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Luther and the Doctrine of Justification

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In this article I will address myself to the centrality of the doctrine of justification in Luther's theology and how it worked its way out in Luther's hermeneutics and theological enterprise as a whole.

I.

Stress has always been placed by Lutheran theologians and historians on the importance of the doctrine of justification for Luther in his search for a gracious God and in his theological writings. May I merely cite a small representative number of statements from Luther on the *centrality*, *importance*, and *usefulness* of the article of justification.

> If we lose the doctrine of justification, we lose simply everything. Hence the most necessary and important thing is that we teach and repeat this doctrine daily, as Moses says about his Law (Deut. 6:7). For it cannot be grasped or held enough or too much. In fact, though we may urge and inculcate it vigorously, no one grasps it perfectly or believes it with all his heart. So frail is our flesh and so disobedient to our spirit![1]

Again Luther says,

> This is the true meaning [*vera ratio*] of Christianity, that we are justified by faith in Christ, not by the works of the Law.[2]
>
> This is the highest article of our faith, and if one should abandon it as the Jews do or pervert it like the papists, the church cannot stand nor can God maintain His glory, which consists in this, that He might be merciful and that He desires to pardon sins for His Son's sake and to save.[3]
>
> If this doctrine of justification is lost, the whole Christian doctrine is lost.[4]
>
> This doctrine can never be urged and taught enough. If this doctrine is overthrown or disappears, then all knowledge of the truth is lost at the same time. If this doctrine flourishes, then all good things flourish, religion, true worship, the glory of God, and the right knowledge of all conditions of life and of all things.[5]

For Luther we see that the article of justification is indeed the

article upon which the church stands and falls, so far as its doctrine is concerned. Luther puts the matter even more emphatically when he says,

> There is one article and one basic principle in theology, and he who does not hold to this article and this basic truth, to wit, true faith and trust in Christ, is not a theologian. All other articles flow into and out of this one, and without it the other articles are nothing. The devil has tried from the beginning to nullify this article and to establish his own wisdom in its place. The disturbed, the afflicted, the troubled, and the tempted relish this article; they are the ones who understand the Gospel.[6]

The article of justification, or, as Luther often puts it, faith in Christ, is at the center of all Christian doctrine and is the heart of the Gospel itself. But the article of justification, or the forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ, is for Luther not merely the center of theology; it is the very heart of the content of Christian faith:

> In my heart one article alone rules supreme, that of faith in Christ, by whom, through whom, and in whom all my theological thinking flows back and forth day and night. And still I find that I have grasped this so high and broad and deep a wisdom only in a weak and poor and fragmentary manner.[7]

Luther maintains, "It is above all for this doctrine, on which we insist so diligently, that we bear the hate and persecution of Satan and of the world. For Satan feels the power and results of this doctrine."[8] Luther is not only insistent but at times downright arrogant as he maintains the centrality and rectitude of his doctrine of justification, or Christian righteousness:

> Thus I do not listen to anything at all that is contrary to my doctrine; for I am certain and persuaded through the Spirit of Christ that my doctrine of Christian righteousness is the true and certain one.[9]

And he had better be certain of his position at this point, for whoever loses this article of justification loses Christ, no matter how great his sanctity may be.[10]

It is in his *Lectures on Galatians* that Luther's views on the centrality and supreme importance of the article of justification are most prominent and articulate. Significantly, even in the early pages of this great commentary and even before he gets to Paul's discussion on justification, he speaks at length about the article and its significance, and positions it, as it were, vis-a-vis the Law and legalism (including Judaism, papism, fanaticism, etc.), the

Gospel (which is the revelation of God's love in Christ and Christ's redemptive work), false doctrine (which always stems from a misunderstanding or rejection or ignoring of justification), the interpretation of the Bible, Christian instruction, confession of the faith, *Seelsorge*, and any other concerns. Luther sees the book of Galatians as a Pauline commentary on the doctrine of justification. And he emphasizes repeatedly that justification is based upon God's grace in Christ and upon Christ's redemption. This is a matter of crucial importance for Luther.[11]

II.

What precisely does Luther mean and include when he speaks about the article of justification?[12] When he extols the article and speaks of its supreme value for the Christian and its usefulness for the Christian theologian, he does not have in mind a narrow formulation requiring the term "justify" and embracing exclusively its sense in Romans 3:28 or Galatains 2:16, apart from their broader context. We must bear in mind that Luther in his Small Catechism never even uses the word "justify." Nor may we conclude that Luther has in mind merely a kind of theological shorthand resume of the Holy Spirit's work in bringing the individual to faith in Christ and forgiving him, as is expressed in the Third Article. No, for Luther the article of justification is grounded not in what the Spirit does as He brings a person to faith, but in the redemption and righteousness of Christ. Christ and His work are for Luther the substructure of the sinner's justification.[13] We have justification and the forgiveness of sins only through Christ's death and resurrection.[14] Almost as often as Luther says that the sinner's justification is through faith in Christ he says simply that it takes place *sola Christi justitia*,[15] or "by grace through Christ."[16] Any discussion of justification by faith in Christ will automatically introduce us to the work of Christ's atonement, or rather Christ's work of perfect obedience as a prerequisite to the preaching of justification.[17] And so, if one would speak of justification before God, one must approach the matter from the vantage point of the Gospel which deals with the person of Christ and His work as the mediator who brings righteousness and reconciliation and salvation to lost sinners.[18]

To Luther the article of justification enhances the work of Christ,[19] points to it, and emphasizes it as the basis of our justification. How often does Luther in a hundred different ways say that if justification is not by grace through faith in Christ, then

Christ died in vain![20] For Luther the work of Christ is not only the basis for God's justifying us and the meritorious cause of our justification, but actually constitutes our righteousness before God, as Luther emphatically puts it in his "Disputation on Justification" of 1536.[21]

Actually, Luther says precisely the same things about the "article concerning Christ" (*Artikel von Christo*), or the article concerning our knowledge of Christ (*Artikel von Erkenntnis Christi*), and extols this article in his *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John* as he does the article of justification in his *Lectures on Galatians* and elsewhere. One can only conclude that for Luther the two articles involve each other and are really one aritcle, or that the article concerning a person's justification through faith is based upon the article of Christ's redemption. This fact is made emphatically clear in the Smalcald Articles (II, II, I) where Luther makes the office and work of Jesus Christ, or our redemption, the "first and chief article" of the Christian faith. After quoting four pertinent Bible passages dealing with Christ's redemption and atonement, he then proceeds to say, "Inasmuch as this must be believed and cannot be obtained or apprehended by any work, law, or merit, it is clear and certain that such faith alone justifies us, as St. Paul says in Romans 3, 'For we hold that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the Law' (Romans 3:28), and again, 'That [God] Himself is righteous and that He justifies him who has faith in Jesus' (Romans 3:26)." When Luther continues by saying that "Nothing in this article can be given up or compromised," and cites Acts 4:12 and Isaiah 53:5, I assume that he is speaking of the article of redemption, but redemption as it is to be appropriated through faith.

III.

What specifically is the value and use of the article of Christ, or the article of justification? From the statements cited above and many others in which Luther extols the doctrine, I think we can come to four very definite conclusions.

1. First and foremost, the doctrine gives abundant comfort to the penitent sinner, the comfort of the very Gospel itself. For the doctrine of Christ and of justification *is* the Gospel. In the article of justification, Luther says, is assurance and peace.[22] If one loses justification, he loses the Gospel itself.[23] Faith in Christ alone gives comfort. "We must turn our eyes completely to that bronze serpent, Christ nailed to the cross (John 3:14). With our gaze fastened firmly to Him we must declare with assurance that He is

our righteousness and life and care nothing about the threats and terrors of the Law, sin, death, wrath, and the judgment of God. For Christ on whom our gaze is fixed, in whom we exist, and who also lives in us, is the Victor and Lord over the Law, sin, death, and every evil. In Him a sure comfort has been set forth for us, and victory has been granted."[24] At this point Luther is often wont to contrast the works of the Law which thunders against our sin and the Gospel of Christ which gives joy and peace to the believer.[25] For the Gospel, the doctrine of Christ, tells us of the "price," or "cost," that God would pay to deliver us from our sins.

It is chiefly in Luther's comments on the death and redemption of Christ, which constitute the sinner's righteousness before God, that he emphasizes the consolation to be found in this doctrine. Commenting on John 16:10, where Christ tells His disciples that the Holy Spirit will convince the world of righteousness because He goes to the Father, that is, carries out His work of redemption, Luther says, "There is no other consolation than Christ's going to the Father. This is our chief possession and inheritance, our ultimate trust and eternal righteousness."[26] This knowledge of Christ, "that He became a curse for us and set us free from the curse of the Law," offers the believer the most "delightful comfort."[27] And so it "is our highest comfort, to clothe and wrap Christ this way in my sins, your sins, and the sins of the entire world, and in this way to behold Him bearing all our sins."[28] The doctrine of Christ and His redemption "is the most joyous of all doctrines and the one that contains the most comfort. It teaches that we have the indescribable and inestimable mercy and love of God."[29] Of course, the inestimable comfort to be derived from the doctrine of Christ is possessed only by one who believes in Him, by the Christian. And so Luther defines the Christian as follows: "A Christian is not someone who has no sin or feels no sin; he is someone to whom, because of his faith in Christ (*propter fidem*), God does not impute his sins. This doctrine brings firm consolation to troubled consciences amid genuine terrors. It is not in vain, therefore, that so often and so diligently we inculcate the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and of the imputation of righteousness for Christ's sake, as well as the doctrine that a Christian does not have anything to do with the Law and sin, especially in a time of temptation . . . . Therefore when the Law accuses and sins troubles, he looks to Christ; and when he has taken hold of Him by faith, he has present with him the Victor over the Law, sin, death, and the devil — the Victor whose rule over all these prevents them from harming him."[30]

2. Only the doctrine of justification according to Luther could give certainty to the believer. "Whoever does not know the doctrine of justification takes away Christ the Propitiator [*propitiatorem*]."[31] One who attempts to make atonement for himself apart from Christ the Mediator can only fall into utter despair.[32] Luther gives this advice:

> Therefore if sin makes you anxious, and if death terrifies you, just think that this is an empty spectre and an illusion of the devil — which is what it surely is. For in fact there is no sin any longer, no curse, no death, and no devil, because Christ has conquered and abolished these things. Accordingly, *the victory of Christ is utterly certain*; the defects lie not in the fact itself, *which is completely true*, but in our incredulity. It is difficult for reason to believe such inestimable blessings. In addition, the devil and the sectarians — the former with his flaming darts (Eph. 6:16), the latter with their perverse and wicked doctrine — are bent on this one thing: to obscure this doctrine and take it away from us. It is above all for this doctrine, on which we insist so diligently, that we bear the hate and persecution of Satan and of the world. For Satan feels the power and results of this doctrine.[33]

In this significant statement Luther makes it clear that it is the doctrine of Christ's victory that gives certainty, and that faith clings to this doctrine, or to the content of it; namely, Christ's redemption. Of course, no one "has" certainty who does not hold with "a firm faith" to this doctrine. But it is clear that for Luther the believer's certainty is based on the objective righteousness of Christ and His work of redemption, not on his own faith in Christ. For it is the righteousness of Christ which the Christian receives through faith. For Luther certainty is an element of faith which clings to Christ and His redemption. And in this sense the Christian's certainty is a certainty of faith.[34]

3. The article of justification is a bulwark against heresy and the sects. This is a strong emphasis of Luther's which crops up in many of his writings but again most often in his Galatians commentary:

> Therefore I say (as I have often said) that there is no power and remedy against the sects except this one article of Christian righteousness. If you lose this it is impossible to avoid other errors or the sects. We see this today in the fanatics, the Anabaptists, the Sacramentarians, who having set aside this doctrine never stop doing away with other doctrines, erring and seducing others. And there is no doubt

> that they will raise up more sects and invent new works. But what are all these things, even though they seem fine and very holy, compared with the death and the blood of the Son of God who gave Himself for me?[35]

Luther is very emphatic in this matter. He points out "that throughout history we find that all heresy and error have arisen where this doctrine has disappeared,"[36] or where people become smug about the way of salvation and think they know everything. On the other hand, he points out that history teaches us that when the article concerning Christ has been set forth as the chief article and has been understood correctly, as in the case of certain of the fathers, the other articles of faith were retained as well. Among the papists and the sects of his day he sees clear examples of other articles of the faith being attacked when the chief article concerning Christ is ignored or distorted.

On the other hand, the Christian cannot smugly assume that he can remain perfectly orthodox in all the articles of faith simply by giving formal adherence to the doctrine of justification. For the matter of justification is a "slippery thing" — not because of itself, for in itself the doctrine is "absolutely sure and certain." But it is slippery in respect to us. How often, in tribulations, will even the best theologian slip away from the "firm footing" afforded by this doctrine into doubt, false doctrine, and, very commonly, misapplication of Law and Gospel. And thus everything is ruined and one forgets justification, grace, Christ, and the Gospel. The Christian and the Christian theologian must be very aware of how easily this doctrine can slip away and how, as a result, the other articles of faith are lost as well as Christ and the Gospel.[37]

4. The doctrine of justification is a fundamental principle for the Christian in applying and integrating Law and Gospel and the entire Christian doctrine. When Luther says that justification by faith, or the doctrine of Christ, is the chief doctrine, he means very definitely that no teaching drawn from reason or even from the Bible itself (such as the accusations of the Law) can be used against it. He says, "Therefore any doctrine at all that does not teach as mine does, that all men are sinners and are justified solely by faith in Christ, must be false, uncertain, evil, blasphemous, accursed, and demonic, and so are those who either teach or accept such a doctrine."[38] In his *Smalcald Articles* (II, II, 1-4) Luther scrupulously applies this principle against the various legalistic aberrations and false practices of the papacy. In no way is he hereby placing the article of justification in opposition to other clear articles of faith, but only to false papistic interpretations of

Scripture and practices which undermine the Gospel. And so the theology and practice of the papacy are in this sense subjected to the scrutiny of the Gospel of justification. Luther does not shrink from affirming that an understanding of and adherence to the article concerning Christ will enable the theologian to keep all the articles pure, as we have mentioned above.[39]

Why is this so? I am not sure that one can answer this question completely, but certainly one reason is that the doctrine of justification is for Luther the "principal doctrine of Christianity" (*praecipuus articulus christianae doctrinae*).[40] "And what is all creation in comparison with the doctrine of justification?" But the doctrine of justification is not only the *articulus praecipuus*, but is at the very center of all Christian theology to Luther. "The other articles are rather far from us and do not enter into our experience; nor do they touch us . . . but the article on the forgiveness of sins comes into continual experience with us, and in daily exercise, and it touches you and me without ceasing. Of the other articles we speak as of something strange to us (e.g., creation, Jesus as the Son of God). What is it to me that God created heaven and earth if I do not believe in the forgiveness of sins? . . . It is because of this article that all others touch us."[41] What good does it do a Jew to believe that there is one God who is Creator, even to believe all the articles and accept all of Scripture, but deny Christ?

To Luther all doctrine-with the doctrine of Christ at its center — is like a golden ring,[42] like a ring without the tiniest crack, or it would not be perfect. There is an organic relationship that all the articles of faith have with each other. Obviously, then, the very heart of Christian theology will have a bearing on all the articles of faith. Thus, the chief article of justification helps the theologian to coordinate and understand and, most important of all, apply the other articles of faith. It affords the theologian a kind of posture, orientation, vantage point for applying the articles of faith, and particularly for dividing Law and Gospel. For, as we have seen, it is primarily the misapplication of the Law which distorts the doctrine of justification and the Gospel and thus the whole Christian faith.

Is the article of justification a hermeneutical principle which transcends or opposes sound grammatical and historical exegesis? I am sure that no Luther scholar would venture to accuse Luther of exalting the doctrine of justification to such a sovereign role. But may the doctrine be used as a hermeneutical principle alongside of Scripture, not only to clarify texts which are obscure,

but even to mitigate the *sensus literalis* of texts which seem to conflict with the chief article?

Only in a restricted or indirect sense can the article of justification be called a hermeneutical rule for Luther. The many statements of Luther's that we have cited would rather indicate that it is a very important *theological tool* for *applying* and *relating* the articles of faith, not primarily a *norm* for *interpreting* the Scriptures. In no case does Luther use the article of justification or of Christ to mitigate what he finds to be the intended sense of a Scripture passage. What we find him doing again and again in his lectures on *Galatians* and throughout his writings is to set passages of Scripture dealing with the chief article of redemption or justification against passages teaching the Law, or to distinguish between Law and Gospel. He seems always to do so on the basis of sound exegesis of the passages under consideration. In every case the text itself determines its own meaning, not another text affirming the Gospel of justification or redemption. And so Law and Gospel (as the Gospel is expressed in the article of justification) stand against each other as two contrary teachings. But just as the Romanists ought not use Law passages to mitigate the *sensus literalis* of passages affirming justification by grace, so passages affirming justification and the redemptive work of Christ may not be employed to change or negate the meaning of passages affirming the Law. The chief article of the Gospel indeed transcends and negates the claims and accusations of the Law, but it does not and cannot alter the *meaning* of Scripture passages teaching the Law. Thus, the chief article exercises a mighty *theological* function, but not a direct hermeneutical one.

