

# Towards a renewed diaconate Signposts from The Diaconate in Formanical Parsnative





#### **David Clark and Maurice Staton**

#### **Foreword**

As editor of *The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective*, I welcome this paper by David Clark and Maurice Staton. They have generously called our modest volume 'a very important symposium' and 'perhaps the most notable ecumenical overview of the emergence of a renewed 'distinctive' diaconate yet to appear.' If that is indeed the case, it is due in large part to the contributions from the Methodist and Lutheran traditions. Although they were not represented at the 2018 diaconate conference in Canada which gave the impetus for the publication, their inclusion in the book reinforces its ecumenical credentials.

The authors suggest that 'there are features of the British Methodist Diaconal Order which have a good deal to offer to the wider church in its quest for its understanding of a renewed diaconate.' This is evident in their paper. I note in particular their emphasis on the diaconate's missional role in building a 'kingdom community' (a favourite phrase of Deacon Clark) beyond ecclesial structures. While the missional dimension is implicit throughout the book, David Clark and Maurice Staton challenge us to place it explicitly at the forefront of diaconal ministry.

Another contribution of the Methodist (and Lutheran) tradition is the notion that deacons should belong to an 'order' or religious community. This provides a healthy counter-balance to the individualistic type of diaconal ministry prevalent in the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Eastern communions. These episcopal churches would do well to consider the value of a more communal approach to the order of deacons.

On the other hand, the authors' view of the deacon as an enabler and leader of *diakonia* for the laity, rather than as a solo activist, finds positive echoes in the other ecclesial traditions represented in the book. So does their assertion that deacons should be considered as full members of the team of ministers rather than as an order inferior to the presbyterate.

'Towards a renewed diaconate' offers a valuable complement and sequel to *The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective*. I commend it to those seeking to pursue the renewal and extension of diaconal ministry in all our churches.

D. Michael Jackson

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# 1. The symposium

In August 2019, a very important symposium entitled *The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective* was published by Sacristy Press. Most of the contributions to the book are based on papers presented at an ecumenical international conference held in May 2018 at the University of Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, sponsored by the Anglican Diocese of Qu'Appelle, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Regina and the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Saskatoon. The theme was the growing interest in a renewed diaconate across many churches, and focused on key issues of theology, ecclesiology, liturgy and practice.

The conference was addressed by leading speakers on this significant development from Canada, the USA, England and Scotland, representing the Anglican Church of Canada, the Episcopal Church in the USA, the Church of England, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Catholic Churches in Canada, and the Roman Catholic Church in the USA. The conference was attended by over a hundred people, deacons, presbyters, bishops and lay people, from all these countries and churches.

The symposium also includes contributions from the Lutheran and British Methodist diaconal orders. (For the names and churches of the contributors, see the Appendix). The publication was edited by Michael Jackson, the longest-serving deacon in the Anglican Church of Canada. In this paper, unless otherwise stated, all the names mentioned refer to those who spoke at the conference and/or contributed to *The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective*.

# 2. The symposium as a resource

The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective is perhaps the most notable ecumenical overview of the emergence of a renewed 'distinctive' diaconate yet to appear. [Note that we shall use the word 'distinctive' to denote those exercising a life-long diaconal ministry, rather than the term 'permanent' which is also widely employed.] The symposium presents an amazingly rich diversity of approaches to the role of deacon, influenced inevitably by a host of factors, historical, ecclesiological and cultural, within and beyond the particular denomination concerned. However, one thing is clear. The diaconate is on the move! After centuries of obscurity and even neglect, the emergence of the deaconess movement in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, the decrees Lumen gentium and Ad gentes of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, and the foundation of DIAKONIA (World Federation of Deacons) in 1947, amongst other initiatives, have given impetus to the growth of the distinctive diaconate worldwide. The symposium reflects the exciting potential of this development for the church and its mission in the twenty-first century.

Nevertheless, crucial resource as the symposium is in describing the present situation of the distinctive diaconate, it also represents a challenge. The sheer diversity of approaches to the meaning of a distinctive diaconate is at times bewildering and even confusing. There are very different legacies of ecclesiastical history and tradition to deal with which inevitably shape any vision of a future diaconate.

So where is the diaconate heading? What might be the hallmarks of a renewed diaconate? And how does the creation of a renewed diaconate impact on the mission of the church and the nature of its leadership in the decades to come? In short, is the emergence of

a renewed diaconate an optional extra for the church of the future or will it fundamentally change the church's approach to missiology and ecclesiology in the years ahead?

This paper, building of the seminal contributions of the many writers to *The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective*, is an attempt to give some impetus to the discussion of these vital questions and build on Michael Jackson's conviction that 'there appears to be a growing ecumenical consensus on the diaconate.' Its purpose is to move on from the present state of diversity and experimentation in search of shared guidelines which might help shape the diaconate to come.

As the authors of this paper, we are neither seeking to offer a blueprint for the future nor arguing that a renewed diaconate must be monolithic in structure. Indeed, we believe the diverse legacy of each denomination to a future diaconate is an enriching contribution. However, we believe that the people of God who seek to address the needs of a world that faces many acute crises, and a church that struggles to free itself from the mould of Christendom, need the leadership of a renewed diaconate whose purpose and form are increasingly clear and compelling.

In what follows we draw almost entirely on the insights offered by contributors to the symposium. Other background material on the history and development of the diaconate is available elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> However, as yet there have been few attempts to offer a comprehensive vision of a renewed diaconate. Our hope is that this paper will promote further debate and discussion of the issues we consider.

#### The British Methodist Diaconal Order

Though not at the Regina conference, David Clark, a member of the British Methodist Diaconal Order, was generously given an invitation by the editor, Michael Jackson, to make a contribution to the symposium.<sup>3</sup> In this paper, he joins with Maurice Staton, a Methodist presbyter, who for many years has researched the life and work of the British Methodist Diaconal Order and actively contributed to its development, in reflecting on the symposium as a whole.<sup>4</sup> Maurice Staton reviewed the symposium for the British *Methodist Recorder*<sup>5</sup>.

