

Siegfried Horn

Strategies for Coping with Theological Tension and Conflict

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Abstract

Siegfried Horn was an alumnus of both Friedensau Seminary and Newbold College, who subsequently served for 25 years at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary as professor of Antiquity, Chair of the Old Testament Department and finally as Dean of the Seminary. Through his field work and his writing, he became an internationally respected authority in the field of Biblical Archaeology. During most of his career but particularly through the 1960s and 70s, the Adventist church faced enormous social and cultural change and experienced increasing pressure for theological change in response to the need to accommodate new knowledge. Theological conflict often simmered underneath the surface of church life and as a result, Horn's teaching and administrative responsibilities exposed him to significant stress as he navigated the sharp tensions. Utilizing Horn's personal diary kept over fifty years, this paper will explore Horn's private reflections on these tensions and his perceptions of the need for theological change. It will also seek to identify strategies he adopted in order to cope with the tensions associated with change and consider how he approached the challenge of maintaining personal integrity when his views and those of his church and its leaders markedly differed.

Friedensau Seminary graduate and prominent Adventist scholar, Siegfried Horn, spent twenty-five-years of his ministerial career at the Seventh-day Adventist theological seminary, first as a teacher/professor (1951–1973) and then as dean (1973–1976). This quarter century spanned a period when the church faced enormous social and cultural tension and experienced significant pres-

sure for theological change. The drivers of such change included external theological criticism, the community's own theological reflection on tensions within its doctrinal formulations, an imperative to respond to the changing needs of society and the necessity of accommodating new knowledge. Thus, theological conflict simmered just beneath the surface of church life during most of Horn's teaching career and periodically erupted into "storms" resulting in what he called "witch hunting" seasons that sometimes resulted in casualties in teaching careers (*SHHD*, March 3, June 7, 1966; October 13, 1968). Consequently, Horn's teaching and administrative responsibilities during this period exposed him to significant stress and ethical tension as he navigated the stormy seas of these episodes.

Utilizing Horn's personal diary which he kept for over fifty years, this paper¹ will explore Horn's private reflections on the recurring tensions, identify particular areas of conflict and the sources of tension, and consider his perceptions of the need for theological change. It will also seek to identify the strategies he adopted in order to cope with the tensions associated with change and note how he approached the challenge of maintaining personal integrity when his views and those of his church and its leaders diverged. The diary gives insights into how contemporary teachers might cope with the pressure of living under similar circumstances.

Two questions will help frame the theme of the paper and suggest its relevance to contemporary teachers of theology. How does one relate to one's community of faith when one's own intellectual growth outruns that of the community? How does one relate to one's community of faith when information and seemingly indisputable facts keep emerging that the community is either unable to accommodate or refuses to accommodate? Reflections on the life of Siegfried Horn offer insight on how these questions might at least be addressed even if they are not able to be fully resolved.

Two caveats also need to be stated by way of introduction. Though this paper discusses Siegfried Horn at length, the author acknowledges that he never met the professor personally. I have, however, conversed at length with his student, Professor Lawrence (Larry) Geraty, who was perhaps the

¹ A paper presented at the European Theology Teachers' Convention held in Budapest from March 22–26, 2023 with the theme: "Tensions, Conflicts, Wars: 'Storms' in the Bible, Church and Society".

closest of any person to him as a friend and colleague. Geraty was mentored by Horn, was designated by him as his successor in his archaeology work and was with him personally through difficult life experiences. Perhaps some participants in this 2023 Budapest conference may have attended Horn's extension schools in Europe in the mid-1960s or took classes from him at Andrews University, or participated with him in his archaeological expeditions and therefore may have known him personally. Such will have known him in a way I was never able to know him. And yet I feel I have been able to become acquainted with him at a personal level, one step distant, as it were, through his letters, his biography authored by Joyce Rochat and through his own autobiography about his war years (Rochat 1986; Horn 1987). More importantly, I have become acquainted with this iconic Adventist scholar and statesman through his extensive handwritten diary kept between 1926 and 1993 (See Figure I). I am deeply indebted to Larry Geraty for the privilege of reading Horn's invaluable 35-volume diary² (See Figure 2). It is the author's conviction that this is a sufficient acquaintance base for thinking about important questions that all theology teachers face at times, particularly those who have also been, or are, involved in administration, or who have had roles where in some measure they have been responsible for the lives and careers of others.

² The complete diary in bound volumes that sometimes included just one year but also sometimes included two or three years is in the possession of Geraty. I read the diary in preparation of my book *Ostriches and Canaries: Coping with Change in Adventism 1966–1979*, 2022.

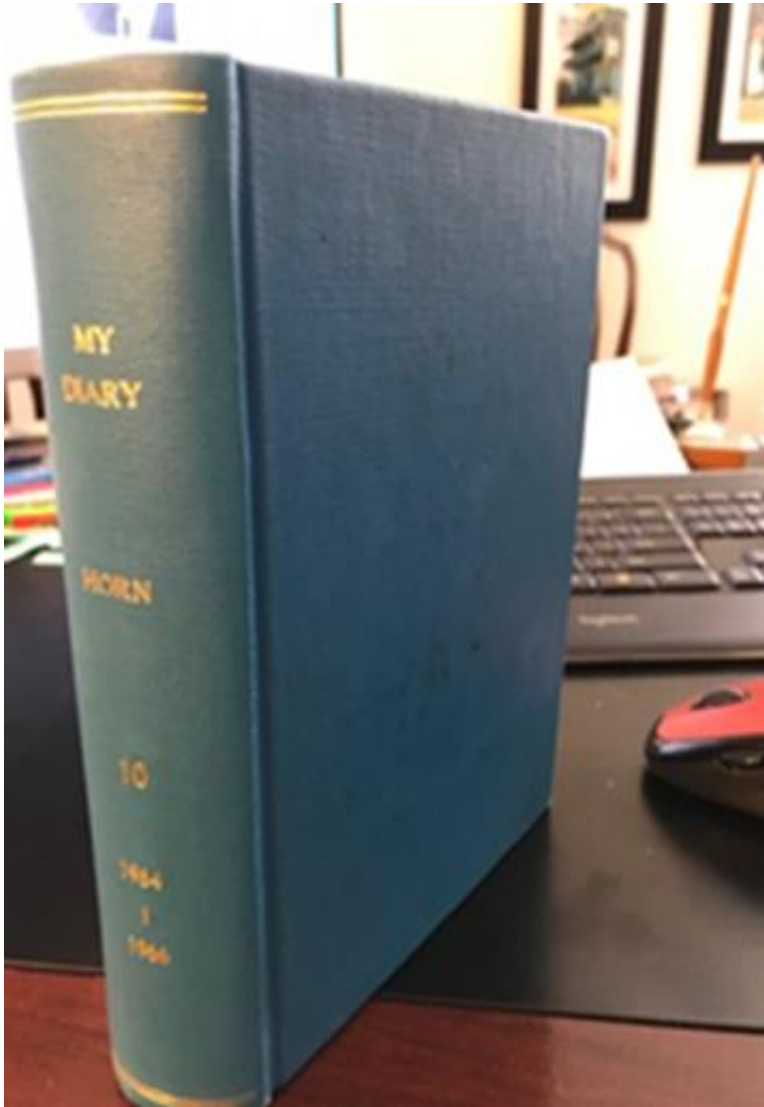


Figure 1

Siegfried Horn Diary Volume 10 (1964–1966)

