). He is described as being of an indigenous Semitic tribe, the Jebusites (Payne in N.B.D. 1962:615). These Jebusites, Joshua was unable to dislodge from Jerusalem and they held the city until overcome at the beginning of David's reign as recorded in Jos. 15:63 and 2 Sam. 5:6-7 (Unger 1954:206).

But what was the religion of these Jebusites? Were they also monotheistic, and if so, was this in the same sense as the monotheism of Israel, and of David himself? This question is important for the spiritual lineage of Jerusalem, especially as the emergence of the Zadokite priesthood has raised speculation as to who Zadok was. Although given a Levitical lineage in 1 Chron. 6:4-8; 24:1-3, it has been suggested that he might have been a priest of the shrine of Jebusite Jerusalem (Bright 1972:196n).

Skinner comments that in the meeting of Abram and Melchizedek the ideals of "holy people and holy city" are brought together for the first time, and Israel receives "blessing from her sanctuary" (Skinner 1930:267-71). 2 Sam. 18:18 mentions a place called "the king's vale" - Gen. 14:17, - and according to Josephus, this was very near to Jerusalem, which information would tend to confirm that Salem is Jerusalem. Skinner cites Gunkel's view as correct when he agrees that Melchizedek was a traditional figure of great antiquity, on whom the monarchy and hierarchy of Jerusalem based their legitimacy.

The use of the name "El Elyon" for the God of Melchizedek has also raised the question as to whether this was the name of the God worshipped in Salem. "El" is the oldest Semitic name for God, and was often used in association with some further ascription such as "El-Bethel", and fairly frequently used in the

Pentateuch and Psalms (Gen. 35:7). That it was also used by the Canaanites and others is also true, but does not detract from its Semitic usage. It cannot, though, be either proved or disproved that the God of Salem was worshipped under that name (Skinner 1930:270-71).

The Tel Amarna tablets of the 14th cent B.C.E. have (so Skinner) proved the name "Uru-Salim" to be of even greater antiquity than the Biblical records might suggest. In fact in the Egyptian Execration Texts of 19th and 18th century B.C.E. the city is mentioned.

According to Payne the meaning of the name Jerusalem is not certain (Payne in N.B.D. 1962:615). It presents in an anomalous Hebrew form "Ye rusalaim" and in later writing "Ye rusalayim", but it is considered that the original form of the word was "Yerusalem", thus the abbreviation "salem" in Ps. 76:2, and in an Aramaic form in Ez. 5:14 - "Yerusalem".

From the Tell el - Amarna letters and Assyrian inscriptions which make mention of a city bearing the name "Urusalim", it is most likely that the name is not of Hebrew origin. The meaning of the name is generally held to be "peace", from its second part, but there is uncertainty about the first part of the word, which may mean either "possession" or "foundation". However, the cognate Assyrian form would be "city of peace" (see further discussion by Linthicum). What all this is getting at is that the city of Jerusalem had roots in an ancient past, and only from the time of David's installing of the Ark of the Covenant in it, did Jerusalem become the City of God. Two warring spiritualities were to be found there, as in the whole of Israel/Judah, as the claims of Canaanite gods and of Yahweh struggled for supremacy in the faith of the people, and it is supremely in the prophet Jeremiah that the opposition to the religion of Canaan and its influence on Mosaic Yahwistic religion is seen.

1.3.3 The City of Babylon

Babylon, situated on the river Euphrates, was the political and religious capital of Babylonia. Although debate continues regarding the city on the plain Shinar, as discussed earlier, and the later city of Babylon, there is evidence from 2250 B.C.E. of a city at Babylon, found in Babylonian tradition and a text of Sharkalisharri, king of Agade (Wiseman in N.B.D. 1962:116). In 2350 B.C.E. the King of Agade along with Sargon 1 built the city of Agade on the rivers of the earlier city of Babylon (Wiseman in N.B.D. 1962:117). The city of Babylon reached the peak of its power under Hammurabi between 1728-1686 B.C.E. (Bright 1972:58). It was during this time that Babylon became a great city and cultural centre. The literature of this period has proved to be of great interest for comparative religious studies, particularly the Babylonian accounts of the creation and the flood. According to Bright all forms of learning flourished, including levels of learning not known in the ancient world (Bright 1972:59). Word lists, dictionaries and grammars; mathematical treatises with advanced algebra, beyond that of the Greeks; astronomical texts, compilations, and classifications of all sorts of knowledge. Ancient "science" was represented by astrology, magic and hepatoscopy.

Hammurabi's greatest achievement was the compilation of his Law Code. From a Biblical point of view this Code has been widely used in Pentateuchal studies, because of the similarities between it and the Mosaic Law Code, and the light it sheds on the Old Testament texts.

As regards building achievements of Hammurabi's period, one of the wonders of the world, the temple Etemenanki, belongs to this time.

As regards religion, it was at this time in its history that Marduk became the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon (Bright 1972:59).

The Babylonian king with whom Israel had most to do, and whose name appears most frequently in the prophetic and historical texts of the Old Testament, is Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kgs. 23:29f; 2 Chron. 35:20f; Jer. 46:2; Dan. 1:1; Jer. 36:1). Under his leadership, the whole of Syria and Palestine were conquered, and Jerusalem's king became one of his vassals, paying tribute to him (2 Kgs. 24:1; Jer. 25:1). However, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah, Jehoiakim transferred his loyalty from Babylon to Egypt, after Nebuchadnezzar had suffered defeat at the hands of Egypt (Jer. 26:9-11). This spelled the doom of Jerusalem, because after re-equipping, Nebuchadnezzar began a series of reprisal raids, as Jeremiah had foreseen (Jer. 49:28:33) and recorded (2 Chron. 36:6). He laid siege to Jerusalem in 598 B.C.E. and captured the city in 597 B.C.E., taking, over and above the heavy tribute paid, all the Temple vessels, which were placed in the temple of Marduk in Babylon (Wiseman 1956 in N.B.D. 1962:873-74). The king, Jehoiachin, queen mother, high officials and leading citizens were taken into exile in Babylon, and Zedekiah placed as regent in Jerusalem (2 Kgs. 24:7-17). As he was a weak man, unable to withstand the pressure and folly of those of the court left in Jerusalem, the final disaster was but a time away. The prophet, Jeremiah tried to prevent Zedekiah from making the wrong decisions, but to no avail (Jer. 37:17-21, 38:7-28, 23:5f).

The refusal to accept defeat at the hands of the Babylonians resulted in an uprising in Babylon by the deportees 595/4 B.C.E. and some of the prophets among the deportees were executed (Jer. 29:7-9; 21-23). Sedition was rife in Jerusalem, again with false prophetic utterances, to the effect that the exile would be over in two years (Jer. 28:2f). Such foolishness received severe condemnation from Jeremiah and resulted in his letter to the exiles urging them to accept their position and settle down - "Seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, for in its welfare will be your welfare" (Jer. 29:7,27f).

In Jerusalem Zedekiah was persuaded to revolt against

Nebuchadnezzar, with the result that Jerusalem was again placed under siege which was lifted because of an Egyptian advance, causing the people to believe that Jerusalem would not be taken (Jer. 21:3-7; 37:5). Jeremiah again prophesied against their false hope and blindness in the situation (Jer. 37:6-10; 34:21f). The city fell in 587 B.C.E. Zedekiah fled in the direction of the Jordan, being captured, blinded, and taken off to Babylon in captivity (2 Kgs. 25:3f; Jer. 52:7f).

A month after this, Jerusalem was put to the torch, its walls were levelled, and further numbers of its population were deported to Babylon (Jer. 52:12-16).

The result of the Babylonian conquest was that the city of Jerusalem was in ruins, the land was plundered and devastated, the cities of Judah destroyed, its economy ruined, all the leading citizens and intelligentsia deported, and only some Levites, and poor peasants left in the land. The state of Judah was ended, and in its place the Babylonians included Judah into the system of provinces of their empire.

The final act in this saga, comes with the betrayal and murder of the governor Gedaliah, installed by Babylon, and the flight to Egypt of his supporters, in fear of reprisal, taking Jeremiah with them. This is recorded in Jer. 40:44, 52:30 and 2 Kgs. 25:22-26 (Bright 1972:327-330).

1.4 "Seek the welfare of the city"

We come now to the passage from which this thesis takes its title, Jer. 29:7, "Seek the welfare of the city, into which I have sent you into exile and pray to the Lord for it, for in its welfare will be your welfare".

In order to move into the discussion of the verse, taking it in the passage and in the wider context of Jeremiah, as well as the other prophetic voices of the exilic period, it is necessary

first to examine whether this verse is considered part of the authentic Jeremianic corpus.

Thompson considers that the "essential historicity of the material cannot be doubted" even though, despite Jer. 29:2, the dating is uncertain, but placed in the period following the fall of Jerusalem 597 BC (Thompson 1980:544-46). Carroll's reading of it is far less charitable. He sees it as another example of haphazard editing, where many disparate pieces are joined together reflecting rather the particular interests of the editor/s than continuity of material (Carroll 1989:65-7). For him the letter of Jer. 29:4-7 stands complete as such, and does not belong with what follows. He sees what follows to be responding to certain actions. This is contrary to Thompson's understanding, as he would see the chapter as divided into four letters, of which Jer. 29:1-15, 21-23 constitutes Jeremiah's letter to the exiles.

In terms of editing, Thompson notes the two most common arguments: Firstly, that it is based on the memoirs of Baruch and secondly that it is the work of the Deuteronomic editors during the exile. In answer to this assertion, Unterman cites Raitt's analysis of the prophecies of redemption (Raitt in Unterman 1987:60-61). Raitt lists six prophecies of redemption, which he considers to be authentic Jeremiah, originating after the exile had taken place. The first is Jer. 24:4-7 and the second is Jer. 29:4-7, 10-14, which is of interest here. This puts him in direct opposition to Carroll, who would assign the first one to editors, either in Jerusalem, or Babylon, or in the post-exilic period (Carroll 1989).

Unterman shows how Raitt reaches his conclusions that the passages mentioned are Jeremiah's, rather than that of a Deuteronomic editor. He does so by comparison of the language with the relevant passages in Deuteronomy, Deut. 30:1-10, and Deut. 4:29-31, the use of "good". Raitt first compares the use of this word in Jer. 8:15; Mic. 1:12; Am. 9:4, with its use in

Jer. 24:6, and concludes that its meaning in the latter is, "an action of deliverance instead of ...God's blessing". This is never found to be the meaning in Deuteronomy, where it is commonly found to mean God's blessing of fertility (Deut. 30:5,9).

With regard to future expectations, Raitt compares all six passages (Raitt in Unterman 1987). The most striking feature here is the opposite view taken by the Deuteronomist compared to Jeremiah. This writer presupposes deliverance conditional upon repentance (Deut. 4:29,30; 30:1-10; 1 Kgs. 8:46-53). On the other hand Jeremiah's view is that "God's gracious initiative is unconditional, usually stated first and dominates the tone of the entire promise".

Unterman considers this difference to be the decisive point which secures the authenticity of Jeremiah origin, as arrived at independently in his work (Unterman 1975:32-33, 44-45).

Following the very detailed textual work of Raitt and Unterman, and the conclusions reached by them as a result; as well as Thompson's views, it appears fairly safe to accept that Jer. 29:4-7, 10-14 may be accepted as Jeremiah's, within an editorial framework. As Jer. 29:7 is the verse of particular interest for this study, this conclusion gives greater weight to its application.

Some comments on the seventy year period of the exile, as prophesied by Jeremiah, now follow. There is dispute among scholars about this. Welch rejects it on the grounds that such an understanding of their future would make the attitude of the exiles one of indifference to the wellbeing of Babylon (Welch in Unterman 1987:62-3). Unterman makes the interesting point against Welch, that the seventy years were necessary, in order that all the guilty, including those still in Jerusalem, who had not yet suffered exile, might be punished.

This raises the very important discussion of the situation of those remaining behind after 597 B.C.E. Their situation caused them to believe that they had been vindicated by God, rather than to understand that this was by no means the case. It was this false sense of security that Jeremiah addressed in the prophecy of Jer. 24:1-10, which is the analogy of the baskets of good and bad figs. The good figs portrayed those taken off into exile, and the bad, those still in Jerusalem. This had little to do with the fact that those remaining behind were not the highly trained or skilled people, but had to do with their trust in the national institutions of politics and religion, which blinded them to their failure in terms of their relationship with Yahweh. A case of misplaced trust, and false hope, because what they believed in was inherently wrong.

This view, put forward by Bright, Thompson, Anderson, and regarded as the "traditional" view, is challenged by Carroll who sees this simply as pro-Babylonian politics, legitimating the settlement of the Jews in Babylon (Carroll 1989:102-106). He sees the message of the narratives in Jer. 26-45 as reflecting the fact that the fate of the nation rested on the king's response to Jeremiah. At this point it is specifically and finally Zedekiah's response that seals the fate of the nation. To refer back to the discussion on the authenticity of Jer. 24:4-7 being part of a genuine Jeremianic corpus, the acceptance of this position nullifies Carroll's view, which is dismissed as "cynicism" by Unterman (Unterman 1987:58).

In a broader sense what is surely being said here is that as all have sinned against Yahweh, so all will suffer judgement in the justice of God, and it is repentance, not confidence that is appropriate at this time.

The terminology of Jer. 24:6 "build up, plant" versus "tear down, uproot" describes Yahweh's action for the exiles and Zedekiah et al in Jerusalem respectively, and it is repeated in Jer. 29:5 where the exiles are told to "build and plant". But these

expressions also describe the action of God in judgement and redemption. As Unterman says the exiles were favoured because they had suffered for their sins, but judgement was not yet complete, and would only be so once the final destruction of Jerusalem had taken place (Unterman 1987:177). For the exiles, as for those left behind, what was required, was to understand Yahweh's hand in it, and to submit to the rule of the Babylonian Empire, until the time when Yahweh would act in redemption. The message of Jer. 24, is affirmed in Ezek. 11:1-13.

Ackroyd in discussing the future restoration in Jer. 7:1-8, would add Jer. 16:14-15 and Jer. 23:7-8, as a statement of the new exodus theme that was developing, and along with that the understanding of covenant relationship (Ackroyd 1968:58,128). For this to happen, the people of God were being taken out into the "desert of the nations" (Ezek. 20:35). Unterman notes that what happened in the exodus from Egypt would happen to the exiles in Babylon (Unterman 1987:63). There would be the raising up of a new generation, the "generation of the desert". Only then would restoration come.

The thought here is, that the present generation would have to die out, because of the "Egypt" or "Babylon" incurably in them constituting an obstruction to God's redemptive work.

Following Unterman, the fact of the promise of restoration, even if still far in the future, was sufficient to allow the people to do what Jeremiah had instructed them to do (Jer. 29:4-7). It would enable them to live normal daily lives, in their own community, practising their own religion, and they would therefore be more disposed to pray for the city where they would live out their exile.

So Jeremiah's message to the exiles that they were to settle down, was not just expediency, but both practical and insightful. It seems, too, that notwithstanding the humiliation and general psychological and emotional shock of their changed circumstances

and removal from their land, they were allowed to live together as a community, with their own elders and have Ezekiel to minister to them (Ezek. 8:1, 14:1) as well as other prophets (Thompson 1980:546).

As regards Jer. 29:8,9 (which some would not attribute directly to Jeremiah) since Jeremiah advocated a lengthy period of exile, he would certainly be opposed to those voices suggesting otherwise. This would not be as Carroll avers, because he thought that he alone was right, nor because "against the prophets" should be considered as the unifying theme of the book. It would be because of his perception of the deep dealing that had still to take place in the lives of the people before they would be able to enter into a covenant relationship with Yahweh.

So what was the condition of the exiles?

For the most part this is only known in retrospect, found in Deutero-Isaiah, or in the post-exilic Psalms, of which Ps. 137 is perhaps the most graphic.

Nonetheless, Ackroyd summarises their plight as follows:

"It was a period of distress, a time for lament" (Jer. 30:5-7; 31:15).

"It was a time for recognition of failure and of divine discipline" (Jer. 30:12-15; 31:18-19).

"It was a time of servitude in a foreign land" (Ackroyd 1968:54,60). It seems that as the length of the exile wore on, there was a loss of confidence that Yahweh would act to restore the exiles to their land, and some resentment (Thompson 1980:547).

Ps. 137 describes two aspects of the situation of the exile. The one is the suffering involved in the physical separation from Jerusalem in a foreign, thus unclean, land where it would not be appropriate to sing the Lord's songs, (Ps.137:1-3) and the memory of the hideous cruelty of the actual events of the fall of

Jerusalem (Ps. 137:7-9). This leads to the curse on Babylon, which is certainly contrary to what Jeremiah had in mind when he called for prayer for the city! The Psalm also reflects the fierce loyalty of the people towards Jerusalem (Ps. 137:5,6). The Psalm recalls past events, and is probably after return to Zion, but is a dramatic recollection of the experience of the events of 597 B.C.E. and beyond (Anderson 1962,1974; Eaton 1967).

But what of the promises of restoration? What did they involve, and what did the exiles have to look forward to? In the words of Jer. 29:7, the exiles were to "seek the welfare of the city".

This could hardly have sounded like a promise of restoration to the exiles! It was not only their state of exile in the foreign city that was a problem for them, but the very fact that they were on foreign soil was for them an abomination, because they believed this to be unclean, and therefore to render them unclean, according to their religion.

For Jeremiah to exhort them to seek the welfare of the city, when it seemed that everything about it was adding to their humiliation and loss, must have caused bitter incredulity. A reflection of their pain is picked up in Ps. 137. The last thing that would have been in their minds would surely have been the welfare of the city or cities where they found themselves. In this, though, there is prophetic wisdom. To call the people to actively seek the welfare of the city was to make them take an interest in the city which would then bring a measure of healing into their own lives.

Most crucially this would direct them away from hostility and active involvement in trying to overthrow their rulers. It would also suggest co-operation in the work place, giving of their best, and striving to reach such situations as would allow them to exert influence for good, which is what allegiance to Yahweh demanded.

For the people of Jerusalem there was the story of Joseph, from antiquity, preserved in their folk history to inform their situation (Gen. 37; 39-50). In Joseph's story, we find the principle of the inter-relationship between spiritual and material operating, which would give some encouragement to the exiles. Through trial and suffering, Joseph perceived God's overruling purpose, to bring good out of seemingly hopeless exile and hardship (Gen. 45:5b,8a; 50:20b).

Jeremiah urged the people to "pray for the city" (Jer.29:7).

Not only was the direction to seek the welfare of the city a revolutionary one for the exiles (Thompson 1980:546). The following instruction, to pray for it, must have seemed totally impossible and contrary to all that they had ever understood about the position of the nations over against Israel as God's chosen people (Exod. 19:4-6).

The prayer that was on their hearts was that recorded in Ps. 137:8-9. Yet such bitterness and hatred as evidenced there, would have destroyed them. Instead they were called to share their place of relationship with Yahweh with these foreigners who did not belong to the Covenant community, by praying for their welfare, implicit in which was forgiveness.

The reason for such prayer was that "in its welfare you will find your welfare".

For the exiles their understanding of "shalom" or welfare or prosperity, was inseparably linked to the institution of king and cult, the land of Israel, the city of Jerusalem, Mount Zion (Thompson 1980:546).

Jeremiah, in giving them this instruction, was cutting them loose from superstitious trust in these institutions (Anderson 1974:128). All the symbols which they had considered inviolable were expendable. Yahweh was not bound to them, as he had not

been bound to Shiloh (Jer. 7:14).

Eichrodt makes the point that God "reveals his total alienation from all human schemes", and that Israel had through its national faith come to "take God for granted" (Eichrodt 1961:346,349). He further speaks of the "anti-God character of a religion based on national culture" (Eichrodt 1961:353).

This understanding of God present apart from their national and religious institutions is surely one of the most important lessons of the exile. Further, Eichrodt states that God challenges people to make their own decisions: a "Yes" or "No" to God's claims (Eichrodt 1961:358). For Eichrodt this went hand in hand with the notion of the "people of God" which meant community because "relationship with God required service of his brother" (Eichrodt 1961:359-360).

That quality of servanthood is one of the ways that the Powers, responsible for so much disruption in society, are defeated, as will be seen in the later discussion. Finally, in dealing with the re-shaping of the national religion by the prophets, Eichrodt says that God "grants access to himself in Covenant relationship as a spiritual communication, personal in character", and that this relationship had to be worked out in "faith, love and obedience" (Eichrodt 1961:372).

Thus, relationship with Yahweh, and worship of Yahweh were stripped of their dependence on externals, and set free from such limitations. Yahweh was with his people wherever they were in exile, and available to them, so they were to seek him, pray to him and receive his plans for them, both the present judgement, and future hope (Jer. 29:11-14). This was their welfare, and it transcended anything that their circumstances might bring to them.