It is our conviction that the British Methodist Diaconal Order, though a relatively small order, embodies some important features of what a renewed diaconate might look like. We are fully aware that the ecclesiology of Methodism is in many respects very different from that of other churches, not least with regard to the place it gives to the sacraments in its worship. There, and elsewhere, a future diaconate within Methodism may have a good deal to learn. However, we believe that there are features of the British Methodist Diaconal Order which have much to contribute to the wider church in its quest for its understanding of a renewed diaconate. Thus, this paper, and the 'signposts' at the end which summarize its main points, draw a good deal on what the British Methodist Diaconal Order has to offer to this ecumenical endeavour.

#### 3. A renewed diaconate

#### The missional context

Before we indicate what we see as the direction that needs to be taken for any vision of a renewed diaconate to become a reality, and the many pointers offered by the symposium, we need to note that the symposium as such has an important limitation - the lack of a missional

context. This is understandable, as the Regina conference focused on the changing expressions of the distinctive diaconate within an ecclesiastical context. However, any consideration of the nature of a renewed diaconate cannot ignore the changing missional environment within which the church as a whole now finds itself.

At the heart of this new situation are the immense challenges which the world faces in the century to come. It is now crystal clear that every nation and every faith has to work together for the well-being of humankind and the planet or neither will survive. From the impact of climate change to the misuse of weapons of mass destruction, from the unjust distribution of wealth to the upheavals caused by mass migration, many of the issues facing us in the future are not only global but potentially terminal. At the heart of addressing these challenges lies the quest for community, a quest to which the church has a profoundly important contribution to make. However, this demands that the message of Christian faith be demonstrated afresh to be credible, redemptive, hopeful and empowering.

As Susanne Watson Epting succinctly puts it, 'While there was a time when many of us devoted great energy in seeking to influence the Episcopal Church [about the conundrum of the transitional diaconate], the greater conundrum in this time we live in is a larger question about the Church's continued relevance in a world that itself is a conundrum'. Such relevance requires, on the one hand, as Josephine Borgeson states, that 'we have recognized that Christendom is over' and, on the other, that we seek to build a new form of church, that which David Clark calls a servant, or 'diaconal church' with an ecclesiology, including that of a renewed diaconate, to match that designation. For the sake of clarity, our vision of such a renewed diaconate is set out below in a series of polarities indicating the past (or present) and hoped-for future.

#### A. Towards a new order of mission

#### 1. From an 'ecclesial' to a kingdom theology

Two chapters in the symposium are concerned with the theological underpinning of a distinctive diaconate. Frederick Bauerschmidt focuses on the theology of diaconal ordination, stressing his conviction that it is a sacrament that 'brings about a new state of being' which launches candidates into diaconal ministry. Rosalind Brown widens this theological context to ask, 'What is the vision of the kingdom of God that drives the Church's ministry today?' However, apart from noting that the Church of England Ordinal now describes deacons as 'heralds of Christ's kingdom', a phrase also recognized by Alison Peden as being at the heart of diaconal formation, her question goes largely unanswered.

It is our conviction that the theology underpinning a renewed diaconate has to be a kingdom theology and that the implications of such a theology need to be much more explicitly expressed and fully discussed. David Clark argues elsewhere that a kingdom theology for our age needs to be profoundly communal, reflecting the nature of the Trinity as a divine community. He identifies core gifts of the kingdom as 'life, liberation, love and learning'. If all offered to facilitate the transformation of the diverse communities of society and world into kingdom communities.

David Clark also argues that a diaconal church must be the servant of the kingdom community. Its mission requires endeavours to break down barriers of injustice, discrimination and exclusion, as well as of pride and fear, in pursuit of a global community able to ensure the flourishing of humankind and the planet. Sister Gloria Marie Jones echoes

this view of contemporary mission when she writes that 'the mission for which the church exists (is) to proclaim in word and action the reign of God's love, mercy, forgiveness, peace in *every* culture, time and place, to *all* people.' Or, as Pope Francis has succinctly put it, 'To evangelize is to make the kingdom of God present in our world.' We believe that the role of a renewed diaconate is to take a leadership role in that undertaking.

#### 2. From 'humble service' to the communal transformation of society

The contributors to the symposium are agreed, not least as a result of the seminal work of John Collins since the 1990s, on a new understanding of *diakonia*, that the ministry of a renewed diaconate has now moved well beyond the traditional concept of 'humble service.' This transition in no way devalues the selfless service typical of the diaconal associations of Europe in the nineteenth century, in many places still ongoing. Indeed, the call for the deacon 'to pour himself/herself out in service to the outcast, the marginalized, the poor and suffering... as Jesus did', as Gloria Marie Jones urges, <sup>18</sup> is recognized in the symposium to be as important as ever.

Nevertheless, what the apostolate of a renewed diaconate will look like remains unclear. Despite the work of John Collins, Maylanne Maybee does 'not think we have settled yet on a definitive English translation (of *diakonia*).' Our view is that, although we need to look back to the New Testament to discern and build on what *diakonia* meant in the early church, the urgent task is to relate the vocation of a renewed diaconate to the missional imperatives of the twenty-first century. In that context, it is our conviction that the apostolate of a renewed diaconate is to fulfil the mission of the diaconal church and thus be focused on the building of kingdom communities within every sector of society, and on the preservation of the planet.

In practice, this means that a renewed diaconate, founded on a kingdom theology, must, as a key aspect of its ministry, opt for what Michael Jackson sums up as being 'an agent of social justice, bringing the gospel to bear on the manifest and manifold evils in society such as discrimination, oppression, racism, violence and poverty'. Therefore, he continues, [a renewed diaconate] must 'reach out to the marginalized, the homeless, the poor and the disenfranchised, in short, the victims of social *injustice*.'<sup>20</sup>

#### 3. From church to secular engagement

Despite an agreement by the contributors to this symposium that a renewed diaconate is about much more than 'humble service', many articles portray a diaconate very much focused on church or parish and engaged in a ministry of a pastoral or social welfare nature. Even where deacons are involved in 'mission' this can often be church-centred or largely concerned with the needs of the local neighbourhood.