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Return
from Washington to Berrien Springs

Jeanne worked Sunday, Jan. 1, for the last time, the Berrien Springs 11th day in the hospital. I had a lazy day, slept in, packed the Fr. 1-13-61 car & read. At 3 PM I stood in front of the hospital & we departed as soon as Jeanne came out. Via Frederick, Hazletown & McCombshury we reached the Parma Turnpike. The road was dirty because of salt slush on the snow and ice and I could hardly see through the windshield. Was glad when it was cleaned at a service station. Our 640-mile trip was otherwise uneventful, except for the recentriacus part of Pennsylvania the road was clear, although the whole country was under snow. We reached our home after a 12-hour drive right at 3 PM, and found everything in good order. Nothing extraordinary had happened. The two girls, Jeanne and Sigrid, had worked hard and were happy that their time of loneliness was over.

Already 11 days have passed since we returned & nothing happens here. I read the first work in January to finish the 8th vol. of my DIARY which covers the years 1958-60, years in which I became a field archaeologist. Furthermore I have done not much, written quite a few letters and worked on translating the Shoshone reports. Otherwise I have little real fun in decent work. I must complete articles on our Shoshone expedition, write a promised article for These Times and work on the scarab article, but I postpone this work from day to day. Whether it is connected with the fact that I do not like it here or whether it has other reasons I do not know yet. There is no real incentive or happiness here, and I hope that it will change in the future and become better. Jeanne is also surmising about this place every day. The weather has been fine since our return.

Figure 2.

A Sample Hand-written Diary Page January 13, 1961

A second important caveat concerns a qualification about the lens used in this paper to view Siegfried Horn's life – a lens that provides the perspective of a life under the pressure of ethical tension and conflict. The view through this lens should not be taken to imply that his life was unpleasantly or morosely always a life under pressure. It is true that Horn lived as a child through the economic and social hardships of the first world war, that as a teenager in the period between the wars he lived through the highly stressful period of hyper-inflation and the collapse of the national currency in Germany and that

he spent six-and-a-half years as a prisoner of war in various internment camps during World War II. This was a life under pressure where his survival instincts were finely honed. But looking back on these experiences, Horn was grateful for providence and for a full, rich life in which he found fulfillment and joy despite the stresses, and made an enormous contribution to his professional field, to his church and his friends. Romans 8.28, which he often cited in the language of the King James, “all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose,” was his favorite scriptural verse. He believed deeply in God’s providence. But those times when he was under pressure as a prisoner and later under Adventist administrators and the expectations of his church, offer important insights and suggest questions for reflection.

1. Ethical Conundrums

Chicago University theologian Langdon Gilkey in *Shantung Compound: The Story of Men and Women Under Pressure* (1966) writes of the particular stress one experiences when confronted by the necessity of compromising one’s moral principles because the compromise itself appears to be required as a moral necessity. Shantung Compound was a crowded Japanese Prisoner of War camp in China in the 1940s. It posed numerous ethical dilemmas for Gilkey that had a common problematic nub. When two moral duties conflict and implementing only one is possible, which one ceases at that point to be the duty? How does one maintain ethical integrity under such pressure? Horn did not ever live in Gilkey’s internment camp, but he experienced numerous similar pressures in various camps during his own six-and-half-years in captivity. The evidence suggests that these years further sharpened his already finely-honed survival instincts. Some have pondered whether such experiences leave a measure of lasting psychic damage in some way.

In a 1970 chapel program at the Theological Seminary at Andrews University, three respected professors joined Langdon Gilkey on a panel that followed his presentation reflecting on the theme of coping with ethical dilemmas. All four had personal experience of facing difficult ethical challenges as Christians. The three Andrews teachers, Charles Wittschiebe who taught family life classes, Siegfried Horn who taught Old Testament history and University President Richard Hammill had all spent time in war-time prisoner of war camps and knew firsthand the difficulties of compromise and

of determining what seemed right and what seemed best in less-than-ideal circumstances. Because some of the entries we encounter in Horn's diary may seem confronting from an ethical perspective and may seem difficult to reconcile with expectations or the reputation of the diary keeper, it is helpful to take a careful look at the totality of his life.

2. A Potted Biography

Siegfried Horn was born in March 1908 to Albin and Klara Horn in the town of Wurzen, Saxony, Germany. He began life in the nurture of a fervent, newly Adventist, newly Sabbath keeping home.³ His mother, a successful licensed Bible worker-minister, had studied at Friedensau Seminary and had been instrumental in converting the respected, upper middle class Horn family to Adventism. *Herr* and *Frau* Horn were soon to become her in-laws when she married their son, Albin, a successful nurseryman who later became a widely admired test pilot in the infancy of the German aviation industry. Tragically for the family, Albin died in a plane crash in 1913 when Siegfried was five years old. When World War I broke out in the following year, Siegfried's mother, Klara, was called back into ministry and asked to help care for ten companies and churches in the Leipzig area alongside an older retired minister (all the regular male ministers had been conscripted). Klara continued in ministry for the rest of her working life and never remarried. From 1915 through to the year of her death in 1978 (that is, for 64 years) Siegfried Horn's mother's name was listed in the Seventh-day Adventist yearbook as a credentialed Minister-Bible worker. He deeply respected her commitment, had been shaped by it, felt honored by it and faithfully sought to emulate it. He learned about spiritual loyalty from his mother who sent him to a Jewish school to avoid the problem of his having to attend classes on Sabbath. Later, when the family moved to Chemnitz where Klara had been assigned to care for several churches, she refused to send Siegfried and his siblings to public school on Sabbath in defiance of the civic authorities. She would pay fines, hide her children from the authorities, and later spend time in prison for her refusal to comply. Her firm conviction and determination would bear fruit when in 1918

³ Biographical details are drawn from the early chapters of Rochat's *Survivor*, 1–88, and various diary entries.

she won a landmark court case for religious liberty in the state of Saxony (Rochat, 49, 50).

Siegfried Horn was baptized at age sixteen and went to Friedensau to study for the ministry. After graduation he spent six months at Stanborough College in England learning the English language and then in 1930 at age twenty-two began ministerial work in the Netherlands where he had gone to learn the Dutch language since he wanted to become a missionary in the Dutch East Indies. In the Netherlands he found a partner in nurse Jeanne Rothfusz of the Adventist church in Delft (it was expected that outward bound missionaries at least have a fiancée). The couple married in Batavia, in October 1933. For eight years Horn pastored in what is now Indonesia in both rural and urban settings and at times carrying multiple responsibilities. During the years of Hitler's rise to power the couple engaged in many discussions. His Dutch wife, Jeanne, thought that what Hitler was doing could be justified for the benefit of the nation. Her husband thought otherwise. Then in May 1940 when Hitler invaded the Netherlands, suddenly Horn's host country found itself inevitably at war with his mother country, Germany. In light of the rapidly deteriorating international situation, Horn had previously sought Dutch citizenship as a pre-cautionary measure. Unfortunately, his papers did not arrive in time. As a German national he was quickly arrested and interned with thousands of other German missionaries and businessmen under a now quite hostile Dutch military, many of whose expatriate military commanders hated German prisoners because of what Hitler's forces had done to their home country and to their relatives.