Thus set free, they were in a position to seek their city's welfare, knowing that in doing so they were working out God's

plan of redemption.

The experience of the exile left its mark in the consciousness of the people of God, so that "Babylon" became in the collective consciousness of the people, the representation of all that was evil, detestable and unacceptable. So it is that in the New Testament, in Rev. 14:8-18,24 Babylon is portrayed, in allegorical form, as the enemy of the saints of God.

In the section dealing with the Babylonian exile, Jeremiah's prophecy of a period of seventy years for the exile has been noted. In this he foretold the destruction of the city and empire at its height, and the ending of the captivity of the people of God. In the same way, the destruction of the "spiritualised" Babylon is declared in Rev. 18. Here, though, Babylon is to be understood as the symbol for all earthly cities, in their total rebellion against God (Morris 1983:223).

From this discussion of the city in the Biblical record, two points emerge. The first is that frequent reference is made to "cities" throughout the Biblical period, which speaks of an urban civilisation, and an urban environment for the compilation of the Bible. However, the problem is that although cities in the sense of high population; buildings and facilities; and administrative systems are attested, with the attendant problems of poverty and crime; "city" can also refer to much more primitive settlements.

The second point to emerge is that in effect in the Biblical focus only two cities really existed - Jerusalem and Babylon, good and bad, holy and unholy, the representation of what was to be desired and worked towards, and the representation of what was undesirable, but nonetheless present in every city.

These findings will be taken further in the discussion on the theology of the city.

1.5 The "Welfare of the City" from a 20th Century urban Christian Worker

McClung, pleading for a change of attitude among God's people as regards the city, states that "a city is people", who have "worth and value to God both as individuals and as a community", and "whole communities have a place in God's plan" (McClung 1990:68).

Using a different approach from Linthicum, McClung cites the following Scriptures. First, Gen. 1:27,28, which speaks of the desire for "togetherness" which leads to interaction with others, the same sort of understanding which underlies the understanding of the city, as, the place where people live together, express their different cultures, and live out God's plan for their lives (McClung 1990:69).

Next, Acts 17:26,27 speaks of the boundaries of our habitation, and McClung sees that the city is part of God's boundaries for our habitation. He agrees with Linthicum that the city is God's creation, and that God continues to call cities into being, and people in them, to himself. In this way the city is part of God's redemptive purpose.

McClung gives the following Biblical definition of a city:

"The city is a people created by God, gathered together to serve him and live for his glory. It is also the place where his people are called to be stewards over the resources and environment of his creation; living in peace with one another, and submitting to just magistrates who govern according to God's laws" (McClung 1990:72).

If we then consider the community, God's people are described as a gathered community, investing themselves in the city and incarnating in it. Here stewardship entails the godly use and care of resources; with no exploitation of the poor and the church taking a stand in the face of sin and injustice.

In a practical way, this is a very workable definition of the welfare of the city.

God is concerned with groups, not just individuals, as the record of his Covenant relations with Old Testament individuals, families, groups, tribes and nations, show. Both judgement and blessing are pronounced on whole cities, and in the case of the exiles, they were to pray for the whole city, as we have seen (Jer. 29:7).

When one reads the prophecies of Amos concerning Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom and Moab, it is clear that it is not possible to turn a blind eye to the sin of the city where one lives; nor can one move away to escape responsibility.

McClung points out that repeatedly in Scripture, cities are referred to as having personalities and a spiritual character that the people of God are held accountable for (Ezek. 27; Zeph. 2:15; Rev. 18:7,2,3). He adds that it is the collective decisions of the people of the city that give it its spiritual state and personality, and adds that in the case of Sodom the absence of ten righteous men brought destruction; while Samaria's fate was sealed as a result of robbery, injustice and violence (Am. 3). The important point to note is that God has plans for a city. This is seen in examples such as Jerusalem's role in the history of Israel, as well as cities of refuge and of asylum. Cities might also be spiritual centres of renewal and blessing but humankind's sin has marred God's plans for the city by building cities to exalt self, and establish personal power. Nonetheless, God loves the city and will redeem it, even as he loves and redeems human beings.

1.6 Urbanisation in the 20th Century and Beyond

According to the UNDP report of 1990 this is the century of the greatest urban explosion, where from 1950-1985, the urban population almost tripled (Allen & Thomas 1992:229). In terms

of the numbers given, the increase in the developed regions nearly doubled, to 840 million, while that in the developing regions quadrupled to 1.15 billion.

Between 1920-1980, the urban population of the developing world increased tenfold. It is interesting to note further, from the report, that in 1940 only one in eight persons lived in an urban centre, and one in a hundred in a city having one million or more inhabitants. This had changed by 1960, where it was found that one person in five lived in an urban centre, and one in sixteen in a city with one million or more inhabitants. In 1980, this had become one in three people living in a city, and one in ten living in a city with one million or more inhabitants.

The report sums up the urbanisation that has occurred as being beyond what could have been imagined a few decades ago, and at a rate unprecedented in history (Allen and Thomas 1992:229).

The reasons for urban migration are many, including industrialisation, employment, drought and famine, the hope of a better life, the lure and excitement of a city; but the effect of such migration into the city is catastrophic. It puts a load on the infrastructure of the city that it is simply not able to cope with. For example, housing, food, employment, water supplies, sanitation, electricity, refuse disposal are strained to the limit and break down, never to be restored, because of the sheer immensity of the problem. The result has been the development of slum areas, and homeless on the streets of even the richest of cities in the developed Western world, whilst in cities like Calcutta, there are people born, living and dying on the streets of the city. The inevitability of disease in such conditions is obvious.

But is there nothing but pessimism for a situation which is overwhelming, but which is the new and irreversible reality of the 20th century, and which will go with us into the 21st century? Linthicum suggests that there is a positive side to the situation, one that specifically challenges the church to grasp

the fact that the world, even in its rural areas is now urbanised, (the latter through modern communications technology) and that the influx into the cities has brought the mission field onto the church's doorstep (Linthicum 1991:19-21).

It is therefore incumbent on the church to get involved in the immense cloud of pain, misery and alienation that envelops the city, to love the city, and to bring to it, authentic human existence. For this, and as the church re-discovers the city, so a new methodology for urban ministry is developing from within the context of urban praxis, one Linthicum expounds in his book "Empowering the Poor" (Linthicum 1991). It includes such practices as "networking" and "community organisation". But not just strategy is needed. A theology is needed that will be able to make sense of the city from God's perspective, and give both direction and confidence to efforts made to uplift, encourage, and empower the nameless, faceless, lost of the mega-cities, but also of any city.

There is a further aspect that has to be borne in mind as we give our attention to the city, and that is, that the city is not just people and institutions, but is greater than the sum of all its parts. There is more to the city than just the physical or material. There is the spiritual dimension to a city, which is what will be considered first in the Theology of the city, and then in the discussion of the Powers.

1.7 Summing up

The question to which this chapter has sought a reply, is what point of contact there might be between the city of 20th century and the Bible, and the main thesis investigated, was that the Bible itself is an urban book, which therefore understands the city and addresses life in the city. The testing against historical, archeological and internal Biblical evidence confirmed the prominent position of cities in the Bible, and the

instruction of Jeremiah to the exiles was another indication of the importance of a city, this time a pagan city. One reason for an assumption that the Bible is not urban and sophisticated in its nature, but deals with a primitive culture, is that it deals with such great antiquity. Also that the major event of the Old Testament was the Exodus, a migration of a slave people from Egypt, into a period of nomadic wandering. Even the major festivals of Israel have an agricultural setting. Thus the predominantly rural picture is retained as the character of the Bible.

However the foregoing research shows that whilst this was a true assessment of ancient Israel, it was only so until the establishment of the monarchy, when a city versus countryside dominance development, as is increasingly being discussed by sociologists such as Chaney, Martin. The form in which the Scriptures have been received, is that which has been compiled and edited in the city of Jerusalem, by the scholars who committed to writing the tradition transmitted orally through the generations (Anderson 1966:1-7, 9-13). It is generally held that many editors have been at work on the text, the most prominent being the Deuteronomist. With regard to the New Testament this too has been recorded within the city environment of the Mediterranean world. The point being made is that whatever the nature of the primitive content, its final form was the work of urban scholars, and inevitably reflects their urban outlook and experience.

The real problem lies in the nature and size of what was called "city" in the Biblical period, and the huge, technologically advanced cities of this century. It is here that the reflections, of Christian ministries and workers, which arise out of their experience of ministry in the cities, and the challenge presented to their Biblically based faith, prove valuable, allowing for a re-assessment of the Biblical focus on the city and its systems, and for the development of an urban theology to undergird ministry in the city situation.

CHAPTER 2 THE BIBLE - AN URBAN BOOK; THEN WHAT IS THE STARTING POINT FOR AN URBAN BIBLICAL THEOLOGY?

Having established the urban nature of the Bible, and the guidelines it provides for the development of the city - to the benefit of all its citizens, and covering both practical needs and spiritual obligations - the question to be discussed next is the theology of the city, or, more specifically, Linthicum's starting point for the building of a theology of the city.

2.1 Linthicum's starting point - the city as the battleground between God and Satan

So let us now consider the theological approach to the city, by a city practitioner who has experienced the challenge of the desperate and homeless in the cities.

Linthicum, in seeking a theology of the city, which will inform the work of the church in the cities of this century (and beyond), starts with a consideration of Jerusalem and Babylon.

This he does from his Biblical assumption that the city is the place of ongoing battle between God and Satan; God, the God of Israel or the church, Satan, the god of this world. To put it more specifically, in Old Testament terms this was Yahweh and Baal; in New Testament terms God and Satan (Linthicum 1991:23). Evidence for this statement comes from Jer. 9:11-14, where the reasons for the destruction of Jerusalem are given as apostasy and idolatry. Linthicum makes the point that the choice was Israel's, either to make Jerusalem the city of Yahweh, or of Baal (Linthicum 1991:24). He finds in the very name of "Jerusalem", evidence of the deeprooted conflict between Yahweh and Baal.

In comparing the two cities, Linthicum deals with them as "ideal" cities, or "types". He finds them both in the first book of the Old Testament (Gen. 11; 14) and the last book of the New Testament (Rev. 12:16-18,21). In the case of "Babel", Linthicum

concentrates on the aspect of "self-exaltation"; and of Babylon, on the assessment made in Rev. 17:5, "Mother of Prostitutes and of all the abominations of the earth". Between the first and last mentions of the city, Linthicum describes the city as follows:-

"A bureacratic, self-serving, dehumanising social system, with economics geared to benefit its privileged and exploit its poor, with politics of oppression, and a religion that ignores covenant with God, and deifies power and wealth" (Linthicum 1991:24). This summary comes from the following Scriptures - Isa. 45:5-21; Jer. 50:2-17; 51:6-10; Dan. 3:1-7; Rev. 17:6; 18:2-19,24.

By contrast Linthicum sees Jerusalem presented in the first book of the Old Testament, with reference to Melchizedek, as the ancient Salem, and ideal city of God. Although there is doubt and debate about the authenticity of Salem being ancient Jerusalem, as seen in the argument of the previous chapter, there is no conclusive reason to reject it. In the last book of the New Testament, Jerusalem is presented as "the holy city", "the new Jerusalem", "coming down out of heaven from God" (Rev. 21:2).

Between these two references, Jerusalem is depicted as the city as God intended it to be, which is, a city having a social system reflecting the "shalom" of God (Ps. 122:6-9; 147:2); having an economic system of just stewardship; and having a political system promoting a just existence (Exod. 25-40). From a spiritual aspect, Jerusalem is seen to be a "model city", living in faith and trust under the sovereignty of God, as recorded in Is. 8:18; Mic. 4:1; Deut. 17:14-20 (Linthicum 1991:25).

While neither of the extremes described in Babylon or Jerusalem ever existed, the point that Linthicum makes is that the evil and good the cities represent in their ideal form, may be found in every city, because every city is understood to be a battleground between God and Satan. To further explain this position, Linthicum investigates the etymology of the word "Jerusalem".

It is interesting to note that Linthicum's findings go further than Skinner's and Payne's, as mentioned in the first chapter.

Following, Millar Burrows, Linthicum refutes the traditionally held meaning of "Jerusalem" as "city of peace", and asserts that it means "foundation of shalem" (Millar Burrows in Linthicum 1991:25-26). As noted earlier, Payne conceded the possible meaning of "foundation" for the first part of the word (Payne in N.B.D. 1962:615). This raises the question of what the meaning of "shalem" might be. Following Gray and Reed, Linthicum gives the explanation that "Shalem" was the local god of Canaan, symbolised by the planet Venus, the evening star (Gray and Reed in Linthicum 1991:25-26). To the Canaanite, "Shalem" meant "completion", and by association with Venus, completion of the day.

This meaning apparently came to be transferred to a place, "Jerushalem", and to the conception of "completion" or "fulfilment". This in turn became the basis for the Hebrew word "shalom" or "peace".

Linthicum refers to the earliest known name for Jerusalem - "Urushalem", (as seen in the discussion of Ch.1), and to the fact that the word under review is "Jerusalem", the name given to the city by David, (also seen in the earlier discussion) where "Je" refers to "Yah" or "Yahweh" and is added to the existing name. Linthicum pushes the point further, by his claim that "Shalem" was understood to be synonymous with the Canaanite gods Ashtar and Molech, which were manifestations of the god Baal. Thus in the name of the city, the tension of the city is expressed. It is both "Je-rusalem" and "Jeru-shalem" - city of God, or city of Baal!

This is the stated position of every city, according to Linthicum, a place of spiritual conflict and tension, the battleground between God and Satan (Linthicum 1991:26).

The evidence of the Old Testament with regard to Yahweh and Baal is important to this study. Yahweh is, as revealed in his name, neither a regional nor a nature deity, but a cosmic deity, "I am who I am" (Exod. 3:14). He is God Who is Creator of all things, Lord of history, the Liberator of the Exodus, but also the God Who called His people to nationhood, individual responsibility and social justice (Linthicum 1991:27).

"What does the Lord require of you, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with your God?" (Mic. 6:8).

In his discussion of Baal, Linthicum states that Baal was also seen to be a cosmic deity for much of the Old Testament period, and excepting Israel and Egypt, worshipped throughout the Ancient Near East, by different names, such as Marduk and Molech.

Baal was first a god of fire and water, and later a god of procreation. As the latter, he became the god of cult prostitution and sexual licence, these attributes being expressed in the ritual of worship at Baal sanctuaries.

Syncretism was widely prevalent in pre-exilic Israel, even though Yahwism was the national faith. During the period of the monarchy, a king's reign was judged according to the degree of his allegiance to Yahweh or Baal, Ahab and Manasseh being roundly condemned for their Baalism by the prophets of their days. The difference between Yahweh and Baal included inter alia Yahweh as the God of Covenant and responsibility and Baal as a god of debauchery and licence. As both groups of followers claimed the unique position for their god, confrontation was unavoidable. But so was the challenge of Elijah (1 Kgs. 18:21) "If the Lord is God, follow Him, but if Baal is god, follow him!" (Linthicum 1991:28).

In the destruction of Jerusalem already mentioned (Jer. 9:13-14) the passage reads ".... because they have forsaken my laws they have followed the Baals". The people had chosen to be *Jerusalem*, rather than *Je-rushalem* and this would be the ongoing

battle, not only of Biblical times but of all times; "Yahweh or Baal, God or Satan, Christ or Caesar". This is the conflict, so Linthicum, that takes place in every city, and involves the battle between "forces of freedom and licence; justice and exploitation; love and lust". Further, these are the forces which are to be found at the "soul" of the city, permeating every structure and system of the city, but are also within each one of us (Linthicum 1991:28).

As he discusses this conflict, Linthicum makes the very important point that he is not promoting Zoroastrian dualism. This is not a battle between two equal powers, but between God the triumphant Creator and Lord of all, and Satan, who is triumphed over, as he is represented in the gods of Egypt, and Babylon, and the kings of those nations. Biblical evidence is seen in the defeat of Pharoah, as well as the story of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel (Exod. 12:35-42; Dan. 1-7). It is further seen in the proclamation made which celebrates the defeat of the Roman Emperor and his cult - "Salvation and glory and power belong to our God" (Rev. 19:1). God is triumphant over all the forces ranged against him! (Linthicum 1991:29).

2.2 Does this assumption find support from Classical, Reformed and Secular theologies

A very brief consideration is included of both Augustine's major work which attempted to understand and address the relationship of Christians to the world, as lived out in the city and Calvin's theological understanding of a Christian city, worked out in his life's work in Geneva. This will be followed by some thoughts from Cox's secular theology of the city.

2.2.1 Augustine The City of God

Augustine's City of God is the heavenly Jerusalem, and his theology is the all inclusive Lordship of Christ over the lives of people. For him the city, at times, merges with the world,

but at all times this is controlled by the relationship of the whole created order to God, and his act of redemption in Christ Jesus.

The pivotal factor in Augustine's thought is that of righteousness. The earthly city is, because of the Fall of humanity by nature sinful, therefore unrighteous, whereas the heavenly city, the heavenly Jerusalem, is perfectly righteous. Augustine's purpose in expounding his theology was to answer the questions of how Christians should relate to their earthly environment, how they should understand it, and his description of such, is in terms of pilgrimage. God's people, redeemed by the Blood of the Lamb, and living in righteousness, in obedience to God's Word, are not part of this present age, but of the age to come.

There are points of contact here with Linthicum's position. Linthicum also sees the heavenly Jerusalem as perfectly righteous and the "ideal" Jerusalem, the model city, as one in which the people of the city live in right relationship, under God's sovereignty. In his discussion of the etymology of Jerusalem, he exposes the choice of the people of God, that of idolatry which is unrighteousness, but also states God's ownership of the city.

Linthicum's purpose is a parallel one, seeking answers to the challenges of the city of today from the point of view of Christian responsibility, how to relate to the needs of the city in 20th century and beyond. When Augustine speaks of "pilgrimage", and the Christian anticipation of the age to come, Linthicum speaks of understanding of the city, in order to become more comprehensively involved.

The expression Augustine uses, age to come is "Powers" language reminiscent of Phil. 3:20 and Eph. 2:19 and discussed in Ch.4 which examines the Biblical use of "Power" language in some detail.

Further considerations of the situation within the earthly city, describe the unrighteousness of the city, as a result of the discontent of people with the fixed social order, and their desire to have other people's positions. This points up the opposite, that of people living in right relationship with one another, which is righteousness. For Augustine, righteousness is a system of right relationships between man and God.

From this, Augustine postulates the earthly city as including all the unrighteous, and goes on to say that, "Two loves have created two cities; love of self, to the contempt of God, the earthly city; love of God to the contempt of self, the heavenly city" (Augustine 1945: Bk. XIV Ch. XXVII).

Discontent, envy, murmuring, opposition describe a conflict situation, and are all contrary to the covenant regulations for political, economic and social wellbeing - what Linthicum would see as belonging to the city of Satan. Where Augustine speaks of "two cities", earthly and heavenly, Linthicum speaks of the "earthly" and "heavenly" - present in every city, Satan and God, unrighteous and righteous, so inevitably conflict.

Augustine's description of the earthly city is one of relative righteousness, where a system of right relationships exists in the legal sphere, reckoning with and adjusting to the sinfulness of human nature, a state of "second best". Here, "dominium" rules, - of government over subjects; owners over property; and masters over slaves. While all dominium is seen by Augustine to be a form of order, and that is good, that order is conditioned by, and relative to the sinfulness of human nature, and is thus only relatively good.

Augustine makes the important point that the state or city is not founded by Satan, but is willed and intended by God. The implication of this is that it is redeemable (Augustine 1945:Bk. XIX).

The following section deals with the systems of the city, political and economic, religious excluded, but with the emphasis on order, which Linthicum sees expressed in God's creative work, and in the structures of the city. Augustine's comments on the "dominium" enforce Linthicum's assertion concerning the "forces of justice and exploitation".

By his comment that cities are not founded by Satan, Augustine seems to be implying that Satan is active in the cities, and the source of the unrighteousness, which is Linthicum's position. The belief that the city is redeemable is the reason for Linthicum's attempted theology.

As regards the cities, Augustine concedes that even those which do not espouse the Christian faith, may yet have a kind of peace; not the peace which is found in Christ, but which comes from living according to the type of government which they have set up, in the best manner that they can. However, the righteousness of all is limited by their sinfulness. According to Augustine, it is perfectly lawful for Christians to profit from the peace of these secular cities, as Jerusalem was to profit from Babylon, ".... pray for the city" (Jer. 29:7). Christians while on earth, but having membership of the heavenly city, were nevertheless under a different government on earth and are "temporary residents" and pilgrims (1 Pet. 2:11).