Even the proper distinction between Law and Gospel (justification) is, strictly speaking, not a hermeneutical principle, but a theological one. That is to say, the distinction does not ordinarily determine what passages *mean* in given cases, but rather it aids us in appropriating and applying the Scriptures:

> Such a proper distinction between the function of the Law and that of the Gospel keeps all genuine theology in its correct use. It establishes us believers in a position as judges over all styles of life and over all the laws and dogmas of men. Finally it provides us with a faculty for testing all the spirits (I John 4:1). By contrast, the papists have completely intermingled and confused the doctrine of the Law and that of the Gospel, they have been unable to teach anything certain either about faith or about works or about styles of life or

> about judging the spirits. The same thing is happening to the sectarians today.[43]

Notice that in this passage Luther says the same of the function of the proper distinction between Law and Gospel that he said so often concerning the function of the article of Christ and of justification. We might conclude that the theological function of the article of justification is an aspect of properly dividing Law and Gospel in the total activity of the theologian.

If what I have said is a correct understanding of Luther, then we can conclude two things. *First*, there is no conflict for Luther between the article of justification and its authoritative role in the theological enterprise and the authority of Scripture and its role as the *principium cognoscendi*, which also is the basis for the pure doctrine of justification.

There are two passages in Luther which have been used by Luther scholars to indicate that he indeed made the article of justification a hermeneutical norm over Scripture itself. The first is in his *Preface to the Epistle to James* of 1545,[44] in which Luther makes the true test for the apostolicity and so canonicity of the New Testament antilegomena whether they "deal with Christ" or not. The second is a passage from his *Lectures on Galatians*[45] where, speaking metaphorically, Luther opposes Christ the "Lord" and "Author" and "King" of Scripture, that is, the Gospel of justification, against the "Servant," that is, "Scripture," or "passages in Scripture about works." In neither case does Luther intimate that he is opposing the article of Christ to the Scriptures as such or that he is making the article of Christ an authority above the Scripture or any of its verses, or that he is affirming a "norm within the norm of Scripture."[46] In the passage dealing with the canonicity of James Luther is simply applying the necessary principle of Christocentricity which he affirms in the very context of his statement to argue that the Book of James does not qualify for canonicity according to this criterion. He is not attempting to use the article of justification either to interpret James against himself or to mitigate the intention of James' discussion of the doctrine of justification. In the second passage (in his *Lectures on Galatians*) Luther is not only speaking metaphorically in the sense mentioned above, but he also takes occasion to stress the authority of Scripture as such (against the papists who stress only Law passages) to establish doctrine and to insist in the strongest terms that Scripture does not contradict itself, as the papists intimated when they pitted Law passages of Scripture against the chief article of the Christian faith.[47]

Secondly, there is no real conflict between God's Law and the Gospel of justification *as such*, although the two chief themes (*praecipui loci*) found throughout Scripture *appear* as contraries; and the differences between the two teachings must always be held in strict tension, even though the Scriptures thereby may appear to teach contrary doctrines. For instance, Luther often makes statements like the following, "A Christian is righteous and beloved by God [according to the teaching of the Gospel of justification], and yet he is a sinner at the same time [according to the teaching of the Law in Scripture]."[48] It is for Luther basic to the believing exegete, as he reads the Scriptures and listens to God speak to him there, that he hold to the Word of God no matter how inconsistent and absurd it may seem. Commenting on Galatians 3:6, Luther says, "For faith speaks as follows: 'I believe Thee, God, when Thou dost speak.' But what does God say? Things that are impossible, untrue, foolish, weak, absurd, abominable, heretical, and diabolical, if you consult reason."[49] To Luther, quite obviously, not only do the Law and the Gospel seem to contradict each other, but the articles of faith in general (such as the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper, baptismal regeneration, the virgin birth, the resurrection, and the ascension) all go against the grain and seem to be foolish and wrong. The faith which Luther speaks of as believing in the Gospel promise (*fides specialis*) involves also a *fides generalis* which believes all the articles of faith subsumed under the general categories of Law and Gospel, no matter how absurd they may seem or how contradictory to each other they may seem at times.

Thus, the Christian and the believing exegete must simply hold to all the articles of faith in all their apparent inconsistency. But the Christian who understands the article of justification is enabled to transcend paradoxes in the articles of faith, including the apparent opposition between Law and Gospel. "Who will reconcile those utterly conflicting statements (*illa summe pugnantia*), that the sin in us is not sin, that he who was damnable will not be damned, that he who is rejected will not be rejected, that he who is worthy of wrath and eternal death will not receive these punishments? Only through the Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ (I Tim. 2:5)."[50] In fact, when one understands the doctrine of justification, one finds that there is no real contradiction between Law and Gospel at all, but that the two teachings are in complete agreement (*consentientes*). But "to a man who is ignorant of the doctrine of faith, these statements seem to be utterly contradictory."[51]

For Luther, therefore, there is no opposition whatsoever between the doctrine of justification as an integrating principle of theology and the *sola Scriptura* principle, that is, that all our theology is drawn from Scripture and that Scripture alone is the judge of teachers and teachings in the church. The more I read Luther, the more clear it becomes to me that as he extols the doctrine of justification, he extols also the formal principle of our theology, and vice versa.[52] In that very passage where he says that Christ is the Lord and King of Scripture, he strongly warns against concluding that Scripture contains any contradictions whatsoever.[53] To believe in Christ and the forgiveness of sins is to believe in His Word. If one has Christ, one has His Word. If one loves Him, one loves His Word. The Word of Scripture was so precious to Luther because Christ and the forgiveness of sins, which are central to Scripture, were so precious to him.[54]

FOOTNOTES

1. *Luther's Works* (American Edition), 26, 26; cf. *LW* 26, 116, 126.
2. *LW* 26, 136.
3. Erlangen Ausgabe, Opera Latina, 10, 137.
4. Erl. Lat.21, 20.
5. Erl. Lat. 21, 12; cf. WA 30^2, 651.
6. Weimar Ausgabe, *Tischreden*, No. 1583.
7. Erl. Lat. 21, 3.
8. *LW* 26, 285; cf. *LW* 24, 319.
9. *LW* 26, 198.
10. *LW* 26, 395. "Whoever falls from the doctrine of justification is ignorant of God and is an idolater. Therefore it is all the same whether he then returns to the Law or to the worship of idols; it is all the same whether he is called a monk or a Turk or a Jew or an Anabaptist. For once this doctrine is undermined, nothing more remains but sheer error, hypocrisy, wickedness, and idolatry, regardless of how great the sanctity that appears on the outside."
11. *LW* 26, 54. "It seems to be a trivial matter to teach the Law and affirm works, but this does more damage than human reason can imagine. Not only does it mar and obscure the knowledge of grace, but it also removes Christ and all His blessings, and it completely overthrows the Gospel, as Paul says in this passage."
12. Terms which Luther uses in this respect are *articulus, doctrina,* and occasionally *locus* (theme).
13. *LW* 26, 396.
14. *LW* 26, 224.
15. *LW* 26, 40; cf. 247.
16. *LW* 26, 99.
17. *LW* 26, 33, 35, 38.
18. *LW* 26, 30.
19. *LW* 26, 179.
20. *LW* 26, 17, 19, 26, 27, 28, 32, 182, 440.
21. WA 39, 97-98.

22. *LW* 26, 27.
23. *LW* 26, 26.
24. *LW* 26, 166.
25. *LW* 26, 175; cf. WA 28, 271; *Tischreden* 1, 2457b.
26. *LW* 24, 349. The entire discussion (pp. 345-349) stresses the comfort to be found in the "doctrine of Christ."
27. *LW* 26, 278.
28. *LW* 26, 279.
29. *LW* 26, 280.
30. *LW* 26, 133. I have no explanation for the use of *propter fidem* here except that Luther is not speaking of justification here, which is always *per fidem*. Luther uses the phrase *per fidem* in the immediate context.
31. *LW* 26, 28.
32. *LW* 26, 29.
33. *LW* 26, 284-285.
34. *LW* 26, 172. In such a sense Luther speaks of a "certain faith": "Here you have the true meaning of justification described, together with an example of the certainty of faith (*exemplum certitudinis fidei*). 'I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me' — anyone who could say these words with Paul in a certain and constant faith (*certa et constanti fide*) would be truly blessed."
35. WA 41[1], 296.
36. *LW* 24, 320.
37. WA 40[1], 128-129; cf. *LW* 26, 10; 63, 232.
38. *LW* 26, 59.
39. See Footnote 36.
40. *LW* 26, 106.
41. WA 28, 271ff.
42. *LW* 27, 38.
43. *LW* 26, 331.
44. *LW* 35, 395-396.
45. For a thorough discussion of this interpretation of Luther's words see Gerhard Maier, *The End of the Historical-Critical Method*, translated by Edwin W. Leverenz and Rudolph F. Norden (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1977).
46. *LW* 26, 295: "Therefore one should simply reply to them as follows: 'Here is Christ, and over there are the statements of Scripture about works. But Christ is Lord over Scripture and over all works. He is the Lord of heaven, earth, the Sabbath, the temple, righteousness, life, sin, death, and absolutely everything. Paul, His apostle, proclaims that He became sin and a curse for me. Therefore I hear that I could not be liberated from my sin, death, and curse through any other means than through His death and His blood. Therefore I conclude with all certainty and assurance that not my works but Christ had to conquer my sin, death, and curse. Even on natural grounds reason is obliged to agree and to say that Christ is not my work, that His blood and His death are not a cowl or a tonsure or a fast or a vow, and that in granting me His victory He was not a Carthusian. Therefore if he Himself is the price of my redemption, if He Himself became sin and a curse in order to justify and bless me, I am not put off at all by passages of Scripture, even if you were to produce six hundred in support of the righteousness of works and against the righteousness of faith, and if you were to scream that Scripture contradicts itself. I have the Author and the Lord of Scripture,

and I want to stand on His side rather than believe you. Nevertheless, it is impossible for Scripture to contradict itself except at the hands of senseless and stubborn hypocrites; at the hands of those who are godly and understanding it gives testimony to its Lord. Therefore see to it how you can reconcile Scripture, which, as you say, contradicts itself. I for my part shall stay with the Author of Scripture,' " (Compare *LW* 37, 50, where Luther accuses Oecolampadius of opposing Scripture against Scripture as he argued from a number of Bible passages against the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper.) Theologians of various persuasions have interpreted this comment of Luther as making justification a category of hermeneutics, a kind of "norm within the norm." See Gerhard Goelge, "Die Rechtfertigungslehre als hermeneutische Kategorie," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 89:3 (March 1963), pp. 162-175; Emil Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, tr. by Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1946), p. 12 *infra*; Hermann Sasse, *Sacra Scriptura* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1981), p. 310, *passim*. Sasse clearly makes the doctrine of justification the analogy of faith for Luther and represents Luther as making this article a *norma* "over the *norma normans* of Scripture," and only with this idea in mind can the Lutheran accept the Formula of Concord statement that the Holy Scripture "remains the only judge, rule, and norm according to which as the only touchstone all doctrine should be and must be understood and judged as good or evil, right or wrong" (FC, Ep., Rule and Norm, 2). Ironically, Sasse, Goelge, Emil Brunner, and the many others who have misinterpreted Luther on the basis of the aforementioned passage to be saying that the authority of Christ, or the doctrine of justification, can set aside the force of Scripture passages or at least is a category of hermeneutics or is a "norm within the norm" have missed a Luther statement in which he, carried away as he often is by the inestimable value of the article of Christ and the crucial function it exercises in the activity of the theologian and in the life of the church, actually praises the fathers for basing all their teachings on the central article of redemption. Commenting on John 16:3, Luther says, "If one abides by this article [of Christ] diligently and earnestly, it has the grace to keep one from falling into heresy and from working against Christ or His Christendom. For the Holy Spirit is surely inherent in it, and through it illumines the heart and keeps it in the right and certain understanding, with the result that it can differentiate and judge all other doctrines clearly and definitely, and can resolutely preserve and defend them. This we see in the old Fathers. When they retained this article of faith *and based their doctrines on it, or derived them from it*, they preserved purity of doctrine in every detail; but when they departed from it and no longer centered their arguments in it, they want astray and stumbled with a vengeance as happened at times to the oldest Tertullian and Cyprian. And this is basically the failing not only of the papists but of our schismatic spirits, who rant against baptism and other doctrines. They have already surrendered this article of faith and have paid no attention to it. Instead they have put forth other matters. In this way they have lost a proper comprehension of all doctrines, with the result that they cannot teach anything about them that is right and can no longer preserve any doctrine as unquestionable" (*LW* 24, 320). One can only conclude that Luther is obviously overstating himself here. Shortly before he had said, "Although other doctrines are also based on Scripture [just as is the chief doctrine of Christ] — for example, Christ's birth from a pure virgin — it does not stress

them so much as it does this one" (p. 319).

47. *LW* 26, 235; cf. *LW* 26, 282; WA 56, 269-71, 347; 40[I],368; 4, 320; 46, 342; Erl. Lat. 19, 43.
48. *LW* 26, 235; cf. 232.
49. *LW* 26, 227.
50. *LW* 26, 235.
51. *LW* 26, 252.
52. *LW* 26, 98, 104. "I am making such a point of all this to keep anyone from supposing that the doctrine of faith is an easy matter. It is indeed easy to talk about, but it is hard to grasp; and it is easily obscured and lost. Therefore let us with all diligence and humility devote ourselves to the study of Sacred Scripture and to serious prayer, lest we lose the truth of the Gospel" (*LW* 26, 114).
53. WA 40[I], 458-459.
54. *LW* 24, 317.

Luther and Music

Daniel Reuning

Celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth provides the church with a splendid opportunity to review the vast number of his contributions, and hopefully to be refreshed with a renewed understanding of his great work. In the area of worship his legacy also was both profound and large. He edited and composed more than thirty hymn tunes and texts and seven liturgical pieces, a Latin and vernacular litany and a vernacular Gloria in Excelsis, Agnus Dei, Communio (Ps. 111), Te Deum, and Magnificat. Luther provided the model (*Formula Missae*) for the preservation of the Latin Mass, Matins, Vespers and Compline. He also provided a vernacular alternative (*Deutsche Messe*) with hymn paraphrases of the ordinaries, such as his classic Credo ("We All Believe in One True God"), and his stirring Sanctus ("Isaiah, Mighty Seer in Days of Old"), and with his vernacular "Explanation of the Lord's Prayer" and "Exhortation to Communicants" (his substitutions for the medieval Eucharistic Prayer). He authored six occasional services — two orders of Baptism and orders of marriage, ordination, private confession, and self-examination. He translated the collects for the Sundays and feast days of the church year. He involved himself with editing and writing prefaces for all the major hymnals of his days, the three most important of which were Walther's *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein* of 1524, Joseph Klug's "Wittenberg Hymnal" of 1529, and Valentin Babst's hymnal of 1545. Luther was responsible for the production of Duke Henry's 1540 Agenda, editions of which were published into the nineteenth century. He edited a major choral collection, George Rhau's *Symphoniae Iucundae* of 1538, which contained fifty-two motets and a repertory of Latin and German propers and ordinaries for the Sundays of the church year, the composers of which represented the finest available, such as Josquin Despres and Orlandus Lassus. In addition to making numerous comments in sermons and letters, Luther summarized his theology of music in a short poem entitled "A Preface for All Good Hymnals." In 1538 Johann Walther, Luther's friend and musical advisor, and Kantor of the Saxon court chapel, expanded the poem to 335 verses, as a way to organize all of Luther's scattered comments. Luther's productivity is truly staggering and demonstrated his intense concern over what happens in public worship, especially the choice of music. It

is most helpful that he left us not only a written theology of worship, but also compositions that demonstrated what he meant. Volume 53 of the "American Edition" of his works includes most of this legacy.[1]

One of the most frequent themes in Luther's writings was that music, independent of any text or other influence, is a unique dynamic that either reinforces or undermines the meaning of the words. Since Luther's time the composers of our Lutheran musical heritage have followed his direction by composing works that reinforce confessional theology, but it has been only recently that Luther's position could be scientifically documented. Through precise methods and measurements, a new academic discipline called "sentics" proves that Luther was correct in his assessment of the effects of music and used the old words "Dionysian" and "Apollonian" to help us understand the phenomenon.[2] Sentics' major premise is that music is a communicator of independent forces, namely, two kinds of emotions, that illicit from us two very different reactions, Dionysian and Apollonian.

Music that communicates emotions with a Dionysian force is that kind which excites us to enjoy our emotions by being thoroughly involved or engrossed in them with our entire person. Our enjoyment of the emotion then becomes ego-directed, driven by the desire for self-gratification. This direction often shows itself in keen physical involvement; people become emotionally involved through stomping of the feet, swaying of the body, clapping of the hands, and waving of the arms. Music that solicits from us this kind of emotional response allows us to enjoy our emotions from the inside and very experientially. This kind of music is clearly anthropocentric in nature, because it turns man to himself, rather than away from himself, with the result that *he* becomes the appreciating center of his own emotions and experiences. Herein lies the goal of all entertainment and popular music, which must please or gratify the self if it is going to sell. Luther used the word "carnal" to describe this approach and produced his hymnbooks and choirbook, so as to wean people away from it.