An incident Horn relates from his early months in an internment camp in the jungles of Sumatra illustrates the kind of dilemma he would often face. Horn had refused to work on Sabbath, which had exposed him to much criticism and aroused suspicions among some of the Nazi-supporting internees that there was something Jewish about him. He sometimes found himself in political arguments with these fellow Germans – a mix of pro-Nazi, neutral and anti-Nazi prisoners – all living very close together in crowded, unsanitary conditions. After several public arguments, in 1941, in which he angrily called Hitler a criminal, reports ran through the camp that he was not a loyal German. He was discreetly taken aside and warned by a Nazi friend, Herr Stelzig, that his life was in danger from the militant Nazi faction. "Be careful what you say," he was warned. He had become a marked man and a target had been

placed on his back (Rochat, 246–250). Horn quickly learned to keep his thoughts to himself if he was to survive and he turned his attention to scholarship. Gifted disciplinarian and student that he was, he used his time in internment camps both in Indonesia and later in India under British military supervision, to study Old Testament and Archaeology. He also taught classes at the camps, an experience that greatly profited both himself and his future seminary students. During this time, he also drafted thousands of pages of scholarly manuscripts that he was able to preserve and later rework for publication. During the time of his transfer to a camp in British India in January 1942 and through a mix-up in identities and a breakdown in communication, his wife Jeanne thought he had been killed in a Japanese attack on the troop transport ship on which he had been sailing. Jeanne would not know of his survival for four years, and their reunion would not occur until after the war.

In 1946, almost a full year after the end of the war, Horn was released from detention and through a series of events which he saw as providential, he found his way to the United States. There he rapidly completed an undergraduate degree at Walla Walla, an MA degree at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C., from where he went on to complete a PhD in Archaeology and Egyptology Studies at the University of Chicago, graduating in 1951. Called to teach at the Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C. in 1951, he went on to spend twenty-six years in further denominational employment, establishing a stellar reputation as an Adventist defender of the authenticity of scripture, an archeologist with a world-wide reputation and a highly respected teacher, writer, and editor. He wrote 2,000 manuscript pages for the seven-volume *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (900 printed pages) and was the principal author of the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary*. His book *The Spade Confirms the Book* enjoyed numerous foreign translations and multiple editions. For the last three years of his career, 1973–1976, he served as seminary dean under Andrews University president Richard Hammill and General Conference president, Robert Pierson.

And yes, intellectually, Siegfried Horn grew beyond various understandings held by his Adventist community as he accumulated and absorbed new information about archaeology, chronology and biblical literature. New facts no longer easily fitted within the structures of parts of his Adventist faith. Influences in his life experience that led to such growth derived from his

cross-cultural experience during eight years in Adventist mission, his internment experience during World War II, his personal study (he was an intensely curious student), his formal education in biblical studies and Egyptology, his own specific research in archaeology and his own personal reflection on all of this. A year after he had been appointed dean of the seminary while visiting Frankfurt in the summer of 1974, he celebrated the 50th anniversary of his baptism and noted in his diary, "In recent years my convictions have experienced quite a change and have become rather liberal in outlook as occasional notes in the volumes of my diary penned during the last 30 years show" (*SHHD* August 9, 1974.). Though some of the perspectives changed, he held fast to his core Adventist convictions and his essential Christian faith and he remained an Adventist deeply committed to his community, to its hope and to its values. Indeed, he felt deeply indebted to his church and attributed his personal growth to his church. "What I have and am I owe to my church, and I am grateful that my church has supported me and given me opportunities for growth and allowed me to pursue my various interests" (*ibid.*).

How did he hold together his intellectual and spiritual growth and his commitment to a conservative church? He learned to keep many thoughts to himself and to know where his conversation partners stood. He gently urged change where he could, safely, some thought too tentatively. He avoided public disclosure and public discussion of theological problems or of his emerging convictions. He considered that he was able to do this with integrity. He had mastered the skills of survival during war time under hostile regimes and he continued to do so under what might be considered, from some perspectives, difficult regimes during his life as a scholar. He did, however, feel quite free and uninhibited in divulging his thoughts to his diary.

3. Insights from a Diary

In many places in his diary, Horn wrote about theological problems the church faced, his own assessment of these difficulties and his views of the way the church attempted to address them. The diary is rich in its record of various committee meetings in which he participated and in its reporting of behind-the-scenes comments and conversations intermingled with Horn's own observations and impressions. The discussion which follows will note diary entries in a roughly chronological order under three broad rubrics: (1)

theological problems which Horn found challenging; (2) approaches to adjustment which he appeared to adopt; (3) and his overall reflections on his life as a non-traditional Adventist. Citations will be introduced with brief contextual explanations.

3.1 *Theological, Biblical, and Chronological Problems*

Horn appears to have first experienced the tension of his intellectual conflicts surfacing in a public arena (outside the realm of his personal study) during his work on the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* in the early 1950s. Shortly after he joined the seminary faculty, he had been invited by *Review and Herald* editor Francis D. Nichol to contribute introductory articles and textual commentary manuscripts for the commentary project. Problems with chronology had surfaced early as newly-skilled scholarly seminary writers began exegeting the Old Testament texts. A working committee had been set up under the chairmanship of General Conference educational director Keld Reynolds, to consider ways of resolving conflicts arising from the inadequacies of Bishop Ussher's 6,000-year chronology scheme (GC Committee Minutes March 13, 20, 1952). The committee completed its work in late-1954 with the recommendation that the editors should not to be bound by Ussher's timeframe in their approach to the chronology they would use in the commentary but that they should also avoid exposing direct conflicts with what Ellen White had written using the Ussher scheme (GC Committee Minutes December 23, 1954).⁴ After one long night of difficult discussion in commentary editor F.D. Nichol's office over the problem of how to deal with the chronology of Ezra and the rebuilding of the Temple, Horn reflected in his diary on the tensions the scholars encountered:

We Adventist historians have a hard job. Firstly, we have to harmonize history with the Bible, which is not always easy, and secondly, we have to harmonize both with Mrs. White's writings, which is even more difficult. And this has to be done in spite of our knowing that she has said, that she was 'no authority on history,' and that some statements in her books are not hers, but are interpolations of her secretary or borrowings from other writers. But what can we do? Such a *nimbus* [halo] has in the course of time been built up around her that

⁴ A brief account of the committee's work is found in S.H. Horn's letter to H.W. Low, January 15, 1969. RG11, Fld: Bib Res (1960), GCArch. See also the discussion in Valentine 2022, 81, 288.