In considering the relationship between the earthly and heavenly city, Augustine states that there is agreement between the earthly and heavenly cities as regards the preservation of law and order. However, where devotion to the One True God is concerned, there is disagreement between the earthly and heavenly cities, because the laws of religion of the earthly city are ungodly. This is because polytheistic thinkers have introduced "gods" as civil deities into the earthly cities (spiritual forces) so that Christians have no option but the way of dissent, which is also the way of persecution (Augustine 1945:Bk. XXX).

This illustrates the need for God's people to avoid compromise and "If the Lord be God" to "follow Him" (1 Kgs. 18:21) as discussed by Linthicum. It is also an invitation for God's people to become involved in the "peace" of the city - Jer. 29:7: "seek the welfare of the city - in its welfare will be your welfare", "pray for it". In seeking to expose the nature of the battle over the city, Linthicum is most concerned that this should be a tool for urban ministry.

Augustine next discusses the conflict and peace of an earthly city (Augustine 1945:Bk. V, Ch.IV).

The earthly city, he maintains, has all its good on earth, along with the happiness that it can offer, but the problem is, that it is caught up in the conflicts of the flesh, so the happiness is fleeting, and the peace it seeks is often gained by the sword, and so not permanent. If the earthly is all that is sought, he continues, then the outcome must be misery.

In his dealing with the subject of the first city of humankind, that built by Cain, Augustine states that the foundation of that city was laid by one who murdered his own brother (Ch. V). He sees the spiritual conflict which was taking place there, saying that it wasn't as if the two brothers were in competition for the same thing, but that it was envy of the good by the bad. This is reflected in the ongoing conflict between our cities and the city of God.

Furthermore, it is a fact that in every person, good and evil contend; spiritual desire contends with carnal desire. In dealing with the account of the Tower of Babel, Augustine declares it to be the Babylon of history, and describes its attributes as being the "metropolitan city of the realm", the "king's residence", the "chief of all the rest", though "never achieving the perfection that the wicked desired" (Augustine 1945:Vol.11, Bk. V Ch.IV). His description of the effects of Nimrod, the hunter and builder, the "entrapping, persecuting, and

murdering of earthly creatures", transferred to the experiences of the oppressed in cities today, has awful truth in it. (Modern scholars would not accept that Nimrod was Babel's builder).

The punishment of broken communication is likened to the broken communication between God and man.

Jeremiah's prophecy of the New Covenant (Jer. 31:31-34), in Augustine's estimation, is a prophecy of the heavenly Jerusalem, with God Himself as the reward; but the earthly Jerusalem was called "God's City", and had the Temple in its midst. These things were both relations of things acted on earth, and figures of the things of heaven.

Augustine's discussion on Cain as builder of the first city, focuses on the ungodliness in the foundation of the city, much as Linthicum points out the ungodly foundation of "Urushalim", and in both cases conflict results; both studies point out the good and evil in each person. In his dealing with the story of Babel, what is significant from Augustine's side, is the nature of Nimrod, believed to be associated with Babel, which would support Linthicum's Babylon, city of Satan.

Augustine's final point, of the earthly Jerusalem as being the "City of God" - but not the ideal city of Rev. 21:2 is close to Linthicum's position.

What one sees here is the disparity of the two scholars between righteousness and unrighteousness; the presence of both righteousness and unrighteousness in every city; the attributes of Satan in Babel and Jerusalem as both earthly and ideal, as city of God.

Implicit in Augustine is what Linthicum makes explicit in his theological position.

Augustine's work celebrates the victory of the City of God, (even

as Linthicum emphasises God's victory) and he had a profound influence on the theological tradition of the Middle Ages, notably on John Calvin. He took the 16th century back to the idea of a divine general order of the universe, and back to the conception of righteousness based on that idea (Augustine 1945:XXXVI).

This was used by Calvin in his organisation of the city of Geneva, which he attempted to organise as a Christian city, with an ideal church (Wendel 1963:81).

2.2.2 Calvin The City of Geneva

Calvin's thesis was that there were two jurisdictions in the city. One was the civil jurisdiction, the other was the ecclesiastical one, and while there should not be any interference by either in what was rightly theirs, there should be acknowledgement of the specific spheres of influence and mutual respect and support.

For the church, Calvin claimed the "power of the keys", that authority to deal with matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature, such as excommunication, admonishment and appointment of elders or preachers. This was a claim which brought him into ongoing conflict with the Magisterium.

He believed that the powers of church and state were equally divinely willed; the former had spiritual jurisdiction, the latter was meant to look after temporal affairs, and the protection of the church (Wendel 1963:79).

In his Institutes of the Christian Religion, (Calvin 1979:650-676) Calvin expounded his view on the church and state as worked out in the city of Geneva.

His attitude to the relationship between Christians and the state, was different from Augustine's, and in direct opposition

to the Anabaptists who rejected all human authority, giving allegiance to God alone. For Calvin, this was to deny the reality of life as God had established it, and he emphasized that spiritual liberty was perfectly compatible with civil obedience (Calvin 1979:652).

What he did make very clear, though, was that there was no way in which civil obedience could be enjoined on a Christian, if it was in opposition to God's Word, because in the words of Peter, "We must obey God, rather than man" (Acts 5:29).

Interestingly, Calvin describes the purpose of civil government to be not only in the material sphere, but also to protect the proper practice of the Christian religion from all attacks such as idolatry, blasphemy, offence against the religion; as well as society from lawlessness, so, as having a moral and ethical responsibility as well (Calvin 1979:653).

Calvin analyses civil government as follows:

the magistrate who is the guardian of the laws; the laws, according to which he governs and the people, who are governed by the laws and who should obey the magistrate.

From both the Old and New Testaments, Calvin shows that the function of government is a commission from God, and is expected to be just; that those called to govern are expected to do so as God's representatives, bearing in mind the seriousness of their office.

Calvin declared that laws are absurd which disregard God's rights and cater only for what people want. It is not possible to judge the evil, unless one protects the good against the injustices of the bad (Ps. 101:4-6), and aids and protects the oppressed. Where such things are wanting, he continues, the whole fabric of state crumbles (Jer. 21:12; 22:3). He spells out very clearly the requirements of just government such as it being "righteous to take charge of the innocent, to defend and avenge them and set

them free"; and that "it is judgement to withstand the audacity of the wicked, to repress their violence and punish their faults". In terms of the administration of justice to the city, Calvin, while calling for wisdom and integrity, rather than justice without mercy, speaks very plainly against inappropriate clemency. In line with these sentiments, Calvin states that the death penalty for murder is ordained by God (Calvin 1979:658-59).

In terms of laws of countries which do not subscribe to faith in God, Calvin states that all people punish murder, theft, adultery and false witness, albeit differently, so there is a lowest common denominator to be found between nations. However some countries subscribe to the "principle of charity" as a basis for their laws. They give approval to such propositions as "honour among thieves and promiscuous intercourse of the sexes". Laws of such nations Calvin disparages, calling them abhorrent to God (Calvin 1979:664).

Calvin encourages the involvement in public office, and co-operation with the institutions of government, as well as respect for those in office, as God's appointees. He makes the very interesting point that bad government or bad office-bearers may also be there by God's express will, as a form of necessary punishment for the sins of the people, and quotes Jer. 27:5-8, 29:7 as examples.

So unjust government may bring people to their knees, and to prayer and repentance even as God used nations such as Assyria and Babylon to deal with his people in Old Testament times (Calvin 1979:673-74). But, the people needed to exercise discernment. They were to be like Daniel, who knew when he disobeyed the king's edict that he was, in fact, doing what was right, because there was only One whom he could worship (Dan.6:22). They were not to be like those who readily obeyed King Jeroboam, when he ordered them to worship the golden calves, thus sinning against God (Hos. 5:11). This was not to say that choosing to do what was right in God's sight would necessarily

bring them blessing. Resisting one in authority who was wielding that authority in a sinful way could be very dangerous (Prov. 16:14).

In Calvin's theology, we see two "forces" described - "spiritual" and civil; church and state; religion and politics - which Calvin used in his attempt to make Geneva a "city of God". His aim for the city is Linthicum's aim for the city of the 20th century. His starting point was the sovereignty of God, even as Linthicum affirms God's Lordship over the city.

Calvin also believed the religious and civil institutions to be ordained by God, but even civil obedience was subject to God's authority. In so saying, Calvin conceded that within the civil institutions there was that which opposed God, hence a conflict situation in the city, which fits Linthicum's position of conflict between God and Satan.

Linthicum saw Calvin's analysis of civil government as being political, religious and economic systems, their corruption by the Satanic powers or choice of righteous operation, being reflected in the "soul" of the city.

Where Calvin and Linthicum share very strong common ground, is in their emphasis on involvement of Christians in the life of the city, through its institutions. The underlying reason for both, is that this would be a major factor in the transformation of the city's systems - from unrighteous to righteous.

2.2.3 Cox The Secular City

We move now out of the Biblical and Reformation theology into a secular theology of the city, based on Harvey Cox's "The Secular City" (Cox 1968). In this work, Cox is at pains to strip away all that clouds the revelation of God, in order that he might the more readily and clearly be discerned in his relationship with human beings, and the cities where they live.

He defines "secular" as meaning "this present age" (not in the understanding of the Biblical Powers language) or "this world of change", as opposed to the eternal, religious world (Cox 1968:32-33). He sees secularisation as a historical process, and irreversible, a liberating process, with regard to closed religious mindsets (Cox 1968:34). His view is that the process of secularisation brings about the "death" of God, where God is understood in superstitious, taboo type, fear-ridden beliefs. It is also a view of God which is contrary to the God of the Bible, although it must be said that the religion of those professing Biblical faith can sometimes sound more like superstition than faith!

For Linthicum, "this world of change" is firmly bound to the eternal, as the cities are the locus of God's action for humankind, and his theology is also aimed at changing "closed religious mindsets", in order to promote understanding of the city, and the Christian responsibility to it.

What Cox does, is to take the onus for human enterprise out of the hands of God, and place it squarely in the hands of human beings, separated from "divine interference".

This is a questionable position, because it has the danger of projecting human beings into the place of God, and relegates all moral and ethical codes to the domain of man's choice, and away from any absolute value. This is one of Cox's deliberate aims, which he covers under the heading of, "The Sinai Covenant as the Deconstruction of Values" (Cox 1968:44-50). Here he postulates the relativisation of all values, there being no enduring values. The effect of this is confusion and a sense of futility, because it is a life with no norms which has the effect of cutting one adrift and poses the question as to the meaning of life. While Cox is quite aware of this difficulty, he nevertheless considers it an acceptable risk because everyone is in the same boat, in the "land of broken symbols" (Cox 1968:48). His interesting point, and one that from the point of view of this thesis must

be challenged, is the belief that the state is divinely ordained and is one of those broken symbols. It is now seen to be the creation of human beings. This is a viewpoint most vigorously opposed by urban practitioners such as Linthicum, as well as Augustine and Calvin. Linthicum views the city as God's creation, but given over to the enterprise and creativity of humankind to build and develop (Linthicum 1991:28), but as humanity's lordship over nature is meant to be, with accountability to God, and on the basis of social justice, godly economics, and righteous government.

That this is a belief generally held in Western "technopolitan" cities is so. However the results of that assumption are challenged by the massive problems facing society. These include escalating social and economic problems in the cities, such as the signs of human despair, manifested in chemical addictions and increasing episodes of bizarre behaviour reaching the headlines. These problems of necessity pose two arguments against the popular position. The first is simply that human beings are free agents under God, not separated from him. They can choose to obey his moral and ethical code or not, but they can never do so with impunity, as Linthicum shows in the case of Jerusalem. The second is that precisely this stance put forward by Cox, where humanity becomes "God", in the sense of being in full control of their lives, is idolatry. As such it is the inevitable source of demonisation of the city systems. This is Linthicum's point in his discussion of Jerusalem and Babylon as will become apparent in the chapter on the "soul" of the city.

A further way in which Cox envisages the secularisation of society, is by what he calls "Creation as the disenchantment of nature" (Cox 1968:36-38). This is positive, in that it "takes the magic" out of the created order by the understanding of God as Creator, separate from his creation, and as humans distinct from the order of nature. This is particularly important from the point of view of animistic and pantheistic type religious beliefs. It is precisely the Old Testament faith from which this

understanding comes. As Cox rightly points out, this kind of freeing of nature from the control of the gods was essential for the development of science and technology which, in the last quarter of the 20th century, has been one of the factors involved in urbanisation. Linthicum's theology of the battle between God and Satan for control of the city is based on Old and New Testament records, is not superstitious, and affirms and celebrates the city, seeking its development.

Cox's third hypothesis is, "The Exodus as the desacralisation of Politics" (Cox 1968:39-44). Here again Cox has some positive points, but the basis of his argument is that God has acted in history to create a new social order, and one with abiding warnings to any human plans to overstep the mark as regards seizing power. What strikes one about this, is that it is a contradiction of the statement that man is an autonomous human agent, no longer under God.

The new social order that God instituted in Israel was that of leadership by competency, not pseudo-divinity, which has been responsible for the attitude of the Judeo-Christian religion being prepared to challenge the state, and not being bound to it. While this might be true to a certain extent, it must also be said that the church has often been tied to the state, from Constantine onwards, and most recently, that was our own experience in this country. Nonetheless, it is conceded that the teaching is there which allows that critical evaluation of the state. Linthicum's city praxis is strongly confrontational with regard to the city systems, as expounded in his book "Empowering the Poor" (Linthicum 1991).

Cox points to Augustine's definition of the relationship between church and state, by which the state is given only provisional worth (Cox 1968:41). The early church gave only a conditional acceptance to the political authority of the day. They were willing to pray for the emperor, but not burn incense at his altar; thus granting him conditional power, as defined by the

church, but not spiritual authority, because that was God's prerogative alone.

Cox's view that the presence of the Biblical faith would prevent sacralisation in the urbanised technological world (Cox 1968:44) is questionable, if its claims are denied as irrelevant for the 20th century and the "technopolitan" city. If one set of values is removed, it will always be replaced by another. If the values removed are religious or spiritual, the human being will find something else to worship, even if that turns out to be the god technology. Linthicum would seek to prove Cox right, as regards sacralisation of technology, by strengthening the faith and praxis of the church, and its involvement in the city's systems. Having dealt with these three aspects of secularisation, Cox goes on to examine the secular city.

The features he mentions include the understanding that it is based on its social institutions, with special emphasis on a communications network, mobility and anonymity. Added to these is the freedom experienced by many as a result of the anonymity (Cox 1968:51). Cox acknowledges that loneliness is a reality in the city, but that city-dwellers cope with it, so he tends to brush it aside. Whether this is as easy as all that is debatable, especially for newcomers from the rural environment. Mobility has its own effects. It causes people to be distanced from their particular "holy place", the result of which is destructive for their religious practice (Cox 1968:67). Another effect is that it makes people less rigid, and more open to change, which is good, but can become toleration, accepting anything, which is not good (Cox 1968:64). In "Empowering the Poor" Linthicum addresses the negative effects of city life by strategies such as "networking" and "community organisation" (Linthicum 1991).

Cox makes the insightful point that Israel's God was mobile, which was seen in the Ark of the Covenant being mobile (Cox 1968:68-69). He was the God of the Exodus, travelling with his

people. When the Ark was placed in the sanctuary in Jerusalem, God was not localised there, but moved with his people to Babylon during the exile. This was an important lesson that they had to learn, but as they did, their faith was strengthened, and their hope revived. Today's equivalent, as stated by Linthicum in Ch. 1, is the proclamation that "God is in the city", even as he was in Jerusalem or Babylon, moving with his people.

This too, is relevant for Christians. Jesus of Nazareth had no permanent home yet replaced the Temple with his own body, and moved through death and resurrection to ascension into heaven. This also demonstrates mobility, and prevents localisation in any shrine (Cox 1968:69-70). It also has the effect of emphasizing to Christians that they are pilgrims, with no permanent home in this world. (In this Cox is in good company, with Augustine). He says, "The Bible doesn't tell us to renounce mobility", but to "go to the place where I have sent you" (Cox 1968:71). Today, that is to the city of the 1990's, to the place where God's sovereignty and redemptive involvement are being systematically denied, but not by all, as is evidenced by those city practitioners who are attempting to deal with the effects of secularisation, in the urban explosion of 20th century.

2.3 Critique

To sum up, Augustine, Calvin and Cox are three theologians who worked in the cities of their own time. For Augustine, this was the 4th to early 5th centuries C.E., for Calvin, the 16th century C.E., and for Cox the 20th century C.E.

In the very brief examination of their thinking, it would seem that Augustine and Calvin state implicitly what Linthicum states explicitly, which is, the conflict between God and Satan in the life of the city.

Cox, on the other hand, presents the view that is in utter contradiction of Augustine and Calvin, denies God a place in the

city, and advocates the jettisoning of all received belief systems, for the reconstruction of a value system freed from the beliefs of the past. This is the thinking of the 20th century secular world view which directly challenges Linthicum's position. However it is itself challenged by Linthicum's position, which from within the received theological tradition and having a critical perception of it, nevertheless seeks a Biblical theology of the city which will be effective in the mega-cities of the 20th century. For Linthicum, this is not a handing over of the cities to human control, but a call to the cities to understand their origin and identity in God, and to realise their "shalom" by fulfilling their God-given purpose for their existence. To this end, for him, it can never be a handing over of the cities to human control, but the re-affirmation of the Biblical understanding which informed theology down the centuries, that spiritual forces, God and Satan, are in battle for the "soul" of the city.

CHAPTER 3 WHAT IS LINTHICUM'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE "SOUL" OR INNER SPIRITUALITY OF A CITY, AND HOW DOES IT DEVELOP?

The first point that Linthicum makes is that the naive blindness of the church to the depth of personal and corporate evil in the city, is the main reason for the ineffectiveness of her urban work and witness, and that the need to address this blindness is crucial for the church's impact on the city (Linthicum 1991:42).

He then points out that a city's sin starts off as personal sin, spreading to more and more of the city's inhabitants, until the city itself becomes possessed by that sin, as was the case of Sodom recorded in Gen. 19 (Linthicum 1991:41) . But the question remains as to what the roots of a city's evil might be?

Linthicum cites the position of evangelical Protestantism which is that sin and salvation are individual and makes the very valid point that this is an incomplete approach in that it comprehends neither the depth of evil, nor the scope of Christ's saving work (Linthicum 1991:44) .

His own position, which he states as true to the Biblical position, is that sin is both individual and corporate (Linthicum 1991:45). From his earliest days of ministry in an inner city area, his realisation developed that the sin of a city is far greater than the sum of the sins of its individuals. He encountered the "corporate, systemic nature of urban evil", and came to the realisation that the systems of the city could become "corrupt, grasping, oppressive, exploitative", and be protected by equally corrupted "corporate power" (Linthicum 1991:46).

In order to make a difference, he asserts that to transform the lives of the individuals of the city, the starting point for the church has to be dealing with the systems and structures of evil in the city. These systems Linthicum defines as economic, political and religious, where the latter word, from the Latin,

means "to structure" or "give ordered meaning to life" (Linthicum 1991:47). These systems include all the social institutions of the city.

3.1 The "soul" or inner spirituality of the city is both individual and corporate/systemic sin

3.1.1 An introduction from the Prophets

Having started his theology from the base of the city, as a battleground between God and Satan for control of the city, Linthicum continues to develop his theology of the city with an insightful account of the personal and systemic evil which pervades a city. In so doing he turns to the prophetic corpus, with special reference to Isaiah and Jeremiah (Linthicum 1991:41).

Linthicum's analysis of their prophetic insight is that it is an exploration of the "nature, breadth and depth of Israel's sin", which, in view of the fact that they were both prophets living and working in Jerusalem, means that it was in the first instance an effort to comprehend Jerusalem's sin. Quoting Is. 58:59, and Jer. 19:22, he shows God's assessment of Israel in answer to their apparent faithfulness in worship and relationship with God. Is. 58:3 records the question, why is God silent in the face of their religious practice? This is met with the answer spelling out their unacceptable behaviour whilst appearing to worship God (Is. 58:4); and with what God requires of them, and sees as true worship, (Is. 58:6-7). This includes justice and compassion for the poor.

The prophet's confession of the nation's sin reveals what is going on in the nation or city (Is. 59:12-14). The powerless are unjustly treated; the poor are oppressed; and the workers are exploited. Because they have chosen to act in this way, there is no longer truth and honesty in the city. For Jeremiah there is more to it (Jer. 19:3-5; 22:8-9). The sins so far described

are evidence of an underlying problem, which is the sin of idolatry.

The sins of a city's people may include those mentioned in Isaiah, spelled out as self-indulgence, economic injustice, exploitation, and oppression of the less powerful. Social sins such as these are manifestations of a people given over to the service of "other gods". Linthicum lists these as "money, power, prestige, or the commitment to their own group" in place of centering their city's life in the worship of God (Linthicum 1991:42).