Though it is essential that deacons be rooted in a church community, it is our contention that the primary raison d'être of a renewed diaconate is to be an agent of transformation within society as a whole. As heralds of the kingdom, its apostolate is about enabling every secular sector to manifest more fully the gifts of that kingdom. This means engagement, many forms of which remain to be initiated and developed, with secular society, not least the world of work, about which David Clark has written in some detail elsewhere. We also believe, as Maurice Staton states elsewhere, that 'the key word in the new model of mission is dialogue'. 22

#### 4. From activists to enablers

The primary missionary resource of the church in the world is the laity. For too long the leadership of the Christendom has negated this fact, allowing clericalism to run rife and leaving the laity in a state of limbo. This neglect has not left the resurgence of the diaconate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries untouched. The cliché of 'witness through service' has produced deacons only too ready to 'do their own thing' whilst leaving lay people unsupported and ill-equipped to fulfil their calling to be the people of God in the world.

The symposium documents the fact that deacons are engaged in a wide diversity of ministries. Anne Keffer and Louise Williams, for example, note that Lutheran deacons in America work 'as teachers, counsellors, administrators, health professionals, Christian educators, youth workers, information specialists, ecumenists, and more, in congregations, synod offices, hospitals, social service agencies, outdoor ministries and universities.' Such engagement is to be applauded. However, we believe, as David Clark puts it, that a renewed diaconate must increasingly 'assume the role and responsibilities of 'mission enablers,' encouraging and equipping the people of God to be the church dispersed in the world.' Only a liberated laity has the numbers and array of gifts required 'to make the kingdom of God present in our world.' This distinctively diaconal role should be both a supportive one in society and an educational one in the local church.

A renewed diaconate needs in particular to apply this facilitating and mentoring role to the mission of the people of God in a secular context. Rosalind Brown believes that 'as a world, we have lost sight of leadership that assists, models and empowers rather than being in the limelight.' Echoing this view, Gloria Marie Jones quotes Walter Kasper: 'The goal of diaconal activity is not simply to help, but the empowering of life, so that those who lie prostrate may get to their feet.' Alison Peden reinforces this stance when she quotes Canon Anne Tomlinson as arguing that diaconal formation is grounded on the principle that 'deacons seek the enlargement of others through equipping and enabling them.' 27

#### 5. From members of 'an inferior office' to servant leaders

Many contributors to the symposium are aware that the distinctive diaconate was for many centuries regarded by the church as an 'inferior office'<sup>28</sup> (an issue we consider again later). Having this lowly status imposed upon it meant that it was often hesitant to cast itself in a leadership role. In the context of the contemporary renewal of the diaconate, however, Frederick Bauerschmidt rightly suggests that 'there might be a (greater) place for diaconal assertiveness.'<sup>29</sup> We would argue that a renewed diaconate needs to embrace with confidence and energy a new leadership role in the life and mission of the church. However, this should not be an autocratic or directive, but a servant form of leadership, the hall-mark of a diaconal church.

Susanne Watson Epting believes that 'servanthood ... is about the willingness to count the cost of living a life that calls us to challenge the powers, bring hope to the poor, and enter life's wounds, working for justice and healing and reconciliation.'<sup>30</sup> Gloria Marie Jones reminds us that the model here is Christ, commenting that, 'of all the ordained ministries, the diaconate is the one singularly poised to witness to the radical servant leadership of Jesus, which is at the heart of the prophetic call.'<sup>31</sup>

#### 6. From an order of ministry to an order of mission

We would argue with considerable conviction that all the contributions mentioned above lead to the conclusion that a renewed diaconate is not only an order of ministry but also an order

of mission.<sup>32</sup> The polarities described above point to five hall-marks of such an order. First, it is grounded in the commission of a renewed diaconate to be 'heralds of the kingdom' and thus, as David Clark puts it elsewhere,<sup>33</sup> called to work for the manifestation of the gifts of the kingdom community in every sphere of life. Secondly, this means a renewed diaconate being an order committed to the radical transformation of society. As Gloria Marie Jones states, 'The deacon's mission is to leave the comfort and security of conformity to the social, political, religious expectation of others, the comfort of not rocking the boat, and instead be deeply grounded in *communio* so as to be free to be a prophetic voice to the whole church.'<sup>34</sup> Thirdly, such an apostolate should be primarily that of engagement with secular society, and not one confined to the agenda of the local church.

Fourthly, as part of this call to engage with a secular society, a renewed diaconate has the responsibility of encouraging and equipping the people of God to live out in daily life their calling as the church in the world. Finally, as an order of mission, a renewed diaconate needs to embrace and prepare for the role of servant leader within a servant church. To this end, Frederick Bauerschmidt agrees with Paul McPartlan in the latter's assertion that 'deacons are, in fact, *signs* to the church of what *all* in the church should be doing.'<sup>35</sup>

### B. Towards a religious order

As Anne Keffer and Louise Williams recount, the distinctive diaconate which re-emerged in the nineteenth century in Germany was largely initiated by Theodor Fliedner, a Lutheran pastor. Young women were recruited 'to become deaconesses... living together as sisters in motherhouses and becoming trained to serve as nurses, teachers, counsellors, and other workers in schools, hospitals, halfway houses, hospices, etc... They lived a common life (and) followed a strict routine of morning and evening prayer, long hours of work, and quiet times for meditation and devotion... As long as they were affiliated with the sisterhood, they were promised a place to be (a motherhouse) in illness and old age.'<sup>36</sup> Following the original foundation in Kaiserswerth, deaconess houses 'sprang up throughout Germany and in other European countries where Protestant (especially Lutheran) Christians were found... Motherhouses were established in the Americas, Africa and Asia and eventually organized into the Kaiserswerth General Conference, an association that continues today.'<sup>37</sup>

#### 1. From an association of individuals to a religious order

Anne Keffer and Louise Williams note that in Germany only 'a few groups continue to follow the original Kaiserswerth rule... Most of these groups have become sisterhoods of ageing and retired deaconesses... They have become communities of prayer and support rather than communities of active workers.... Other groups have made changes in their understanding of their orders or communities. While they maintain a sense of community and connection to the original motherhouse, they no longer live a common life.' Likewise in other countries, the concept of a motherhouse at the heart of a closely bonded Lutheran community has faded with time. In some countries the word 'community' of deacons is used, but this often seems to be a synonym for 'association'.