no one dares to do anything about it. Many of our people seem to be [more] willing to see mistakes in the Bible than mistakes in her writings, contrary to what is claimed, that we do not put her writings in the place of the Bible or above it. But in practice we do this very thing. Being now in this situation it is difficult to change, and we have to stick by our guns, not to cause explosions anywhere. The men here do not dare to release her statements that she did not want to be considered an authority on history (*SHHD*, August 19, 1954).⁵

Horn was again confronted with having to deal with information that challenged traditional interpretations of the Old Testament when he served as a tour guide for a small group of ministers on a bible lands tour. While traveling through the Sinai Desert area and camping at Abu Zeneima (Sinai) en-route he reports reflections on his difficulty with reconciling the Exodus record with what was known from Egyptian history and scientific investigation:

We stopped at a well and pool called Ain Musa where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea. . . . I am not so sure what happened. There are so many unsolved problems. The “warlike” Philistines, the two million Israelites, the topographical difficulties, and the miraculous happenings. One just must believe without trying to explain. . . . When we drove for 250 kilometres through desert that has not a grass sprig and saw only one or two people, one man asked me, what the cattle of the Israelites had eaten. . . . Travelling through this area we cannot understand everything of the Exodus story (*SHHD*, July 8, 1957).

He adopted the approach on this occasion of putting problems on the shelf. Later, in his classes he would become more confident in taking at least one problem off the shelf and suggesting a reinterpretation. He would explain, for example, that there were other pieces of evidence that suggested there were not two million Israelites. He would, however, be criticized sharply for this (*SHHD* April 4, 1966). For example, Illinois Conference evangelist Roger Holley publicly criticized Horn after learning that he had spent two hours in class discussing the number of the Israelites who left Egypt when Ellen White had clearly and definitively said there were two million. Why could Horn not simply accept Ellen White, “and use the time for more important matters”?

⁵ The “men here” to whom Horn alludes appears to refer to White Estate officers and General Conference leaders in Washington D.C.

Holley had challenged. Such questions were “settled by inspiration and need no investigation.” Horn’s reflection on the criticism was biting:

It is hopeless to fight ignorance and bigotry. Adventist evangelists and many ministers, including a lot of presidents, certainly deserve the reputation of being a bunch of illiterates. They may be promoters, administrators, and persuaders of souls who can bring people to change their religion in 3 weeks, but otherwise seem to be simply stupid! It is pathetic. I told him that I have lived with this type of criticism now for 16 years and will not get ulcers from it. I still enjoy my work and don’t care what the outsiders say about us (ibid.).

The problem of establishing the limits and nature of the authority resident in Ellen White’s writings had troubled Horn and his seminary colleagues in the early 1950s. Soon, the authority problem spilled over from history into theology. Problematic topics surfaced at a North America-wide meeting of college religion teachers held at Berrien Springs in the summer of 1958. Horn’s report of a presentation by his seminary colleague church history professor Frank Yost, gives insight into how both Yost and Horn processed the difficulty:

Dr Yost discussed the historicity of Ellen G. White in a frank and masterly way, admitted mistakes in her books and would not use them as historical source books. Some men believe in her infallibility or in the infallibility of scripture. I believe in Sister White and believe her visions to be genuine, but do not grant she stands on the level of Isaiah, Moses or John the Baptist. I believe she wrote errors in history and theology, as there are errors in the Bible (*SHHD* June 16, 1958).

At the same Berrien Springs meeting, seminary systematic theology professor Edward Heppenstall acknowledged intractable problems with the church’s traditional approach to its Sanctuary doctrine. He challenged the idea that the Old Testament sacrifice actually transferred sin to the sanctuary therefore polluting it and necessitating its cleansing. Heppenstall believed that this core concept was simply not biblical. The clear purpose of sacrifice was to expiate sin, not transfer it and place it elsewhere.⁶ Horn understood that Heppenstall’s challenge, recently also made by evangelical critic Walter R. Martin,

⁶ Heppenstall regularly set assignments for his seminary students to research the purpose of OT sacrifice. The conclusions they reached were similar to his own. His personal files contain major

struck at the key rationale undergirding the doctrine of the “cleansing” of the sanctuary and he realized the implications of the problem.

This morning we had a discussion on Dan 8:14 by Heppenstall, in which much of our traditional position was talked away. [Dr Roland] Loasby said that there is not a text in the Bible supporting the Investigative Judgement – it is all based on EGW. Where do we go from here? What will be the end? What if the Lord does not come in 50 or 100 years? Well from here we will go to Cleveland tomorrow and will hear an entirely different music with much fanfare and eloquent words. People will become excited and think the work is almost finished. – One can really get scared. It is a good thing I am not a theologian, not a Bible teacher or an evangelist-pastor. Thank God (*SHHD*, June 16, 1958).⁷

Horn’s own convictions on the problems of Daniel 8.14 mirrored those of his seminary colleague Loasby. He would note in his diary six years later, “our interpretation of Dan 8, which is counter to all logical principles of exegesis can be defended only if we accept it as dictated to us by a divinely inspired writer, similar to Matthew’s use of Hosea 11.1 and Isa. 7.14 in Matt. 1 and 2.” He noted that *Review* associate editor, Ray Cottrell, also shared this conviction but that “others want to stick to our absurd views believing they can be proved from the Bible only.” Horn saw “problems everywhere” (*SHHD*, March 20, 1964).

Exegetical problems that challenged the essential idea at the heart of traditional sanctuary theology also created problems for other areas of Adventist prophetic interpretation and Horn reflected on how this posed theological problems for him and some of his religion teacher colleagues on other campuses. These problems surfaced at the end of 1961 at the first formal meeting

assignment manuscripts from students like Sydney Allen, Herbert E. Douglas, G. Ralph Thompson, and Leo Van Dolson. See Thompson 1959; Allen 1959; Lusk 1959; Douglass 1959; Dolson 1959.

⁷ Heppenstall was not actually attacking the doctrine but rather trying to deal with a legitimate critique of it. In response to Martin, Heppenstall sought to provide an alternate rationale for the sanctuary doctrine and advocated the idea of judgement being the vindication of God. Since 1938 Roland Loasby had taught biblical languages and New Testament studies at the Seminary following twenty-two years of mission service in India. He was multi-lingual and a specialist in Hindu philosophy. Cleveland was the location of the 1958 General Conference session.

of Adventist religion teachers who were attending the annual Society of Biblical Literature convention in St Louis, Missouri. Twenty scholars attended. In the Friday evening sessions, Horn found that his own broader more liberal views of inspiration and revelation were articulated well in a paper by Andrews University philosophy teacher Frederick E.J. Harder. "I found little with which I disagreed," he noted. But he acknowledged that those of a more conservative mind resisted some of Harder's ideas. "Heppenstall's rebuttal showed sharp differences of emphasis," and the discussion continued until after 10 pm (*SHHD*, December 31, 1961). The following day, Horn found himself again harboring interpretive perspectives he needed to keep to himself.