His music and that of the Lutheran heritage communicates a message with an Apollonian force, which allows our emotions to be enjoyed, while at the same time retaining control and mental freedom. We are relieved of the urgent requirements of our inner drives. Under Apollonian influence our emotions are viewed

empathically or contemplatively in a more detached fashion, so that they might always be subject to our discretion and judgment. Since the major point of the Reformation, as of Scripture itself, was to turn man away from everything within himself as the source of hope and assurance of salvation — to the grace of God alone, earned for us by Christ Himself — it was logical for Lutherans to use Apollonian music. Man-directed Dionysian music would only confuse or contradict the message through its anthropocentric emotional forces. Just as hymns and spiritual songs with words full of Dionysian content, doting upon human experience and feelings, are incongruent with the biblical proclamation of the Gospel, so also is music that revels in Dionysian emotionalism. Thus, because music has so much influence on one's understanding of the Gospel, Apollonian reinforcement was the obvious choice. Furthermore, this choice is just as relevant to us today, since the emotional forces in music keep on conveying their unique messages, remaining uneffected by changes in time or environment — a truly universal expression!

Before the documentation of sentics, it was quite easy to disagree with Luther's assessment of music on the grounds that his view was merely his pious opinion — well-intended, of course, but incapable of being scientifically validated. It was also easy to quote as truth the old wives' tale that Luther used bar-songs for his hymn tunes. This myth would have Luther adopting Dionysian music for use in the church, thus making him into some sort of existentialist, claiming that music is an indifferent, neutral vehicle of words that will carry whatever load of meaning one chooses to give by means of the words assigned to it. Now, however, we know that Luther used not bar-songs, but the Apollonian resources of Gregorian chant and ancient Latin hymnody. We also have the documentation from sentics that proves untenable the false assumption that we read meaning out of music simply because we first read meaning into it, that beauty is only in the eye of the beholder, that we are all just accidents of our environment, social class, up-bringing, education, and traditional bias — in short, that music has no independent effect whatsoever on the proper understanding of the Gospel. If Luther cannot convince people of this false assessment, perhaps they will listen to sentics, which proves that sociological and environmental factors do not determine the message and emotional forces in music, the power of which is totally independent of background and culture. In and of itself, music has its very own unique

emotional message which is unaltered by words, the passing of time, and the changing of environments. Thus, Luther insisted that, just as the content of a hymn's text matters, so too, if people are going to sing it, does the independent emotional force of the music; both influence the understanding of the Gospel.

Too often the church has judged music solely on the basis of personal taste, esthetic considerations, or crowd appeal without any concern for the emotional effects which influence meaning. So much contemporary music being introduced in some of our churches promotes Dionysian forces intimately related to the superficiality of television religion with its primary interest in an anthropocentric response rather than the mind-expanding, emotionally controlled Apollonian response necessary for growth in the understanding and application of God's Word. Too many still hold the false notion that, if the text is orthodox, Dionysian music is harmless. With so much use being made of music that conveys the emotional atmosphere of Pentecostalism, it is no wonder that the charismatic movement continues to infiltrate numerous parishes. The church must take Luther to heart and believe that music's dynamic can either poison or support the church's theology.

Many Lutherans today, of course, like and want Dionysian popular music even in the church. After all, it is what they hear constantly in the electronic church. This music, however, helps people become thoroughly engrossed in their own feelings and emotions. Many tell us that this music makes them feel more involved and helps them "feel so close to God," that "He is really alive, here and now, right here in my heart." This reaction of total subjectivity surely encourages a false sense of spiritual reality. In fact, it is totally experiential, an emotional high, not spiritual edification in the biblical and confessional sense. We must patiently lead such people in a more Lutheran direction, showing them that Luther's music enables us (while enjoying our emotions) to be sufficiently detached to view our emotions in the context of our relationship with our Lord, who alone remains the center of our proclamation. We must explain that the merits of Jesus Christ much more easily dominate the message of the church when Dionysian competition is absent. Our confidence in the presence of God will be strengthened not by our feelings, but by the grace conveyed by His holy Word and blessed Sacraments, no matter how we feel! When people begin to realize that music is not simply a matter of esthetics, but a form of communication that shares with words the responsibility of preaching — by either

reinforcing them or sabotaging them — then people will begin to understand Luther and will begin to view Apollonian music as a necessity for edification, evangelism, and mission.

In conclusion, it is important to the true proclamation of God's Word that we convey God's gift of grace, not do our own Dionysian thing. The Gospel, of course, grants us pardon for having done our own thing. Faithful proclamation of the Gospel, however, tells us of God's feelings for us, rather than getting us engrossed in our own feelings. God's Word calls for the surrender of the self with all its feelings at His feet, rather than encouraging us to seek refuge in them. The musical expression that assists these goals in the Apollonian. Thus, for the sake of the Gospel Luther used the Apollonian mode, and for the sake of the same Gospel we pray that his disciples will do so today.

FOOTNOTES

1. Martin Luther, *Liturgy and Hymns*, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965; *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann, 53).
2. Manfred Clynes, *Sentics: Biocybernetics of Emotion Communication* (New York: The Academy of Sciences, 1973); *Sentics: The Touch of Emotions* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1977); cf. M.J. Grieger, "Musical Communication of the Churches," *The Christian News,* July 19, 1982, pp. 14ff.

Luther's Impact on the Universities —and the Reverse

James M. Kittelson

Few topics could be more appropriate to observations during this year of the Luther jubilee than Luther's impact upon universities and their influence upon him and his movement. A religious man, he was also a university man who both developed his understanding of the Gospel while performing his duties as a professor and who, when faced with a practice he considered outrageous, condemned it first in the standard university way of doing business and only then appealed to a wider public audience outside the academy.

On the other hand, few topics have been accorded such lack of attention as this one, and perhaps with good reason. The dramatic events of the Reformation, or at least most of them, took place outside universities. The Heidelberg Disputation occurred at a meeting of the Augustinians; Worms was an Imperial Diet; the Augsburg Confession was written for another Imperial Diet. Luther's most influential works, the German Bible and the catechisms, were indeed produced by a university professors but they were intended for a decidedly non-university audience. Moreover, when one looks beyond Wittenberg, one sees that his earliest and most influential supporters were themselves not university men but humanists who were in general critical of the university way of going about intellectual and spiritual matters.[1] At the same time, universities, as such, were highly resistant to Luther's evangelical theology and, in the cases of Paris, Louvain, and Cologne, went so far as to condemn it formally. So irrelevant do universities seem to the larger questions that even Karl Bauer abruptly ended his excellent little book on the *Wittenberg University Theology* once Luther's ideas began to circulate much outside Wittenberg.[2] It is as if the subject is to be revived only when Reformation scholars, confronted by unusually high interest, begin looking about for a topic on which to write.

Nonetheless, this undertaking is not just academic makework for at least two reasons. In the first place, the old notion that universities were in a period of severe decline just before the Reformation, that they were obsessed with trivialities and dominated by the princes, no longer holds.[3] They were consulted on matters of importance, and not just when the disputed

question originated in one of them. The fact that so many, including Luther's Wittenberg, were founded just before or during the Reformation is itself one of those happy situations in which *res ipsa loquitur,* the thing truly speaks for itself. All the criticisms of the humanists to one side, universities remained a vital component of late medieval society, and one that drew the attention not just of the bookish professors and careerist students but of princes, kings, and prelates as well.

There is an even better reason, however, for taking a hard look at universities. Simply put, Luther himself would advise us to do so. He began his career as a reformer of his own university well before the events we associate with the Reformation. He reformed the curriculum, ended the disputations, and hired Melanchthon before he or anyone else had the slightest idea what would evolve from the Indulgence Controversy.[4]

Additionally, wider university reform became an even higher objective for Luther after 1517. On the way back from the Heidelberg Disputation he wrote one of his fellow professors, "I sincerely believe that it is impossible for the church to be reformed unless the canon law, the decretals, scholastic theology, philosophy, and logic, as they now exist, are absolutely eradicated and other studies instituted."[5] Nor did he leave the matter as something to be discussed only among colleagues. He specifically included universities among the things he called upon the Christian nobility to reform in his famous *Address* to them of 1520.[6]

University reform was thus one of Luther's most cherished goals. Scholarly lack of attention to one side, it is therefore highly appropriate to investigate Luther's impact upon universities, and to ask one simple question: "Did he succeed?"

The natural starting point is to ascertain his objectives, but a pair of parenthetical remarks are needed before doing so. Recent years have featured a modest debate about the impact of the Reformation in general upon universities.[7] Generally speaking, this research has tended to temper the old judgment that the Reformation was a bad time for universities by noting their resilience after the 1530's and by underlining the gains that humanist educational ideals made in them due to the work of the reformers both Protestant and Catholic. Yet, there is a curious fact lurking under the surface of this emerging consensus: no one has bothered to ask one simple question while seeking to assess the status of German universities in the sixteenth century. Simply put, what was it that Luther wished to ac-

complish? Answering this question may not do much to resolve the issues of value (many of them anachronistic) that are at stake in the larger discussion, but it will yield a solid reference point from which to begin.

Happily for the historian, Luther spoke bluntly and at sufficient length on this as on so many other subjects. The text is item 25 from the list of reform proposals to be found in the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* He began with a simple declaration: "The universities need a sound and thorough reformation. I must say so no matter who takes offense." He then recommended a number of concrete changes. Artistotle was to be withdrawn from the curriculum with the possible exception of his works on logic, rhetoric, and poetics. As with Cicero's *Rhetoric,* these books were now, however, to be read without notes or commentaries. The standard subjects that interested the humanists—languages, history, grammar, and the like—were to be added to the curriculum. Next came the professional faculties. Luther left medicine to the physicians but commented at length about both law and theology. Canon law was to be eliminated entirely and, if his suggestion regarding civil law were followed, so would the entire law faculty. "In my opinion, appeal should be made to common law and established custom rather than to general law as decreed by the Emperor.... And just as every land has its own manners and customs, so, would to God, that each had its own laws, and these few and brief." In theology the Bible should be substituted for Lombard's *Sentences,* the standard medieval textbook, and all other works "should be read for a while only and in order that they might lead us to the Bible." Finally, Luther concluded with a recommendation that is the common property of all professors, namely that we should not, as now, send everyone to universities for the mere sake of having many students or because everyone wants a doctor in the family. Only the most clever should be sent, and that after having received a good education in the lower schools. The prince and the local town council ought to see to this, and send only those who are well qualified.[8]

With the exception of those in the legal profession, this laundry list of reforms likely comes as no surprise to students of the Reformation. Additionally, at first glance it would appear that Luther and the other reformers were enormously successful in carrying out the plan. To be sure, they were unable to rid European society of the legal profession, whether at court or in the university. But most of the reforms Luther proposed were

already in place at Wittenberg and had been put there by his own hand. And they spread very quickly to other universities at least in part because Wittenbergers were commonly imported into other territories to conduct local Reformations, as for example in the cases of the new university in Marburg, 1527, and the reform of the University of Tubingen in 1536 and following. The results were therefore predictable. At least canon law was abolished; the humanistic curriculum became the standard in the arts faculty; the Bible was the core of theological education with "other books" taking a decidely second place. Mechanisms were even developed to attract able students at least to the pastorate without respect to their ability to pay, although the rich dullard likely remained on the scene.

Yet, with all this said, the conclusions are somehow unsatisfying, for the spectre of universities as now the agents of an increasingly strident confessionalism, and therefore not truly of free inquiry and learning, remains. In fact, many universities in Germany after Luther's death became the raging infernos that helped forge Lutheran Orthodoxy.[9] The thought persists, then, that somewhere, somehow Luther's vision of a Biblically-based, humanistically pursued, and spiritually productive university world was not realized. Forgetting the possibly anachronistic character of this concern (based as it is upon modern, liberal notions of academic freedom) it still must be asked whether Luther had any broader goals in mind when he proposed a thorough reform of the universities.

This question is both easier and more difficult to answer than it might seem. On the one hand, the merest glance at section 25 of the *Address* reveals that in general he wanted three things: 1. that the Word of God be studied, and not only at universities; 2. that students learn the arts of eloquence so they could speak and write persuasively; 3. a hint that they should provide also for the future leadership of German. All of this is clear enough, but the difficulty is that, when Luther put forward these reform proposals, he most definitely did not have in mind establishing a new church with all this task's attendant problems. In particular, he did not have in mind creating a new clergy. This situation changed very quickly and certainly by 1527 when the visitations were begun and it became apparent just what a state of collapse characterized the church at the parish level. Now, the overwhelming need was for a trained clergy and the fond thought that just preaching the Word would turn the tide disappeared.[10]

This fact of the need for pastors did more to shape the Lutheran reform of universities than anything else. Quite suddenly, it was very important what was taught in each classroom. For example, the easy coexistance of humanistic studies with preaching the pure Word of God was no longer so easy. Some very difficult choices had to be made with respect to such basic questions as the content of the curriculum. That developments should be so may be seen simply by looking at the new clergy that was in fact created, the means by which it was created, and how it was supervised and maintained. Thankfully, some very recent research makes it possible to do so in some detail.

First, what were the characteristics of this new clergy? Putting to one side issues about its social origins, economic standing, mode of daily life, and the like, what was it or did it become as a distinct group within German society?

Within a generation after Luther's death the German clergy became a professional class. Although exact arrangements varied from place to place, pastors were selected, ordained, supervised, and promoted on the basis of merit. Special stipends for a species of advanced studies were set aside for them, just as Luther had wished. When the supervising body thought a young man was ready for ordination, regardless of whether he had received a degree, the candidate was invited to preach a sample sermon, be examined on his life and doctrine, and then be formally proposed for a pastorate. Having been appointed to a post, pastors were then subjected to the same process, commonly during the annual visitation, which occurred at their own parish. At this time, after being examined themselves both personally and on the basis of whatever the parishioners and local authorities had to report about them, they had the opportunity to present whatever grievances, questions, or problems they wished discussed. They were thus a part of a zealously watched bureaucracy and, whatever its failings, had embarked upon a career open to talent.[11]

There was indeed many a slip 'twixt cup and lip' in this process, to say nothing of many barriers that had to be broken before all could occur in good order. The first two generations of reformers, with Luther at their head, were nonetheless successful in creating a new Lutheran clergy that in turn took upon itself the task of introducing the Reformation into every parish in Lutheran lands.[12]

But what was the chief element, if any, that led to appointment and promotion within this Lutheran clergy? In the answer to

this question lies the connection between clergy and university and its consequences both for universities and for clergy.

Excepting personal morality, the one crucial factor in the selection and promotion of Lutheran pastors was an intellectual one: namely, the individual's knowlege of and ability to communicate Lutheran doctrine. Nothing was more important, and this knowledge was of course acquired at universities or academies. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the point.

Recent work on the clergy of the Rhineland shows the importance of university training very clearly. In Sponheim, the proportion of university educated clergy rose from 22.5% in 1560 to 78.1% in 1619; comparative figures for Zweibrucken are 33.3% and 92%. For the Electoral Palatinate numbers are available only for 1590 and 1619, but even then the figures indicate that efforts to improve the clergy's educational attainments continued: 85.9% to 94.3%. These percentages become even more noteworthy when one observes that in the Palatinate alone the total number of pastors increased over one generation from 99 to 423. Additionally, these numbers include only those for whom university attendance is a certainty; the percentages could well be higher.[13]

Education, in fact, appears to be the single most salient characteristic of Protestant clergy by the late sixteenth century, a fact which can come as no great surprise if only because all the reformers agreed that it was an absolute necessity. But the extent to which high educational attainment became a virtual prerequisite for the pastorate may be something of a surprise. Strasbourg is an example. To be sure, this city was fortunate enough to have its own preachers mill in the *Collegium Praedicatorum* which, through its stipends, in time assured a steady flow of pastors for the city's urban and rural parishes. But the city also had an academy that grew into a university, and candidates for the pastorate took advantage of it. Between 1586 and 1609, years for which there is continuous information, a total of 132 persons were nominated for either pastorates or diaconates. Of these, 97 or 73.5% held the M.A. as well as certification for ordination. Adding in the fact that Strasbourg's church order required nominating at least three persons for each vacant post makes it apparent that the M.A. was a virtual necessity for a career in the church.[14] It is true that Lutheran pastors were "intellectuals ... close to the people."[15] At the very least, Luther and his followers gave the universities a lot of work to do.

One question then becomes of immediate interest. What were these young men taught and how were they taught it? Here the problem of the universities' reciprocal impact upon Luther, or at least upon the church that bears his name, poses itself.

Again, at first glance the question seems easy enough to answer.[16]

In the lower faculties these young men learned the ancient languages, history, poetry, rhetoric and grammar from the standard humanistic curriculum, just as Luther had wished. And in their theological studies they read the Bible, also just as Luther had wished. But the matter by no means stops there, for in the process of teaching the new evangelical religion the emphasis shifted from the Bible as the locus of the Word of God to the Bible as a source book for true doctrine.

As much has been reasonably well known to all students of hermeneutics and exegesis during the Reformation. For Luther the canon and content of the Scriptures was Christ and Christ alone in both the Old and New Testaments. When one opened the Scriptures, one did so in the expectation of finding Christ and in particular His sole sufficiency for salvation. This grace was then to be apprehended through faith. But, how was this central idea to be taught to a first generation of Lutheran pastors? The answer is that Biblical commentary, at least in the classroom, quickly shifted to the *loci* method, according to which the Scriptures spoke clearly to each of the basic topics of theology, and in particular to those that were necessary for salvation. Once this method was employed fully, Biblical studies became a species of systematic theology and students were therefore taught not just the Bible as the simple, clear Word of God but the whole shopping list of true doctrines that constituted Lutheranism by the middle of the sixteenth century's second half. Here the focus shifts, then, from intellectual history or the history of doctrine to the impact of universities upon Luther and even to popular religious culture.