Linthicum goes on to explain the corruption of the city itself, the city of Jerusalem, by allusion to Ezek. 16, which records the story of Jerusalem's history, as re-capitulated by the prophet of the exile. The features he brings out include the gradual decline of the city's relationship with God; the decline and destruction of the "soul" of the city, which comes about as she chooses little by little to abandon God. As is shown in the passage, the end result of this is devastation both for people and city, as was the very real experience of the people at the time of the exile, because, to choose idolatry, is to reject the only One who is able to save, and that salvation necessarily includes dealing with both individual and corporate sin.

3.1.2 God's requirements for a godly spirituality in the city

In order to get to the roots of a city's sin, Linthicum proposes an examination of the requirements for a godly city, followed by an examination of the process whereby such a city might become increasingly corrupted and evil. This involves an examination of the development of the "systems" of the city (Linthicum 1991:47).

For this, his starting point is Moses' address to the people of Israel, preparing them to enter the promised land, as recorded in Deut. 6. In this Moses lays the foundation for nation and

city building, putting in place the three basic social systems.

The first was the religious system: "A religion of relationship" (Deut. 6:4-6; 14-16), where the chief cornerstone was not to be ritual, but relationship with God (Linthicum 1991:48).

The second was the political system: "A politics of Justice" (Deut. 6:6-9; 17-19). As Linthicum points out the key to a "politics of justice" is a love relationship with God (Linthicum 1991:49). They were to keep the commandments, all of which had to do with justice and included the "re-distribution of wealth to the poor". As Yoder comments, had such a law been honoured, not only by the people of Israel, but by the Christians, "many a bloody revolution would have been averted" (Yoder 1972:77).

Then further, there was to be the protection of the widow, the divorcee, the orphan, the sick and enfeebled, the visitor or stranger; liberation of those enslaved; limitations on the power of rulers; justice in warfare; safeguarding the rights of women.

These were to inform the nation's or the city's life, and be the foundation of a godly existence. Linthicum notes that a fatal flaw in so many revolutionary social remedies, including Marxism, is that people are believed to be perfect, which is neither experientially nor Biblically true. This flawed view of human nature has led to the failure of the social system thus instituted. In radical contrast to such social theory, is this directive in Deut. 6, which deals not with ideas of perfection, but of justice. Only by understanding God as the source of justice, could the people understand their just actions as a response of gratitude to God.

The "Economics of Stewardship" (Deut. 6:10-12) was the third system (Linthicum 1991:50). The basis for this system is the radically different view of ownership held by Israel.

This is the theme of Sider's well known work, which employs the

same Biblical understanding of economic administration (Sider 1977). The key to the Biblical approach to stewardship is the understanding that God is the owner of all the earth, and that what nations or individuals "owned", was actually only theirs in trust from God, to be used responsibly, and understanding their accountability for it. That is such a radically opposite view from Western, capitalist economic policies that it simply would not ever be contemplated, yet, in the tribal systems of Africa, it would not be questioned. But such an understanding of land and property puts the emphasis not on possession which includes greed, competitiveness and covetousness, already forbidden in the commandments (Exod. 20:17) but on caring, sharing and helping one another. The understanding of equality and corporate existence, or community, in relationship with their God, was built into the very fibre of the nation of Israel, and reinforced by later writers when Israel's failure to live accordingly brought its consequences.

It was from this understanding that Canaan, with all that was in it, including the cities, was given to Israel as a gift. Those three systems were to be the basis upon which the people built and developed the nation and cities, in a pagan land, where the people worshipped other gods, lived by different principles, and would have a hostile attitude to Israel and her God (Linthicum 1991:48). They were "controls", put in place to protect Israel from the corrupting forces of wealth, possessions and pagan religion.

3.1.3 The Development of an ungodly spirituality in the City

What happened was that for a period close on 200 years, the nation lived by these rules (Linthicum 1991:51). Then over a period of time, into centuries, a slow, but ongoing process began, whereby political power became the possession of only two of the twelve tribes; wealth accumulated in the hands of specific families; obedience to the law began a slide into outright disobedience, and Israel's source of power, her unique

relationship with God, was dissipated. This in turn led to her rejection of God as her King, and the demand for a king, so as to be like the other nations round about (1 Sam. 8:4-5,7). This was the beginning of the decay of Israel's inner life, and the corruption of the city's systems by its people, so that they became demonic, and began to generate evil (Linthicum 1991:52). In order to consider how the corruption of the systems developed, Linthicum selects the three kings of Israel whom he sees to be key figures in this process (Linthicum 1991:53-56). They were Solomon, Ahab and Josiah.

With Solomon there was the introduction of the *economics of privilege* and exploitation (Linthicum 1991:53). Under his rule, Israel's borders were extended to their furthest reaches, power and wealth accumulated, and magnificent building projects were undertaken; but there was a price to pay for all that. There developed a polarisation among the people in terms of wealth. Solomon's wealth and extravagance were legendary. The monarchy meant the necessity of a court with all its retainers, and land ownership. Along with this went increasing power and wealth in the hands of a particular group. At the other end of the scale was forced labour, by both fellow Israelites and foreigners alike. It was slave labour, in a nation which had been specifically warned of the consequences of enslaving any other Israelites. This, on the grounds of their own corporate experience of slavery in Egypt, an experience vividly remembered each year at the Passover (Exod. 12). However, there was worse to come (Linthicum 1991:53-56).

The next deeply damaging reign was that of Ahab, who practised the *politics of oppression* (Linthicum 1991:56). Linthicum sees Ahab's reign as revolving around the issue of power. He practised religious and political oppression of the people, attempting to break Israel's commitment to Yahweh, in which lay her commitment to political justice, that which prevented Ahab from seizing absolute control (1 Kgs. 16:28f). His introduction and promotion of Baal worship was thus (so Linthicum) a political

move, not a religious one, and was foiled by Elijah. But equally serious was the only other episode that is featured in the record of his reign, that of his appropriation of Naboth's vineyard. The issue here, as Linthicum points out, was that of final authority; and in this case, Ahab proved himself to be the final authority, in place of Yahweh, God of Israel. He proved himself to be above the Law, and a threat to the wealthy and ruling classes, not just the common people, because Naboth was a member of the former (Linthicum 1991:56-58).

The third king to be involved in the "demonisation" of the systems was Josiah, best known for his religious reforms and piety! This was in fact the cause of his downfall, because it turned out to be the *religion of control* (Linthicum 1991:58). What was involved in his reform was the removal of all the shrines and artefacts of Baal worship; and the institution of all the ritual practices and observance of the religious code. This latter included the destruction of those shrines to Yahweh, which were outside of Jerusalem, as worship was centralised in the city. It also espoused religious separation from the nations round about, and forced strict religious conformity on everyone; but, one person was not impressed by it, and that was Jeremiah, who saw in it no return to the social justice of the Mosaic Covenant. The crucial self-deception of the reform was that of cause and effect. If Yahweh could not bless unless they obeyed the ritual law, then going through the motions must ensure blessing. However, Jeremiah knew that it was only changed lives that would ensure blessing.

Linthicum sees Jeremiah's concern being with the future of Israel's faith. The record of Israel's faith through the years of monarchy, had been one of continuing battle between the prophets and the priests, representing the Covenant faith versus national religion. This represented the difference between concern with political justice, economic equality and individual responsibility, versus emphasis on the liturgical or sacral side of life. With Josiah this developed into official religion,

replacing the servant character of Israel's religion with the basis for a religion of the law. This was an example of religion seducing the nation's systems, which makes religion one of the "Powers" (Linthicum 1991:58-60).

Linthicum concludes his exposition of the corruption of the systems of the city or nation by a summary of Ezek. 22 (Linthicum 1991:61-62). His conclusion is that Jerusalem, the city of God, had become the idolatrous city, which he calls "the city of Satan". Her spirituality had changed from good to evil and had this reputation among the nations (Ezek. 22:3-4).

This is attributed to the corruption of each one of the systems; the political system (Ezek. 22:6-7,25); the religious system (Ezek. 22:8-9,26); and the economic system (Ezek. 22:12-13,27). The result of this was that the prophets, whose task it was to keep the leaders from going astray, had been seduced, captured by the systems (Ezek. 22:28). The last category to become victim to this seduction was that of the ordinary people, who began to oppress one another (Ezek. 22:8-11,29).

The political rulers had oppressed the defenceless, to enrich themselves; the economic powers had resorted to bribery, usury excessive interest and extortion; the religious leaders had endorsed these activities, and received payment for it. Worst of all, the prophets, referred to in Israel as the "eyes" of the nation, had become blinded by the "power, wealth and control" of the systems, and were unable to call them to account; and the ordinary people had "internalised the values of their leaders" (Linthicum 1991:62). The end result was the total seduction of the city, and the change in its spirituality from a godly spirituality to a Satanic spirituality - dark, brooding and evil.

Having described the development of systemic evil in the city, Linthicum takes it further, pointing to a force greater than human sinfulness at work in the cities, the "principalities and powers", and makes the point strongly that the Biblical

understanding of the principalities and powers, especially their demonic dimensions, is essential for the church's effective ministry to the cities (Linthicum 1991:63).

3.1.4 The soul or inner spirituality of the city

What then are these "demonic dimensions"? For Linthicum, they are "angelic beings" which "brood" or "hover" over each unit of society (Linthicum 1991:73). He is well aware of the fact that this is a problematic position, because the concept of angelic beings has been dismissed in the secular, scientific society of the Western 20th century world. That the concept is viewed as being used by a "pre-scientific people to explain an apparently indescribable phenomenon of reality" (Linthicum 1991:73). However, his argument against this position, in view of the fact that the Bible has so many references to angels, is that the Biblical writers, with minds unprejudiced by a scientific world view may well have grasped a reality which is being missed today. Dawson devotes two chapters of his book to both a summary of the Biblical references to angels, and contemporary experiences of angelic beings (Dawson 1989).

He then refers to the Biblical evidence of the relationship between cities and angels, specifically the "brooding" angel, as mentioned above. This concept comes from the creation story, where the Hebrew word *rachaph* means "to brood" or "hover". Linthicum sees God's Spirit as "hovering protectively" or "guarding" the earth he had just created. Another picture is brooding over it as a hen broods over her chicks.

That each unit of society had its brooding angel, Linthicum shows from Rev. 2,3 - the letters to each of the "angels" of the seven churches of Asia Minor. That cities and nations have their own "brooding angel", for protection and help, is documented in 2 Kgs. 19:35-36, where Jerusalem's angel defeats the Assyrians, thus causing her deliverance. In Deut. 32:8-9, God assigns angels to the nations. Linthicum understands "bene elohim" in

Job 1:6, "the sons of the gods", usually taken to refer to angels, as being "guardian angels", but whether of individuals, cities, or nations, he does not elucidate.

In Dan. 10:1 - 11:2, (the account of the angels of Persia and Greece, God's messenger angel and the Archangel Michael) insight is given into the power associated with angelic beings, and from that, their ability to exert profound influence on nations, cities and systems of the city. This is shown by the extremely powerful opposition and resistance they were able to exert, to prevent the messenger angel getting through, and the extent of the battle needed to overcome them.

Linthicum's response to this story is to encourage his readers to look beyond the modern secular scientific world view, to see the truth that is being revealed here. This he sees to be, that everything in life has a spiritual dimension. Taking the example of the political system of a city, he states that this is greater than the sum of its parts. It is "infused with a spiritual essence", having "unexplored inner depths", and that this is what constitutes its "soul". For Linthicum the "angel of a city" is the inner spirituality that broods over the city, and has great power, either for evil or for good. Under God's authority, it exerts godly angelic power and influence. Under Satan's authority, it is demonic in power and influence. He holds that not only every unit of society, but every structure of society has its own inner spirituality whether church, economic institutions, political order, neighbourhoods, families or individuals. Whereas this has the capacity for good, in Linthicum's view and experience, what is most often seen is a city succumbing to the spirit of "lust, greed, power, money, possessions, pride and parochialism" (Linthicum 1991:75-77).

To place this in a wider perspective, and in relation to Linthicum's thesis that the city is a battleground between God and Satan for the control of the people and systems of the city, Linthicum traces levels of control in the city, which lead back

to Satan - the "father of lies" (Jn. 8:44). It is he who stands behind the seduction of the city's systems and structures, as well as the principalities and powers that form the spiritual essence of those systems; and behind the dark and destructive angel brooding over the city in order to possess it (Linthicum 1991:77).

According to Linthicum, Satan has an urban strategy, this is, to gain control of the soul of the city by seduction of the systems, through the principalities and powers. The effect of his seduction of the systems is felt at every level of the life of the city. It is felt by the systems, the people, in individual and family life and by formal and informal groups. Having accomplished this seduction, he is able to shape the "interior spirituality", or "brooding angel" or "soul" of the city.

One might wonder, seeing a tidy sequence neatly recorded, how it is possible in the real life situation for this seduction to take place. The basic answer that Linthicum gives is - unbelief! He sees it as a failure of leadership to discern the spiritual dimension, because they do not believe that it exists. They believe that they are in full control! While this may be cause for concern, a reason for far greater concern is the failure of the church in this realm. This comes down to the inward looking focus of the church, often all but divorced from the realities of the life of the city in which the church is supposed to function. Thus, the church is not aware of Satan's strategy and, sadly, is in many of its parts, as unbelieving of the realm of Satan, demons and angels, as is the secular world around it.

The effect of this is that what should be the power base from which to confront Satan in the place of power in the city, is reduced to a non-threatening entity. From Lk. 13:34, Jesus' lament over Jerusalem, Linthicum makes the point that Christ himself desired to brood over the city protectively, and to infuse its systems with righteousness, but that the city rejected this (Linthicum 1991:77-78).

Summing up, Linthicum suggests that what one senses in a city, of its "atmosphere", is in fact the "soul of the city", its "inner spirituality" or "brooding angel". He illustrates this from his own experience of the impression made on him by the city of Calcutta (Linthicum 1991:65). It was "... a profoundly dark and permeating impression....", a "profoundly evil presence brooding over the city, holding it captive...". He later discovered that Calcutta is dedicated to the goddess "Kali", the goddess of darkness, evil and destruction in the Hindu pantheon. This is its "soul", "brooding angel" or inner spirituality.

As has been shown in the discussion of the development of systemic evil in the city, the "soul" or inner spirituality of a city is a product of its history, significant events, environment, systems and people. This requires careful research so as to be able to name, expose and engage the inner spirituality of the city, in order to redemptively transform its life (Linthicum 1991:66).

In considering Linthicum's use of Biblical texts a point that needs to be made is that his focus is not on textual problems, contemporary scholarly hypotheses or comparative arguments. From his own research he highlights those points which he considers relevant to the discussion of his thesis. In his handling of the texts he reveals a strong bias towards the Mosaic covenant religion which was a feature of the prophetic message. This is appropriate to his argument as it reveals the ongoing conflict between the two fundamentally different religious and social systems defined in Yahwism and Canaanite culture. Features of this conflict such as social inequalities, injustice and deprivation are attested by sociologists in studies of the pre-monarchic (Yahwistic) and monarchic (pro-Canaanite) periods (Chaney 1986). Linthicum probes this conflict concluding that its cause is spiritual in origin, then seeks to apply his conclusions to the modern day context in which he is working.

Linthicum receives support for his view of Ahab as an oppressive

ruler from Chaney, who states that he had taken firm control of the reigns of power even before his father's death. Chaney further develops this view of Ahab by a comparison of the reign of Ahab with that of Solomon, showing its effect on the peasant population of the land. He suggests that Ahab's reign may have been even more oppressive than Solomon's (Chaney 1986).

From Mendenhall there is an assessment of the religious aspects of Solomon's reign which he describes as a "sophisticated and deliberate blend of Yahwistic and age-old Syro-Palestinian ritual and theology" (Mendenhall 1983). In this way also Ahab's reign closely resembled Solomon's, in his marriage to Jezebel and the building of a temple to Baal Melkart in Samaria (1 Kgs. 16:31-33). While Jezebel zealously promoted Baal worship and attempted to eliminate allegiance to Yahweh by killing the prophets of Yahweh, there is no evidence that Ahab did so, although it seems that he sought Elijah's life (1 Kgs. 18:4-18). Nevertheless, he would be guilty by association because in not restraining that activity, he evidenced tacit approval of it. His confrontation with Elijah and Jezebel's threat to kill Elijah suggest that it was Elijah, standing in the line of Mosaic prophetism, that broke the ascendancy of Baalism during Ahab's reign.

Moving on to the episode of Naboth's vineyard. Ahab's request for the land struck right to the heart of Mosaic religious beliefs concerning land tenure. This was related to the experience of the Exodus, where the sovereignty of Yahweh over the Egyptian king, on behalf of the poor had been established. Yahweh alone was king, and the land belonged to him. Land was distributed to the people in the context of extended families, as an inalienable inheritance (Chaney 1986). The sale of this land was prohibited because it was the inheritance provided for the succeeding generations (Num. 36:7f). While Ahab knew this and was frustrated by the practice of the Law, Jezebel, who did not respect Yahweh or the Mosaic covenant, acted to fulfil the king's will. In this way, as Linthicum asserts, what the king desired overruled what Yahweh required of his people and

therefore put Ahab above the Law.

Reflecting on Linthicum's argument from the understanding of South Africa in the apartheid years as a "religious nation", and the prophetic assessment of Israel, the "religious nation" above all, there is an unresolved perplexity. How can a "religious" nation practise and maintain racial discrimination, gross injustice, oppression and exploitation? How can this exist alongside the religious teaching of compassion, "agape", mercy and justice, where the central teaching is servanthood and humility? This surely describes an ideology supported by the control of religion.

Then there is the contrast of the excessive wealth of one sector of the population, and the abject poverty of the other group. Along with this is the fact that the accumulation of wealth is an obsessive concern for so many. This is seen in the "workaholic" syndrome and the store laid by wealth and possessions. It is also manifested in the pressure to achieve, exerted on people or even generated by them. This suggests an idolatry of Mammon and surely describes the control of materialism.

These three forces - religion, ideology and materialism, seem to be the ruling forces directing every part of the life of this nation, and experienced in its cities, by its people. But these translate into Linthicum's Biblical categories; the religious, political and economic systems which control the life of the nation or city. Their values are believed and interiorised, and thus perpetuated, either consciously or uncontrollably. This forces us to look beyond, and to postulate a spiritual controlling force at work. This would appear to support Linthicum's position of the "soul" or spirituality of a city or nation. However, this needs to be further tested, against a more extensive examination of the Biblical powers.

CHAPTER 4 CAN LINTHICUM'S CLAIMS FOR THE PRESENCE AND ACTION OF EVIL SPIRITUAL POWERS WITHIN A CITY BE SUBSTANTIATED FROM A STUDY OF THE POWERS OF BIBLICAL TIMES?

We come now to the underlying assumption that stands behind Linthicum's contention that every city has a "soul" or inner spirituality, that is, that what we perceive around us as our material world is not the whole picture, and that, permeating the visible world is the invisible spiritual world, which operates whether recognised or not, and however conceived of and articulated. This is not an attempt to escape from the challenges and responsibilities of life, even less a retrogression into some fetish ridden superstition in which everything has power which must be appeased. It is a call, in the midst of the rampant evil of our society to take seriously the Biblical understanding of, and testimony to, the Powers, as they form an inalienable part of both Old Testament and New Testament life. It is a plea to take seriously the truths embodied in the Biblical account of the Powers, and to realise, following Caird, that there is a "rational content of thought" being expressed in "mythological language", which comes not just from a received tradition, but out of personal experience (Caird 1956).

In so doing, through the church the Powers may be confronted with the wisdom of God; their evil defeated, and their redemption through the redeeming love of God in the Cross of Jesus Christ, made known and available to them.

In order to understand the Powers, we need to work within the framework of the Biblical mindset, and also with an understanding of the language used to describe the various instances of power within both Old Testament and New Testament. As with so many other themes in the Old Testament particularly, the concept of power underwent development through time and expansion through contact with other nations, religions and ideologies. It was

only in the intertestamental period that many of the concepts that are an accepted part of traditional Christian beliefs, became crystallized and are found embedded in the fibre of the New Testament.

Reading through either Old Testament or New Testament, one continually encounters references to spiritual power or beings or happenings, but it is important to understand that this did not constitute, for the Ancient Israelite, superstitious fear, but security, wellbeing and even pride, because Yahweh had acted in history, and revealed himself not only as a local deity, but as God of creation, therefore of nature. Everything was under his rule and authority.

The Biblical world view is an holistic one, in which visible and invisible are understood to be parts of one reality; the visible having its counterpart in the invisible, the natural in the supernatural, and the earthly in the heavenly.