Yesterday, Sabbath [while at St Louis SBL meetings] we came together again from 9–12.30. The paper for discussion was one read by R. Cottrell on prophetic interpretation, in which he pointed to an exegetical interpretation (also of Daniel) which must precede a reinterpretation [of prophetic passages]. There followed a very heated discussion. It showed quite clearly that much of our prophetic interpretation is quite untenable, and in some cases not much different from that of the Qumran sectarians – though I will not even breathe this statement for fear someone will hear it – but it is time. E. G. White's arbitrary statements have taken us on a marvelously confused way. Since she is considered inspired as every Bible writer, her statements on history and prophecy are taken as inerrant truths. That lies at the root of all of our difficulties (*ibid.*).

Horn was aware that these ideas which he shared were so sensitive that public discussion of them would cause trouble. He records that seminary dean, William Murdoch, also had concerns about the issues and their public discussion. At the conclusion of the meeting Murdoch had pled for tolerance of differences and discretion in commenting on the ideas discussed. "Before we left, Murdoch admonished everyone to say little of the discussions and not declare anyone a heretic" (*ibid.*).

Chronological problems, both those within scripture and particularly those related to the age of life on earth, created tensions between Horn's personal convictions concerning facts and evidence and the official positions of his church. He reflected on these tensions at the interface of science and religion after attending meetings of the Geoscience Research Institute (GRI) in early

1964 at which GRI director Richard Ritland and his associate Peter Hare had discussed difficult evidence from the field of geology.

The Geo Science meetings were most interesting. I learned how the Potassium-Argon method, the Uranium-Lead method on the one hand and the C14 and the Amino Acid method for organic matter support each other. Organic material is thus dated to c 40,000 years and the rocks – fossil-bearing mind you – to billions of years. In the light of this indisputable evidence our scientists, with the exception of Frank Marsh, are searching for good answers acceptable to SDAs and cannot find them. Somehow and sometime, we have to retreat from untenable positions, as the Catholics have been forced to do (*SHHD*, March 24, 1964).⁸

3.2 Strategies for Coping with New Data and Dissonance

In numerous places in his diary, Horn recorded his personal reflections on his response to theological conflict and to the discombobulation of being confronted with data that did not fit with the biblical and theological information that had framed the belief structures and the convictions with which he had grown up as an Adventist. This interior perspective on Siegfried Horn was quite different from the exterior impression that observers might take of him.

Horn's first response was to prioritize and emphasize the broad truths that he treasured as an Adventist and that were core to the person he was. The Sabbath, the hope of the Advent and the value and reliability of scripture as an account of God's providential dealings with humanity and as a guide to salvation were the themes he would stress. Horn believed firmly in the providence of God, recognized it in his own life, and frequently spoke about it in churches and to youth groups. His most popular book, *The Spade Confirms the Book*, explained the helpfulness of biblical archaeology in portraying the culture and activities of daily life of those who lived in early periods of scripture (Horn 1957). The 257-page book was translated into numerous languages and in 1980 was expanded to 320 pages. Horn's emphasis was that the descriptions of the people we meet in scripture and their activities were authentic and scripture was reliable. He was, of course, aware of historical interpretations that archaeology did not confirm and of some historical facts that Adventists

⁸ Biologist Frank Marsh was the third member of the GRI staff at this time.

would need to adjust to, but he emphasized the positive. This was deeply appreciated by church leaders, and it brought Horn unceasing invitations to speak on the topic of the reliability and the wisdom of scripture.

Simply avoiding matters of open conflict and taking steps to divert conversations and questions were strategies he regularly adopted when his personal convictions diverged from those of his traditional Adventist colleagues. He developed a pattern of avoiding conflict by declining to be drawn into discussion of the issues. This strategy, in effect, was an intentional, if at times lighthearted and perhaps disingenuous, determination “to keep to his field.” He would, for example, avoid questions on the age of the earth in class and in meetings with young people by insisting that his expertise in history and his field of study only reached back to the time of Abraham (ca 1900 B. C. E.). He would state or imply that he was not qualified to speak on other such matters and time periods. In 1964, for example, after attending a meeting of GRI, he would acknowledge in his diary that the evidence for a long earth age was “indisputable” and that the traditional Adventist view was no longer “tenable.” Then he added, “I am glad I am not a geologist” (*SHHD*, March 20, 1964). Two years later, in 1966 in Australia, after listening to Eric Magnusson, organic chemistry professor at Avondale College speak on earth-age problems, Horn would again retreat to the safety of his own academic discipline:

In the afternoon we had the fourth meeting of Dr Magnusson, a young science teacher of the college who has two PhDs. He had presented last week the C14 problems which cause him little worries, but the ages of the rocks determined by their radioactivity which puts the Pleistocene age, the last one, one million years back and the fossil-containing Cambrian age 600 million years back, not to talk of some rocks which show to be thousands of millions of years old. We have held to the 6,000 years age of the earth so long and are now confronted with facts for which we have no answers and which our men are not prepared to face. I am glad to work in the relatively safe area of history (*SHHD*, January 29, 1966).⁹

On the other hand, in situations where he felt safe and where he could be confident that his heterodoxy would not be held against him, he would speak

⁹ Horn had been conducting a Seminary Extension School at Avondale for 120 ministerial students. Magnusson, the chair of Avondale’s Science department, had been invited to present four lectures on the problems of earth chronology.

more openly but still diplomatically about an issue. For example, he was a member of the special "Problems in Daniel Committee" appointed in the mid-1960s by General Conference President R.R. Figuhr to try and resolve some of the exegetical difficulties around the traditional interpretation of Daniel 8.14. He recorded that at one of the committee meetings he had "pointed out that our interpretation of Dan 8, which is counter to all logical principles of exegesis" could only be defended on the basis of what Ellen White had written. Personally, from an exegetical perspective, he viewed the Adventist view as "absurd" and that there were "problems everywhere" in the text. He noted that within the committee Ray Cottrell shared his perspective. Outside the committee he would astutely avoid any discussion of the matter. As he wound up his diary entry for that day he observed, "I am glad I am not teaching exegesis."

The value of the strategy of maintaining silence when personal convictions differed from traditional church positions was reinforced for Horn after one of his students lost his teaching position and his credentials because he had not kept his thoughts to himself. Lenel Moulds, who had completed an MTh thesis in the field of biblical archaeology with Horn as his supervisor, had soon after his appointment to a teaching position at Avondale, in early 1968, been incautiously outspoken on the need for the church to change on some matters.