One example will illustrate what happened as the evangelical faith was taught to a new generation of Lutheran pastors. He is Johann Marbach, who was a student at Wittenberg in the 1540's, whose doctoral disputation Luther himself chaired, and who became President of the Company of Pastors in Strasbourg in 1552. As such, he was also director of the preachers' college and a professor of theology, i.e., of the Scriptures, at the Academy. Thus, he was the one person most responsible for the training of young pastors. Additionally, he was by no means an

original theologian himself but primarily a churchman and a pastor. It is safe to assume therefore that Marbach taught his students more or less what he was taught and by the same methods he was taught.[17] This assumption is doubly safe with respect to the text at hand, because it consists of notes from his lectures on John, given between August 9, 1547, not long after he graduated from the University of Wittenberg and well before he would have had the opportunity to become anything like an original theologian.[18] Unquestionably dependent upon Melanchthon's own lectures on John, Marbach's are nonetheless interesting for far more important reasons, at least for present purposes.

In the first place, Marbach used the *loci* method. To be sure, he began by pointing out that John differed from the other Gospels in that they were *historiae* and his was a *concilium,* but there the historical-critical method as practiced by a figure like Erasmus or Luther stopped. From his introductory lecture on, Marbach searched through John for statements on the principal topics of evangelical theology. For example, at the description of Christ as "the light of the world," he launched into a lengthy excursus in which he asserted that Christ "illumined all men in the world" and again, "he illumined all men." Doctrinal concerns were surely uppermost in his treatment also of John 12:40, "He has blinded their eyes and he hardened their heart lest they see with their eyes and perceive with their heart and be converted and I heal them." In spite of the obvious predestinarian implications of the text, Marbach concluded that "the cause of condemnation is not of God but of men. God does not will the death of a sinner and does wish all to be saved."[19]

The striking fact is that here in 1546 Marbach was using the *loci* method to argue precisely the doctrine of election and predestination that was agreed upon over thirty years later by those who drafted the Formula of Concord. He bluntly introduced the subject in his discussion of Jesus healing the official's son at the end of John 4 with the explanation that here Jesus "is teaching us about the will that was once hidden." What followed immediately is familiar to any student of the Lutheran confessions: "Let us now distinguish the will of God; one is secret and following it God judges in secret. The other is revealed and following it he judges with respect to no one's person but with respect only to the grace of the unique Son." Marbach's conclusion, while predating the Formula, was nonetheless in perfect accord with it: "We are not to look into

this hidden will. But we are to unfold his open will... where all are called to repentance...."[20]

What was Marbach doing? Surely the story of healing the official's son is not the most obvious place in the Gospel of John to discuss election and predestination. Might this explanation not have occured more appropriately a chapter earlier at John 3:18, "Whoever believes in Him is not judged; whoever does not believe has been judged already"? One can only speculate that Marbach did not want to discuss election in the context of a passage that could be construed to emphasize God's hidden will but chose to do so at a story that emphasized the universality of Christ's mission.[21] All speculation to one side, however, the fundamental point is that Marbach was not in fact giving a series of lectures on the Gospel According to John but one on the doctrinal contents of the Gospel According to John. The hermeneutical shift that followed the *loci* method in exegetics is clear. The Scriptures really did become source books for doctrine, as well as the *verbum pro me,* and they did so in the classroom as well as in the writings of the most prominent Lutheran theologians.

Granted that doctrine became the focus of attention in the classroom, what about the young pastors? In this case what occurred in the classroom did make its way into the field, for the continuing focus of the pastors' ministries remained the inculcation of true doctrine. In Strasbourg the only candidate who got so far as his formal hearing before the Company of pastors, and then failed, was sent back to the classroom because he could not explain the articles of the Augsburg Confession with sufficient precision.[22] At Sponheim 78 pastors were deprived of their posts between 1557 and 1619, 35 of them on the grounds of unorthodoxy. Indeed, one verse of a common canticle sung in the Palatinate toward the end of the century sums up at least what these pastors thought was their mission: "God give us grace and strength that we may earnestly teach the faith, ward off false teachings and life, and further God's word and work."[23] The emphasis upon teaching and doctrine is clear from the theologians to the training of pastors and to the very conduct of their ministries.

If only in passing, it may be asked whether this emphasis evoked any response at the level of the parishioners too. Was it consistent from top to bottom in Luther's new church? The evidence on how successful the reformers were is mixed; indeed there is something of a controversy over the issue at the

present moment.[24] It is nonetheless obvious from the visitation reports that catechetical instruction was very high on the list of duties for all of Luther's pastors, at least if they wished to be pastors for very long. Again and again the superintendants arrived at a parish and called the children together in order to examine them on the catechism, and with surprising frequency they could in fact recite it. Here was doctrine at the popular level. Through the ministrations of the universities, Lutheranism became a highly doctrinal religion, at least for the balance of the sixteenth century. In this context both Pietism and the description of the clergy as "a powerful force for intolerance" become perfectly understandable.[25] True religion had become as much a matter of the mind (or the memory) as of the heart.

With all this said, two more strokes must be added to give the picture a little more depth and texture. In the first place Lutheran pastors and their supervisors certainly paid close attention to morals and general religious behavior as well as to people's formal beliefs. Drunks, philanderers, wife-beaters and the like were searched out with just as much zeal as were the unorthodox. Extravagant celebrations of baptisms and marriages were banned on the grounds that they were not only wasteful of precious resources but also comported ill with the basic Gospel message. Behavior was thus not neglected in this massive educational effort.[26]

Additionally, as the statistics from Strasbourg well attest, these pastors were not just possessors of doctrinal truth but were indeed cultured people in the humanistic mode. Johann Valentin Andreae at the end of the century wrote a few lines about himself that might well apply to most Lutheran pastors of the time: "I have learned strict logic thoroughly and read the thick books of rhetoric. I have become acquainted with the spheres of the heavens, with what physics does for me, and what ethics brings out of morals, and even to count out the rhythm of Homer." It is true that the Reformation institutionalized humanism, not just in the universities but also in the lives of many, if not, most pastors.[27]

Yet, on balance it is also clear that concern for true doctrine overrode all else even at the popular level and that in the process true religion became virtually synonymous with right belief. One might even suggest that this shift brought with it two other tendencies that could mark at least a modest

departure from Luther and his intentions. The first concerns the critical idea of faith. Is it not true (no matter what the theologians maintained in principle) that faith moved at least somewhat away from the central notion of *fiducia* or trust and toward the more Roman Catholic idea of *assensus* or agreement to a proposition? As a consequence, did not ethics at least at the popular level take on more the character of obedience, *obedientia,* than of Luther's famous "faith active in love."? There is no way to prove it, but is not as much implied by the repeated catechetical statement, "This is most certainly true?" Indeed, ideas do have a way of changing as they are filtered through institutions, in this case from Luther through the universities, thence through churches and visitations, and finally to ordinary Christians.

Secondly, it is worth noting that the audience for doctrinal debate and instruction also changed. In all his polemics, Luther's audience consisted of teachers and leaders of the church, or those who put themselves forward as such.[28] If they erred in their teachings, they were then condemned under the dictum, "Whoever leads one of these little ones astray, it would be better for him if a millstone were put around his neck and he were drowned." Now, however, every Christian was part of the audience, and the implication was certainly present that believing the wrong doctrines could have disastrous consequences for all eternity. It was a fact that doing so brought forth unpleasantness in the here-and-now, as anyone who admitted to Anabaptist notions quickly discovered no matter how upright their daily life. Now the odd situation presented itself that, in order to be saved by grace through faith, one had to believe that salvation occurred that way.

With hindsight, the historian's chief advantage and chief weakness these developments seem almost inevitable. Once a new clergy had to be created, and once the universities were given principal responsibility for doing so, and granting the highly charged confessional atmosphere of the time, it would have been nearly impossible not to identify true religion with true doctrine, at least to some degree. But a question remains. To what extent was Luther himself responsible for this development, or was it something that occurred, willy-nilly, but that he did not intend? Did Luther really think that religion was more a matter of belief, in the sense of agreeing to certain propositions, than it was a matter of practice and the inclination of the heart?

Most certainly not. Nonetheless there are some indications

that he did indeed intend that the new clergy would be taught more or less as they were in fact taught and that they would conduct their ministries more or less as they in fact did. His own description of the qualities for an ideal pastor suggest as much.

> First, a good preacher should be able to teach well, correctly, and in an orderly fashion; secondly, he should have a good head on his shoulders; thirdly, he should be eloquent; forthly, he should have a good voice; fifthly, he should have a good memory; sixthly, he should know when to stop; seventhly, he should be constant and diligent about his affairs; eighthly, he should invest body and life, possessions and honor in it; ninthly, he should be willing to let everyone vex and hack away at him.[29]

There are nine items on this list and five of the first six are intellectual rather than moral or affective virtues. Perhaps nothing should be said additionally about the fact that Luther chose to list these talents first. On the other hand, he was present at the University of Wittenberg and did concur at least implicitly when Melanchthon began teaching evangelical theology by the *loci* method and when Aristotle was reintroduced into the curriculum, along with the disputations.

But whether he would have approved the heavy emphasis upon doctrine at the parish level is a different question, and one that opens up a further problem. Again, no definitive answers are possible here, but this quotation from the preface to the *Large Catechism* may point in the right direction:

> Many regard the Catechism as a simple, silly teaching which they can absorb at one reading. After reading it once they toss the book into the corner as if they were ashamed to read it again.... I must still read and study the Catechism daily, yet I cannot master it as I wish, but must remain a child and pupil of the Catechism, and I do it gladly.

It must be noted that the Catechism is but Christian doctrine in its most accesible form. Additionally, in this fundamentally intellectual undertaking —reading the Catechism— Luther assumed that something spiritual was taking place. "In such reading, conversation, and meditation," he added, "the Holy

Spirit is present and bestows ever newer and greater light and fervor, so that day by day we relish and appreciate the Catechism more greatly."[30] In sum, Luther by no means disregarded the heart, but he assumed that it was stimulated and perhaps even led by the brain in very important ways.

Concluding a theme this large, one that has ranged from Luther to the universities, to the training of clergy, to parish life, and even to popular religious culture is a daunting task. A few general remarks nonetheless seem in order. First, other than to give a strong impetus to the humanistic curriculum at the level of the arts faculty, Luther did not do much to change the medieval ideal of the university. To be sure, the content of the doctrine taught in the theological faculties changed, but they were never more concerned with teaching true doctrine, and doing so quickly to as many as possible, than as a result of Luther and the Reformation. Indeed, it is even arguable that Luther, who never tired of pointing to his own title as Doctor, strongly reinforced the claim of universities and university men to be arbitors of the faith and thereby granted to universities an importance in the life of the church that they had not had during the Middle Ages. Secondly, the universities themselves strongly encouraged the equation, true religion = true doctrine, by the simple fact that they were in the business of teaching and training the new clergy and insisted upon doing it their way, with the result that religion became a matter of knowledge.

One final issue is worthy of consideration. In recent years, the Reformation's position as a crucial moment in the development of modern civilization, or even as a distinct period in its own right, has been severely tarnished. Social historians, and those from France in particular, have argued forcefully that the real transition from medieval to modern was a much longer process than heretofore believed. In their judgment it occurred ever so slowly and spanned at least the four centuries from 1350 to 1750.[31]

This is by no means the place to discuss all the ramifications of this interpretive school or even its modes of analysis or the sorts of evidence that are brought forth in support of it. Needless to say, the status of Christianity plays a large part in any such interpretive effort. The present investigations, whatever they may say about Luther and about universities, do nonetheless have a direct bearing also on this larger historical question.

To put the matter briefly, one of the chief characteristics of

modern religion is the attempt, at least in the West, to make it intellectually coherent if not intellectually respectable in some quarters. That is to say, by clear contrast with former times, religion for moderns is, at least in part, a matter of formal beliefs, and beliefs that are somehow at least consistent among themselves. Moreover, this drive to coherence is no longer the preserve of academic theologians or philosophers alone, but something everyone shares at least to some degree. No one wishes, as Lewis Carroll put it, "to think six inconsistent thoughts before breakfast" if only for fear of suffering indigestion. The interaction between Luther and the universities was a powerful step in just this direction.

NOTES

1. The standard survey is Bernd Moeller, "The German Humanists and the Beginnings of the Reformation," *Imperial Cities and the Reformation. Three Essays,* ed. and trans. by H. C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr., (Philadelphia, 1972), pp. 19–38.
2. Karl Bauer, *Die Wittenberger Universitatstheologie und die Anfange der Deutschen Reformation* (Tubingen, 1928).
3. See James M. Kittelson and Pamela J. Transue, eds., *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience: Universities in Transition, 1300-1700* (Columbus, Ohio, 1984), forthcoming, and in particular the essays by Heiko A. Oberman and Lewis W. Spitz.
4. Ernest G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis, 1950).
5. WA, Br., I, 170.
6. John Dillenberger, ed., *Martin Luther, Selections from His Works* (New York, 1961), pp. 470–476.
7. Lewis W. Spitz, "The Impact of the Reformation on Universities," *University and Reformation,* ed. by Leif Grane (Leiden, 1981), pp. 9–31, and n. 3 above.
8. Dillenberger, *Luther,* pp. 470–476.
9. Robert A. Kolb, "Historical Background of the Formula of Concord," *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord,* ed. by Robert D. Preus and Wilbert H. Rosin (St. Louis, 1978), pp. 12–87 for an excellent introduction to the controversies and the controversialists.
10. Susan Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside.* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 698, (Philadelphia, 1979) provides a clear look at the early years in a territory close to Luther himself.
11. In addition to *ibid.,* see Wilhelm Pauck, *The Heritage of the Reformation* (New York, 1961), esp. pp. 101–143, and Gerald Strauss *Luther's*

House of Learning. Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation (Baltimore, 1978), pp. 1ff., but see also n. 24 below.

12. It may be argued that Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors,* who admits as much, p. 74, ends her study too soon.

13. Bernard Vogler, *Le Clerge Protestant Rhenan au Siecle de la Reforme* (1555-1619), (Paris, 1976), and James M. Kittelson, "Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: The Report from Strasbourg," *Archive for Reformation History,* 73 (1982): 171-172.

14. Archieves municipales de Strasbourg: Archivum S. Thomae, 74, fol. 3-47.

15. Vogler, *Clerge,* p. 366.

16. It must be added that detailed studies of the curriculum and its content, such as are plentiful for the late medieval German universities, simply do not exist for the period after Luther's death. See James M. Kittelson, "The Confessional Age: The Late Reformation in Germany," *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research,* ed., by Steven Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), pp. 364-365.

17. Car. Ed. Forstemann, *Liber Decanorum Facultatis Theologicae Academiae Vitebergensis* (Lipsiae, 1838), p. 32. On the characterization of Marbach, see James M. Kittelson, "Marbach vs. Zanchi: The Resolution of Controversy in Late Reformation Strasbourg," *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 9 (1977): 31-44, and the literature cited there.

18. *Commentaria Eiusdem D. D. Ioan. Marbachij in Euangelistam Joannem.* Mc 181, Universitatsbibliothek Tubingen.

19. *Ibid.,* fol. 1-5.

20. *Ibid.,* fol. 51.

21. He did however then return to John 3:18 with the declaration, "The Son comes so all may be turned around to repentance and may believe the Gospel and be saved." *Ibid.,* fol. 51.

22. Archives municipales de Strasbourg: Archivum S. Thomae 198. Diarium Marbachij, fol. 189.

23. Vogler, *Clerge,* pp. 101;365.

24. Strauss, *Luther's House,* and Kittelson, "Successes and Failures."

25. Vogler, *Clerge,* p. 369.

26. Vogler, *Clerge,* p. 369, concludes that Reformed clergy were more concerned with public behavior than were Lutherans. The securely Lutheran city of Strasbourg would counter this assertion (see Kittelson, "Success and Failures"). If there was a difference, it may well have been regional rather than confessional.

27. Cited by Vogler, *Clerge,* p. 55 n. 17.

28. On Luther the controversialist see Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther and the False Brethren* (Palo Alto, CA, 1975) and *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531-1546* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983).
29. As cited by Hermann Wedermann, *Der evangelische Pfarrer in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 17.
30. Theodore G. Tappert, ed. and trans., *The Book of Concord. The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 359.
31. See the discussions by William J. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western Civilization," *American Historical Review,* 84 (1979): 1-16, and Lewis W. Spitz, "Periodization in History: Renaissance and Reformation," *The Future of History,* ed. by Charles Delzell (Nashville, 1979), pp. 189-217.

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Luther Reasearch in America and Japan

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Luther was familiar with the idea of a *translatio imperii,* westward the course of empire wends its way. The scepter of power was handed on from the Babylonians to the Assyrians, to the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. He translated the idea into a *translatio evangelii* motif,for the torchlight of the gospel was carried from the Jews to the Greeks, to the Romans and to the Germans. If the Germans were ungrateful for the Gospel, the Lord will take it away and give it to peoples in the West who will appreciate it. Luther referred at least twice to the New World as newly discovered islands where the natives had not as yet heard the gospel. The imperial document declaring him an outlaw, in fact, referred to the Indian possessions of Charles V. It is possible that the Indian princes who had come to the court of Charles V were present when Luther gave his famous speech at the imperial diet in Worms in 1521. So, too, has Luther research moved westward. It is not that the homeland of the Reformation has in the least abated. The quintessential Quincentennial of Luther's birth has, in fact, produced an avalanche of publications on nearly every facet of Luther's life, thought, and place in history. But the torch of learning has been lit to the west, in America and in recent years most impressively westward, across the broad Pacific, in Japan.