4.1 What may be learnt from the Pre-Exilic period of the Old Testament concerning spiritual powers or beings

This era of the Old Testament gives evidence of religious beliefs of earliest antiquity, and a period when the religious faith of monotheistic Yahwism was being established, and gaining supremacy over the gods of the nations. It is interesting to note that there was never a question in Israel as to whether other gods existed, but an assertion that Yahweh was *the* God. This was proved in the power encounters with the nations, during the time of the Exodus and beyond, when Yahweh's supremacy was established in the victories over the nations.

What is of interest here is the way that the god of the nation can be mentioned as the nation, for example Moab is called "the land of Chemosh". This reflects the belief that the god was localised in that particular place. By contrast, Yahweh was seen to be present to Israel wherever they were, at Mount Sinai or in

Canaan, as mentioned in the very early text of Jdg. 5:4-5. So Yahweh was not localised, and references to his "dwelling place", give the understanding of a "dynamic presence", not a confined presence (Eichrodt 1967:190-91).

However, there was also the belief of his dwelling place as being in heaven. This is seen in the names or attributes of Yahweh, "Most High", "Creator" and very significantly, "Elohim", which sums up in him all the gods of the world of that time (Eichrodt 1967:190). This we find in such texts as Gen. 19:24, 24:7; Ps. 18:9. Along with this understanding, there was the understanding of the angels of God, which can be variously referred to as "messengers" or the "sons of God", or "holy ones" (Ps. 89:6,8) or "mighty ones" (Ps. 103:20), to give but a few of the names ascribed to these heavenly beings. Eichrodt sees the concept of angels as having a very early, pre-Mosaic origin, and cites as an example of this, Gen. 6:1-4 (Eichrodt 1967:194). Against Wink, Eichrodt states that the angels were nowhere considered to be phenomena, but personal beings of a supernatural kind (Eichrodt 1967:196; Wink 1984).

The heavens played a great part in the development of the concept of angels, especially as regards the stars which were also referred to as the "host of heaven" (Josh. 5:13-15; Jdg. 5:20). Much of this belief could have been assimilated from Mesopotamian star worship. On the other hand, the Canaanite deities were also included in the council of Yahweh once "demoted" from their place as the gods of the nations (Eichrodt 1967:196-97).

What emerges is evidence of a strong acceptance of these intermediaries in the faith of pre-Exilic Israel, and the effect of the angelic host was to point to the greatness of Yahweh. All in all, the concept, even from this earliest time, was an extremely complex one.

Ps. 82 is helpful in giving an idea of the picture of the heavenlies that was held in this period; that of Yahweh as God

of gods, in his heavenly council, surrounded by the "gods" (Caird 1956:3f; Wink 1984:27f).

Various duties were allotted to the angelic beings in this period, such as protector (Gen. 33:10, 24:7); escort (Exod. 23:20-23); executing judgement (Exod. 12:23); worship (Ps. 29). Deut. 32:8, which is a later text, gives evidence of a very early belief, that an angel was assigned to every nation, as their ruler, which rule they were supposed to exercise responsibly before God. According to Deut. 4:19,20 each nation had its own angel, but Israel was Yahweh's own possession.

Where Caird and Wink both refer to the fallenness of the angels, with reference to Gen. 6:1-4, Eichrodt rejects Old Testament evidence for this, on the grounds that the text as it stands cannot support such a view. He does, however, concede that the view might be implicit in the text (Eichrodt 1967:208-209).

Before leaving the brief overview of the powers in the Old Testament, some mention must be made of Satan and demons. What is very interesting in the study of Old Testament texts using the Hebrew word "satan", is the apparently benevolent function ascribed to Satan in the early texts, with a clear definition of a personification of evil evolving around the fourth century B.C.E. in Israel (Eichrodt 1967:206).

So, to begin with, he is described as a member of the heavenly court, with a right to be there. As is stated in all the references, he is there as the Adversary or Prosecutor, to bring people's guilt to God's attention. In the Septuagint he is called the "adversary" or "persecutor" or "accuser". Eichrodt says that this doesn't make him evil, because men of God were supposed to do the same thing, as seen in the words of the widow of Zarephath to Elijah in 1 Kgs. 17:18 (Eichrodt 1967:205). Similarly, his attack on the High Priest (Zech. 3:1-5), and the challenge to Job's righteousness (Job 1:6-12, 2:1-7), are considered quite benign.

In a footnote Eichrodt does concede that in the case of Job, some malice could possibly be adduced, and that "occupation easily changes character" (Eichrodt 1967:205n).

Eichrodt denies the necessity for seeing in the figure of Satan a borrowing from Babylonian beliefs, as the understanding of the Prosecutor, as an official of the heavenly court, modelled on the earthly empire, accords with the Hebrew conception of angels (Eichrodt 1967:206).

In terms of possible meanings of the word "satan", he states the verbal form to mean:-

"to persecute"; to "make war on"; to "attack with accusations"; to "accuse";

and the noun, to mean:- "adversary"; "opponent".

The very interesting point he brings up, is that all these terms may also be used of humans, the significance being the interchangeability of meaning, a feature of New Testament language. However, in 1 Chron. 21:1, the picture changes. "Satan" is used for the first time in the Scriptures as a proper name, and his function is that of tempting David to sin. This represents an important stage of growth in the theological understanding of the people, because it marks the decisive separation of evil from the activity of God, and into a separate being, paving the way for the further development of the thought of an evil spirit, the originator of evil, and, a superhuman focus for evil (Eichrodt 1967:207). This is not to say that there are no early texts of enmity or hostility towards God before this time. Gen. 3 is a case in point, and one from which the church has defined evil.

Another, and very significant passage which bears strands from the pre-Israelite past, is Is. 14:12, a mythological statement about the rebellion against God and consequent expulsion of an apparently angelic being, who was later named "Lucifer" in the Latin translation, and seen, in conjunction with Lk. 10:18, to be Satan. Other passages which give evidence of a genuinely

Israelite concept of a supernatural power of evil, and which paved the way for the later development of the Satan figure, include Zech. 13:2; 5:7f. In discussing the passage in Gen. 6:1-4, while Eichrodt is not happy to accept that this text as it stands can be used to substantiate a theory of the origin of evil, he nevertheless sees in it a suppression of concepts in the Old Testament which found expression later in Judaism (Eichrodt 1967:208).

Wink discusses the concept of Satan in his second book (Wink 1986:5-40). Where much of what he has to say agrees with both Eichrodt and Caird, he adds some further insightful comments. In discussing today's worldview which has no place for the idea of "Satan" he points out that Satan began, not as an idea, but as an experience, and that the denial of his existence has hardly limited the scope and malevolence of his activity (Wink 1986:5)!

Again, in terms of the framework for considering powers of evil, and the language used to do so, he makes the point that precisely because we are unable to actually think about evil, it must be symbolically presented. This, however, in no way detracts from the reality of what is being grappled with.

In discussing Satan as a servant of God, he points out that Satan is nowhere an autonomous agent, but acts within the parameters granted him by God (Wink 1986:14). However, even in doing only what he is allowed to do, Satan gives evidence of being capable of doing harm and evil (Wink 1986:23). In his handling of Job's situation, he causes sickness, calamity, loss and death. This Wink sees as a beginning, pointing towards the emergence of Satan as the Evil One, and he suggests that one given the task of gathering information against others, often oversteps the mark, becoming the autonomous power figure himself. When this happens in a world ruled by God, the figure of Satan emerges as God's opposition.

Wink sees the problem of evil and suffering encroaching more and

more on human life and the felt need to find some way of understanding its origin, which had to be more than just the sin of humanity, as the starting point of the search for a source of evil. He also cites Gen. 6:1-4 as giving the impetus to such a search. (Note Eichrodt's misgivings and concession stated earlier).

Lastly, a brief discussion on the subject of demons follows. The demons do not find a home in the heavenly court of Yahweh, nor on the earth (Eichrodt 1967:223). They are not associated with angels, but are of a different order. Different manifestations of what would be called the demonic are found embedded in the Scriptures. The Hebrew word "se'ir", meaning "he-goat", and associated with fertility, is one such manifestation. The same word is also used to describe the inhabitants of deserted ruins but is also now a collective name for different kinds of demons (Is. 13:21; 34:14). Is. 34:14 speaks of the female night phantom, Lilit, which has its counterpart in Babylon, as did the "sedim" mentioned in Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37.

The most interesting of the demons mentioned is that of the scape-goat, "Azazel", which plays a part in the ceremony of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). As its function was to carry away the sins of the people into the desert, the notion was there of a place where all that was opposed to God would go, specifically, a demonic place.

In later Judaism, a change took place, and demons, originally associated with physical evil, were understood to be responsible for ethical evil, for sin, sin against God, and they were therefore never to be entertained (Eichrodt 1967:223-228).

This very brief overview gives an indication of the place played in the early years of the faith of Israel by the unseen world of angels and demons, that this was reality, and that with greater development and sophistication, these beliefs were not discarded, but further defined and expanded.

4.2 What Development of these ideas may be found in the Post-exilic and Intertestamental Periods

The latter period in particular yielded the most literature on the subject of the powers, giving evidence of clarification of much that was there before, both in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as well as in the popular religion and folklore of the people, reflecting their experience of the powers, and what they had now made of it.

Before moving into discussion of this period, it is worth noting as a starting point, what Caird states as the invaluable contribution made by the Deuteronomistic writers during the exile. This is summed up by three points, explained as follows. Their work recognised fully the fact of pagan religion and the inter-relation of pagan religion and pagan political power, but it placed all authority, by whomever exercised, unequivocally under God. This realisation encompassed the understanding that only by God's permitting it, could Gentile nations rule over Israel, and, that there were two ways in which God related to the nations of the world as Sovereign. He ruled directly, and personally over Israel, because they had chosen to accept him as their ruler; but only indirectly and impersonally over those nations who either did not know him or refused his rule (Caird 1956:6-8).

Caird makes the point that no evidence can be found in the Old Testament "to support the belief that one religion is as good as another" (Caird 1956:8).

Before proceeding further, Caird turns to the Septuagint for its contribution to the discussion of the powers, making the point that it is in the Septuagint that these terms are applied to angels for the first time. They are:-

dunameis = powers

exousia = authority

archai = principalities

archontes = rulers

and they give a different rendering of the Hebrew text. Where the Hebrew has "God's hosts" Septuagint has, his "powers". For the phrase "Yahweh of hosts" the Septuagint in the Psalter renders, "Lord of the Powers" which becomes, in the prophetic writings, the "Omnipotent" (Caird 1956:11-13). Caird suggests that the language of the Septuagint may have been used to bridge the gap between Hebrew and Greek thought.

In the following period of her history, Israel experienced the influence of various worldly powers, from which the conclusion was drawn of the wickedness and corruption of the nations, with the implication of the corruption of the angelic powers, as seen in Ps. 82. As Caird explains, idolatry was seen to be the root of the corruption, because, instead of worshipping the Creator God, nations had worshipped the heavenly bodies and their angels, so had made absolute, what was only secondary. In permitting this worship, the angels had themselves become corrupted, with the inevitable negative consequences (Caird 1956:8-10). Interestingly, Caird's view is that the Hebrew mind was more interested in dealing with evil than finding its origin. (This is against Eichrodt and Wink as above. Eichrodt further points out the origin of evil as originating in the angelic order (Eichrodt 1967:207-8).

In his discussion of the intertestamental period, Russell mentions the development of various ideas of mediation (Russell 1967:132-139). Included among these are angels, demons, Wisdom and Logos, of which the first three had a long history in the Old Testament scriptures. It is in the fourth, the Logos, that there is interest for our purposes at this point. Its background is Greek Stoic philosophy, and its exponent in Jewish circles, Philo, is trying to reconcile this philosophy with Old Testament teachings. The Logos is given by Philo the functions of mediation between God and his world, but this includes the work of creation. The interest for this study is that there were "powers"/*dunameis* which supposedly stood alongside the Logos.

As Russell goes on to explain, these were in line with Plato's "ideas", which explain God's action on the universe as his immanence. As with the "ideas", these "powers" had an intermediary function between "the intelligible world" and "the world of sense or perception". These "powers" are described as the "energizing forces in the universe".

Russell traces the features in the development of angelology during this period, mentioning not only the desire to bridge the gap between the transcendent God and the material world, and the desire to solve the problem of suffering, but adds a further clause to the latter, which is, the need for an answer to the "much bigger problem of moral evil in the universe" (Russell 1967:136).

What had emerged by this stage, and is found in such writings as the "Testament of the XII Patriarchs", as well as the "Manual of Discipline" of the Dead Sea Scrolls, is the division of the spirit world into two clearly defined camps, which formed two great armies. God, at the head of an army of good angels obedient to his commands, and Satan at the head of the other army made up of fallen angels and demons, who as evil spirits practised all kinds of wickedness and led humankind astray. Interestingly, what was perceived as happening in the heavenly realm was reflected in the hearts of people, where the two spirits, of truth and error, vied for mastery.

What is unmistakable here is the Persian influence. However, as Russell points out, when handled by Jewish writers it was steeped in the faith of Israel and they did not compromise their monotheistic beliefs. As happened throughout Israel's history, ideas from nations round about them, were taken, but used in the service of Yahwism.

It was in this period that the fully developed angelology appears, with angels in descending order of authority, having officers and "other ranks", as in any earthly army (Russell

1967:136-37). There were also functions according to seniority, and these functions are spelled out in detailed form in the books of Jubilees and 1 Enoch.

Functions include, "ministering before the Lord continually" (Jub. 30:18); "guarding God's throne" (1 En. 71:7); "making known to men the Divine secrets" (1 En. 60:11; Jub. 4:21). Names such as "Watchers" and "Wakeful Ones" are titles of function, given to some. As regards titles, it is at this period that personal names are first given to the angels in Hebrew writings, which indicates that they are identified as individual beings with personalities of their own (Russell 1967:137). The hierarchy of angels includes the seven archangels; the "princes" or "rulers" set over nations, some of which acted as guardians (Tobit 5:16; Test. Jos. 6:6), others of which led the nations astray (Jub. 15:31f). Lower down the order are the inferior angels, some of whom function in such a way that they are seen as personifications of the natural elements (1 En. 60:11-24); or are set over the seasons (Jub. 2:20); or rule over the stars (1 En. 75:3). Whereas the origin of evil is, in one tradition explained, as we have seen, from the passage in Gen. 6:1-4, it is at this period that another tradition has its birth. This is found in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 37-71) and tells of a rebellion in heaven by certain angels, called "satans", ruled by a chief Satan. These tempt and punish humankind, cast them into a valley of burning fire, and bind the evil Watchers with very heavy chains.

Noting the Old Testament references to Satan, of this period, Russell goes on to say that in the post-Biblical writings Satan has become a demonic prince, leading his army against God and his heavenly host. As such, various names are assigned to him, one that is of interest in the further study of the New Testament writings is the name found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, "Belial".

What we see from this equally brief look at the late Biblical and intertestamental evidence, is that we are involved, not with a

static tradition, but with a dynamic faith, ever in the process of seeking understanding.

The third and most crucial section of this investigation is that of the meaning of the Powers in the New Testament.

4.3 What may be learned from the language of Power in the New Testament

When we come to a study of the Powers in the New Testament, the immediate observation that must be made is that with the exception of Philemon, the "language of power" is found in every book of the New Testament. This gives remarkable insight into the fact that for the writers and recipients of the New Testament message, the background to that message was one of understood "power language". This would have been true for both Jew and Greek, because the world of that day was the same for both, being for the most part the world of the Diaspora, the Hellenised world, under Roman Imperial government and administration. Greek philosophical thought and Jewish theological thinking were meeting not only through the use of the Septuagint, but through the efforts of contemporary Jewish philosophers such as Philo of Alexandria. Contact with the world outside of Palestine, as well as life in that world either by compulsion or choice, had opened up the Jewish mind to more creative ways of understanding their faith, as well as to understanding the "Good news of salvation", which was couched very largely in the language of power.

That language, though, is not systematised, but open to the widest possible interpretation, within certain parameters, so has an all inclusive quality which forces one away from any narrow definition of what is meant by the Powers. It is also a language the meaning of which has to be determined by the context, which provides the parameters for interpretation, because the same word can be used in the space of a few verses, to refer to earthly or heavenly powers, or both! In addition to that, the Powers in the New Testament are rarely spoken of using just a single word to

denote what is being said. What is found is that the Powers are referred to in pairs, "principalities and powers", or three words together, "rule, authority or power", or the long list of words which Paul uses in Rom. 8:38,39 (Wink 1984:10-11).

Salvation in Christ must be understood against the backdrop of the operation of these Powers, and along with this goes the understanding that the Powers are both good and bad. This point, which has important consequences for the liberation of people, cities and nations, from the evil that might hold them in "bondage to decay", has been argued by Carr who believes the Powers to be only good (Carr 1981). His "arguments and proud obstacles to the knowledge of God", have been firmly "taken captive to Christ" by Wink's ongoing refutation of Carr's position, as he discusses each part of the material.

In order to understand the sweep of what is referred to as the Powers in the New Testament, so as to make meaningful assumptions from which to address the concern of this thesis, it is necessary to examine the most frequently used words of power in New Testament.

Following Wink (1984:12-35).

The Powers are expressed in various combinations of the words listed below:-

Archon; Arche; Exousia; Dynamis; Thronos; Kyriotes; Onoma

The term *Archon* refers to an incumbent in office. The term *Arche*, refers to the office itself, or an incumbent, or the structure of power, which may be government, kingdom, realm or dominion; so the normal use of both these words is to describe human power arrangements.

Linthicum, in his explanation of the archon (prince or principality), cites as possible examples, the mayor of a city; the president of a country; the chairman of a board. The

important point to grasp is that while the person in any given situation will change, the office remains as long as the institution continues (Linthicum 1991:67).

The term *Exousia* refers to the right or authority to exercise power. Eighty five percent of its usage refers to human arrangements of power; fifteen percent refers to the spiritual Powers. Wink, in making this differentiation, slates the superficial studies which have placed all the emphasis on the spiritual beings, and not taken note of what the text was actually saying. He suggests that the spiritual aspect was more likely to have been taken for granted by the people of the New Testament, and points to the indefinable power by which a king might command and be obeyed, or a priest speak words that would bring a king to his knees!

Linthicum explains this term as the "rules, legalities, traditions and sanctions" which give the legitimacy for the throne's rule over the territory, and which grant the authority by which a principality occupies the throne (Linthicum 1991:67).

With reference to the term *Dynamis*, the Jewish use of this word denoted military or political power or forces. The New Testament use of the word focuses most frequently on the spiritual dimension of power, particularly that power from above that determines the wellbeing or otherwise of a designated territory. As such the term is used for evil spirits; the spirits of the dead; of stars; of spiritual powers; as well as of the Godhead; and delegated authority. From this, it is apparent that the Powers can be seen both as God's enemies and his agents.

The word *Thronos* is used in the New Testament most frequently of God's throne. It is a symbol of authority indicating the structure of power, and in Colossians 1:16 is used to symbolise the ongoing nature of that institution of power.

Linthicum adds, in his dealing with this Power concept, that it

is the institution of power in a state, city or economic body, and the "throne" today is found in the legislative, judicial or executive systems (Linthicum 1991:67).

The term *Kyriotes* means "dominion, lordship or ruling power", but also takes on the meaning of "exousia" in the sense of "authority". It refers most commonly to the territory over which the "Kyrios" rules. Linthicum adds that it is the "sphere of formal influence of the structure of power" (Linthicum 1991:67).

The word *Onoma*, meaning "name", is used in the New Testament most often in relation to Jesus, or God, meaning the totality of being and power. In Heb. 1:4, it is used to denote the "office, dignity or rank of Jesus as compared with the angels".

In Revelation the word means "the essence of Satanic evil", in the characterisation of the Roman Empire (Rev. 13:1,17; 14:11; 15:2; 17:3,5). In the Gospels, Jesus asks the name of an evil power, and evil powers fear at the name of Jesus (Mk. 5:9; Lk. 10:17).

The authorities ask by what name the disciples preach, and hear the response of salvation, in no other name (Acts 4:7,12). In the reference to Jesus in Phil. 2:9-11, and Eph. 1:21, where his name is "above every name", "in heaven and on earth", all embracing inclusiveness is being expressed. This, then, means that included in this word for the Powers, is every power, authority, incumbent, whether human, divine or demonic; thus this word of all the words stretches our understanding of the Powers.

In summing up his analysis of the Powers, Wink concludes that the terms for power must always be taken in the widest sense possible, unless the text itself prevents that. The dimensions of the Powers must therefore be seen as including heavenly and earthly; divine and human; good and evil powers.

Considering the disputed passages, Wink after lengthy argument,

comes to the following conclusions (Wink 1984:39-96).

In Tit. 3:1 Wink understands *rulers and authorities* to refer to local magistrates, mayors, police, or other such persons (Wink 1984:40).