Lenel Moulds was dismissed from the work in Australia with loss of his ministerial credentials because of the doctrines he was teaching. It is too bad that he could not keep his mouth shut but had to speak his (liberal) mind even when his opinion was not asked. The Seminary will not grow in the esteem of the Australian brethren who think that they represent the last bastion of orthodoxy in the Adventist movement. It is good that my visit lies behind me [1966]. If it were otherwise they may never invite me (*SHHD*, August 17, 1968).¹⁰

Another approach to coping with the pressures of the conflict Horn experienced between his interior convictions and his public persona and duties was to maintain a genuine sympathy for the difficulties administrators faced in dealing with the inevitable tension between progressive academic faculty and

¹⁰ See also entry for October 9. Further details of this episode can be found in Valentine 2022, 175–189.

a conservative church constituency. In late 1968 he empathized with Andrews University president Richard Hammill who, while himself a highly qualified biblical scholar sharply aware of many of the church's exegetical conundrums and vulnerable traditional interpretations, nevertheless came under great pressure from conservative church administrators and constituency members to dismiss seminary faculty members who were trying to educate ministerial students adequately about such matters as the synoptic problem and contemporary trends in New Testament theology. Hammill had pressed Dean Murdoch to convene a series of faculty meetings to discuss "the Seminary brand of heresies." Hammill had attended and the discussion had been intense. Then additional faculty meetings were convened to discuss the church's need of a "a book on the Sanctuary" to which few faculty were apparently willing to contribute. Hammill, struggling to get accreditation for much-needed doctoral programs and to attract qualified faculty to adequately staff them, had anguished over how to resolve the tensions with the church administrators and to address the misrepresentation from constituents. Defending his faculty from the criticisms and complaints from students who were inadequately prepared for seminary study made his life even more complicated. Some of the faculty were becoming frustrated with the unwillingness of the church to adjust to the needed changes and Hammill subsequently began to doubt their loyalty to the church. He had consulted at some length with Horn about the dilemma. Horn feared that the seminary might end up losing seven of his faculty colleagues.¹¹ "I do not know what he [Hammill] wants to do, but I see heads rolling in the future. He has not an enviable task," Horn recorded in his diary after the meeting (*SHHD*, November 16, 1998). When, in the midst of this turmoil, regional accreditation authorities declined the seminary's application for a new doctoral program because of its lack of academic freedom, among other perceived weaknesses, Hammill was deeply distressed because, as Horn lamented, it would be "several years before we can apply again." Such a "shakeup" with the faculty "is certainly a demonstration that we are not ready for a doctoral program," he noted with deep chagrin (*SHHD*, January 11, 1969).

¹¹ Earle Hilgert and Sakae Kubo had already transferred out of teaching into administration roles. Horn feared that Herold Weiss, Roy Branson, Jim Cox, Edward Vick and Gottfried Oosterwal would join the exodus either into administration or out of the university altogether.

After further anguished consultations over “seminary heresies” in which Hammill and Horn discussed the advocacy of some faculty of the need to begin teaching Genesis as theology rather than just as literal history, Horn, who sympathized with the faculty, concluded that “we must face the fact that our church is not ready or willing to allow” such an approach “even not [sic] in covered terms.”¹² Still he sympathized with Hammill’s dilemma.

If we want to stay here and teach here, we have either to agree with our church or shut up on issues, where we disagree. There is just no other solution. Hammill has a tough job as President. Outwardly they want to give the idea that we allow “academic freedom” which we do not tolerate in reality. It looks to me that we may get resignations (SHHD, January 11, 1969).¹³

Developing a keen awareness of the cultural and theological climate as an indicator of a lack of readiness for change helped Horn weather the turmoil surrounding the seminary. He was able to “read” the times. In 1966 he had anticipated trouble, commenting in his diary, “it looks as if we [will] go through another crisis and periodic witch hunting period. Who will be the scapegoat?” (SHHD, March 3, 1966).¹⁴ He read the times clearly again when in early 1969 in reaction to the turbulence at the seminary, General Conference President Pierson attempted to exclude scholars from the church’s Biblical Research Committee and populate it with administrators, calling on the scholars only as occasional consultants. Horn read the initiative as a further warning to keep his thoughts to himself and to stick to his discipline.

This means going back to the Middle Ages – GC administrators, treasurers, etc., will decide on theology, chronology, Bible translation, interpretation etc. after listening to the consultants. –Not too much is lost

¹² Horn reported that Gottfried Oosterwal had written of Genesis being “a true myth” in an article in *These Times*. Jim Cox, Leona Running and Frederick Harder had all advocated a theological reading as an additional layer of interpretation for understanding scripture.

¹³ Among the faculty advocating this approach whom Horn mentions were New Testament professor Jim Cox, missiologist Gottfried Oosterwal and philosophy teacher Frederick Harder, all of whom in later years were appointed to important leadership positions.

¹⁴ On this occasion, conservative students had complained to Pacific Union President R. R. Bietz who had been conducting a week of prayer on campus. The complaints had led to many discussions about how to teach underprepared students and what was needed in contemporary ministerial education.

though, because the Bible Research Committee has never been much more than a club, which swallowed information, chewed it up again, but never produced anything worthwhile. This will probably not change dramatically. After all, which respectable scholar wants to stick his neck out and write on: How many are 144,000? Is Harnagagedon fought out in the plains of Megiddo? . . . I am glad to be an archaeologist and historian and not a theologian or exegete (*SHHD*, April 8, 1969).

Another strategy Horn adopted in order to resolve the dissonance between his growing knowledge and traditional Adventist understandings was by intentionally avoiding open conflict. This strategy did not always work for others such as British-born, Edward Vick who taught systematic theology at the seminary and personally kept any controversial views to himself. Horn had been acting dean when Vick had been recruited and had encouraged him to join the faculty. Vick had developed warm friendships among the faculty who appreciated his scholarship. He was deeply appreciated by the advanced students and was needed for the proposed doctoral program, but he tended to talk over the heads of first year students. And Hammill needed a scapegoat. When Vick was discontinued Horn lamented the departure but understood Hammill's dilemma.

It is sad that a brilliant mind cannot find a place in our system, and that so many of the young teachers feel a threat. The future will pose real problems in this respect. I am so glad that I can watch it from the bleachers and am not involved in decision making (*SHHD*, April 20, 1969).¹⁵

Taking care to avoid open conflict was a strategy General Conference President Neal C. Wilson advocated for scholars who found themselves in conflict with church positions. The inability of Desmond Ford to remove himself from such conflicts formed part of Wilson's rationale for recommending the termination of Desmond Ford in 1980. Wilson was aware that many scholars saw him as hypocritical and inconsistent because Wilson personally knew that numerous other respected scholars still employed by the church shared many of Ford's convictions and some of these had been close work colleagues. "If you

¹⁵ It seems probable that Horn's vote was one of the thirty-two of thirty-six "full professors" called together to discuss an appeal by Vick against his removal. The group voted to support the administration's handling of the case. Only four opposed.

are going to claim to teach for the church there are certain minimal conditions that you will have to meet," Wilson had noted when addressing the General Conference staff in September 1980. "If you don't feel comfortable with that – the Lord has something else for you to do," he had added. Imagining himself as the scholar he advocated in carefully nuanced language, "if my conscience will not let me accept these things [church beliefs] I remove myself from the arena of conflict. . . . To me there is no big problem with that" (Wilson 1980).¹⁶ This was not removing oneself from the ministry or from one's teaching role, or from the church as South Pacific Division president Keith Parmenter had argued in his confrontation with Ford, but as Wilson had more carefully suggested, "from the arena of conflict."