It is high time that the fascinating contributions of Japanese scholarship to Luther research be taken into account. In this article we propose to offer a summary of trends in American Lutheran interpretations, not a bibliographical reckoning, to present a succinct bibliographical account of Japanese Luther scholarship, and in conclusion to venture some comparisons of American and Japanese approaches to Luther research with some comparison with German scholarship. Not only can General Motors and the Toyota company build cars together in California, but also Luther scholars can practice that *Zusammenarbeit* that has made much German scholarship so outstanding.

Trends in American Luther Research

A number of articles on American Luther scholarship offer detailed bibliographical accounts so that it is not necesary to recapitulate the authors and titles in this paper.[1] At the most one or the other new book may be refered to as an example. The late Albert Hyma of the University of Michigan once commented that more has been written about Luther than about any other person in the history of the world with the exception of Christ. The Catholic biographer of Luther, John M. Todd, writes: "A major part of the phenomenon of Luther is the extraordinary corpus of writings, over one hundred volumes in the Weimar edition. In most big libraries, books by and about Luther occupy more shelf room than those concerned with any other human being except Jesus of Nazareth."[2] G.R. Elton, Regius Professor at the University of Cambridge, raised a cautionary note: "Luther and Reformation are naturally linked, but they are not in fact identical: the history of the Reformation in Europe is not the same as the history of Luther in Germany. But in the quincentennial year of Luther's birth it's a bit much to expect people to make that distinction."[3] In America, as in Germany, the quintessential Quincentennial of Luther's birth is adding many new titles, a good number of them by younger American scholars.

American Luther scholarship has contributed especially in four areas to a more comprehensive picture of the man and of his historical significance through biographical studies; through theological studies; through a closer examination of the intellectual, cultural and social context within which he developed and acted; and through the analysis of his impact on subsequent ecclesiastical and secular history. At the First International Congress for Luther Research, Aarhus, 1956, the late Heinrich Bornkamm of Heidelberg cautioned scholars against an almost positivistic preoccupation with every detail of Luther's theology which threatened to reduce Luther scholarship almost to a mere adjunct to systematic theology.[4] During the years since then scholars have corrected this situation. By way of illustrating the American contribution to Luther's biography one might cite the two books of Mark U. Edwards on Luther's relation to brethren who betrayed the cause, as he saw it, and the polemics of his last years.[5]

The Germanist H.G.Haile's study of Luther's life from the visit of the papal nuncio Vergerio to Wittenberg in 1535 to Luther's

death, while popular and not done by a specialist, is rich in suggesting the nature of Luther's personal actions and reactions.[6] He understands the aging process, the accumulation of psychic hurts, and the growing physical disabilities, suggesting that the uremic poisoning that nearly took Luther's life at Schmalkald in 1537 took its toll in subsequent irascibility and psychic swings between confusing and lucidity.

Intimately related to biography is the application of psycho-history to Luther's life, a development which can properly be called an American contribution or aberration. Two centuries ago the German historian Wegelin (1721–1791) argued for the need to understand the psychology of rulers and the psychological bond with their people, the necessity of penetrating their obscure wishes and passions. In the polemical Catholic period Joseph Sprieszler, Heinrich Denifle, Albert Maria Weiss, Hartmann Grisar, Paul Reiter and others sought to undercut Luther's credibility by pointing to physical illness or psychological instability such as excessive eroticism or manic depression. But the honor of making the first scientific attempt to apply Freudian analysis to the younger Luther goes to that giant among Reformation historians, Preserved Smith. In an article entitled "Luther's Early Development in the Light of Psychoanalysis," *American Journal of Psychology* 24 (1913), 360–377, Smith provided a primer of Freudian analysis complete with an alcoholic father and oedipal rage, obsession with the demonic, a thanatous preoccupation, harsh home discipline, involvement in concupiscence, and recurrent depressions. At the American Historical Association meetings in December, 1957, the renowned diplomatic historian William L. Langer took the audience by surprise with his presidential address entitled "The Next Assignment," in which he spoke of the "urgently needed deepening of our historical understanding through exploitation of the concepts and findings of modern psychology."[7]

He was referring to psychoanalysis and its later developments in terms of "dynamic" or "depth psychology." He used Luther as his prime case study. Since then psychobiographies have been squirting out all over. The best of those concerned with Luther, though the best is none to good, is that of Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: Norton, 1958). It is an attempt at posthumous psychoanalysis applying to Luther's case Erikson's concept of the stages of man's psychic development and concentrating on

the identity crisis. His picture of Luther was pirated by the playwright John Osborne, Britain's "angry young man," in his play *Luther* (New York: Signet, 1961), naively used by Lutheran Colleges for dramatic production, possibly for the lack of anything better. The obvious flaws on Erikson's knowledge of the facts and his arbitrary imposition of his pet schema on Luther have been pointed out by a number of serious Luther scholars.[8] But on the positive side, psychohistory and psychobiography do provide some countervalence to the ghosts of social scientific and economic deterministic abstractions.

American scholars have also contributed to the deeper understanding of Luther's theology along with their European colleagues. During the nineteenth century few Europeans did extensive or in-depth studies of Luther's theology, nor did Americans. On the German side only Theodosius Harnack and Ignaz Dollinger did volumes on Luther's theology, although he received much attention in history of dogma books. In America C. F. W. Walther and only a few others worked with Luther's theology in the nineteenth century, but with the twentieth century younger American scholars wrote important monographs, often based on theses and reflecting the interests of their doctoral advisers such as Wilhelm Pauck, George Williams, Roland Bainton, Jaroslav Pelikan, E. Harris Harbison and others. One thinks of the studies of John Dillenberger on the *Deus absconditus,* Uuras Saarnivaara on Luther's evangelical breakthrough, Heino Kadai on Luther's theology of the cross, Egil Grislis on the wrath of God, Brian Gerrish on grace and reason, John Headley on Luther's views of church history, Edgar Carlson on the Swedish interpretation of Luther, Ian Siggins on Luther's doctrine of Christ, Kenneth Hagen on Luther's Lectures on Hebrews, and the like.

Of the very recent books on Luther's theology one may single out a few for special commendation. The first of these is that of Marilyn J. Harran, *Luther on Conversion* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983) in which the author describes the varying modalities of the concept of conversion from Luther's notes on Lombard's *Sentences,* 1509, through the Psalms and Romans Commentaries to the more mature theology of 1518 and 1519, a critical decade in Luther's theological development and therefore in the history of the entire Christian church. In the concluding chapter she brings the development of Luther's thought on conversion to bear upon the tormented question of Luther's own "conversion" as recounted in the story of his

tower experience, considering the nature and the time of that experience. Two books which have not as yet attracted the attention they deserve because of their original and almost personal approach to basics in Luther's religious thought are John A. Loeschen, *Wrestling with Luther: An Introduction to the Study of His Thought* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1976) and *The Divine Community: Trinity, Church and Ethics in Reformation Theologies* (Kirksville, Missouri: The Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1981), comparing and contrasting the major theological systems of the Reformation. Steven Ozment has written on Luther and mysticism, Scott H. Hendrix on Luther's ecclesiology, most recently in his excellent book *Luther and the Papacy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), and Michael Baylor on conscience in Luther's theology, *Action and Person: Conscience in Late Scholasticism and the Young Luther* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977). David Steinmetz of Duke Divinity School has done two books on Staupitz, most recently *Luther and Staupitz: An Essay in the Intellectual Origins of the Protestant Reformation* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1980). An independent thinker, Steinmetz questions the highly dubious assertions about the significance of the *via Gregorii* and the existence of a late medieval Augustinian school or tradition allegedly mediated to Luther by Staupitz. These examples illustrate the nature of American contributions toward understanding the theology of Luther.

A third area in which American scholars are actively contributing is that of the intellectual, cultural, and social context within which Luther developed and acted. While some European writing follows a well-trodden path in stressing and exaggerating the importance of scholastic theology for Luther, Americans have seen the radicality of his break with scholasticism quite clearly and have stressed the importance of Biblical exegesis, the evangelical thrusts, and the influence of Renaissance humanism on Luther's cultural, educational, and religious ideas. Typical of this newer emphasis is the work of Jaroslav Pelikan on Luther's exegesis, of Kenneth A. Strand on Luther's relation to the Devotion Moderna and Maria Grossmann on humanism in Wittenberg.[9] The study of the Renaissance and of German humanism has long flourished in this country and it is not, therefore, surprising that the importance of humanism for Luther and his cause would receive greater attention here than in Germany, where the *Historische Zeitschrift* in its review section has gone directly from the late

Middle Ages to the Reformation.[10] American activism and societal concern have inspired an impressive number of works on Luther's response to a wide variety of ethical and social problems.

Finally, American scholars have contributed significantly to the analysis of Luther's impact on subsequent ecclesiastical and secular history. One cluster of books have related Luther to the Lutheran confessional tradition.[11] Another group of studies take up Luther studies from a Catholic or Protestant ecumenical point of view such as John Dolan, *History of the Reformation: A Conciliatory Assessment of Opposite Views* (New York, 1965), or Harry McSorley, *Luther Right or Wrong?* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1969).

Luther's impact on culture has been explored by various American scholars. The late Wilhelm Pauck did a volume of essays on the theme, *The Heritage of the Reformation* (rev. ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1961). It seems most appropriate that one of his students, Brian A. Gerrish, should now do a splendid volume entitled *The Old Protestantism and the New: Essays on the Reformation Heritage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982). John Warwick Montgomery, *In Defense of Martin Luther* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1970), discusses Luther's theology today, Luther and science, Luther and learning, and related subjects. Two recent studies relating to the theme of the continuity of humanism and Luther's impact on especially German culture are Lewis W. Spitz, "The Course of German Humanism," in H. A. Oberman and T. A. Brady, Jr., eds., *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 371–436, and Lewis W. Spitz, ed., *Humanismus und Reformation als kulturelle Krafte in der deutschen Geschichte* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1981). Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), on the basis of a highly selective reading of the visitation reports and other sources, comes to a very negative judgment on the effect of Luther's education and religious reform efforts.

We have focused upon four major subjects in order to illustrate the nature and quality of the American contributions to Luther studies. Many other topics could be included in this

survey such as educational reform, printing and pamphleteers, Luther and the German language, Luther as a publicist, pulpits, rhetoric and preachers, popular piety, the peasants' revolt, Luther and the Jews, Luther and the urban reformation, the princes, Luther and Marx, Luther and the radical reformation, and the like. There are books and significant articles on all of these subjects by American scholars.[12] It is time now, however, to return to Luther in Japan.

TRENDS IN JAPANESE LUTHER RESEARCH

There are three useful bibliographical essays which, taken together, show the extent and nature of Luther studies in modern Japan. Kenji Masuda, "Luther Studies in Japan," *Church History,* 31 (June, 1962), 227–230, covers the period from about 1900 to 1962; Yoshikazu Tokuzen, "Luther in Japan," *Luther: Zeitschriften der Luther Gesellschaft,* 39 (1968), 85–89, discusses briefly Luther studies in Japan from 1874 to 1967; and Yoshikazu Tokuzen, "Die Lutherforschung in Japan seit 1967," *Luther–Jahrbuch,* 44 (1977), 89–104, deals with the period between 1967 and 1977. In this article, we shall briefly discuss trends in Japanese Luther studies during the past two decades. The topic will be analyzed under three headings: Luther's works, Luther biographies, and Luther's theology and thought.

Luther's Works in Japanese Translation

The publication of the Japanese translation of Luther's works, initiated in 1963 and designed to appear in thirty-six volumes, is proceeding slowly. Of the twelve volumes in Part I, which contains the works of Luther in chronological order, nine volumes (1–3, 5–10) have so far been published.[13] Part II in twelve volumes, which includes Luther's commentaries, and Part III in another twelve volumes, which contains his table talks, sermons, and letters, will presumably appear after the completion of Part I. The significance of the translation for the future development of Luther studies in Japan cannot be overemphasized. There is also a "pocket-book" edition of Luther's works in translation which was begun in 1967. The eight published volumes include such works as *The Large Catechism* (Vol. 2, 1967), *The Address to the German Nobility* (Vol. 4, 1971), and *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*

(Vol. 5, 1971).[14] Two books have thus far been published in a third series, called the *Selected Works of Luther.*[15] Many other works of Luther are also easily available in three widely distributed anthologies.[16] It should be noted that *Luther's "Table Talks,"* which Shigehiko Sato first published in 1929 in translation, has just been reissued with some emendations and style changes.[17]

Biographies of Luther

Although Luther has widely been regarded in Japan as "a great reformer" and "a giant in world history," only a comparatively small number of biographies by Japanese authors have been published in recent years. Some biographies that should be mentioned are: Kazah Kitamari, *Martin Luther* (Tokyo, 1951), Ken Ishiwara, *The Reformer Luther and His Surroundings* (Tokyo, 1967), Osamu Komaki and Shuzaburo Izumiya, *Luther: The Man and His Ideas* (Tokyo, 1970), and Osamu Naruse, *Luther and the Reformation* (Tokyo, 1980).[18] There have also been some recent translations of important biographies by non-Japanese authors. They include Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville, Tenn., 1950), Franz Lau, *Luther* (Berlin, 1959), C. W. Gheorghiu, *La jeunesse du Docteur Luther* (Paris, 1965), and Richard Friedenthal, *Martin Luther: Sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1967).[19] Together with the older, well-received translation of Henri Strohl, *Luther, sa vie et sa pensees* (Paris, 1953),[20] they have made the life of the reformer more accessible to Japanese readers than before.

Luther's Theology and Thought

There is as yet no comprehensive study of Luther's theology by a Japanese scholar. This is probably due to the fact that until recently, the Japanese study of Luther's theology tended to concentrate on the doctrine of justification. Shigehiko Sato's classic study, *The Fundamental Ideas Of Luther as Manifested in His Commentary on Paul's Letters to the Romans* (Tokyo, 1933), played an important role in developing this tradition. (Its third edition was published in 1976). Kazoh Kitamori's work, *The Theology of the Reformation* (Tokyo, 1960), is another important study of Luther's doctrine of justification. Professor Kitamori is also the author of *The Problem of Freedom in Love:*

Concerning Luther's 'Freedom of the Christian Man'' (Tokyo, 1966) and of *Theology of the Pain of God* (Richmond, Virginia, 1965; in Japanese, 5th revised edition, Tokyo, 1958), which owes much to Luther's theology. The translations of works by non-Japanese scholars, such as Walther von Loewenich, *Luthers Theologia Crucis* (Munich, 1929), Lennart Pinomaa, *Voittaya usko* (Helsinki, 1959), and Brian A. Gerrish, *Grace and Reason:* (Oxford, 1962), further contributed to the growth of Japanese scholars' interest in the topic and Luther's theology in general.[21]

In the historical, intellectual, and institutional study of Luther and the Reformation, Dr. Ken Isiwara played a dominant role from the 1930s to his death in 1979. Two recent publications related to him show the scholarly level which Japanese Luther research has reached. Volumes 5 and 6 (*The Reformation,* I and II) of The Works of Ken Ishiwara (Tokyo, 1979) contain all of his essays and articles on the Reformation published in 1931–1967. *Reformation Studies* (Tokyo, 1968), a Festschrift dedicated to him by thirteen scholars, deals with Luther, Luther's influence on later centuries, and the Swiss Reformation, reflecting his diverse interest in the Reformation era.[22]

Indeed, there are signs that young Japanese scholars, influenced especially by the works of Ishiwara, have seriously begun to study Luther's theology and thought from a wider point of view than a focus only on his doctrine of justification. For example, Haruo Kaneko published a large volume entitled *Luther's Anthropology* (Tokyo, 1975), which won the 1976 prize of the Japanese Academy of Sciences. His recent book, *Luther's Religious Ideas* (Tokyo, 1981), is an attempt to interpret Luther's religious thought from an anthropological or existential point of view. Susumu Imai has contributed a perceptive introduction to his anthology[23] in which, while presenting a short history of Luther research in Japan and abroad, he has emphasized the influence of mysticism on Luther's ideas. We must note in this connection that translations of notable works by Heinrich Bornkamm, Jaroslav Pelikan, Regin Prenter, and Vilmos Vajta contributed to a diversification of Japanese Luther studies.[24] Mention may also be made of a recent translation of Willem J. Kooiman, *Luther en de Bibel* (Baarn, 1958).[25]

In the area of Luther's political thought, Hiroshi Aruga wrote a scholarly work entitled *The Reformation and German*

Political Thought (Tokyo, 1966), in which he discussed the development of German political ideas in connection with Lutheranism. The publication of a Japanese translation of Karlheinz Blaschke, *Sachsen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Gutersloh, 1970)[26] also reflects Japanese scholarly concern about the political and institutional studies of the Reformation. But it must be noted that the drama of "campus disturbances" in the 1960s awakened and strengthened interest not only in the "Radical Wing of the Reformation," but also in the political and social ideas of Luther. This is perhaps best seen in Isao Kuramatsu's study, *Reform and Development in the Thought of Luther* (Tokyo, 1973). His long-standing interest in Luther's doctrine of two kingdoms is shown in his other books, *Luther and Modern Times* (Tokyo, 1968), *The Basic Structure of Luther's Theology and His Social Theory: A Study of the Doctrine of Two Kingdoms* (Tokyo, 1977), and *Luther: His Faith and Theology* (Tokyo, 1982). Another notable recent development related to Luther's thought is the increase in the number of works on Luther's relations with other reformers. Naomichi Kodaira, ed., *Luther, Zwingli, Calvin* (Tokyo, 1969) and Isao Kuramatsu, *Luther, Muntzer, Karlstadt* (Tokyo, 1973) are of this type. Akira Demura's studies of Zwingli and other Swiss reformers, *Studies in the Swiss Reformation* (Tokyo, 1971) and *Zwingli: His Life and Thought* (Tokyo, 1974), have developed from his doctoral work at Princeton Theological Seminary. Needless to say, Thomas Muntzer received considerable attention in the 1960s, as is reflected in the publication of Taira Kuratsuka et al., eds., *The Radical Wing of the Reformation* (Tokyo, 1972). We might note in this connection that Robert Stupperich, *Melanchthon* (Berlin, 1960) was translated into Japanese in 1971[27] and Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York, 1969) in 1972.[28]

Luther research in Japan has entered a period in which, under the influence of Ishiwara and others, great effort will be made to understand Luther's life and thought in relation to the historical, social, political, and ecclesiastical conditions of the Reformation period. The age of "Luther ohne den geschichtlichen Kontext"[29] in Japan is definitely over. The establishment of the Japanese Luther Academy in 1971 as a clearing house for scholars marked the maturity of Luther research in modern Japan. It has been announced that a commemorative volume of essays, *Luther in History and Modern Times,* will be published in 1983 on the five-hundredth anniver-

sary of Luther's birth. It will also contain a detailed Luther bibliography (in German) covering works on Luther published since 1977.[30]

CONCLUSION

The year 1983 marks the five-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth and the one hundredth anniversary of the death of both Richard Wagner and Karl Marx. The year 1984 will be notable for the five-hundredth anniversary of Zwingli's birth and the advent of George Orwell's cataclysmic year. In this article we have taken note of trends in American and Japanese Luther research up to the quintessential Quincentennial of his birth. It may prove useful in conclusion to venture a few comparisons.