The shape of the nineteenth century diaconate in other churches followed a similar form to that of the Kaiserswerth model. For example, in the case of the British Methodist Church, as Maurice Staton documents, though its original deaconess order was in practice widely dispersed, it had a mother house, which was also a training institution, and was bonded by a form of collective discipline. All of this led it to regard itself as a religious community and to live and act accordingly.

However, the emergence of the distinctive diaconate in the twentieth century within other churches followed a more individualistic conception of diaconal ministry. In the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, deacons are regarded more as personal assistants to the priesthood (a situation we revisit again later). In the Episcopal and Anglican Churches it would seem that the diaconate is conceived more as a collective of individuals, widely dispersed and engaged in a great diversity of roles, than as a religious community.

We are fully convinced that unless a renewed diaconate takes on the form of a religious order its contribution to the mission of the church in the twenty-first century will be considerably diminished. We have argued that the vocation of a renewed diaconate is to be an order of mission, with the task of facilitating the building of kingdom communities in every sector of society. Consequently, it is imperative that a renewed diaconate seek, through the medium of its own life and work, 43 to demonstrate the meaning of such a community for church and world.

However, the particular nature and form of such a religious order must fit the needs of today's world and not attempt to clone the nature and form of religious orders of the past. This means that, as in the case of the British Methodist Diaconal Order, a renewed diaconal religious order needs to reflect the core gifts of the kingdom community: life, liberation, love and learning. In the symposium, David Clark summarizes ways in which this is happening. He has expanded on these features elsewhere. Of particular significance is the Methodist Diaconal Order's rule of life, its area groups, its annual Convocation, its strong affirmation of every member of the order from students to those retired, mutual pastoral support and the endeavours of the order to be a learning community.

## C. Towards 'a full and equal order'

The description of a renewed diaconate as a 'full and equal order' was coined by James Barnett as long ago as 1981. The phrase has often been discounted, not least because the words 'full' and 'equal' open a Pandora's box of issues. However, in the light of the symposium, we explore the deeper meaning and implications of these key concepts.

#### 1. Towards a full order

#### From consecration to ordination

The symposium reveals a diversity of ways in which deacons are authorized to be deacons. 'The Lutheran experience,' as Anne Keffer and Louise Williams describe it, is that in some situations deacons are 'consecrated' whilst in others they are ordained. In the Orthodox and Eastern Catholic Churches, Brian Butcher notes that deacons are usually 'ordained' but, depending on the ecclesiastical traditions, occupy various 'ranks,' invariably below the priesthood, in complex hierarchies. In the British Methodist Church, Wesley Deaconesses were 'ordained' from 1937, following a resolution of the Methodist Conference. 'Ordination' occurred at the Convocation of the Order, not at the Methodist Conference as was the case with presbyters. However, in 1986, the diaconate was approved as 'a second order of ministry' by the Methodist Conference. The first ordination of 'new' deacons took place at the Conference of 1990, with all deacons, past and present, being received into what Methodism calls 'full Connexion' (i.e. given collective recognition) by 1998.

In the Roman Catholic Church, men were ordained as distinctive deacons from 1967, after the restoration of that order during the Second Vatican Council. In Episcopal and

Anglican Churches, the initial ordination of women as deacons was closely linked to moves to open the priesthood to women, at that time most going on to be priests and only a few remaining as distinctive deacons. In the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Anne Keffer and Louise Williams report that, in 2019, a 'recommendation that deacons be ordained'<sup>50</sup> is being considered.

It is our conviction that if a renewed diaconate is to carry the authority required of an order of mission, it should be an ordained order. Clearly the nature of the ecclesiology of different churches will influence exactly what such ordination means. For example, Frederick Bauerschmidt, from a Roman Catholic perspective, advocates the approach of the Vatican II decree of *Lumen gentium*, in the context of which he believes the sacrament of ordination 'bring(s) about a new state of being'<sup>51</sup> in the diaconal ordinand. In Methodism, according to its Deed of Union of 1932, ordination is regarded as more a matter of church order and 'Connexional' commissioning. However, whatever the precise interpretation of ordination may be, we believe that, if a renewed diaconate is to be a 'full' order, it should be an ordained diaconate.

#### 2. Towards an equal order - ecclesiological issues

# 1. From being at the bottom of a hierarchy of ordained ministry to being one with the whole people of God

It is in many ways remarkable that in every church represented in this symposium, the distinctive diaconate, in practice if not always in theological principle, remains at the base of the ministerial hierarchy of deacon, priest (or presbyter) and bishop (or an equivalent office), whether that hierarchy be based on a sacramental view of ordination or on a concern for church order. This situation underscores the anachronism that, in the West, the different ordained ministries still remain moulded by a Christendom model of church. The British Methodist Church's 1932 Deed of Union commits it to 'the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers and consequently believes that no priesthood exists which belongs exclusively to a particular order of class of men [sic]'.<sup>52</sup> However, deacons are still regarded as having a secondary status to presbyters, in some situations officially (they cannot be nominated to be President of the Methodist Conference), but more often as a matter of history.

As we have mentioned earlier, a number of contributors to the symposium remind us that in the Roman Catholic Ordinal of 1550 and the Church of England's Ordinal of 1662, the diaconate was stated to being 'an inferior office.' Maylanne Maybee tells us that 'the Lambeth Conference of 1968... recommended... that the Ordinal be revised to... remove any reference to (the diaconate) as "an inferior office".' Susanne Watson Epting notes that this wording, still found in the 1928 Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church in the USA, was removed from its 1979 Prayer Book. Nevertheless, in practice, the treatment of the distinctive diaconate as an 'inferior office' remains widespread. How can a renewed diaconate rise above such a designation?

We believe the response to that challenge has, in the first case, to be rooted in the fact that, as Susanne Watson Epting argues, 'the first call to ministry is at baptism (and thus)... ministry is not something owned by the clergy... but is our common call.' Likewise, Josephine Borgeson believes, 'there is a need to deepen understanding of the general baptismal call to ministry for everyone'. In short, all ministries arise from the sacrament of baptism and there can be no such thing as an 'inferior' or 'superior' form of ministry,

ordained or lay, within the church. All are members of the  $\lambda\alpha\delta\varsigma$  or people of God, not least as described in 1 Peter 2:9.