In early 1980, after Horn had retired, he reported that President Wilson had given him a personal endorsement of his "keep quiet" and "avoid controversy" strategy. Horn had been attending a meeting of the BRI at Loma Linda with Neal Wilson in attendance and Wilson had briefed committee members on the progress Ford was making back in Washington, D. C. in preparing his defense manuscript. Wilson was worried that Ford would not change his mind about his convictions. Horn then recounted his conversation with Wilson:

At the end of our meeting, I had a brief talk with Neal Wilson, who said that he wished Des Ford had followed my example and kept quiet as I had done with regard to the problems of chronology and OT history which I had faced. This remark, coupled with one Willis Hackett made several years ago, showed me clearly that the Washington hierarchy must have talked about me and may have worried that I would cause them trouble. They are probably happy that I am shunted aside before I could do any harm (*SHHD*, January 20, 1980).¹⁷

The prospect of early retirement had been another tentative coping strategy Horn had apparently considered at points of high stress in his later career, and not just in jest. He had not, however, needed to resort to this. In 1958 at an uncomfortable time of upheaval when Horn, for various reasons both personal and domestic, did not really want to move to Berrien Springs with the

¹⁶ Copy in author's possession.

¹⁷ Willis Hackett served as a General Conference vice president under Robert H. Pierson. He was known for fostering the adoption of creedal statements on creation and the age of the earth.

seminary, he had considered retirement. At that time, he felt he was “too young to retire and too old to begin a new career” (*SHHD*, May 18, 1963). A decade later when Robert Pierson seemed to be determined to insist that the church accept a 6,000-year age for life on earth, Horn again considered the refuge of early retirement – less problematic at that time.

It is regrettable that a man like Pierson comes out with such a statement on a controversial point. It could easily be the beginning of a witch hunt, as the pope’s decision on birth control is now in the Catholic Church. I would not be surprised if they would require us either to teach the 6,000-year age of the world in the future, or get out. It can happen under the administration of ill-trained and narrow-minded men, as we have a few in high places. Well, at my age, one is no longer easily threatened, for even retirement is so near, that this could be an easy way out in case the situation would become untenable (*SHHD*, October 13, 1968).¹⁸

In early 1975, just a year before he was due to retire after serving as dean of the seminary for three years, he considered again the dilemma of being forced to believe something that he knew wasn’t true. He was finding it more difficult, however, to keep on sidestepping the problematic issue of the age of life on earth. On a visit to La Sierra to recruit for the seminary, he had given a talk on archaeology and biblical chronology and consented to a question-and-answer session. The ministerial students had repeatedly and uncomfortably pressed him on the 6,000-year matter. “During 25 years of Seminary teaching on five continents,” he later noted in his diary, “I have never allowed myself to be pinned down with regard to the age of the earth. Many times, students have tried by various means to push me into a corner and attempted to bring me to the point where I would commit myself to date the Creation of the Earth or the Flood.” He had regarded discussion of the topic to be on the level of “myths, stupid controversies and dissensions.” But his stance of “my biblical chronology begins with Abraham,” had not worked this time. He was then pressed to allow the text of his talk to be published and he had reluctantly conceded.

¹⁸ Pierson, after participating in a sixteen-day Geoscience field trip organized by Richard Ritland that summer, had reflected on the chronology problem in the Review and vigorously defended the 6,000-year view because Ellen White had “said so some 18 times” Pierson 1968, 23. A more detailed discussion of this episode is found in Valentine 2022, 189–192.

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I consented and sent my paper to Kenneth [Vine], a thing I would not have done some years ago. But in my age and position I cannot be harmed anymore and even would happily step down as dean and retire if asked to do so for holding the belief that we cannot determine the age of the earth. Well, we shall see whether I have sown seeds of a wind that may sprout into a storm by permitting my paper to be published, a paper that reflects the views of the "Dean of the Theological Seminary" (*SHHD*, March 29, 1975).

Shortly after Horn had actually retired in mid-1976, he was disturbed to read in the public press about the church's reactionary response to Ronald Numbers' book *Prophetess of Health* and he lamented the continuing culture of giving too much authority to Ellen White and elevating her above scripture. "I doubt that I will live to see the change in Adventist evaluations of the Spirit of Prophecy," he wrote, "but it must come, or we shall fall from one theological crisis into another." He was particularly troubled that "our present administration tries desperately to maintain an untenable and outmoded orthodoxy and loses the intellectuals among the young generation" (*SHHD*, Augst 7, 1976). When, the following year, dissension between church administration and much of the church's scholarly community again became heated when the General Conference sponsored the development of two creedal statements in an effort to secure belief in a young earth chronology as a part of the church's fundamental belief, Horn confided to his diary that he was glad indeed that he had retired.

I am glad I am out, [retired] for I would fight vehemently against the adoption of such a creed, which will be used, according to Hackett, to evaluate the beliefs of currently employed teachers at the Seminary and colleges and to examine candidates for employment. I would have failed in both respects and would have become a heretic and outcast. I am not very happy to see the way the church is going. It certainly antagonizes all intellectuals (*SHHD*, November 17, 1977).

3.3 Solidly Adventist – Even if not Traditional

As the decade of the 1970s began, social and cultural turmoil continued to roil Adventist college campuses and Andrews University president Richard Hammill struggled to stem the student unrest on his Berrien Springs campus. Demands from radical students and the appearance of underground student newspapers led to concerns from constituents, a slump in enrollments and

financial stresses. Observing all this from the seminary building, Horn was again sympathetic to Hammill as he faced a difficult situation. "Boy, I do not envy Hammill," he wrote in his diary. "How any man [sic] wants such a job is beyond me" (*SHHD*, January 30, 1970). Three months later, the crisis deepened as the faculty purge of the previous three years worked its way to a conclusion. The seminary's most valued New Testament scholar, Earle Hilgert, informed Hammill that he was resigning from Andrews for fear of getting into further theological "hot water" with the conservative church leadership in Washington and losing his sustentation. Realizing his vulnerability, he had accepted a teaching position at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago where his retirement income would be secure. Horn, who greatly respected Hilgert, was greatly distressed. "We go through a crisis," he wrote, lamenting the loss of his colleague, and worrying again about the elusive accreditation and their doctoral hopes, but he was sure that such losses would not solve the church's theological problems. "I am too old to fight for a liberalization of Adventist doctrines," he confided in his diary, "but the process of liberalization will go on. It will not be stopped" (*SHHD*, March 16, 1970). He did not see himself as part of the process. How his career would play out despite this confidential diary confession would greatly surprise him.

Three years later, in spite of being aware of Horn's decidedly left-leaning theological perspectives but trusting the archaeology professor's judgement nevertheless, Hammill pressed Horn to accept the deanship of the seminary. Hammill had called Horn to his office at 10.00 pm on the Sunday night before the Monday Board meeting and spent an hour persuading him. Before going to bed that night, Horn penned in his diary:

SHOCK-DAY. . . . I cannot see what they see in me. I am not a great speaker, I am not very pious, but rather liberal by all standards (for example I am not a vegetarian). I do not have the charism[a] which Murdoch had, and do not like administrative duties. I am a scholar and think I could get the doctoral program through. . . . Well, perhaps I should help them out, although I think they make a mistake to choose me. I cannot think of anyone more unfit for the job than I am and the choice of these men shows clearly how fallible they can be in selections they make (*SHHD*, January 28, 1973 [11.00 pm]).