1. In the nineteenth century Luther was in America depicted either as a hero, the mighty oak of Saxony, by the Protestants or as a reprobate monk and hereiarch by the Catholics. For understandable historic reasons, with Japan first emerging from its self-imposed isolation, no Luther research as yet appeared.
2. In the early decades of the twentieth century American Luther research was still very dependent upon European and predominantly German scholarship, through books and due to the influence of immigrant and refugee scholars in this country. As the century progressed, however, American scholars have showed a growing independence and originality of thought. In its early phases twentieth century Japanese scholarship, too, was heavily dependent upon translations of German and English works, due in part to the number of Japanese scholars who have studied at German universities and American seminaries. But post-war Japanese scholars, too, have been doing new editions of Luther in Japanese translation and have been contributing original work not only on Luther's life and theology, but also on the larger social and political context and even on his impact on subsequent history.
3. Whereas American Reformation research has broadened out to cover nearly every phase of sixteenth century history, thus reducing Luther and the religious side of the Reformation to less exclusive import, Japanese scholars have still stressed Luther's life and theology. But the latest trend seems to run parallel to what has happened in America with the tendency to do more sixteenth century

studies than specifically Luther or religious reformation topics.

4. American and Japanese scholars alike share the advantage of distance from Europe. They tend to see the Reformation as a Pan-European movement and so manage to avoid European national parochialism. Japanese scholars, for example, are very much interested in the Luther-Zwingli connection.
5. Moreover, Japanese like American scholars for the most part do their own work and are accountable for what they publish under their own name. They have not adopted the *patron* or institute *chief* system of the Europeans which allows the head man to publish the research of the underlings under the name of the big man, sometimes with little or no acknowledgement.
6. Like American scholars, Japanese Luther scholars have been free of ideological constructs such as Marxism and the "battles of the German schools" which in Europe have led to preposterous one-sidedness and exaggerated claims for unilateral explanations.
7. Some American scholars have carried their realistic assessment of the greater reformer so far as to emphasize the psychotic side of his personality, though he has held up well under close and even hostile scrutiny. Japanese scholars have shown little interest in this shadow side of the all too human reformer and have been spared the American neurotic preoccupation with Freud, psycho-history and psycho-biography.

In the year 1602 an Elizabethan publicist composed a poem entitled "An Answere to a Romish Rime," which reads:

> Till Luther's time you say that we
> Heard not of Christ: but you shall see
> That we, not you, have heard of him
> As only pardoner of our sinne
> Thrise happy Luther, and the rest,
> (Except some faults which we detest.)

8. American and Japanese scholars must, finally, all agree with Lord Acton, who wrote: "Better one great man than a dozen immaculate historians."

FOOTNOTES

1. Professor Bernd Moeller of Göttingen University has a book in press with Gerd Mohn (Paul Siebeck) based on the papers presented to the Verein fur Reformationsgeschichte at Heidelberg University in September, 1982, *Luther in der Neuzeit.* One chapter by Professor Hartmut Lehmann of Kiel University tells the story of Luther research from the beginning to roughly the mid-nineteenth century. A chapter of Lewis W. Spitz recounts reformation history in the USA since Philip Schaff. Mark Edwards has a chapter on recent Luther research including American scholarship in Steven Ozment, editor, *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis, Mo.: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), pp. 59–83. See also Lewis W. Spitz, "The Lutheran Reformation in American historiography, in *The Maturing of American Lutheranism,* H. T. Neve and B. A. Johnson, eds. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1968) and Carter Lindberg, "Luther Research in America, 1945–1965," *Lutheran World,* 13 (1966), 291–302. Also of value is Roland Bainton and Eric W. Gritsch, eds., *Bibliography of the Continental Reformation: Materials Available in English* (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1972) Lewis W. Spitz, "Current Accents in Luther Study: 1960–1967," in *Theological Studies,* 28 (September, 1967), 549–573; Lewis W. Spitz, "Recent Studies of Luther and the Reformation," in John C. Olin *et al.* eds., *Luther, erasmus and the Reformation: A Catholic–Protestant Reappraisal* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1969), pp. 134–150 Lewis W. Spitz and Heino O. Kadai, *Guide to Reformation Literature* (St. Louis, MO.: General Committee for the 450th Reformation Anniversary, the Inter-Lutheran Consulation, 1967).
2. John M. Todd, *Luther a Life* (New York: Crossroad, 1982, p. xvi.)
3. Personal Correspondence, Clare College, Cambridge University, March 23, 1983, cited by permission.
4. Heinrich Bornkamm, "Probleme der Lutherbiographie," *Lutherforschung Heute,* Vilmos Vajta, ed. (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958), p. 15.
5. Mark U. Edwards, *Luther and the False Brethren* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) and *Luther's Last Battles* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).
6. H. G. Haile, *Luther: An Experiment in Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 1980).
7. William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *The American Historical Review,* 63, no. 2 (January, 19158), 283–304.
8. For the key section on Erikson and Roland Bainton's response, see

Lewis W. Spitz, ed., *The Reformation—Basic Interpretations* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1972), pp. 171–212. See also Roland Bainton, "Luther a Psychiatric Portrait," *The Yale Review* (Spring, 1959), 405–410; "Psychiatry and History: an Examination of Erikson's Young Man Luther," *Religion in Life,* 40, no. 4 (Winter, 1971), 450 –478. For a historian's response to Erikson, see Roger A. Johnson, *Psychohistory and Religion: The Case of Young Man Luther* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), pp. 57–87; also, Donald Capps *et allii, Encounter with Erikson: Historical Interpretation and Religious Biography* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977), pp. 33–65. Ian Siggins has a small book relevant to the question of Luther's relation to his parents, *Luther and His Mother* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981).

9. See Jaroslav Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor* (St. Louis, MO.: Concordia Publishing House, 1959); Kenneth A. Strand, *Essays on Luther* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1969); Maria Grossman, *Humanism in Wittenberg 1485 – 1517* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1975); Peter G. Sandstrom, *Luther's Sense of Himself as an Interpreter of the Word to the World* (Amherst, Mass., 1961); Lowell C. Green, *How Melanchthon Helped Luther Discover the Gospel* (Fallbrook, Ca.: Verdict Publications, 1980).

10. Some recent volumes on German humanism and Christian antiquity bearing on the question of Luther's relation to Renaissance humanism are Noewl L. Brann, *The Abbot Trithemius (1462 – 1516): The Renaissance of Humanism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981); Frank L. Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971); James M. Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito from Humanist to Reformer* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975); Edgar C. Reinke, *Andreas Meinhardi Dialogus* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Internation, 1976); Edgar C. Reinke and Gottfried G. Krodel, *Nicolaus Marschalk's Commencement Address Delivered at the University of Wittenberg Jan. 18, 1503* (St. Louis, MO.: Concordia Publishing House, 1967); Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386 – 1439)* (Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York Press, 1977), and a good many others.

11. For example, Robert D. Preus and Wilbert H. Rosin, eds., *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord* (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1978); Lewis W. Spitz and Wenzel Lohff, eds., *Discord, Dialogue and Concord: Studies in the Lutheran Reformation's Formula of Concord* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) and *Widerspruch, Dialog und Einigung: Studien zur Kondorkienformel der Lutherischen Reformation* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1977).

12. On printing, for example, the work of scholars such as Elisabeth Eisenstein and Richard Cole is well known, but most recently Norman G.

Wente of Northwestern Theological Seminary has completed a thesis at the University of Minnesota entitled "Luther's Debt to Gutenberg."

13. Vol. 1, 1964 (1516–1519); Vol. 2, 1963 (1520); Vol. 3, 1969 (1520–1521); Vol. 5, 1967 (1522–1524); Vol. 6 1963 (1525–1526); Vol. 7, 1966 (1526–1528); Vol. 8, 1971 (1528–1529); Vol. 9, 1973 (1529–1530); and Vol. 11, 1982 (1531–1539). The publisher of these volumes is Seibunsha, Tokyo.
14. Other works already published in the series are: Vol 1, *The Ninety – Five Theses* and *The Liberty of the Christian Man* (1967) Vol. 3, *On Good Works* (1969); Vol. 6, *The German Peasants'* (1971); Vol. 7, *The Magnificat* (1973); *On the Christian's Right of Resistance* (1973), all of which were published by Seibunsha, Tokyo.
15. Vol. 1: Masami Ishii, tr. and ed., *Luther's Prayers* (Tokyo, 1976) and Vol. 2: Chitose Kishi, ed., *Luther's Sermons* (Tokyo, 1977). This series is also published by Seibunsha, Tokyo.
16. Tomoo Matsuda, *Luther* [The World's Classics, Vol. 18] (Tokyo, 1969); Yoshikazu Tokuzen, *Luther* [The World's Thinkers, Vol. 5] (Tokyo, 1976); Susumu Imai, *Luther* [Man's Intellectual Heritage, Vol. 26] (Tokyo, 1982).
17. *Ruttah no "Takujo Goroku,"* tr. S. Sato (Tokyo, 1929; rev. ed. 1981). There are several other separate translations of Luther's works, including translations by Ken Ishiwara in the *Iwanami Library.*
18. Naruse' book is a revised version of his *Luther: Hero on the Cross* (Tokyo, 1961).
19. R. H. Bainton, *Ware Kokoni Tatsu,* tr. Kazunami Aoyama and Chitose Kishi (Tokyo, 1954); F. lau, *Rotah Ron,* tr. Shigeru Watanabe (Tokyo, 1966); C. W. Gheorghiu, *Wakaki Rutah to Sono Jidai,* tr. Shiro Hamazaki (Tokyo, 1972); R. Friedenthal, *Maruchin Rutah no Shogai,* tr. Takashi Kasari, Y. Tokuzen and others (Tokyo, 1972). We might note that...
20. H. Strohl, *Rutah—Shogai to Shiso,* tr. Seiji Hagii (Tokyo, 1955).
21. W. von Loewenich, *Rutah no Jyujika no Shingaku,* tr. Chitose Kishi (Tokyo, 1979); L. Pinomaa, *Rutah Shingaku Gairon,* tr. Masami Ishii (Tokyo, 1968); B. A. Gerrish, *Oncho to Risei: Rutah Shingaku no Kenkyu,* tr. Isao Kuramatsu and Teruo Shigeizumi (Tokyo, 1974). Pinomaa's book is available in English as L. Pinomaa, *Faith Victorious: An Introduction to Luther's Theology* (Philadelphia, 1963). We wish to thank Professor Albert L. Garcia for drawing to our attention the English translation of Kazah Kitamon's *Theology of the Pain of God.*
22. *Ishiwara Ken Hakushi Kentei Ronbunshu: Shukyokaikaku Kenkyu* (Tokyo,1968). For various appraisals of Dr.Ishiwara's contributions to the study of theology and church history in Japan, see *Theological*

Studies in Japan [Annual Report on Theology No. 16, 1977], published by the Japan Society of Christian Studies.

23. S. Imai, *Luther* [Man's Intellectual Heritage, Vol 26] (Tokyo, 1982), pp. 5–59.
24. H. Bornkamm, *Luther im Spiegel der deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1955) [*Doitsu Seishinshi to Rutha,* tr. Shigeru Taniguchi (Tokyo, 1978)]; J. Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor: Introduction to the Reformer's Exegetical Writings* (Saint Louis, 1959) [*Rutah no Seisho Shakugi,* tr. Yasuo Kobayashi (Tokyo, 1970)]; J. Pelikan, *From Luther to Kierkegaard* (Saint Louis, 1950) [*Rutah kara Kerukegoru made,* tr. Toshikazu Takao (Tokyo, 1967)]; R. Prenter, *Spiritus Creator* (Philadelphia, 1953) [*Rutah no Seirei Ron,* tr. Chitose Kishi (Tokyo, 1965)]; V. Vajta, *Die Theologie des Gottesdienstes bei Luther* (Stockholm, 1952) [*Rutah no Reihai no Shingaku,* tr. Chitose Kishi (Tokyo, 1971)].
25. W. J. Kooiman, *Rutha to Seisho,* tr. Chitose Kishi (Tokyo, 1971).
26. K. Blaschke, *Rutah Jidai no Zakusen,* tr. Makoto Terao (Tokyo, 1981).
27. R. Stupperich, *Meranhiton,* tr. Taira Kuratsuka (Tokyo, 1971).
28. R. Bainton, *Erasumusu,* tr. Akira Demura (Tokyo, 1972).
29. Y. Tokuzen, "Die Lutherforschung in Japan seit 1967," *Luther±-Jahrbuch,* 44 (1977), 90.
30. Yoshikazu Tokuzen has edited on behalf of The Japan Society of Luther Research a New commemorative volume, *Luther Past and Present. Collected Essays in the Anniversary Year of the 500th Birthday of Dr. Martin Luther.* (Tokyo: Seibunsha, 1983). It includes his essay on "Die Lutherforschung in Japan seit 1976."

The Import of the Two-Gospel Hypothesis

William R. Farmer

Wesley means to me Charles and John Wesley, and Fellowship implies collegiality, i.e, mutual trust and respect between members of the same college or school. I take it, then, that my task is to focus on the import of the Two-Gospel hypothesis for those who perceive themselves as standing in the tradition of John and Charles Wesley.

First of all, what is meant by "Two-Gospel hypothesis"? Why not "Priority of Matthew"? or as some have proposed, "Posteriority of Mark"?

Why this emphasis on two Gospels? "Two-Gospels" is meant to be contrasted with "Two documents." As you stand in the pulpit today, armed with a theory of Marcan priority, you are under some academic constraint to rely mentally on a hypothetical document, "Q", in order to communicate critically about the Christian faith with those sitting in the pew. But the layperson in the pew has never seen "Q". This creates a mental gulf, whether you are fully conscious of it or not, between you and the person in the pew.

Therefore, the first import of the Two-Gospel hypothesis is that it restores to the person in the pew the same Scriptures that the clergy have. Everyone is on an equal footing. The clergy do not have some esoteric or elitest advantage of knowing about some unknown document or documents not readily available to the person sitting in the pew. This is a boon to communication. It contributes to a mutual respect and trust between the laypeople and the clergy. How does it do this? First, it does this by removing any feelings of insincerity we may have for withholding from our congregations what we have been taught by our professors. In this case, that there was once a "Q" document which no longer exists, and that Matthew and Luke were dependent upon this hypothetical document for much of Jesus' teaching.

Secondly, the Two-Gospel hypothesis takes the focus off of the question of which Gospel is first. To speak of Matthew as first in time implies to some that Matthew is also first in importance. The Two-Gospel hypothesis avoids the difficulty of suggesting that any one Gospel is more important than any other. This is a very real gain, since all four Gospels in our canon are actually four clearly related, but distinctive, written versions of one and the same Gospel. If the last in time is John, as the early church teaches us and as Wesley believed, it was never in the view of the early church, nor in the view of Wesley, the least important of the four.