In the second case, we believe that a renewed diaconate, as an order of mission, can only be designated an inferior order by those who devalue the Gospel message of building the kingdom as a community in society and the world.

#### 2. From a 'transitional' to a distinctive diaconate

The previous section also has relevance to the issue of the so-called 'transitional diaconate.' As Michael Jackson reminds us, the transitional diaconate is 'typical of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Eastern traditions – [being] the passage through the order of deacons for a year, more or less, of those to be ordained presbyter or priest.' This form of 'sequential,' and, later, 'cumulative' ordination (the idea that 'inside some deacons there is a priest, and inside some priests there is a bishop', as Rosalind Brown puts it became common practice in the church from the fifth century onwards. Clearly, the concept of a transitional diaconate entrenches the assumption that the distinctive diaconate is 'an inferior office.'

We would agree with many writers in the symposium that the concept of a transitional diaconate is a major hindrance to the emergence of a distinctive *and* renewed diaconate. Alison Peden puts her finger on the problem when she writes that 'ordaining priests to the transitional diaconate is a challenge to the vocational integrity of deacons and their ordination. To spend months and even years carefully discerning a call to be deacon, a herald of the kingdom and a commissioned agent of the Church's mission, and then watch ordination to the diaconate being used as a stepping-stone rite for those without that vocation diminishes a role that God has created'. She goes on to argue that 'as disciples and as ordinands, candidates should be directly ordained to either the diaconate or the priesthood as and when the Church is satisfied that they can respond to its call with integrity and competence'. Maylanne Maybee believes that there is a need to reinstate the 'direct' ordination of distinctive deacons, over against the claim by some priests that they too are deacons by virtue of their ordination as transitional deacons. In reality, she argues (echoing the previous section), '[priests] are ''deacons'' through baptism, not through an earlier act of ordination'. She provides the previous section of the priests of the previous section of the previous section of the previous section of the priests of the previous section of the previous section of the previous section of the priests of the previous section of the previous section

#### 3. From assistant ministers to a complementary order of ministry

Being 'an inferior office,' in principle or practice, implies that deacons are assistants to priests or presbyters. Here, we wish to argue that a renewed diaconate is called to an apostolate that is neither similar nor secondary to that of priest or presbyter.

One problem is that many churches still see the diaconate as not only parish-based but parish-'bound.' This is particularly so in the case of the Lutheran churches in Europe, as described by Anne Keffer and Louise Williams. However, though many deacons do operate on a wider canvas, this situation is also true of nearly every other church mentioned in this symposium. Such confinement to a parish- (or locally-) based ministry has restrictive consequences. As we have argued in an earlier section, it means that deacons are generally associated with a dominantly liturgical or pastoral form of apostolate. In practice, this forces them into the role of assistants to the priest (or presbyter), who is universally regarded as the leader of the local church's worship and ministry.

It is our contention, as David Clark has argued elsewhere,<sup>64</sup> that within a diaconal church, the role and responsibilities of *both* deacon *and* presbyter need radical re-appraisal.

On the one hand, the priest or presbyter should remain the leader of parish or gathered church ministries. However, within a diaconal church, they should assume the apostolate of 'an order of continuity.' Such an order is not about the drab task of 'maintenance.' It is about sustaining the precious heritage of each church and, indeed, working for church growth, including 'planting' new congregations. On the other hand, a renewed diaconate should, as already argued, become an order of mission primarily concerned with the communal transformation of society and world, and with equipping the people of God to engage in that task. In this new context, the ministries of priest and deacon become distinctive and profoundly complementary, not similar, inevitably with one being regarded as 'superior' and the other as 'inferior.'

#### 3. Towards an equal order - social and economic issues

#### 1. From women to men and women

The re-emergence of the diaconate in nineteenth century Europe mainly involved women who served as deaconesses, 65 though, as the initiatives taken by Johann Wichern show, men were also involved. 66 Anne Keffer and Louise Williams state that there were many reasons at that time why women deaconesses were to the fore. 67 Maurice Staton notes that 'middle class women were not expected to be wage earners, but... sought fulfilment through the caring work of the church...; that is, a feminist movement away from the confines of domesticity, marriage and motherhood. 68

Brian Butcher notes that there is evidence of the existence of women deacons during the first millennium of the Eastern Churches, but that the current gender balance is now dominantly male<sup>69</sup>. The distinctive diaconate which came into being within the Roman Catholic Church in the 'sixties was entirely male. Gloria Marie Jones' hope<sup>70</sup> that a commission set up by Pope Francis in 2016 might recommend that the Roman Catholic diaconate be open to women was, as of 2019, not fulfilled. However, late in that year Pope Francis undertook to reconvene the commission, with an expanded membership, to resume consideration of the issue. David Clark notes that the British Methodist Church first allowed men to become deacons when, in 1986, the (re-named) Methodist Diaconal Order came into being.<sup>71</sup> The symposium documents that other churches, notably Anglican and Episcopal, have had male and female deacons.

We believe that for a renewed diaconate to become an 'equal' order, in every sense of that term, it must include both men and women. Gloria Marie Jones is frustrated by the fact that 'only half of the (Roman Catholic) Church..., those who are male,' can be recognized as 'ministers of *diakonia*.'<sup>72</sup> In an age of growing gender equality, and in the context of a renewed diaconate needing to engage with the whole of society, we too believe it is immensely detrimental for one half of the human race to (continue to) be excluded from its membership.

#### 2. From single to single and married

Those who were members of the deaconess associations founded in nineteenth century Europe were not allowed to marry whilst remaining members of their orders, though they could leave the order to do so. During the second half of the twentieth century this requirement was set aside in Lutheran Churches. In the case of the British Methodist Diaconal Order this happened in 1965. Deacons in the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches are required to remain unmarried, unless they are already married when ordained as deacons. However, Brian Butcher notes that in the former case and in certain

churches, this condition has for many years been informally set aside.<sup>73</sup> In the Church of England and other Anglican Churches deacons can be married.