In 1 Cor. 2:6-8 where mention is made of the *rulers of this age*, he finds these to be human or demonic. As human they include religious leaders, military procurator, soldiers and accomplices who were the physical agents of Jesus' death. As demonic, they denote the heavenly Powers who instigated it (Wink 1984:40f).

In Rom. 13:1-3 the *rulers* in vs 3 are understood to be human, since they wield the sword and collect the taxes and *authorities* also here refer to bureaucratic officials, as determined by the context, which is the way the church relates to governing officials (Wink 1984:45f).

In discussing Rom. 8:38,39, Wink states that this tremendous doxology lists all the cosmic Powers, whether good or evil, as well as space and time, in an effort to show that none of all these things has power to undermine the victory which the believer has in Christ, nor the love which Christ has for the believer (Wink 1984:47f).

In his treatment of 1 Cor. 15:24-27a Wink states that the use of *every* and *all* here tells us that the scope of the Powers under discussion is unlimited. As they will be brought into subjection, they are rebellious powers. The problem lies with the word *katargeo* (destroy), which means that no reconciliation is possible. The way round this for Wink is to take another possible meaning of the word, "nullify", which then gives the meaning of the Powers being "neutralised" or "depotentiated". This opens the way for reconciliation of the Powers (Col. 1:18), but doesn't say that that will necessarily happen. As regards the final enemy, "death", it is "depotentiated", rendered null and void, now seen in a cosmic perspective, by the death and

resurrection of Christ. This final cosmic restitution, if it is what is meant in this text, is projected into the future, contrary to Col. 2:15, and Eph. 1:20f, where it had already happened (Wink 1984:50f).

From Col. 2:13-15 Wink discusses three significant words. The first is *cheirographon*, which means something like an "I owe you", and the picture is of the crossing out of a debt in writing. In this instance the handwriting is the record of our infractions against the Law. This is torn out and nailed to the cross, as the public record of our forgiveness by God (Wink 1984:55f).

The second word is *thriambeusas* meaning "to celebrate a triumph". What is being referred to here is the leading of the conquered enemy in a victory parade, which causes them to be exposed to public ridicule, to be shamed by public exposure.

The third word is *apekdysamenos*, meaning "to have been stripped", disarmed, exposed, unmasked, by the crucifixion of Jesus. Only the principalities and powers were thus stripped, but here there is a problem, because for Colossians this has already happened, and for the Corinthian passage it is yet to happen. Wink would favour the latter, because of the gross evil active in the world today, which militates against a belief that the Powers have been subdued.

Next Wink considers Eph. 1:20-23. Here the power words are *rule, authority, power and dominion*.

These fall under the earlier discussion of *all and every*, so cannot mean just heavenly Powers, but must include the widest possible range of Powers, and this is also necessary in order to affirm Christ's Lordship. This can also express a harmonisation of the problem of the past or future subjection of the Powers, as that of the tension between the "already/not yet" of realised eschatology (Wink 1984:60f).

The whole argument centres on the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, in which the judgement of God on all the Powers has already been pronounced. As nothing can withstand the cross, which overturns all the standards, wisdom, law, values of the world, the cross becomes the point at which a new beginning is made, and people are free to become what they were always in the love of God, intended to be, authentic human beings, delivered from fear and bondage. In this way Christ is already "Lord", as the picture given by this verse suggests, and the passage is not at odds with the Corinthian passage as discussed.

The following reference studied is Col. 1:16. Here the relevant words are *thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities*. The point of discussion here, is that this verse states that the Powers were created by God, so can therefore not be wholly demonised. They are "still bound to the rationality and cohesiveness of the universe", and have to come to terms with the "Power of the Powers" (Wink 1984:64f).

This text, then, becomes a judgement on the Powers, for not fulfilling the purpose for which they were created. It refers to *all* the Powers.

The terms used for the Powers in this verse, are, by the earlier definition of the terms, all applicable to social structures, and the message in a nut shell is that Christ is Lord of persons and Powers.

Continuing his review of the disputed passages, Wink considers *The Elements of the Universe*. He analyses the following, *stoicheia* or *elements* which means "the most basic component of any substance or entity", an "irreducible component".

Uses in New Testament include Heb. 5:12, where the word means "elementary", the "ABC's"; and 2 Pet. 3:10,12, where it means the "constituent elements" of the universe.

This word is further qualified in the phrase *Stoicheia tou kosmou*, (basic elements of the universe). This reference in Gal. 4:3 is understood to mean a reversion to enslavement by Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians which would be the equivalent of their enslavement to pagan gods, and Jewish rituals, so to the religious practices common to pagan and Jewish practices alike.

In Col. 2:8, *stoicheia* is understood to mean the constituent elements of reality, which some were substituting for Christ who is the first principle of all creation. As Wink points out, for those to whom this letter first came, the important things concerned with worship were primacy and ultimacy. In Col. 2:20 the meaning is tied up with holding to that which they professed, and not falling back into their old rituals and practices.

Wink concludes that what was at issue was the problem of idolatry, the worshipping of that which is most basic to existence, which then becomes a god, which ensnares one (Wink 1984:67f).

He then moves on to consider Col. 2:9-10. Here the words under examination are *rule and authority*.

This is similarly a case of warning against those things in religious ritual which can take the place of Christ. *Rule* refers to rules, rituals, belief systems, and *authority* means the spiritual power that invests them (Wink 1984:77f).

The very important passages in Ephesians are now discussed, starting with Eph. 2:1-2 which includes the phrases: *the course of this world*, *the prince of the power of the air*, "the spirit that is now at work in the sons of disobedience".

The word *power* refers to an atmosphere which envelops people and seals their fate.

This should be taken with *world* and *spirit*, and will then mean the quality of alienated existence, the spiritual climate that

influences humanity, so it means the spirituality of the age, the restraints and licence imposed by the specific times in which we live. This is also imposed by their *prince*, who is Satan.

We were "dead", because of what Wink calls the "total world system conspiracy against God; because we were born into it"; because we absorb and pass on this death to our institutions, structures and systems.

The *power of the air* is to be understood as "the invisible domain ... created by the sum total of choices for evil ... the spiritual matrix of inauthentic living". It includes such things as ideologies, customs, beliefs, prejudices and hatreds. It permeates everything, and determines the way we act, think, speak.

Because the attack of this Power is invisible, it requires the right kind of armour with which to fend off the attacks (Wink 1984:82f).

The second verse considered in this section is Eph. 6:12 where the words studied are *principalities, powers, world rulers, spiritual hosts*. This verse seals the belief in the demonic nature of the Powers.

The word used for the world rulers here is *kosmokratoras*, which refers to demonic beings, and particularly means, "the world atmosphere and power invested in its institutions, laws, traditions and rituals ..." and it is the sum of all these which gives the sense of being in bondage to the dominion of darkness.

The word could also mean those human beings who have control over the world as a result of birth, wealth or ability; the spirit of empire, which passes from one ruler to the next; institutional idolatry, which acts in a self-centred way. This then makes sense of the nature of the enemy, which is not human beings, but the suprahuman dimension of power in institutions and

cosmos, and this enemy is only dislodged by appropriate weapons. These are: truth - which unmasks the Powers; righteousness - which reveals God's will for the world; salvation - in the time of concerted attack of the Powers; the shield of faith - needing the ability to discern the particular attack underway; the sword (Word of God) - because evil is a spiritual construct, born of words, thus able to be destroyed by the Word of God; prayer - which enables us to build up the reality of God, and bring it to bear on the Powers (Wink 1984:84f).

Wink next deals with Eph. 3:10 which further qualifies the Power language in the preceeding passages. He focusses his study on the *principalities and powers in the heavenly places*.

The church is to preach to the Powers. This presents a problem, in view of the fact that the church is also to engage in spiritual warfare with the Powers.

The concept of *heavenly places* is also problematic, because of the *spiritual host of wickedness* which resides in the heavenly places. This is solved if we understand the present in terms of realised eschatology, where the two different realms and times overlap, and the rule of Christ has already begun. The *heavenlies* then refers to that sensitized awareness of the spiritual realm, which goes hand in hand with redeemed humanity, and which understands the true dimension of evil by revelation.

To return to the original import of this verse, making known the manifold wisdom of God to the *principalities and powers*. Wink understands these to be the angels of the pagan nations, who require revelation in order to see God's mystery; and only once they have seen, will it be possible for the Gentile nations to be saved (Wink 1984:896).

The church has the task of proclaiming the good news that the people are free from the bondage that has held them in its grip; and to proclaim to the Powers that they are not supreme, but that Christ is their King, and the people under their rule, are his -

so to unmask their idolatry and call them back to their God-ordained purposes in the world (Wink 1984:5). The message that the church is to proclaim to the Powers is that God is uniting all things in Christ, but the "how" of it remains a mystery, from a point of view of exegesis.

4.4 Discussion of the study of the Powers, and assessment of Linthicum's claims

What this study on the Powers has brought to light is the seriousness with which this dimension is taken in the Scriptures. This highlights the urgent need for the church to understand more fully what the apostles, pastor-teachers and others in the New Testament understood, how that knowledge applies in our day, and to begin to apply this knowledge to the work of urban ministry in the cities of the 20th century.

A number of things may be noted from this study. Firstly, that the Powers are not only spiritual, but worldly, operating within the given institutions of human life. They are created but fallen entities and are therefore in need of redemption. The root of their fall was idolatry. They are under bondage to Satan, which means they are very definitely evil powers or powers of darkness, which lead human beings astray and hold them in inauthentic living. They are, according to Wink, the spiritual aspect of human institutions.

On this last point Wink and Linthicum differ significantly, in that Wink considers that the Powers are the inner and outer aspects of any given manifestation of power. The inner aspect he understands as the spirituality of the institution; the outer aspect, he sees to be the political systems, the appointed officials, the chair of an organisation, the laws (Wink 1984:5). He denies any transcendent component of the Powers.

Linthicum, on the other hand, who understands Paul to have been an urban evangelist, doing his theology "on the trot", and

responding under the Lordship of Christ, to his insights of systemic, institutional evil in the city, sees him as having pointed to a level of evil beyond the systems and structures, providing a connection between those systems and the Evil One (Linthicum 1991:66,67).

Green, writing a decade before Linthicum holds a similar viewpoint, saying that to deny the transcendent, is a way out of the unpopular talk of "spiritual beings", and allows preoccupation with social institutions (Green 1980:84).

Wagner, on the other hand takes a different view from both Wink and Linthicum. His position is that the principalities and powers are evil spirits and demons. He believes, with Wink and others that social structures can be demonised, but as such are the "visible entities" which the "invisible demonic forces" are using for their own purposes (Wagner 1992:96).

Yoder, discussing the question of the Powers and God's providence, reminds us that in Christ everything holds together, is systematised (Yoder 1972:143). He sees the "everything" to be the world powers, the reign of order among the creatures; and that this was how the universe was created - in an ordered form - where the Powers had a mediated function of maintaining that order. The observation that Yoder makes is that they are now intent on "separating us from the love of God" (Rom. 8:38).

Berkhof highlights some modern day examples which correspond to the Powers (Berkhoff in Yoder 1972:145). These are, "the inclusive vision of religious, intellectual, moral and political structures", where the political can be further broken down into "the tyrant, market, school, courts, race and nation". In this he is in agreement with Linthicum and Wink. Yoder states emphatically that we are not able to live without these structures over us; that they were originally created good, but in their present form, we are not able to live with them, because of their demonised state! He commends Paul's doctrine of the

Powers as a very refined analysis of the problems of society and history, and notes that Paul sees religion and ideology as included in the Powers as does Linthicum (Yoder 1972:146).

Yoder, being of the opinion that despite the fallenness of the Powers, humankind can't live without being under their jurisdiction, seeks a solution which is, for the sovereignty of the Powers to be broken, not for them to be destroyed. Here he approximates to Wink's position. He adds that it was precisely this that Jesus did, when he lived on earth, under them, but in a completely free human existence. He makes the point that in Jesus' death, two Powers acted together to kill Him, Jewish religion, and Roman politics. Jesus' victory over the Powers lay in the fact that he morally broke their rules by refusing to support them in their self-glorification (Yoder 1972:147-8).

He would not be made a slave of the Powers, even to save his own life, and his authentic humanity included accepting death at their hands, which was for him total victory. The effect on the Powers was to disarm them of their weapon, which was the power of illusion (Yoder 1972:149).

The church is called to proclaim this, but it is itself the proclamation, because in the church Jew and Gentile, two previously irreconcilable groups have been brought into unity. This is the *mystery*, the *manifold wisdom* and it is a sign to the Powers of their defeat (Eph. 3:8-9). In engaging the Powers in warfare, the church is to keep them at a distance, and not allow their demonic activities near (Yoder 1972:150-52).

Linthicum notes Paul's warning to the Christians of the deceptive strength of the Powers, because of their corrupt and evil state, and the powerful seduction that they are able to exert, to the detriment of the Christians (Linthicum 1991:69). He goes on to point out that both individuals and city systems are tempted to follow the ways of this world, of the *prince of the power of the air*, in order to satisfy the desires for power, prestige, money

and possessions. Whereas both individuals and systems may have those desires, neither party understands that there is a "third force"(!) operating, *the ruler of the kingdom of the air* at work to seduce both and bring them under his control.

Yoder makes the very powerful point that Christ being Lord, is a social, political and structural fact, as would Linthicum, so that the claims such a proclamation make are not limited to those who have accepted it. Blumhardt states "That Jesus is conqueror is eternally settled; the universe is His" (Blumhardt in Yoder 1972:161).

Wink sums up all that Linthicum has been discussing, as well as his own detailed study of the Powers in terms of what he calls "The Domination System" which he explains in detail, but defines as that which results when an "entire network of Powers becomes integrated around idolatrous values" (Wink 1992:51-64). He sees Satan as the "world-encompassing spirit of the Domination systems" (Wink 1992:9). The basis of this is what he calls the *myth of redemptive violence*. Wink traces this back to Mesopotamia, especially in the Marduk, Tiamat epic of Babylon, but suggests that it is even earlier than that. The crux of the theory is that *might makes right*, peace is obtained through war, and security is gained through strength (Wink 1992:16-17).

That this is a myth believed on a virtually universal scale, is demonstrated in films, television programmes, children's toys, games, and especially comics and cartoons (Wink 1992:17). Violence is seen to be the way to gain control and keep it! The scenario is violence, intimidation, manipulation and control. This bears certain similarities with the Ahab situation of the previous section. It is clear that one aspect of the welfare of the city is the breaking of the mindset of violence, in order to allow the city the comprehensive wellbeing that is God's intention for it.

Continuing with his exposition Wink goes on to show that the

Domination System, in order to produce these effects, has to have a far deeper control over the minds of human beings. He describes the System as the collective functioning of the Powers under the headship of Satan, seeking at every point, and with all the might and fury at their disposal, to totally control human life and institutions. The way this is done, is through dictating the value system of the world, its beliefs, and what is perceived as reality (Wink 1992:53-54). Along with the internalised *myth of redemptive violence*, Wink believes that this will have to be tackled by the only institution which has power to do so, which is the church. This is because of the redeeming work of Jesus on the Cross.

Wink sees the System as controlling through delusion; deluding people so that the truth is perverted, and people remain in bondage. The violence mindset is an example of this. Wink further spells this out by dealing with three New Testament terms which explain the Domination System. There are, *kosmos*, *aion* and *sarx*.

The meaning of *kosmos* in the New Testament is the social system, alienated from God. The meaning of *aion* is periods of time in history, and the meaning of *sarx*, is alienated humanity, which has lost its sense of the transcendent, and has become self-serving (Wink 1992:51-62).

The effect of the Domination System, according to Wink, is to enslave people by causing them to interiorise the values, beliefs and accepted reality of the System. This happens unconsciously, because the System is all-pervasive, and inescapable.

Effects of the system include people believing the worst about themselves. The poor often blame their lot on their own inadequacies, believing that they are worthless, so deserving their misery. Discovery of the depth of the interiorisation of the myth by the poor in Latin America, caused Gutierrez to call for a change in emphasis in theology, in order that dehumanised

people may be helped to regain their humanity (Wink 1992:102).

The Domination System leads to powerlessness, which in turn leads on to conformity and subservience to it. Wink describes its effects as a wounding of the soul and an exhausting of mind and body (Wink 1992:100-101). Yet he claims that even in the midst of it all, there is deep within every person, a knowledge of wrong. The point then made is that the System has power only when its claims are accepted as legitimate, and internalised. When challenged, the cost is very high, including even death.

What we see in Linthicum's analysis of the systemic evil of Jerusalem fits in very well here. In the first place, Solomon went after power, riches, prestige, self-indulgence and privilege; those things which the System holds up as the highest level of achievement, and most desirable. For Yoder this is specifically what Jesus in his own life denied (Yoder 1972:148). He surrendered all claims to Lordship as he came to redeem lost humanity, and this received God's seal of approval (Phil. 2:5-11). He denied the possibilities offered him at the time of the Wilderness temptation. These were to rule, dominate, control, have wealth, luxury and prestige (Matt. 4:1-11). He corrected his disciples when they evidenced a desire for privilege (Lk. 22:24-6). Even at the last, when he could have resorted to violence to overthrow the rule of the day, Jesus rejected this option, to choose instead the path of humility, servanthood, self-denial and its inevitable outcome of death.

Considering Josiah's religious reforms, these resulted in legalistic ritual rather than changed heart attitudes, and as such were challenged by the prophetic insight of the day. The conflict between the priestly (legalistic) and the prophetic (spiritual) reached its zenith in the life and ministry of Jesus. He confronted the religious authorities of his day because they were intent on maintaining a national religion. Because it lacked spiritual depth it was to a large extent responsible for the impoverishment of the "people of the land". The religious

authorities were serving the System in their ritual, legalism and idolatry of the Law, as well as in their pride, desire for prestige and exploitation of the poor.

Jesus' life and teaching cut across all of this, to bring humankind into authentic humanness. Its basis was servanthood, serving one another; servant leadership; an "economy of stewardship" and a "politics of justice" (Linthicum 1991:49-50), and it turned the world upside down (Jn. 12:19). It has the potential to do so today, but is waiting for God's people to stand up and be counted, to declare to the Domination System that it is inauthentic and delusionary, and has been exposed and disarmed, by the Authentic and the Truth, by the cross of Jesus Christ.

As regards Linthicum's claims for the presence and action of spiritual forces in the city which include the conflict between God and Satan and the demonisation of the structures of a city, giving rise to that city's inner spirituality. The evidence presented by Wink's in depth analysis of the Powers and supported by Caird and Yoder, confirms that claim. It is grounded in the undeniable truth that the conflict between God and Satan reaches its climax in the Cross of Christ. What is very significant about this study, is that there seems to be a groundswell of understanding amongst theologians, ministers of churches, and Christian workers involved in city ministries, who, through their experience of the city, and personal (negative) spiritual encounters, are both affirming the reality of the demonic spiritual presence in the city and seeking a Biblical, theological understanding to inform their city praxis. As already mentioned, Dawson, McClung, Wagner are amongst these, and Wagner presents the records of eight specific Christian ministries which have begun to understand and engage the spiritual Powers of control in their city, developing strategies to do so (Wagner 1993).

As has already been noted, all those involved in seeking to

understand the spiritual dimension of the city have understood this to be neither superstitious nor fantasy, but concretised in the city's structures. Linthicum's position of the structural evil, plus the transcendent power, seems to me to be the most balanced view, between that of Wink (structural) and Wagner (transcendant), and a faithful representation of Paul's understanding of the Powers.

Biblical Power language has been translated into meaningful modern day categories, but these remain the structural realities of government and administration, economic and "religious" systems - with all that falls under these headings - of health, education, housing, employment, art, culture; as well as poverty, oppression, marginalisation, exploitation, greed, bribery and corruption, anonymity and meaninglessness - the "broken image" - the negative, evil, spirituality, and spiritual control over the city.

What is also seen as Linthicum's motivation and echoed in Wink and Yoder, is the cry for a paradigm shift that will take the church out of escapism and preoccupation with "individual salvation", to a realisation of the plight of the oppressed in the cities and the cause of it. Thus equipped with vision, knowledge and strategy, the church will be in a position to "evangelise" the cities in the full sense of the word. This includes by presence, proclamation and discernment of the Powers operating in a particular city. It involves community involvement to challenge that spirituality and break the captivity of the people, thus empowering them by transforming their powerlessness into self-realisation and hope (Linthicum 1991:1636).