The Two-Gospel hypothesis invites us, in this post-two-document era, to begin our study of the four-fold Gospel canon by focusing on Matthew and Luke and the relationship between these two Gospels. Actually, these two Gospels have a great deal in common. Both begin with birth narratives and end with resurrection stories. Both have genealogies, narratives and sayings of John the Baptist, the Temptation of Jesus, sermons, miracles, and passion narratives. Altogether, Matthew and Luke have about 20 of the same topics. Now, to be sure, each often treats a given topic very differently. The genealogy in Matthew, for example, is not the same as the genealogy in Luke. Nonetheless, laying aside these differences, by beginning with Matthew and Luke, we gain a firm grasp of the humanity of Jesus Christ. We can see, as Paul says, that He was born of a woman. He had a family, a childhood, and a home; that is, he shared our human existence. In Matthew and Luke we are given a full account of Jesus' ministry, especially His preaching. It is in Jesus' preaching that we begin to sense a very great difference between taking into the pulpit a hermeneutic based on the Two-Gospel hypothesis as over against the two-document hypothesis.

Standing in the Wesleyan tradition, we stand in an evangelical tradition grounded in the apostolic doctrine of grace. We are justified before our Father in heaven, not by our obedience to His will, important as that is, but by our trust in His mercy.

We know that when Wesley came to Georgia as a missionary, he did not understand how we are justified before God. And we know how things worked out for him. But, after he returned to England, after his experience with the Moravians, there was that night when he felt his heart strangely warmed. He felt that God really did forgive him of his sins. And, from that time forward, he began to preach with greater power the Gospel of the saving grace and mercy of Almighty God.

Now, standing in that evangelical Wesleyan tradition, let us test what difference it makes whether we step into the pulpit with a Two-Gospel understanding of the Scripture or with a two-document understanding.

Let us take a text which is familiar to all as being foundational for evangelical Christianity: the parable of the Prodigal Son. We face the congregation and we ask ourselves: Is it important for these people to know that God is compassionate and willing to forgive them their sins? The answer is yes. Then we ask: Is this an important text that, through conscientious preaching, can help God's Word of love and forgiveness reach the minds and hearts of these people? And, again, the answer is yes.

Armed mentally with a Two-Gospel hermeneutic, we face no serious critical difficulty. This parable is preserved in one of the two earliest Gospels, a Gospel where the author has specifically assured us that he has carefully researched his material. It, along with many other parables created by Jesus, has been preserved in the Gospel of Luke. What Jesus is saying about how we come into a right relationship with God, namely through our trust in His mercy, is fully supported and enlarged on by other parables of Jesus preserved in Luke, like the parable of the Tax-collector and Pharisee in the Temple.

The parable of the Tax-collector and the Pharisee in the Temple clearly teaches us that we are justified by our faith and trust in God, rather than by our good works. So, from the Gospel of Luke, we have ample evidence that our evangelical use of the parable of the Prodigal Son is well supported by the other parable tradition in Luke which is attributed to Jesus.

What happens to the Two-Gospel hypothesis when we go to that other Gospel which is even closer to the Jewish and Palestinian origins of Jesus and His disciples, i.e., when we go to the Gospel of Matthew? Do we find parables attributed to Jesus in Matthew which emphasize the mercy of the Father? Yes, for example, the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard in Matthew makes the point that no one has the right to begrudge God His compassion. It is God's nature to be compassionate. We can count on that. That is entailed in Jesus' message as that message can be confidently reconstructed on the basis of the Two-Gospel paradigm. So we have what historians refer to as multiple attestation of Jesus' preaching concerning God's mercy and compassion. This doctrine of divine grace is firmly grounded in our two earliest Gospels. These Gospels provide us with

our most reliable historical evidence as to what Jesus did and said. Jesus' deeds and words can, on the one hand, account for the positive response from His disciples, whose fellowship developed into the Christian Church, and can, on the other hand, account for the negative response from the religious authorities which led to His death. In other words, on the Two-Gospel hypothesis, everything hangs together. It all coheres. One can preach the Gospel and know that one has the support of a critically understood New Testament.

We can stand in the pulpit and, with a clear conscience, say: There need be no doubt in your mind that Jesus Himself proclaimed the good news of God's unmerited grace. The Gospel goes back to Jesus. He laid down His life for the sake of that Gospel. We have not only His words, e.g., parables, but also His voluntary obedience unto death, which is a powerful witness to the truth of His words. This is what makes our faith strong. He has shown us not only what to preach, but also how to die. We are to die as He did, according to the Scriptures; e.g., think of Martin Luther King: despised and rejected, wounded for the transgressions of others, without deceit, not opening his mouth against his enemies, pouring out his soul unto death, being numbered with transgressors, bearing the sins of many.

It is not difficult, on the basis of the Two-Gospel hypothesis, to move with critical confidence from the text of the Gospels in the New Testament books, to the promises which God made through the prophets, to the Gospel in the Old Testament. The whole biblical witness supports the message that develops from the text of Jesus' parable of the Prodigal Son when we approach Scripture with a Two-Gospel understanding.

But how do we fare when we, who are in the Wesleyan tradition, stand in the pulpit and face a living congregation of sinners hungry for the Gospel, and we have a two-document understanding of the Scriptures? Let us first look in the Gospel of Mark. Do we find Jesus' parable of the Prodigal Son in Mark? No, it is not in Mark. Can we find it in "Q"? No, it is not in "Q". This means it is in neither of our two earliest and most reliable sources. Why not? Immediately a question is raised which provides critical grounds for some methodological skepticism. Since this parable is so congenial to the Christian faith, does it seem reasonable to think both Mark and "Q" would have omitted it? Is it not possible that this parable, which is so similar in teaching to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, could acutally have been composed by someone under Pauline in-

fluence? After all, Luke was a traveling companion of Paul. Might he have composed it? If this was the only parable of grace absent from Mark and "Q", this omission might not be so very decisive. But not a single one of Jesus' parables of grace is found in Mark or "Q". This could be decisive.

In ways such as this, we can see how critical doubt reasonably leads to an attitude of radical skepticism entering the mind of any New Testament scholar or preacher who really takes the two-document hypothesis seriously. What difference does it make? I suggest that, for those who wish to preach the Gospel with power and a clear critical conscience, the answer is close at hand, no further than the Gospel itself.

Most New Testament critical scholarship holds that Mark and "Q" are the basic sources for the Synoptic Gospels. Dr. William R. Farmer finds this view and its frequent derivations unacceptable, and he offers in its place the Two-Gospel Hypothesis, the view that Matthew is first and Luke second. Dr. Farmer, a graduate professor at the Perkins School of Theology of the Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, shows that Jesus' parables of grace are absent from Mark and "Q". This would mean that someone other than Jesus was responsible for these parables. Farmer suggests that it is inevitable that this view will be disasterous for the preacher who has used these parables as a basis for his own sermons of salvation. Dr. Farmer is arguing from the conclusion and its negative effects on the saving message of the Gospel, a procedure used by Luther and still essential for Lutheran theology. Farmer's views can be found in more detailed form in *Jesus and the Gospel* (Fortress Press) and *The Formation of the New Testament Canon* (Paulist Press).

Linguistic Nonsense About Faith

More Politely: Linguistic Incongruence about Faith

Theodore Mueller

"ALL YOU have TO DO is TO BELIEVE in Jesus Christ and you will be saved." Correct? Well. . . , you will say, something in that statement is inappropriate; I would not use those terms! Yet how often are such sentiments expressed by well-meaning Lutherans. What is wrong with this statement? The following is a brief linguistic analysis to show what meaning is conveyed when such language is used.

I. The Incongruence: Activity versus State of Being.

Analogous sentences made in an entirely different context usually clarify the meaning of the sentence in question. Consider the following statements:

All YOU have *TO DO* is to: *ACHE* and it will cure you.
BE HUNGRY and it will make you grow.
SUFFER and the boss will pay you.
TRUST your teacher and it will get you good grades.

Have you ever heard such utterances? or would you ever say something like them? Of course not! It is pure and unadulterated nonsense. In more polite terms—we can use "scientific" language even for absurdities—we talk about incongruence, or the Latin word "non sequitur". The above examples illustrate such incongruence.

The above statements consist of two clauses: the first specifies what the individual must do, perform, carry out, or achieve, while the second expresses the result. But the two clauses do not make sense—they are incongruent. The incongruences are further underscored when what must be done or accomplished is explained by a verb which expresses a state of being: "to ache, to feel good, to be hungry", etc.; these verbs tell what the pa-

tient undergoes or experiences—not what he does. The verb "to do" expresses an activity and therefore cannot be equated with the above verbs. In linguistics, verbs expressing a state of being are called psychological verbs; they stand in contrast with verbs of activity.

Note also the differing function assigned to the subject of these verbs when compared with verbs expressing an activity. In the latter case the subject is the actor, performer or agent who conceives the activity, wills it, controls it and carries it out. But with psychological verbs the subject is "the patient" who experiences or undergoes the state of being. He has no control over it; he does not engage in any activity, nor perform any action. He is "passive" hence, he is called the "patient".

When this type of a sentence is applied to faith, what is implied or expressed? In such a context the verb "to believe" is made to express an activity; something the individual performs, acts out, engages in, or achieves; he conceives, wills and carries out the believing. The believer is then "doing something", a meaning which is contrary to the scriptural sense. The individual named as subject, furthermore, is responsible for the activity; he becomes the "actor" or the "agent" of his own salvation. Faith is then the minimum work required by God for entrance into His kingdom. With such a statement the rift between Rome and the Lutheran Churches is healed! Rome will most certainly agree to this minimum requirement or performance on man's part. See what language can do! It is a marvelous tool in the hands of disagreeing diplomats!

In Scripture faith is the antithesis of works, of doing! When the Apostle Paul insists that "a man is justified by faith without observing the law" or when Luther adds the little word "allein", "only through faith" (Ro 3:28), he excludes any doing, any activity on the part of the individual. Faith is incompatible with doing, performing or achieving. Faith is its antonym. Likewise in Ga 3:2 and 5 "doing the law" *(ergon nomou)* is contrasted with believing the Gospel report *(akoes pisteos)*. Even if the translation "hearing of faith" is maintained, the same antithesis between activity and the state of being, namely hearing, is still the point of the passage. Likewise, James brings out the contrast between faith and deeds, deeds merely demonstrating faith. The good works are the activities which are engendered by the state of being, called faith (James 2:18). In

other words, faith is not something one does! "To believe" belongs in the group of verbs called psychological verbs, like to ache, to suffer, etc. It expresses a state of being, the status of the soul. Secular literature about trust further emphasizes that faith or trust is not an activity, performance or achievement of an individual. It is not under the control of someone's will, nor the result of someone's efforts. It is a psychological response to some other person's behavior.[1]

II. Cause and Result

A cause and result relationship is implied in the sentences cited above. If we replace the psychological verb with an appropriate verb of activity the relationship becomes apparent:

ALL YOU have to *DO* is to: *EXERCISE* regularly and it will cure you.
TAKE this pill and you will get well.
EAT your soup and it will make you grow.
WORK and the boss will pay you.
STUDY and it will get you good grades.

The first clauses express the *cause* while the second the *result:* the stated activity is the cause for the following result. In some cases it is a condition which must be fulfilled in order to receive the benefit or reward stated in the result clause: if you *DO* this, then such and such will be the result or the reward; the cure for a backache is regular exercise; health is restored as a result of taking the antibiotic pill; growth is the result of eating, etc.

If the logic inherent in this linguistic formulation is applied to faith, it makes faith the cause of our salvation. Forgiveness of sins and eternal life is the result or the reward for believing. God receives us into His kingdom *because* we believe in His Son, as if God were so pleased that we had achieved such excellence, namely, believing in Christ. And Christ would have died in vain.

The fallacy of these statements is obvious. None of those who use such language intended to say the above. Yet, this is the relationship expressed through this formulation. This is what our language expresses when our Christian faith is couched in

such words and sentences. The rules of language are the same, whether the sentence expresses a secular or a theological thought.

But, aren't we "saved by faith"? NO, we are NOT! We are saved by Christ crucified, on whose account God is gracious to sinners therefore Scripture says that "we are saved by grace". The sole cause of our salvation is the redemption Christ has wrought on the cross. When Jesus died on the cross to pay the penalty in our place, He reconciled God to sinful mankind. Our faith is certainly not the *CAUSE* of our salvation. What arrogance and blasphemy to think so highly of our faith! The forgiveness of sins is the result of Christ's suffering, death and resurrection, not of anything in us. Even when St. John states that "if we confess our sins" (1 Jn 1:9), he does not state a condition man must fulfill for obtaining the forgiveness of sins. He concludes the statement by stressing God's justice, "God is just". Forgiveness of sins is the result of His justice, namely the fact that Christ has paid our penalty on the cross mandates God's forgiveness. If we own up to our sins, even such a confession is not the cause of salvation. Acknowledging sin results from faith, is an expression of faith. Faith is no more than an antenna which receives the radio signals for my stereo. Therefore, faith is called "the instrument" of salvation, a salvation which exists apart from my faith. It is the means by which God's gifts are received.

The task of preaching, therefore, is to portray Christ crucified (GA 3:1). The message of the cross, and it only, must be stressed. Whether faith, trust or believing is ever mentioned is totally immaterial. Faith will be the result of preaching Christ. When the grace of God is proclaimed, people will trust this God, even if faith is never mentioned.

The only correct statement which can be made using the sentence under question must be: *ALL YOU* have *TO DO* is *EXACTLY NOTHING;* Christ has done it for you: now heaven is open; your sins are forgiven on account of Jesus Christ who died and rose again.

Endnote

1. Charles M. Rossiter, Jr. and W. Barnett Pearce, *Communicating Personally.* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1975), pp. 224-234.

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"For Freedom Christ Has Set Us Free"

Galatians, Chapter Five
The Sixth Sunday after Pentecost

Tune: O Grosser Gott
Lutheran Worship 83

For freedom Christ has set us free
To serve each other in His love.
The Spirit calls that we may be
Children of Him who reigns above.
When works of Law would promise life,
But yoke us into slavery,
The cry goes forth to end the strife:
Stand firm in Christ. Live free! Live free!

The Law compels us to obey;
All its demands we daily face.
We try to justify our way;
Thus spurning God's free gift of grace.
By faith alone from sin we're freed;
Christ's vict'ry crushed the tyranny;
His death and life meet every need.
Stand firm in Christ. Live free! Live free!

We who belong to Christ our Lord
Will crucify our base desires.
Spirit-empowered we'll live the word
"Love every one," as He inspires.
His fruit is love and joy and peace
And virtues more abundantly.
Against such there's no law to cease.
Stand firm in Christ. Live free! Live free!

Luther and Arlene Strasen

Theological Observer

LUTHER AT ERFURT 1983

Chances are Luther would not have recognized the "cause" as his, when the Sixth International Congress began its sessions (August 14–20, 1983) in Erfurt, with dead-serious attention to the *causa Lutheri,* or "Luther's cause," as first item on the agenda. For him it was simply, from beginning to end, a matter of a satisfying, Scriptural answer to the gnawing question, *Wie bekomm ich einen gnaedigen Gott?* How do I know that God is gracious to me? But that sort of uncomplicated posing of the soul-searching problem, which tore at his innards in the theologically stultified atmosphere of the sixteenth century church, was never really cited as the *causa Lutheri.* Instead, there was careful jockeying by the theologians and historians as they sought to find common ground for scholars from the West and from Marxist East Germany to stand on. Rather than zeroing in on what Luther considered to be of ultimate importance for himself and every other needy, sinful soul, the tendency was to focus on the social effects of the Reformation.

"The way to Luther is through Karl Marx," the East German minister of religion announced quite bluntly in a ponderous harangue. Even the East German theologians could not swallow that one! The banter in the cloistered corridors jokingly paired off the two anniversaries of 1983, the centennial of Karl Marx' death and the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth: "The first we commemorate, but he is dead; the second we also commemorate, because Luther still lives!" It was more than obvious throughout the congress that the East German government does not have the hearts of its people, nor its theological leaders.

Confusion reigned on other questions besides the *causa Lutheri.* The doctrine of the church was a case in point. Without exception the congress was dominated by views that impinged on the consistorial or hierarchical form or nature of the church. Luther's emphasis on the royal priesthood of believers and the congregation, which might include hypocrites in the fold of Christ's sheep, as the only God-ordained visible entity was lost on this audience, along with the fact that God had entrusted the Keys and the calling of qualified pastors to the Christian congregation. Lost, too, was Luther's recognizing that God had not prescribed any specific form of church organization or structure beyond the constituting of the congregation by and around the *notae ecclesiae,* the marks of the church, Word and Sacrament. A synod of congregations, thus, covenanted together under a bond of unity of faith and confession, is a very desireable structure, but it must forever see itself as *ecclesia representativa,* as church in an indirect and derived sense, by virtue of the churches, or individual congregations, which have freely formed it for the common good and mutual strengthening. Only C. F. W. Walther really understood Luther's teaching on this point, and only in a free land like America was it possible for him to shape a strong synod of autonomous congregations in keeping with Luther's guidelines, a synod of congregations linked together by common faith and unity of doctrine.