Although we recognize the advantages that celibacy can bring to the life and work of the church, we believe that, in the case of a renewed diaconate, the moves towards the marital state of deacons being set aside as of no theological relevance to their calling are appropriate. Indeed, the colleagueship of marriage can give renewed support and strength to an order of mission which can often have to operate in isolated and challenging situations.

#### 3. From a subsistence allowance to receiving a stipend or being self-supporting

During the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, deaconesses in the Lutheran and British Methodist Churches received little more than what Anne Keffer and Louise William call 'pocket money', <sup>74</sup> though of course they were housed and fed. The symposium does not document the degree to which this situation has changed, or the past and present scale of remuneration for deacons in other churches. However, in most cases, where stipends are now paid to deacons employed by the church, our experience is that these are lower than those received by presbyters or priests. Here, the British Methodist Church is commendably blazing a trail, with its deacons being paid the same stipend as presbyters, having the same housing provision and being paid equal expenses. We believe this should be the norm.

In many churches, especially in North America and the Church of England, most deacons are self-supporting. This enables the church to be free from having to finance their ministry and enables it to recruit far more distinctive deacons than would otherwise be the case. It also gives self-supporting deacons more freedom to choose the context in which they exercise their ministry. Self-employment can have limitations, such as a clash of loyalties between the world of work and the church. Nevertheless, we believe that a renewed diaconate should be made up of both stipendiary, paid on a similar scale to presbyters, and self-supporting deacons.

#### D. Towards partnership in the liturgy

The symposium indicates that the involvement of the distinctive diaconate in the liturgy of the local or gathered church is extremely varied. As Brian Butcher documents in the Eastern Orthodox tradition, deacons, according to their 'rank,' are formally engaged in performing many detailed parts of the liturgy.<sup>75</sup> They are regarded as ministering 'with and unto the presiding clergy, as well as the faithful,' though always being designated as assistants to the priest.<sup>76</sup>

At the other extreme, Michael Jackson notes that particularly in North America and, we would add not infrequently in the British Methodist Church, 'deacons may have no liturgical or preaching role at all'. There are a number of historical and ecclesiological reasons for this situation. For example, where the Mass or Eucharist lies at the heart of worship and particular rituals are to the fore, the deacon can much more easily be allocated a significant liturgical role.

However, where the liturgy is more focused on the proclamation of the Word and the liturgy is less ritualistic, as in the Lutheran and Methodist Churches, it is more difficult to find a significant role for the deacon to play. Furthermore, in the Church of England, with the role of lay reader well established, and in the British Methodist Church, with the

prominence of local (lay) preachers, the liturgical role of the deacon has been a secondary issue until of late.

#### 1. From members of the congregation to partners in leading the liturgy

We believe that if a renewed diaconate is to fulfil its apostolate as an order of mission and facilitator of the ministry of the people of God in the world, then it must play a much more active part in the liturgy than is the case in many churches today. The more important issue is the nature of that liturgical role. We agree with those contributors to the symposium who argue that the latter needs to be associated with those aspects of worship which are especially concerned with equipping the people of God for their mission as servants and, alongside deacons, as heralds of the kingdom in daily life.

In this context, we believe that Rosalind Brown's views that, liturgically, the deacon is one who exercises 'a ministry of hospitality'<sup>79</sup> in preparation for, during and after worship, is of considerable importance. She maintains that to focus the deacon's liturgical role on hospitality means that a deacon should be 'on the church door to welcome and reassure people',<sup>80</sup> be involved in the reading of the scriptures and the leading of intercessions, prepare the table for holy communion, and offer a dismissal which 'orders rather than invites people to leave the church to live (out) in the world'<sup>81</sup> that way of life embodied in the worship which they have experienced.

Our main reservation here is that a renewed diaconate's liturgical role should never become so dominant or time-consuming that it detracts from the deacon's primary apostolate of engagement in the communal transformation of society, and of equipping, *beyond* the liturgy, the people of God for their own essential role in that task.

#### E. Towards a distinctive formation of a distinctive diaconate

The important task of diaconal formation is the focus of a number of articles in the symposium. Anne Keffer and Louise Williams note<sup>82</sup> that the formation of Lutheran deaconesses in the nineteenth century Europe was taken very seriously. This was in large part because deaconesses had to prove their competence, as nurses, teachers and counsellors, amongst other roles, in often difficult situations. The British Wesleyan Deaconess Order early on set up a Deaconess Institute. In 1902, this moved to Ilkley in Yorkshire where it trained deaconesses, by 1962 this being a three year course. The college closed in 1968 when deaconesses moved to train alongside presbyters in Birmingham.<sup>83</sup> In the Roman Catholic Church deacons received special, though often part-time formation, from the inauguration of the distinctive diaconate in the 1960s.

#### 1. From a general to a distinctive mission-focused mode of formation

More recently, Josephine Borgeson describes how the Episcopal Church in the United States has begun to look again at the nature of the formation of the distinctive diaconate with a particular concern for 'belonging and identity'. However, it is also recognized that deacons need professional skills, on the one hand, and useful concepts and information to facilitate reflection and learning on the other. There is also a move towards a person-centred rather than subject-dominated course.

One common feature of formation in the Anglican Church of Canada and the Association for Episcopal Deacons is a new emphasis on relevant 'competencies.' We see one of the difficulties with this approach as being the overwhelming number of competencies

which could be seen as important, and, even then, the danger of leaving some significant ones out. For example, Michael Jackson is disappointed that the 2016 *Iona Report* on formation in the Anglican Church of Canada neglects the liturgical and preaching role of the deacon and is thus in danger of producing deacons as 'ecclesiastical social worker(s).'87

We would argue that the formation of a distinctive and renewed diaconate will remain unclear until its apostolate and identity as *both* an order of mission *and also* a religious order become more widely recognized and accepted. This means grasping that a renewed diaconate needs to be properly equipped to engage in the communal transformation of society and to fulfil the responsibilities of being a member of a community seeking to exemplify the nature of the kingdom for world and church.