Wink, in his summing up of his exposition of the Powers, in the concept of the "Domination System", is endorsing what Linthicum is saying with regard to Satan as the cause of the misery of countless numbers of people through the control of the Systems. What he sees is an oppressive System, that people are powerless

to discard. This approximates to Linthicum's "brooding angel" of the city. He sees Satan's total domination of the systems of a city, which approximates to Linthicum's "inner spirituality" of the city. He does not speak in Linthicum's terms of the conflict between God and Satan in a city, but sees opposing the Powers the presence, proclamation and prayer of the church as the base of power and potential defeat of the Powers. Implicit in this is the thought of conflict, but Wink and Yoder both approach the study of the Powers from their pacifist point of view, which determines their conclusions. Linthicum, as city pastor, involved in the misery of humanity bound by the effects of the "Domination System", approaches the study from the point of view of a city practitioner. His, is a more confrontational approach.

While Wink's exposition of the Powers in terms of the Domination System contains much that may be identified with, such as the mindset of violence, an all pervasive force of evil, it leaves no leeway for the variety of inner spirituality that Linthicum speaks about. This has different particular Powers in control such as "Kali" in Calcutta, "apartheid" in South Africa, "commerce" in Hong Kong, and so on. It places a blanket over the multiple manifestations of the Powers, concentrating on the one ruling power of violence. In that, it doesn't invalidate Linthicum's position, but is itself challenged. It presents another way of trying to come to grips with a dimension of Power and its effects. These are undeniably present and challenging, but also threatening the late 20th century. What is demonstrated in this discussion is the difficulty of describing or referring to the Powers, and sincere attempts to find a way of interpreting the Powers to a modern world to enable it to come to terms with this reality in the "chaotic" state of human existence. Here evil is undeniable, violence rules, concrete jungles and all they entail are an irreversible fact of human life. Deprivation, alienation and powerlessness remain the lot of the majority of humankind.

How then to assess Linthicum's position?

Linthicum's context is inner-city slum ministry and urban advance. His reading of the Bible is from within that context and for it. His concern is for the liberation of people trapped in the poverty, squalor, misery, oppression, exploitation and powerlessness of an inner-city slum. So, his interpretive approach to the Bible could be said to be from a "liberation axis" and from a situation of struggle, linking the record of similar struggles in the text with the contemporary struggle (West 1991:55-56; 138).

A critique of his method of reading the Bible reveals both a "behind the text" and an "in front of the text" reading (West 1993:24).

From the "behind the text" critical reading, he was able to foreground the real social situation of the day, which was that of political, economic and religious oppression, which parallels the situation in the inner-city slum area of 20th century. His practical application of his findings fits into what Reuther calls "the prophetic liberating tradition of Biblical faith" (Reuther in West 1991:85). This "prophetic liberating tradition of Biblical faith" includes, "God's defence and vindication of the oppressed" and the "critique of the dominant systems of power and their powerholders", as well as the critique of the religious ideology which prophetic faith denounces along with the systems that function to justify the dominant, unjust social order (Reuther in West 1991:85).

In terms of the "in front of the text" reading, Linthicum takes what has been seen in the discussion of this chapter to be a major theme of both the Old and New Testaments, the Spiritual Powers, and seeks to elicit its meaning for today. So the Biblical theme is seen as not fixed or localised only in the past but as independent of its authors, dynamic, and transcending its original world and boundaries. Therefore it is seen as having meaning for the present (West 1993:37). This Linthicum has shown to be true, as he has linked the operation of the Powers with the

life of the city. In so doing he has shown how the inter-relationship of material and spiritual is affecting in a negative way the wellbeing of the city, and how understanding of the spiritual dynamic may enable the liberation of the systems of the city from their "inner spirituality". It may allow a healing of the "soul" of the city resulting in the "shalom", or welfare of the city, and all its inhabitants. His aim is the application of the theme to his inner-city slum context. This is a merging of the "world of the text with the world of the reader" (West 1993:38). The aim is for transformation of that context, even as Linthicum himself has been transformed theologically and in his inner-city praxis, by his search for a meaningful theology from which to base inner-city ministry.

CHAPTER 5 IN WHAT AREAS MIGHT THE INSIGHTS GAINED FROM THE STUDY OF LINTHICUM'S CONTENTION OF THE "SOUL" OR INNER SPIRITUALITY OF A CITY BE APPLIED?

The implications of this study are implications for the church in its calling to the city and its ministry in it. It is, following Linthicum, a call to strip away all that blinds people in the cities to the activity of the Powers controlling the life of the city and to expose the principalities and powers at work in the systems and structures of the city (Linthicum 1991:129). This means, to expose the lies of the Domination System by which the world lives, in its nations and cities, and which produce the "bondage to decay" and human misery of the city.

Linthicum illustrates in three separate events in the Biblical record how Satan would seek to oppose the reality of God's saving power on behalf of his people. The first is Jesus' raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11:21,32,43-44), where Jesus has power to raise the dead, unbind and set free. Satan's lie is that Christ is powerless, death is the end, and that there is no help for those who are bound!

The second passage is the story of God's angelic protection around a besieged city (2 Kgs. 6:15-17). Satan's lie is to deny the existence of angelic hosts and all God's protection over the city, causing people to rely on the systems of the city for their protection thus leaving them fearful, anxious and helpless.

The third passage is Rev. 21:2-4 where in the place of persecution Christians are given the vision, through John on Patmos, of the New Jerusalem of God. This is the promise that the corrupt systems and their domination are not the final answer. Satan's lie is that the only salvation is to co-operate with Babylon, the harlot!

It is Satan's lie that dominates the life of the people and the cities through the systems of the city. It is God's purpose in

Christ, through the church, that every such lie should be exposed, and the truth revealed.

How this should happen is found in Eph. 3:8-12. It is through making known the mystery of God, God's "eternal purposes in Christ Jesus our Lord", to individuals, society and the "rulers and authorities in the heavenly realms", who must come to know God's manifold wisdom; which is the full work of salvation, and how it is to be made available.

The church's task is to be the witness to the city, in all its institutions, structures, systems, people, of what God's salvation means for it; to call the city to recognise its own spiritual identity, and to allow its "spiritual depths" to be transformed by Christ. What this implies is that the church must be active in seeking the inner transformation of the city's "soul", "brooding angel" or inner spirituality. That means not only exposing, but also addressing the principalities and powers controlling the city's systems.

At this point Linthicum would find himself at odds with Nurnberger, who while urging redemptive concern; prophetic opposition to what is wrong in society; and evangelical preaching to stem the tide of violence; nevertheless urges the dethronement of the gods, from a secular viewpoint, which denies their spiritual dimension (Nurnberger 1994:55-57)! Linthicum holds together the spiritual and secular dimensions when he speaks of dethroning the gods.

Linthicum makes the point that the inner spirituality of a city will be subject, either to the church or to the demonic forces of the city; that it is the church's responsibility to be the steward of the city's inner spirituality, and if of that, then of its material wellbeing as well. A city may not be aware that the church is looking after its inner spirituality, or even that it has a spiritual dimension, but it is nevertheless dependent on the church for its stewardship in this area (Linthicum

5.1 Application to Christian ministry in the City

For Christian ministry within the city, this study provides a challenge to the comfortable, self-serving individualistic form of church life and activity. It challenges the church to "see", where it has been "blind" (Linthicum 1991:131). What it is called to see, is what all the disciples of Jesus had first to see, and that is related not simply to personal salvation, but to the way that the "god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of the Gospel of the Glory of Christ..." (2 Cor. 4:4). All the disciples were in that category, until God gave them understanding, and they could perceive the lie of the religious, political and economic systems of their day, that had held them captive.

People today are still victims of the lie of the systems concerning their power, supremacy and ultimacy. The Christian is freed from the lies of the domination system of the world, and responsible to Christ. The church is therefore called to proclaim first the way the lie has operated, second how it has been exposed in Christ; third to challenge Christians to live truly liberated lives, according to the full scope of salvation; as well as to challenge those outside the church to realise their captivity, how it works, and how to be set free through Christ's saving and transforming work on the Cross.

How then is this transformation of the city's systems and structures, its principalities and powers to be accomplished by the church? Not through proclamation alone, but through living as a redeemed community under the value system of Christ. This includes servanthood, caring for one another, sharing of material goods, fellowship together, and worship. It also includes relating to all the systems of the city in meaningful, prophetic, redeeming and transforming ways. What this implies is

comprehensive involvement of the church in the life of its city, becoming incarnated in the life of its city.

So there are a number of aspects of ministry making up the church's proclamation to the city.

In terms of those in or out of the church who are yet happy to "go along with the system", and benefit through injustice, the church's proclamation needs to "afflict the comfortable" (Linthicum 1991:142)! But to those who suffer most under the lie and control of the systems (meaning those who are the poor, powerless, exploited, marginalised, and suffering) the church's proclamation needs to be comfort in their affliction. Further it should affirm to them God's great love for them, his acceptance of them, and the call to believe their own God-given potential and to begin to realise it in their lives. Included in this is exposing the lies of the systems which have made them victims, and affirming that the poor have a part to play in the redemption of the city.

In its practical involvement in the city, the church is called to the exposing of the activity of the Powers through the city's systems wherever they are at work. This involves awareness of what is going on in the city, and ongoing investigation of the conditions under which people are living, as well as why these conditions exist. From this statement it is clearly seen that the church's involvement in the city can never be that of the accepted - but unscriptural mode - of "one person ministry". It involves mobilising Christians, all of whom have different areas of training, expertise and access, which is then able to be harnessed for the redemption and transformation of the city through the church.

Some examples of church involvement in the city include the areas of health care, housing and jobs. Linthicum makes the point in discussing health care in the city that it is health care within the city environment. That apart from factors in the city

environment which cause physical sickness, a feature of city life is stress, which causes psychological and physical breakdown (Linthicum 1991:165). Dealing with stress starts with a challenge to the present day urban life style with all its rush, busyness, competitiveness, striving and meeting excessive expectations and demands at work and at home. In finding solutions the lie of the system's value system needs to be exposed. This is that worth is measured in status, wealth, achievement and material possessions. The alternative is the redeemed community. This is the place of acceptance, relationship, peace and love, where human or individual worth is a given, because of Christ's saving work on the Cross, and "expectation" is a call to fulfil one's gifting, potential and calling in Christ.

On the question of housing, the church's responsibility is a very serious one according to the Biblical directive. Is. 65:21-22 states "They will build houses and live in them; No longer will they build houses and others live in them". There is a need in our modern world to realise that housing is not a privilege, but a basic necessity, an "inalienable right" of every person. Housing, in the Biblical record, doesn't imply a cardboard or tin shack, at the mercy of the elements, and providing little of shelter and comfort. Houses were to be "built", and "lived in". That implies a sturdy construction, not easily damaged, providing comfort, security and protection, a haven for the joy of family life. It also means that housing sites should be in areas properly surveyed, and pronounced safe for building.

As regards jobs, we have seen the Old Testament teaching on a just and equitable economic system, which castigates the taking of economic advantage - over the poor in corruption, bribery, exploitation; by the rich, in accumulating wealth at the expense of the poor (Jer. 22:3-5). Unjust economic practices receive the harshest condemnation in the Bible, because they are the product of the systems of this world, and not of the Kingdom of God.

In the New Testament the same principle of economic justice is in practice, as is seen in the instructions to "masters" concerning their "slaves"; (Eph. 6:9) the injunction to care for the needs of the slaves, as under Christ; and concerning exploitative practices (James 5:1-6). The church is not an economic institution, but must make itself aware of the job situation in its area, and then find ways of addressing the problems, through various strategies. Linthicum mentions, as we have seen, "community organising" (Linthicum 1991:202f). Advocacy of the poor jobless, pressing for training facilities, soliciting finance for small businesses, even "mini-loans" are possible ways of involvement in the area (Sider 1994:61-62). The way that the church could be involved is with the people concerned. In solving the problems they are facing they need to "own" the solutions, so the church may act as a facilitator, identifying problem solving mechanisms.

The church has a further and unique ministry in the city, as it seeks to expose the lies of the systems, and liberate both the systems and the people to the authentic living or "shalom" which God intended for his people. That is to centre the life of the city in relationship with God, which it does in different ways. The very presence of the church in the city makes the statement that God is present, because worshipped there. But the church has a message of personal and systemic redemption, and unless it proclaims this, it remains irrelevant to the life of the city. Proclamation is not just pulpit preaching, but evangelism, personal witness and explanation also, for the motivation to public involvement. Only the church has the Gospel in all its scope and depth to proclaim. Only the church can proclaim it. However, the unique ministry of the church is its prayer life. This is a hidden ministry but the source of its vitality and strength. It is also the source of its discernment of the presence and activity of the Powers, and of its power encounter to enforce the broken sovereignty of the Powers which was achieved on the Cross (Yoder 1972:147-148). Prayer here is intercession, strategic praying and prevailing prayer. It is the

kind of prayer which brings God's power to bear on the situation being experienced in the city, and which opens up both prayers and city to God's initiatives of salvation and deliverance. Understanding the potential in intercessory prayer, Wink has made the statement that "History belongs to the intercessors" (Wink 1992:299). A further aspect of prayer for the city by the church is that of "spiritual warfare". This means entering into the battle over the city on God's side and claiming dominion over the principalities and powers controlling the political, economic and religious life of the city, by "naming the Name throughout the whole life of the City" (Linthicum 1991:143).

The basic text for warfare praying is Eph. 6:10-19, but the only really revealing text concerning spiritual warfare, is Dan. 10:12-13,20. This prompts Wink to state that in the place of prayer there are not just two, but three parties involved, God, the person, and the Powers. He takes heart from the period of delay in God's answering Daniel's prayer, a period of seeming inactivity, when in fact there was fierce battle going on in the heavenlies.

What Wink sees to be the task of the church in the place of prayer, is the de-legitimizing of the Powers, a task which he rightly perceives to be spiritual in nature, requiring both spiritual discernment and the exercise of spiritual power (Wink 1992:301). He understands prayer which takes cognisance of the Powers to be a form of social action, because it deals with both the inner and outer manifestations of power, and seeks God's transforming power in the situation (Wink 1992:317).

What is notable in Wink's dealing with spiritual warfare, is that he does not engage in it, other than to note its effect in the account in Dan. 10. His is a very defensive role, hampered by two factors. The one is his very real and honest struggle to come to terms with the subject of demons and forces of evil, and how to adequately understand and describe their existence and activity, and in this there is the struggle for intellectual

respectability. In his own commentary on this, Wink admits to an uncomfortable feeling that the reality of what he is wrestling with might possibly break in upon the scene in a way uncomfortably close to the Biblical record, and as the offense that Jesus' coming always is (Wink 1992:314)!

The second factor revolves around his refusal to see any outcome for the Powers other than their redemption. This must then lead to accommodation rather than authority, yet it is authority that Christ gives to his church to deal with the Powers, and authority is needed, because of the immense power which is theirs. His authority for decisive engagement to break their control and render them ineffective for further seduction of God's people (Matt. 10:1; Lk. 10:17-19; Acts 1:5,8). Jesus' ministry reveals encounter with the demonic, for the most part explained away by Western scholars, who find great difficulty in coping with that as a concept of reality. However, the study on the Powers contradicts that attitude, as does the testimony of missionaries in the field (Wagner 1992:37f).

5.2 Application to the theological training of Christian ministers

With regard to the training of students for the ministry, we have already seen that Linthicum early learnt that his theological training had not prepared him adequately for ministry to an inner city slum in U.S.A.. That forced him, while retaining the valuable theological insights of the past, to formulate a theology which would be practically relevant in the mega-cities and slums of the 20th century, and give to ministers thrust into ministry situations in inner city, slum or squatter areas, a meaningful basis from which to embark on urban city ministry and development (Linthicum 1991:206).

McClung describes the cities as places which draw in the outcasts of society, with special mention of the "runaway or throw away" kids, escaping from homes where they are beaten, molested,

rejected. He lists among the urban challenges - "unemployment, divorce, homelessness, alcohol-related emergencies, racial inequality and tension" (McClung 1991:10).

Dawson alludes to the pastor of the modern city as "shell-shocked by the pace of change" (Dawson 1989:47). In discussing the physical geography of today's city, he makes the point that while the cities of the past were to human scale, the dimensions of the cities of today make them "non-human". They are made up of many authorities, hugely diverse and "out of control". Suburbs have become cities, with city problems. They are clusters of overlapping institutions, which Satan seeks to infiltrate so as to gain control of the city. As regards the people in these huge mega-cities, Dawson claims that although meant to benefit humanity, many people experience a disorientation in cities which opens them to any new ideology, deception or current idolatry (Dawson 1989:48-51).

Grigg, from within his ministry in the squatter area of Manila, speaking about the church's ministry to the poor in the cities, rejects "church growth principles", which he says come from an "American World View of Structures and Sociological pragmatism" and focus on "evangelism, discipleship and the structure of the church". His contention is that Jesus' commission is for "holistic and relational discipling", and Jesus' commitment was not to structures, but "to love people" and "extend the Kingdom" (Grigg 1992:156-157). He makes the point, that the battle for the cities needs to be understood, in order that the cry of the poor and oppressed may be answered (Grigg 1992:127).

Grigg speaks about "60 mega-cities (in the third world) with over 5 million people, each containing 500 slums". These slums are expected to double by the year 2000. So too will the problems of the slum - prostitution, violence, crime, drug gangs. The number of workers needed to attempt to minister to the poor is estimated at 120,000 (Grigg 1992:127-128). The numbers and the needs are overwhelming, but the church is called to face and meet

those needs. The point is, are those who will find themselves ministering in the urban environment of the mega-city prepared, and equipped to do so?

The practical needs, the theological base, the spiritual understanding are the indispensable tools for ministry in the cities of this decade.

In the aftermath of apartheid in this country, the church situation remains for the most part separated. White ministers minister in comfortable White suburbs. Black ministers do so in churches in the townships amid all their overcrowding, poor housing and squalor. The systems still hold sway! The principalities and powers have not yet been addressed. The "soul" of our cities, their "inner spirituality" has not yet been faced, unmasked and dethroned. Then to be transformed by the proclamation of the Lordship of Jesus, and his sovereign power calling them to repentance, and the surrender of their wrongful, idolatrous and satanic power.

Two questions regarding the theological training of ministers arise - the first is, whether they are being equipped with a Biblical theology of the city which will allow them to understand the city, to love it, and its people, and to call forth the redemptive gift which each city has, in the purpose of God (Dawson 1989:39-45). The redemptive gifting of a city refers to the purpose for which a particular city exists, by God's intention, which needs to be perceived, even if it is obscured by negative activity.

Dawson takes New York as an illustration of what he is saying, describing it as a "hub of trade and a centre for world leadership, which has become a 'life-style dream'". People are seduced, he continues, by the "success fantasy" of New York - but instead there is "ruthlessness and despair" in the city. Originally New York represented "the gateway of hope to the land of liberty", which he suggests could be God's redemptive purpose

for the city (Dawson 1989:40).

The second question is, whether they are equipped with the kind of knowledge which forms the central contention of Linthicum's work which is that every city has a soul or inner spirituality. Further that this spirituality may operate for good or evil, but is frequently overwhelmingly evil. Then, that because of God's redemptive love which will not leave the city in this state of inauthentic existence, the city is a battleground between God and Satan for the control of the city!

What Linthicum and others are doing is foregrounding that which though clearly present in the text, is being suppressed (West 1991:142; 1993:15). They are "foregrounding" the discussion of the Powers because in their experience of city life they cannot deny the reality of the Powers (Dawson 1989).

Linthicum notes Paul's warning to the church to keep the Powers at bay because of their great power (Linthicum 1991:69). This power, as experienced is far greater than human power, as is testified to by city practitioners (Linthicum 1991:46; Wagner 1992:18-26). They are evil and destructive, especially of any ministry that threatens to expose their presence, activity, and territoriality. Therefore it would seem to be an essential part of the training of students for the ministry that they be made aware of the reality of the Powers and given insight into how they operate. This may be done by drawing on the work and experience of the scholars and city workers whose work and experience is able to inform this discussion.

5.3 Application to meaningful empowerment and upliftment programmes

The title of this thesis is "Seek the welfare of the city", in Hebrew, the "shalom" of the city, as seen in the discussion of the city in Chapter 2. To enter into a more detailed discussion of the term, it describes the wide variety of relationships of

daily life, and is an expression of the "ideal" quality of life, as properly lived under the Law. As Linthicum describes it, "a state of wholeness and completeness", of a person or group, including "good health, prosperity, security, justice and deep spiritual contentment" (Linthicum 1991:86).

It refers first to the individual. From Ps. 38:3 and Gen. 15:15, it is "health and a good life"; a good life because it included "healthful sleep, a long life, prosperity, and a tranquil death after a full life" (Gen. 15:1; Lam. 3:17; Ps. 37:11). It also included God's protection in battle, and God's restoration in sickness (Linthicum 1991:86).

Turning to the community, Linthicum continues that peace is God's norm for community relationships and in the family (Gen. 13:8). When applied to the community it may be seen as a "covenant of peace" (1 Sam. 20:42). "Shalom" to a family means a wish for economic prosperity, and to a nation means "political security with freedom from strife and violence" (Linthicum 1991:86). The individual's lot is inseparable from that of the nation's, so individual peace or city peace is dependent on national peace, as stated in Jeremiah's instruction to the exiles (Jer. 29:7).