Horn had been aware that the existing dean, Britisher William Murdoch was aging and needed to be replaced. But the faculty had recommended three

other names from within the seminary. Meanwhile, down in Washington, D.C., BRI Director Gordon Hyde and General Conference vice president Willis Hackett, recognizing that Murdoch's retirement represented a once-in-a-decade opportunity to cast the seminary in a more fundamentalist mold, had conspired to have a very conservative appointment made. They had been unsuccessful (For a detailed discussion of Gordon Hyde and Willis Hackett's role in this episode, see Valentine 2022, 424–427). In the run-up to the board meetings when Horn's name had been touted in his close circle of friends, he had forcefully declared "if nominated I will not accept, if elected I will refuse, and if appointed I will not serve" (*ibid.*). But the pressure from Hammill had been persuasive. A night of fitful sleep also helped. Early Monday morning Horn called Hammill, told him again that they were making a mistake, but said he would take the role in order to help the university out. Then he took two strong aspirin tablets to suppress his headache.

HEADACHE DAY. At 5.30 I got up after less than 5 hours of sleep. At 6.50 I called Hammill and told him once more that by appointing me as dean they make a mistake as they made in 1958 when they decided to move the Seminary from Washington to Berrien Springs, but that just as then, I would be loyal, though not believing in it (*SHHD*, January 29, 1973 11.00 pm).

Horn was greatly surprised that Hammill had been able to persuade the conservative General Conference leadership team, who dominated the university board, to go along with his plan of appointing him. He also noted that his appointment had been "a great surprise all over the campus" and that when the news was out "congratulations – meant or not – came in," but he thought, "they should have been expressions of sympathy." Though conservative in demeanor, Horn really was a "liberal" and quite the renaissance man. He was not really sure how the faculty would accept him, or the church leadership for that matter. "I hope I did not make too great a mistake by allowing them to push me into this dean's office," he noted ruefully before retiring for the night (*ibid.*).

Eighteen months after his appointment as seminary dean, Siegfried Horn, in the summer of 1974, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his baptism at the age of sixteen at *Adventhaus*, his little home church in Chemnitz. He recalled that he probably would have waited longer to be baptized, but it was a requirement for admission to the ministerial training course at Friedensau and

so he had complied. The 1974 anniversary provided opportunity for some deep reflection on his spiritual journey through the half century. His baptism, he noted,

was not the result of a conversion. I simply conformed with customs. I had been raised an Adventist and it seemed to be a natural thing to belong to the church of my parents and grandparents. However, I experienced a kind of conversion five years later in England and then became an Adventist who was fully convinced that salvation was possible only if I remained a faithful member of this church fully believing each of its doctrines and carrying out all its policies and regulations, regardless whether they are based on the Bible or not. (*SHHD*, August 9, 1974).

During the five decades since his baptism day, he had grown in understanding, had developed perspectives that put him at odds with numerous public positions of his church and that had confronted him with spiritual and ethical challenges. His church had shaped him and given him enormous opportunities. It was a church he valued and believed in – though more broadly than previously. He reflected on the changes that had occurred in his perspective and his gratitude for the providence that undergirded his journey.

In recent years my convictions have experienced quite a change and have become rather liberal in outlook as occasional notes in the volumes of my diary penned during the last 30 years show. Yet I have neither the desire nor the intention to change my church affiliation or to leave my church. What I have and am I owe to my church and I am grateful that my church has supported me and given me opportunities for growth and allowed me to pursue my various interests. And since my church is tolerant enough to allow me as a liberal Adventist to work within this church organization, I want to support it as best as I can and stay with it. This half century has passed quickly and I wonder how many more anniversaries I will celebrate. My mother recently celebrated her 70th anniversary of baptism and I hope I can follow in her footsteps (*ibid.*).

During his long years of service, Siegfried Horn had learned strategies to help him survive the periodic theological storms in his faith community. He had adjusted and accommodated his thinking to cope with the cognitive dissonance that characterized his spiritual journey and, consequently, his teaching

ministry had enriched several generations of students, his church and his professional field. He was grateful to be an Adventist even if he was, of necessity, of the non-traditional kind.

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Zusammenfassung

Siegfried Horn war ein Alumnus des Friedensauer Seminars und des Newbold College und diente außerdem 25 Jahre am Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary als Professor für Altertumswissenschaften, Leiter des Fachbereichs Altes Testament und Dekan des Seminars. Durch seine Grabungstätigkeiten und Publikationen wurde er eine international anerkannte Autorität der Biblischen Archäologie. Während des größten Teils seiner Karriere, v.a. in den 1960er und 70er Jahren, sah sich die adventistische Kirche mit einem enormen sozialen und kulturellen Wandel konfrontiert und geriet zunehmend unter Druck, ihre Theologie zu ändern, um neue Erkenntnisse zu integrieren. Theologische Konflikte schwelten oft unter der Oberfläche des kirchlichen Lebens, so dass Horns Lehr- und Verwaltungsaufgaben ihn bei der Bewältigung der starken Spannungen einer erheblichen Belastung aussetzten. Anhand von Horns über fünfzig Jahre lang geführtem persönlichem Tagebuch untersucht dieser Artikel seine privaten Überlegungen zu diesen Spannungen und seine Wahrnehmung der Notwendigkeit eines theologischen Wandels. Auch werden seine Strategien zur Bewältigung der mit dem Wandel verbundenen Spannungen aufgezeigt. Es wird untersucht, wie er seine persönliche Integrität zu bewahren suchte, wenn seine Ansichten und die seiner Kirche und ihrer Leiter deutlich voneinander abwichen.

Résumé

Ancien élève de Friedensau et du Newbold College, Siegfried Horn a ensuite travaillé pendant 25 ans au Séminaire Théologique Adventiste du 7^e Jour (*Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary*) en tant que professeur d'antiquités, président du département de l'Ancien Testament et, enfin, doyen du séminaire. Grâce à son travail sur le terrain et à ses écrits, il est devenu une autorité internationalement respectée dans le domaine de l'archéologie biblique. Pendant la majeure partie de sa carrière, mais surtout dans les années 1960 et 1970, l'Église adventiste a été confrontée à d'énormes changements sociaux et culturels et a subi des pressions croissantes en faveur d'un changement théologique pour répondre à la nécessité d'intégrer les nouvelles connaissances. Les conflits théologiques étaient subtilement présents dans la vie de l'église, par conséquent, les responsabilités pédagogiques et administratives de Horn l'ont exposé à un stress important alors qu'il naviguait dans les tensions vives. En s'appuyant sur le journal personnel de Horn, tenu pendant plus de cinquante ans, cet article explorera les réflexions privées de Horn sur ces tensions et ses perceptions de la nécessité d'un changement théologique. Il tentera également d'identifier les stratégies qu'il a adoptées pour faire face aux tensions associées au changement et examinera comment il a abordé le défi de maintenir son intégrité personnelle lorsque ses opinions et celles de son église et de ses dirigeants différaient considérablement.

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