#### 2. From a presbyteral to a diaconal mode of formation

Another matter of note that arises from the contributions to the symposium is that the formation of distinctive diaconates, as Alison Peden reports in the case of the Scottish Episcopal Church<sup>88</sup> and as now happens in the British Methodist Church, has in some instances been combined with the formation of presbyters. We welcome the fact that these two forms of ministry share a common foundation and could in future enjoy richly complementary roles. However, we believe that the danger of this 'integrated' approach to formation is that the role of the presbyter takes pride of place. This can severely limit the time and space that diaconal ordinands are able explicitly to give to diaconal formation.

#### 3. From an amateur to a professional mode of formation

One other issue which emerges from the symposium is the issue of whether diaconal formation needs to be more 'professional' in relation to its content and standards. For an order which in future will need to engage proactively with the secular world where the qualifications required of those in professional roles are of an increasingly demanding nature, we believe that the acquisition of the appropriate skills and experience will be essential. If, as Michael Jackson argues, diaconal formation should be about producing much more than 'ecclesiastical social workers,' it should also be about producing much more than 'amateur social workers.' This may be less of a danger where deacons have previously acquired the necessary qualifications and experience before offering for ordination. However, it remains a challenge to a church which, not least where facing a shortage of candidates for the ordained ministry, can all too readily lower its standards for entry and training.

#### F Towards an ecumenical mission

#### 1. From denominationalism to an ecumenical church and world

The impetus behind the conference which preceded the production of *The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective*, and the motivation for the publication of this symposium, was, as Michael Jackson its editor puts it, 'a growing ecumenical consensus on the diaconate'. He continues: 'There is a widely shared opinion that we should not, indeed cannot, replicate in our era what the diaconate, male or female, may have been in past millennia....The deacon is called to a ministry in the *contemporary* church... being liberated from stereotypes.' Thus, though the nature and forms of the diaconate described in the book are as diverse as the churches and ecclesiologies they represent, the greatest contribution of this symposium is the vision that its contributors have of the potential of a *renewed* diaconate and the importance they attribute to the emergence of the latter for the future of church and world.

In a renewed diaconate, the church is offered a new order of ministry, which can liberate the people of God for their mission 'to grow the kingdom', <sup>91</sup> as Alison Peden puts it. On the basis of much that is written or implied in this symposium, we have argued that we are witnessing the birth of a renewed diaconate as *a new order of mission*, empowered by being *a religious community*. It is a radically new form of church leadership able to give fresh clarity and impetus to the message of the kingdom in today's fragmented and fragile world. As 'heralds of the kingdom' the calling of such a diaconate is to enable the church to offer meaning and hope to a world in crisis.

At the same time the emergence of a renewed diaconate opens up the possibility and potential of a renewed priesthood or presbyterate as an order of continuity. Here too, stereotypes need to go.

However, the coming into being of renewed forms of diaconal *and* presbyteral ministry depends on us once again grasping the imperative of 'one church renewed for mission,' a statement of intent borrowed from the famous 1964 ecumenical conference in Nottingham, England, which had the vision of one church becoming a reality in the United Kingdom by Easter 1980. Though that hope was not fulfilled, on a wider front, it still underpins the stance of many of the contributors to this symposium. However, beyond the life of the church, Maylanne Maybee urges us to remember that this 'ecumenical opportunity' is about the future of 'the whole inhabited earth!' humankind and planet. We are convinced that the emergence of a renewed diaconate, with its immense potential, is not just a catalyst for the liberation and 're-formation' of the church, but for the liberation and redemption of society and world.

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# Towards a renewed diaconate Signposts

[The references in brackets refer to the relevant section and pages in the main text.]

#### A. Towards a new order of mission

A renewed diaconate is founded on a kingdom theology (A1/4)
It is called to the communal transformation of society and world (A2/5)
It engages with secular society (A3/5)
It enables and equips the laity to be the people of God in the world (A4/6)
It exercises servant leadership (A5/6)
A renewed diaconate is an order of mission (A6/6)

#### B. Towards a religious order

A renewed diaconate is a religious order (B1/7)

# C. Towards 'a full and equal order' 1 Towards a full order

A renewed diaconate is an ordained order (C1.1/8)

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#### 2 Towards an equal order - ecclesiological issues

A renewed diaconate is one with the whole people of God (C2.1/9)

It is a distinctive diaconate (C2.2/10)

It is an order of mission complementary to that of presbyters as an order of continuity (C2.3/10)

#### 3 Towards an equal order - social and economic issues

The members of a renewed diaconate can be male or female (C3.1/11)

Its members can be single or married (C3.2/11)

Its members can be paid a stipend or be self-supporting (C3.3/12)

#### D. Towards partnership in the liturgy

A renewed diaconate is a partner in the leading of the liturgy (D1/13)

#### E. Towards a distinctively diaconal mode of formation

A renewed diaconate engages in a distinctive mission-focused mode of formation (E1/13)

It engages in a diaconal not presbyteral mode of formation (E2/14)

It engages in a professional mode of formation (E3/14)

#### F. Towards an ecumenical mission

A renewed diaconate works for the creation of one church and one world (F1/14)

**David Clark and Maurice Staton**November 2019

# **Appendix**

## Contributors to The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective

Frederick Bauerschmidt - Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore (deacon)

**Josephine Borgeson** - Episcopal Diocese of Northern California (deacon)

**Rosalind Brown** - Church of England (presbyter)

**Brian Butcher** - Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church (sub-deacon)

**David Clark** - British Methodist Diaconal Order (deacon)

Susanne Watson Epting - Episcopal Church of the USA (deacon)

Michael Jackson - Anglican Church of Canada (deacon)

Gloria Marie Jones, OP - Roman Catholic Dominican Sisters of Mission San Jose

Anne Keffer - Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (deaconess)

Maylanne Maybee - Anglican Church of Canada (deacon)

George Newman - Roman Catholic diaconate (deacon)

**Alison Peden** - Scottish Episcopal Church (presbyter)

**Louise Williams** - Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (deacon)

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#### The authors of this paper

**David Clark** became a member of the British Methodist Diaconal Order in 2005. Prior to that, he worked as a Methodist presbyter in Sheffield and inner-city London. From 1973 until 2000 he was a 'sector minister' and senior lecturer in community education at Westhill College, Birmingham, a member of the Selly Oak Federation of Mission Colleges. He played a leading role in the British Christian Community Movement of the 1970s and 1980s, set up and directed the Christians in Public Life Programme from 1992 to 2001, founded the Human City Institute in 1997, and the Kingdom at Work Project in 2014. He holds a MA in history from Oxford University, a PhD in urban sociology from Sheffield University, and a MEd in community education from Birmingham University. He is retired but still active and writing.