Having expounded the concept of shalom thus far, it must further be remembered that this peace has its origin in God, and can only be received by an individual in relationship with God, and by a city as it submits to God's rule over the city (Linthicum 1991:87). However, neither peaceful relationships, nor peace within a city is possible if there is a warring spirituality or "soul" within the city. Nor if there is a controlling spirit of greed, fear, intimidation in its economic or political systems. Nor if the individual or corporate "dangerous memories" or "subjugated knowledges" are unhealed (West 1991:101). Therefore, what has been discussed in this thesis, arguing for the reality of the Biblical Powers in the world, and the cities of the world of the 20th century has meaning for the empowerment and upliftment programmes.

First there is the need to look beyond person to person confession, repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation, to the root of the apartheid system, which needs to be addressed as the "inner spirituality" or "brooding angel" of the nation. Morphew in his discussion on "fascism" and "racism" states that "Ideologies contain spiritual power" and "A whole nation can be possessed by such a power"; ".... the controlling power of the ideology can only be broken by the power of God", which takes the discussion into the "realm of spiritual warfare" (Morphew 1989:77-78).

Dawson states that apartheid is "a spirit not just a political phenomenon" - a spirit of "tribalism and racial separation" having its "roots in idolatry" (Dawson 1989:153). His way of handling this spirit is by - "yielded rights" and "humble servanthood". Dawson's understanding is two-fold. First there needs to be action and repentance in the spirit of Christ, then active and concerted spiritual warfare praying.

Wink, in speaking of the forces experienced in the world, says that they "emanate from an actual institution". He adds that the Old Testament prophet was able to discern the "diseased spirituality of an institution or state", and that forces of evil embody themselves in political systems. He refers to the "atmosphere" experienced in different places, as the actual spirituality of the nation, reflecting the sheer intensity of the evil present there (as does Linthicum). He recounts the remarks of people leaving South Africa - "the sense of an enormous weight of anxiety and tension that drops off their shoulders as the plane leaves South African airspace" (Wink 1992:7-8). This was an experience of the spirituality pervading the nation, although not necessarily understood by those experiencing it, but evidence of an invisible force operating in the country.

Wink further states that "any attempt to transform a social system without addressing both its spirituality and its outer form is doomed to failure" (Wink 1992:10). Both need to be

addressed, and this requires both "spiritual discernment and praxis".

The areas which need to be addressed are those found in Wink's description of how the Domination System works. These include the interiorisation of the lies of the Domination System by the poor and marginalised, as well as the mindset of violence which enslaves people, cities and nations. This should be achieved not by more social programmes, as Wink has said, nor even by greater policing, but by spiritual strategies. Continuing and unyielding awareness of the Powers still at work amongst the people of the land; exposing of them in the cities; taking them captive to Christ through intercession and warfare, but also through the remitting of the nation's sins (Wagner 1992:130).

Wagner, in his discussion of the sin of a nation makes the point that Satan has no authority to move into an area without permission, but once a "legal" entrance has been given, Satanic strongholds or control centres are set up over the nation, or city, from which Satan exercises his authority over that nation (Wagner 1992:129). He further states that such strongholds are able to remain in power by entrance points of sin. Where a nation harbours any such legitimating sin that sin needs to be dealt with as an essential part of the weakening of the strongholds of the principalities and powers. Amongst the national sins that he notes are "racism", the "shedding of innocent blood, such as through murder, abortion or war, fighting and hatred, idolatry, and witchcraft" (Wagner 1992:130).

In the Biblical record, Nehemiah and Daniel are cited as two men who were involved in dealing with the nation's sins (Neh. 1:6; Dan. 9:3,11,20). In both cases they identified personally with the sins of their nation, confessing both the nation's historical sin as if it were their own, as well as confessing their own personal sins (Wagner 1992:131,136-137).

Wagner finds 2 Cor. 4:18 a pertinent verse for the spiritual

dynamic of remitting the sins of a nation, because it directs our attention to the *things that are not seen* (Wagner 1992:140).

In summary, how the topic of this thesis may be applied to the empowerment and upliftment of society, is not by dealing only at the practical or material level of life with the inequities of the past, and doing so through a plethora of programmes. It is also necessary to deal with the spiritual realm and with the very real forces permeating this nation and all its cities and holding it in bondage to the past. That is to deal with its "soul" or inner spirituality, its "brooding angel".

The problem with this assertion is that it has been anathematised by two main areas of scholarship. The first is theological liberalism and the second is secular materialism.

Theological liberalism arose in the mid-19th century out of the effort to come to terms with modern knowledge and thought, as well as critical Biblical studies. This resulted in a theological system based on rationalism and the scientific method, the effect of which was to strip away from Christianity its supernatural dimension. This was replaced with a "controllable" Christianity based on the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and love for one's fellow human beings. Inevitably, the authority of the Bible was undermined (Linder 1977:XXII).

In its place the secular materialism which dominates the world of the 20th century has no place for a spiritual dimension, no vocabulary to express the spiritual and no categories by which to describe it. Instead it has a deepseated resistance to such phenomena, having determinedly rid itself of an acceptance of the transcendent by reductionism and repression.

In this way secular materialism has robbed human beings of that fullness of their humanity, and of the ability to understand and articulate "spiritual" experiences.

However, what is happening in this last decade of the 20th century is a resurgence of the awareness of powers operating in human life, and of the descriptive and powerful symbolism of the Biblical language for such phenomena. This gives cause for a fresh look at the Biblical categories of these phenomena which present such a "skandalon" or stumbling block to the mindset of modernity. It is a challenge, coming at the end of this age, to all that has denied the fullness of God and of His action on earth, by denying the possibility and nature of spiritual phenomena.

Wink discusses this topic in detail in the introduction to his second book on the Powers (Wink 1986:1-8).

With regard to the claim made in the Introduction that the church alone has power to address and contain the Powers which operate in society, some comment is required. The point must be made that it is the type of power which the church has that is under discussion. It does not have political, legislative or economic power. Its power is spiritual in nature and dimension, able to address the unseen Powers which stand behind the institutions of society. Explication of this point has been the thrust of this thesis, with reference to the work and thinking of scholars and city workers.

This power, which is the power of God, is what distinguishes the church from every other social institution. It is power to transform individual and institutional life through its unique activity. Having said that an equally important point must be stressed. The power of God never operates in isolation. Social institutions will only be transformed when the power of God is harnessed alongside human initiative and inventiveness. This provides for a holistic approach to the problems of society, especially those of the 20th century urban situation.

With reference to the concerns expressed in the Preface regarding the city of Dundee, the insights of Linthicum, Wink, Wagner and

others have served to crystallise thinking. The growing conviction that the answers to the problems being encountered were of a spiritual nature produced a reaction of guilt and insecurity. This happened because of the scholarly rejection of such phenomena as superstitious relics of a past age, out of place in this modern age, as well as a sense of accountability towards the church and community.

What this study has achieved for the situation is to confirm that the spiritual dimension of Biblical times has validity for the 20th century also. What has been particularly helpful is the different positions adopted by Linthicum, Wink and Wagner on the exact operation of the spiritual dimension, whilst yet affirming its reality, and the need to recognise it.

The application to Dundee of Linthicum's findings with respect to the "soul", "brooding angel" or inner spirituality of the city offers a way of understanding the city, and directs city practitioners to an in depth study of its history. In such a study one would also seek insights into the redemptive purpose for which the city came into being, and which it is yet to fulfil.

What is also emphasised in Linthicum's work and applicable here is the role to be played by the church in addressing the situation. For Linthicum it is not an "either or", but a "both and" situation. The spiritual cannot be divorced from the material. Each dimension requires to be addressed with equal seriousness, attention, preparation and expertise. This implies both a dealing with the spiritual factors through further prayerful discernment and with the city situation in a multiplicity of different possible solutions. It also requires that the church acts in the spiritual authority that is its unique gift, to bring spiritual, political and social liberation to Dundee.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION.

The striving of every person is for a sense of wellbeing and the environment that makes that possible, in the material, personal and spiritual aspects of life. Jeremiah's message to the exiles was to "seek" that wellbeing, even in an alien environment. That means, that it doesn't happen of its own accord, but needs meaningful intervention on the part of those whose desire is for wellbeing, in circumstances where the possibilities of attaining it are not necessarily promising.

As it was in the case of the exiles, wellbeing as far as they understood it meant going back to their past, their land, their religious holy place and their freedom. Their view was looking back, to what had been, not forward to what could be. Yet Jeremiah could say to them that they had a future and a hope, but they would have to apply themselves to the new demands made by a new situation, if they were to achieve all the possibilities open to them. They were called to be redemptively involved in the life of their new land and its people, to contribute in a real and lasting way to the welfare of the cities in which they found themselves. What that entailed would be for them to discover, as they became incarnated into the life of Babylon, and made it their own. They were sent there with a purpose, beyond seeking just the welfare of the cities. This was to pray for the cities and their inhabitants, in so doing to bring the blessing of the God of Israel upon the situation, and his wisdom into it. Yet in another sense they were to look back, but this time the looking back was a positive action. Jeremiah called them back to "search for the old ways" (Jer. 6:16), to find anew those truths from which they had strayed, and which had been the reason for their downfall. They were called to be in right order, with their God as primary focus, themselves in submission to his moral and ethical norms, learning what he meant in saying "I desire mercy, not sacrifice" (Hos. 6:6). They were called to take hold of a truth which they had not understood, that they could not ignore God, and his demands, and prosper. The spiritual

relationship informed the social, political and economic orders of life. Either they would be under God, thus just and righteous, or under the control of the Domination System, oppressive and exploitative, self seeking, and corrupt.

In the South African situation there are those looking back to what was; their gods, their holy places, and life under the Domination System. To such the words of Jeremiah must come, to seek the welfare of the new situation, because only in that will they find all that makes for their wellbeing. On the other hand, there are the "exiles" who have returned from the captivity of the generations, for whom the words of Psalm 126 are expressive of their overwhelming sense of joy and relief, at their release.

"When the Lord restored the fortunes of Zion,
we were like those who dream.
Then our mouth was filled with laughter,
our tongue with shouts of joy;
then they said among the nations,
'The Lord has done great things for them'.
The Lord has done great things for us;
we are glad
He that goes forth weeping
shall come home with shouts of joy"

While the joy and euphoria have passed into the serious work of reconstruction and development, what has been discovered is the enormity of the legacy of the apartheid era in social, educational, economic and personal deprivation.

What has happened, though, is the development of an upper, ruling class with all the privilege that that permits, while the poorest remain in their poverty, albeit with promises of a better future. The problem is that the new has replaced the old, but despite the new policies, has not displaced the underlying mode of operation, which is still firmly under the control of the System. If this is left to go its way, unhindered, what is likely to happen is

that those previously oppressed will themselves become the oppressors.

But it doesn't have to be so. In tandem with the programmes of social and personal upliftment, must go the spiritual liberation of the people from the Powers that govern them without their knowledge of it. Physical captivity has been removed, but the spiritual still remains. What this study has attempted to do, is to bring the spiritual into the foreground, as that which is real and cannot be ignored, and in the understanding that until the Powers over South Africa are recognised, named, exposed and their power broken, there is no sustainable liberation, reconstruction, development, upliftment and empowerment possible. "Seek the welfare of the city", is the directive to the people of this land also, but comes in a unique way to the people of God, the church, in the land, calling them to exercise their spiritual commissioning for the deliverance of all the people, thus enabling them to find true, authentic humanity, and the fulfilment of potential, which is their God-given right.

This exercise can only start where the people are, and that is the place of organised settlement, called the "city". It may be a mega-city or a small city; at the hub of the nation's life, or more remotely situated, but in each place the need is there, and requires to be addressed.

Only in seeing the whole picture instead of just a part, is it possible to act in such a way that the welfare of the whole city, is achieved. Whilst it is generally accepted that economists, social workers and planners, politicians and administrators, educators and health workers, agriculturalists and environmentalists are all vital to the attainment of the welfare of all, and the church is relegated to the realm of "hatching, matching and dispatching", or ineffectual works; the church which has allowed itself to be consigned to irrelevancy, by the Powers, needs to reclaim its true calling, and exercise that

specific ministry for which it alone is equipped, the discernment and defeat of the Powers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackroyd, P.R. 1968. *Exile and Restoration*. London: SCM.
- Albright, W.F. 1962. "The Archeology of the Ancient Near East". In Black, M. ed. 1962. *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*. pp.58-65. Middlesex: Nelson.
- Allen, T. & A. Thomas. 1992. *Poverty and Development in the 1990's*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, G.W. 1966. *The History and Religion of Israel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
1974. *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*. London: Duckworth. (Rev. Bibliography).
- Augustine 426 A.D. 1945. *The City of God*. Tasker, R.V.G. ed. London: Dent. vols. 1 & 2.
- Bright, J. 1972. *A History of Israel*. 2nd ed. London: SCM.
- Brown, F. et al 1906. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon. p.1116.
- Caird, G.B. 1956. *Principalities and Powers: A study in Pauline Theology*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Calvin, J. 1559 1979. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Trans. H. Beveridge. Michigan: Eerdmans. vol.2.
- Carr, W. 1981. *Angels and Principalities: The Background, Meaning and Development of the Pauline Phrase "Hai Archai kai hai Exousiai"*. Cambridge: Cambridge.
- Carroll, R.P. 1989. *Jeremiah*. Sheffield: JSOT.

- Chaney, M.L. 1986. *Systemic Study of the Israelite Monarchy*. Semeia 37, 53-76.
- Cox, H. 1968. *The Secular City*. Middlesex: Penguin.
- Dawson, J. 1989. *Taking our Cities for God: How to Break Spiritual Strongholds*. Lake Mary, Florida: Creation House.
- De Vaux, R. 1973. *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. Trans. J. McHugh. London: Dartman, Longman & Todd.
- Eaton, J.H. 1967. *Psalms*. London: SCM.
- Eichrodt, W. 1961. *Theology of the Old Testament*. Trans. J.A. Baker. London: SCM. vol. 1.
1967. *Theology of the Old Testament*. Trans. J.A. Baker. London: SCM. vol. 2.
- Gray, J. 1962. "The Archeology of Palestine" 11 The Biblical Period. In Black, M. ed. 1962. *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*. pp. 50-57. Middlesex: Nelson.
- Green, M. 1980. *I Believe in Satan's Downfall*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Grigg, V. 1990. *Companion to the Poor: Christ in the Urban Slums*. Rev. ed. California: Marc.
1992. *Cry of the Urban Poor*. California: Marc.
- Kenyon, M.K. 1962. "The Archeology of Palestine" 1 Prehistoric and Early Phases. In Black, M. ed. 1962. *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*. pp. 42-49. Middlesex: Nelson.
- Linder, R.D. 1977. "Introduction: The Christian Centuries". In Dowley, T., Briggs, J.H.Y., and Wright, D.F. eds. 1977. *The History of Christianity*. pp. XI-XXIV. Tring, Herts: Lion publishing.

- Linthicum, R.C. 1991. *City of God City of Satan: A Biblical Theology of the Urban Church*. Michigan: Zondervan.
1991. *Empowering the Poor : Community Organising among the city's 'rag, tag and bobtail'*. California: Marc.
- May, G.H. ed. 1974. *Oxford Bible Atlas*. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- McClung, F. 1990. *Spirits of the City*. Eastbourne: Kingsway.
1991. *Seeing the City with the Eyes of God: How Christians can rise to the Urban Challenge*. New York: Chosen Books.
- McKane, W. 1986. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*. Emerton, J.A. and Cranfield, C.E.B. eds. Edinburgh: Clark. vol.1.
- Mendenhall, G.E. 1983. "Ancient Israel's Hyphenated History". In Freedman, D.N. and Graf, D.F. eds. 1983. *Palestine in Transition: The Emergence of Ancient Israel*. Sheffield: Almond Press (The Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series, 2), pp. 90-103.
- Morphew, D. 1989. *South Africa The Powers Behind*. Cape Town: Struik.
- Morris, L. 1983. *The Revelation of St. John: An Introduction and Commentary*. Leicester: IVP.
- Nurnberger, K. 1994. *An Economic Vision for South Africa: The task of the Church in the post-Apartheid economy*. Pietermaritzburg: Encounter.
- Payne, D.F. 1962. "Jerusalem". In Douglas, J.D., Bruce, F.F., Packer, J.I., Tasker R.V.G. and Wiseman, D.J. eds. 1962. *The New Bible Dictionary*. pp. 614-620. London: IVP.

- Philpott, G. 1993. *Jesus is Tricky and God is Undemocratic: The Kin-dom of God in Amawoti*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster.
- Ridderbos, N.H. 1962. "Cities". In Douglas, J.D., Bruce, F.F., Packer, J.I., Tasker, R.V.G. and Wiseman, D.J. eds. 1962. *The New Bible Dictionary*. pp. 234- 236. London: IVP.
- Richards, J. 1974. *But Deliver us from Evil: An Introduction to the demonic dimension in pastoral care*. London: Dartman, Longman & Todd.
- Russell, D.S. 1967. *The Jews from Alexander to Herod*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sider, J.S. 1977. *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger: A Biblical Study*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
1994. *Cup of Water Bread of Life: Inspiring Stories about Overcoming Lopsided Christianity*. Michigan: Zondervan.
- Skinner, J. 1910. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*. 2nd ed. Driver, S.R., Plummer, A. and Briggs, C.A. eds. 1930. Edinburgh: Clark.
- Thompson, J.A. and J.W.Birdsall 1962. "City". In Douglas, J.D., Bruce, F.F., Packer, J.I., Tasker, R.V.G. Wiseman, D.J. eds. 1962. *The New Bible Dictionary*. pp. 236-38. London: IVP.
- Thompson, J.A. 1980. *The Book of Jeremiah*. Michigan: Eerdmans.
- Unger, M.F. 1954. *Archeology and the Old Testament*. Michigan: Zondervan.
- Unterman, J. 1987. *From Repentance to Redemption: Jeremiah's Thought in Transition*. Sheffield: JSOT.

- Wagner, C.P. 1992. *Warfare Prayer: How to seek God's Power and Protection in the Battle to build His Kingdom*. California: Regal.
1993. *Breaking Strongholds: How to use spiritual mapping to make your prayers more strategic, effective and targeted*. California: Regal.
- Wendel, F. 1978. *Calvin*. Trans. P. Mairet. London: Fontana.
- West, G.O. 1991. *Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation: Modes of reading the Bible in the South African context*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster.
1993. *Contextual Bible Study*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster.
- Wink, W. 1984. *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress. vol.1.
1986. *Unmasking the Powers: The Invisible Forces that Determine Human Existence*. Philadelphia: Fortress. vol.2.
1992. *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination*. Minneapolis: Fortress. vol.3.
- Wiseman, D.J. 1962. "Babel". In Douglas, J.D., Bruce, F.F., Packer, J.I., Tasker, R.V.G. and Wiseman, D.J. eds. 1962. *The New Bible Dictionary*. pp. 116-117. London: IVP.
- "Babylon". In Douglas, J.D., Bruce, F.F., Packer, J.I., Tasker, R.V.G. and Wiseman, D.J. eds. 1962. *The New Bible Dictionary*. pp. 117-128. London: IVP.

"Jebusite". In Douglas, J.D., Bruce, F.F., Packer, J.I., Tasker, R.V.G. and Wiseman, D.J. eds. 1962. *The New Bible Dictionary*. pp. 601-602. London: IVP.

Yoder, H.Y. 1972. *The Politics of Jesus*. Michigan: Eerdmans.

FURTHER READING

- Bengu, S.M.E. 1975. *Chasing God's Not Our Own*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuters.
- Bloch, A.P. 1980. *The Biblical and Historical Background of Jewish Customs and Ceremonies*. New York: Ktav.
- Cassidy, M. 1995. *A Witness for Ever: The Dawning of Democracy in South Africa. Stories behind the story*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Eckstein, Y. 1984. *What Christians should know about Jews and Judaism*. Texas: Word.
- Garrett, S. 1989. *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings*. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- Henry, M. 1710. *Commentary on the Whole Bible*. Church, L. ed. 1961. pp.988-989. Michigan: Zondervan.
- Robinson, T.H. 1923. *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*. London: Duckworth.
- Schlink, B. 1985. *The Unseen World of Angels and Demons*. Basingstoke, Hants.: Marshall Pickering.
- Van der Hoven, J.W. 1993. *Babylon or Jerusalem*. Pennsylvania: Destiny Image.
- Verney, S. 1969. *People and Cities*. UK: Fontana.
- Zimmerli, W. 1971. *Man and His Hope in the Old Testament*. Trans. G.W. Bowen. London: SCM.