Maurice Staton is a Methodist presbyter. He is now retired after serving over forty years in circuit work in British Methodism. This included a joint appointment with a Methodist deacon in Harrogate. Before and during retirement he worked for 18 years as a hospice chaplain and 3 years as a hospital chaplain in York. He was a member of the Methodist Division of Ministries from 1985 to 1992. During this time he was involved in the formation of the new Methodist Diaconal Order, following the closure of its predecessor, the Wesley Deaconess Order, in 1978. He has a MA in social studies from Newcastle University and a MA in health care from Leeds University. He holds a doctorate in ministry from Eden Seminary, St Louis and a PhD from Leeds University for research into diaconal ministry within the Methodist Church. He continues to be active in the life of Methodism.

1 Indran D. M. (ad.) (2010)

<sup>2</sup> For example see:

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<sup>3</sup> Jackson, op. cit., pp. 104-112

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jackson, D. M. (ed.) (2019) *The Diaconate in Ecumenical Perspective - Ecclesiology, Liturgy and Practice*. Durham: Sacristy Press. p. 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See: Clark, D. (2016) *Building Kingdom Communities - with the diaconate as a new order of mission*. Peterborough: Fast-Print Publishing. pp. 159-212

<sup>(2018),</sup> *The gift of a renewed diaconate - and the contribution of British Methodism*. Peterborough: Fast-print Publishing. pp. 123-138

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www.dmbi.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk
<sup>5</sup> 'A New and Dynamic Order of Ministry,' Methodist Recorder, 13/9/19
<sup>6</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p. 35
<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 198
<sup>8</sup> Clark, D. (2013, second edition) Breaking the mould of Christendom: kingdom community,
          diaconal church and the liberation of the laity. Peterborough: FastPrint Publishing
<sup>9</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p. 27
<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 15
<sup>11</sup> Ibid. pp. 2 and 14
<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 189
<sup>13</sup> Clark (2016), op. cit., pp. 12-28
<sup>14</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p.108
15 Ibid.
<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 153
<sup>17</sup> Pope Francis (2013) Evangelii Gaudium - The Joy of the Gospel. Frederick, Maryland:
          The Word Among Us Press. p. 130
<sup>18</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p. 153
<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p.137
<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 7
<sup>21</sup> Clark, D. (2014) The Kingdom at Work Project - a communal approach to mission in the
          workplace. Peterborough: FastPrint Publishing
<sup>22</sup> Staton (2001), p. 347
<sup>23</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p. 127
<sup>24</sup> Ibid. pp. 106-107
<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 21
<sup>26</sup> Ibid. pp. 153-154
<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 187
<sup>28</sup> Ibid. Jackson, p. 2; Brown, p. 12; Epting, p. 37; Maybee, p. 65
<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 30
<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 40
<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 154
<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Clark, p.106
33 Clark (2016), op. cit., pp. 12-28
<sup>34</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p. 154
<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 31
<sup>36</sup> Ibid. pp. 116-117
<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 117
<sup>38</sup> Ibid.
<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 117
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<sup>40</sup> Ibid. pp.126-127

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<sup>41</sup> On the early British Methodist deaconesses movement, see Staton (2013), op. cit., 3.2-3.4
<sup>42</sup> Ibid.
<sup>43</sup> Jackson, op. cit., pp. 104-112
<sup>44</sup> Ibid. pp. 108-109
<sup>45</sup> Clark (2016), op. cit., pp. 178-184. See also Clark, D. The hallmark of the Methodist
          Diaconal Order - its life as a religious order - and some implications the future of
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<sup>46</sup> Jackson, op. cit., pp. 108-109
<sup>47</sup> Ibid. pp. 129 and 122
<sup>48</sup> Staton (2013), op. cit., 3.9
<sup>49</sup> Ibid.
<sup>50</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p. 129
<sup>51</sup> Ibid. p. 27
<sup>52</sup> Staton (2001) op. cit., p 266
<sup>53</sup> Jackson, op. cit., Brown, pp. 13-14; Maybee, p. 65
<sup>54</sup> Ibid. p.69
<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 37
<sup>56</sup> Ibid.
<sup>57</sup> Ibid. p. 202
<sup>58</sup> Ibid. p. 2
<sup>59</sup> Ibid. p.3
<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p. 48
<sup>61</sup> Ibid. p. 50
<sup>62</sup> Ibid. p. 139
<sup>63</sup> Ibid. pp. 117-122
64 Clark (2016) op. cit., pp. 79-100, 141-157
<sup>65</sup> Jackson, op. cit., Maybee, pp. 65 and 67; Williams, pp.115-116
66 Ibid. Williams, p. 115
<sup>67</sup> Ibid.
<sup>68</sup> Staton (2013), 3.2
<sup>69</sup> Jackson, op. cit., pp. 79-87
<sup>70</sup> Ibid. pp. 75-78
<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p. 106
<sup>72</sup> Ibid. p. 73
<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p. 96
<sup>74</sup> Ibid. p. 116
<sup>75</sup> Ibid. pp. 92-102
<sup>76</sup> Ibid. p. 102
<sup>77</sup> Ibid. p. 7
<sup>78</sup> Staton (2013) op. cit., 3.10
<sup>79</sup> Jackson, op. cit., pp. 161-167
<sup>80</sup> Ibid. p. 164
<sup>81</sup> Ibid. p. 167
<sup>82</sup> Ibid. p. 116
83 Staton (2013) op. cit., 3.8
<sup>84</sup> Jackson, op. cit., p. 198
<sup>85</sup> Ibid. p. 199
86 Ibid.
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<sup>87</sup> Ibid. p. 176. Also Staton (2001) p. 339 - 'leitourgia means... liturgy and work'. cf. p 342
88 Ibid. pp. 185-191
89 Ibid. p. 9
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid. p. 186
92 Ibid. p. 132