Luther scholars were unaware of Walther's *magnum opus* on the church, *Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt (The Voice of Our Church on the Question Concerning Church and Ministry),* even though it has gone through numerous German editions. Equally important, and unknown by the scholars, was Walther's companion piece, *Der rechte Gestalt der Kirche unabhaengich des Staats (The Proper Form of the Church Independent of the State).* Reference to this whole matter as fundamental to a correct understanding of Luther's thought on the doctrine of the church, and to Walther's key contribution to modern-day church organization on the basis of it in a free land like America, was met with a stoney and polite silence when the undersigned spoke in its behalf. A mind-set has taken over among theologians and historians from both sides of the Iron Curtain; they know nothing else, and desire to know nothing else, than the churchdoms, consistories, denominational structures, and super-church organizations to which our ecumenical age has become accustomed.

Today in the western world the name of Luther is, of course, virtually commonplace, if for no other reason than that the slain civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, bore the Reformer's name. This at best is a doubtful association theologically. The story of Luther's life and work is probably known by very few, even among those tied to the church that bears his name. Still fewer really know the penetrating impact and influence of Luther's life and work upon the world in general. It is a different world today and people lead different lives five hundred years after his birth simply because the role he played on the sixteenth century's stage changed the course of history. What he said, wrote, taught and preached revolved always around a theological center, but the ripples spread outward in ever-widening circles to encompass social, political and economic nuances as well, though these were never front and center for him. He was a church reformer, not a rebel, nor a revolutionary. It would not be difficult, of course, to see or portray him as a man of the worker's class. The well-being of people always lay at the door of his peasant-orientated heart, but not as close as the salvation of the souls within reach of his voice or pen.

Communist government authorities in the German Democratic Republic (a misnomer, if ever there was one!) have gotten a lot of mileage out of their famous son. Visitors to East Germany, especially those on a return visit, are somewhat astounded by the sprucing up that has gone on in preparation for this anniversary year. Even the border crossings have become a "snap" when compared with the ordeals of the past.

Erfurt was chosen as the site of the sixth Luther Congress by the steering committee chiefly because Wittenberg could not accommodate the more than 250 invited participants. It was a good alternative, not only because of available housing facilities, but because it was here that much of the shaping of the Reformation champion took place, first at the university (1501-1505) where he received his baccalaureate and Master of Arts degrees, and then at the monastery of the austere Augustinian mendicant friars (1505-1508). The

church and cloistered buildings were severely damaged by Allied bombers during World War II, the restoration process is now far along, especially when compared with a half dozen or so years ago.

The general theme for the Congress revolved around "Martin Luther's Work and Impact." Plenary sessions occupied the mornings. Triads of speakers, with as many respondents, addressed four main topics in the course of the week's meetings: Luther's Cause; Luther and Church; Luther and Culture; and, Luther and Society. A limited amount of time was allotted to responses and questions from the floor. German and English were the usual media, but Russian was also occasionally used with simultaneous translations available. Afternoons were devoted to the seminar sessions. Each registrant had pre-registered in one of nineteen different seminars. These ranged over facinating topics in Luther's life and work— Jews, papacy, peasants, princes, women, humanism, Aristotle, Lord's Supper, baptism, church, Spirit and word, to mention a few. These smaller groups allowed for free and frank discussion, besides giving opportunity for getting better acquainted with some of the congress participants. A weak spot perhaps in the overall planning was a failure to return the results of these in-depth seminars to the plenary session for its attention. The *Lutherjahrbuch,* however, has in previous years published summaries of these discussions, along with the main papers, and it is expected to do so again.

No doubt the fact that this congress convened in the heartland of the Reformation accounted in part for the maximum number of registrants. Late registrations beyond the 250 mark were apparently denied visas. The visitors, usually professors of theology or history, came from 23 countries around the globe, with the greatest number from West Germany (70) the U.S. and East Germany were almost equally represented, 47 and 46 respectively. Only the continent of Africa had no participant. For the first time the Russian Orthodox were present. A few ranking Luther scholars were conspicuous by their absence. In general, however, it was still true that the world's leading experts in Luther studies, whatever their communion or denominational background or affiliation, were in Erfurt. A relatively large number of these were Roman Catholics. Luther, it seems, strikes a common, responsive chord in all of these hearts, resulting in a rather remarkable spirit of unanimity and harmony, in understanding and appreciating his thought. So much so was this the case that the presiding chairman of the continuation committee, Prof. Leif Grane of Copenhagen, felt called on to caution the guests at the wind-up banquet on Friday evening that they must continue to be aware that there are still wide canyons or gulfs of variance between the churches and theologies which they represent. Nonetheless a strange sort of phenomenon, under the circumstances, that it should have to be said at all! It attests to the remarkable congealing, compelling, converging power of Luther's theological thought, bearing out the saying that the closer one stays with Luther, the better theologian he will be. Could it be possible that the r ute of the Gospel into Japanese hearts, for example, would depend on the remarkable progress already achieved in that land of translating Luther's works into Japanese? The

same holds true for other countries like Korea, Brazil and Argentina.

The East German government authorities made every effort to shower the guests with cordial attention. Monday evening's reception, sponsored by the minister of religious affairs in the Communist government, Klaus Gysi, of Berlin, literally glittered with lavish dishes and free-flowing cognac, vodka and wines. A similar affair was sponsered by the Evangelical church consistories two nights later; and a splendid banquet on Wednesday presided over by the host country's presiding officer and Luther Scholar, Dr. Joachim Rogge, brought an end to the week's activities. Many of the guests had joined the "pilgrimage" on Wednesday afternoon to the Wartburg, Luther's so-called "Patmos."

His unwelcome exile there for more than ten months, 1521-1522, became a time of prodigious accomplishment, including the translation of the New Testament in about ten or eleven weeks, a feat so amazing that is causes the landing of men on the moon to pale in significance. During the conference week itself other interesting excursions were offered for family members of the participants.

By affirmative vote the assembly accepted the invitation to Oslo for the next congress in 1988 (or 1989). The meetings have been on a five or six year cycle, the immediately previous ones having been at Lund, Sweden (1977) and St. Louis (1971). Support monies for the congresses come in part from the Lutheran World Federation, the host country or church organizations, and the participants themselves. The undersigned gratefully acknowledges the encouragement and support of the seminary's administration, which allowed the use of funds allocated for study purposes provided by the Aid Association for Lutherans.

Eugene F. Klug

A WELCOME GIFT FROM CANADA
LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Another and most welcome theological journal has appeared, this time from the faculty of Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary in St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada with the impressive title of *Lutheran Theological Review.* Volume 1, number 1 has articles by such known scholars as Ulrich Asendorf, John Wilch, Lowell Green, and a rare find, the letter of exchange between former Prime Minister Begin of Israel and Luther scholar Roland Bainton. Robert Kolb provides a review article of Green's *How Melanchthon Helped Luther Discover the Gospel.* A mimeographed insert offers an annual subscription rate of five dollars. The format and article presentation is scholarly and the contents are as appealing as the titles suggest. If you happen to be one of those Lutheran pastors still apologizing for some of the great Reformer's overly zealous remarks, the Begin–Roland correspondence is well worth the subscription. St. Catharines started out with the assistance of many of the Fort Wayne faculty. We are pleased to have our sister seminary offer a journal of high scholarly and confessional calibre.

David P. Scaer

A TESTIMONY FOR LUTHER FROM AN UNEXPECTED QUARTER

"In an intensive workings with the Scriptures of the New Testament, Luther began to doubt even more whether man could attain to the salvation of his soul through 'good works,' as the church had taught. Over a long process he came to the conclusion that man is redeemed through Christ's death on the cross, so that such works did not play a role in this process, but it came about solely by faith." This is not a particularly startling observation about Luther's theology, except that this is a translated excerpt from the article "Martin Luther" by Dr. Gunter Vogler printed in *Neue Heimat* (May 1983), a magazine with the sub-title "A Journal of the German Democratic Republic." The German Democratic Republic (DDR), a totally Communist government, has emphasized Luther as a political revolutionary, educator, and humanist, but not as religious reformer. When you deal with Luther, sooner or later, you have to confront what stood at the essence of the man—even if you are the editor of one of the most attractive and compelling pieces of Marxist propaganda. The rest of the magazine is filled with articles about peace rallies and sports programs. Through it all the real Luther did speak, even if it was just for one brief moment. Sometimes the Gospel finds the strangest preachers.

Book Reviews

UNGER'S COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT, volumes I and II. By Merrill F. Unger. Moody Press, Chicago, 1981. 2090 pages. Cloth, $36.00

This is probably the last work from the pen of Dr. Unger, who died a few years ago. He was professor of Semitics and Old Testament at Dallas Theological Seminary. Unger was well known as a very competent scholar and author of many books. Books on introduction, a revised Bible dictionary, a Bible handbook, commentaries on a number of Biblical books, books on debated theological issues and two books on the archeology of both the Old and New Testaments emenated from his facile pen. He earned his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins under Dr. Albright.

It is interesting to have Unger's views on the entire Old Testament. Volume I treats the books from Genesis to the Song of Solomon; volume II deals with the books from Isaiah to Malachi. In both volumes the reader will find a detailed introduction preceding each book. Each introduction includes information on the title, authorship, date of composition, canonicity, issues raised by the use of the historical-method as well as a setting forth of the essential message of each book.

Each Biblical book contains a section-by-section commentary, following a detailed outline, which explains the Scriptural text, employing the historical-grammatical method, often citing parallel passages or by referring to the Hebrew or Aramaic texts.

This reviewer appreciated the excellent scholarship of Unger, and the fact that he believes in the supernatural origin of the Scriptures, as well as defending the reliability of Scripture together with its inerrancy. Miracles and prophecy are believed as Christians have done down throughout the post-Christian centuries. In isagogical matters Unger is found with those who do not question the assertions of the Biblical texts. The great theological teachings of the ecumenical creeds are adhered to by this former Dallas Seminary professor.

However, Unger follows the hermeneutics of the *Scofield Reference Bible,* with its dispensationalism and emphasis on the millennium. The hermeneutics of Chafer used in his *Systematic Theology* and advocated by Unger in his own *The Principles of Expository Preaching* underlies the exposition of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament. *The Bibliotheca Sacra,* a quarterly of Dallas Seminary, in every issue, advocates and employs the principles of interpretation used by Unger. Dispensationalism postulates seven major dispensations, of which the sixth is known as the "Church Age," or the "Dispensation of Grace," during which people can only be saved by faith in Christ. But in the last dispensation, the "Kingdom Age," all Jews will accept Christ apart from the preaching of Law

and Gospel. The Messianic Age of the New Testament is an after thought, made possible by the Jewish rejection of Christ as their earthly King. The millennium will be a part of the Kingdom Age.

When interpreting many Old Testament passages and books, Unger reads back into passages facts of this alleged seventh dispensation. It is a wrong use of the principle: Scripture interprets Scripture. The eschatology as worked out by dispensationalism is read back into many Old Testament places where it is not found.

Pastors may find these volumes useful to see how a dispensationalist scholar understands the Old Testament. Assuming that the pastor or reader knows the principles of this aberrant hermeneutic, there may be found many useful insights. However, it is not to be recommended to lay people not acquainted with the interpretative principles of the *Scofield Reference Bible,* the Bible of many radio and TV broadcasters.

Raymond F. Surburg

THRU THE BIBLE WITH J. VERNON McGEE: JOSHUA — PSALMS, Volume II. By J. Vernon McGee. Thomas Nelson Publishers, Nashville, 1982. 887 pages. Cloth. n.p.

This is the second in a five-part series based upon Dr. McGee's popular radio program of the same name. Joshua through Pslams is an informal study of fourteen books of the Old Testament. This volume is a changed version of his radio talks. Changes were made in this volume to make it suitable for a reading audience, while the taped radio messages were delivered with a hearing audience in mind. McGee does not want the messages to be considered a commentary on these books, especially to be consulted by professional Bible students. The author asserted in the preface: "Behind these messages is a great deal of research and study in order to interpret the Bible from a popular rather than from a scholarly (and too-often boring) viewpoint."

The fact that the radio messages have been translated into more than twenty languages for radio broadcasting and the fact that they were received enthusiastically encouraged the author to prepare them for publication. The studies of each book are preceded by an introduction and outline. The Scriptural text of all the books discussed in Volume II has been printed out. The conviction that all of man's problems can find their solution in the Bible, God's Word, has prompted Dr. McGee to go through the entire Bible in his radio ministry.

In 1970 McGee retired as pastor of the interdenominational Church of the Open Door in Los Angeles, a congregation he served for twenty-one years. A graduate of Dallas Theological Seminary he followed the hermeneutics of Scofield, which means that dispensationalism and millennialism are an essential part of his rules of Biblical interpretation. While the reviewer appreciates many

aspects of McGee's approach to the Bible, yet dispensationalism and the many covenants held by those who have espoused and follow the Scofeldian hermeneutics do not, in the estimation of this reviewer, do justice to the intended sense of the Holy Scriptures. This is not to say that the use of this book cannot edify and help one's growth in Biblical knowledge.

Raymond F. Surburg

I-II CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH. By Celine Mangan. Michael Glazier, Wilmington, Delaware, 1982. 219 pages. Paper, n.p.

This is volume 13 of the *Old Testament Message,* a Biblical-Theological Commentary, under the general editorship of Carroll Stuhlmueller and Martin McNamara. This commentary series comprises 23 volumes.

The author of this volume is currently a teacher in the Semitic department, University College, Dublin and at Carysfort College of Education Co. Dublin, Ireland.

The author contends that I-II Chronicles, are among the least read books of the Bible. She bemoans the fact that "there are articles and books which do not mention them. Very few people would take seriously the warning of St. Jermome: 'He who thinks himself acquainted with the sacred writings and does not know these books, only deceives himself.'" The significance of the two Books of Chronicles is that they contain a retelling of the earlier historical material found in the Books of Samuel and Kings, written for a new age, I and II Chronicles have an importance all their own.

The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah are read more than the two Books on Chronicles because they, so the author contends, are the main Biblical source for the post-exilic period of Israel's history. Are these books reliable? No, so judges Mangan. She wrote: "It would be a mistake, however, to think that they present an accurate historical record of the exact way in which events of that period occurred." The fact is that this commentary on these post-exilic books is written from the historical-critical perspective and has incorporated the views of those who have and still do question the reliability and integrity of books of which Paul wrote that they were "God-breathed." The books recommended for further reading are in the same vein as those used and consulted in the writing of this commentary.

Old Testament Messages is a commentary series that shows what a revolution has taken place within Roman Catholicism since 1942, when Pius XII's encyclical gave Roman Catholic scholars the right to operate with sources used by the Biblical writers. When once the historical method was embraced it did not take Roman Catholic scholars long to catch up with Protestant and Jewish savants committed to the historical-critical method.

Raymond F. Surburg

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. By Robert A. Guelich. Word Books Publishers, Waco, Texas, 1982. 451 pages. Cloth. n.p.

Guelich's work is the first major study on the Sermon on the Mount in forty years. Growing out of his University of Hamburg doctoral dissertation research, it has been considered by several scholars as the best in recent times. Without doubt it is the most thoroughly critical and comprehensive, using a broad spectrum of ancient and modern sources. Guelich belongs to those influential of evanglical scholars who are incorporating the most recent critical technique into their studies. He teaches at Northern Baptist in Chicago and previously at Bethel in Minnesota.

Guelich painstakingly works through the text in an almost word by word, phrase by phrase fashion, making reference to the most highly regarded critics at each point. Redactional comments help place the Sermon within the congregational setting at the time of Matthew's writing. This is quite valuable.

The chapters are organized according to the verses with each concluding with several theological discussions over prominent issues, e.g. righteousness, ethics, and Lord's Prayer. It is here that the reader will not only be stimulated but take exception to some of the views offered. Any pastor preparing a sermon or Bible class on passages from the Sermon should make every effort to obtain Guelich's study. As a resource book on this subject, it is not bound to be replaced in our lifetime. Guelich makes the contribution of noting a christological and not just merely an ecclesiological motif running throughout the Sermon. The christological motif has been rarely recognized. In actual practice, however, the author never actually develops the christological motif. The radical promise is never really delivered and somehow the Sermon still comes across in its traditionally held pre-Christian hue.

Since Guelich has a wealth of material under one cover, I have found myself constantly consulting him and I shall be one of those who will not permit this research to go too far from my reach.

David P. Scaer

NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS: A HANDBOOK FOR STUDENTS AND PASTORS. By Gordon Fee. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1983. 154 pages. Paper n.p.

Fee's *A Handbook* takes the student of the Greek testament text beyond grammatical identification into structural, grammatical and pericope analysis in connection with the synoptic problem. A bibliographical chapter provides data in particular fields. Included is a brief note in the method of directing exegetical data towards preaching. As with all skills, the real learning comes in the doing. This guide is highly recommended for those who want to do more.

FIVE GOSPELS: AN ACCOUNT OF HOW THE GOOD NEWS CAME TO BE. By John C. Meagher. Winston Press, Minneapolis, 1983. 270 pages. Paper, $11.95; cloth $24.50.

The development of the canonical Gospels is an intriguing question. For this question, Meagher offers five steps: John the Baptist, Jesus, the apostles, a certain Demetrios (cf. 3 John), and gospel of the ultimate, i.e., the Fourth Gospel. Though publicized as startling, the *Five Gospels* works with the hypothesis put forth by Bultmann that a simplified message of Jesus undergoes a complex evolution in the hands of the apostles. In addition, the preaching of the Baptist is isolated as being strongly eschatological over against the more loving message of Jesus, not a totally new, but still not necessarily widely held view. What is new is the introduction of the Gospel of Demetrios. This gospel's content is reconstructed from 1, 2, and 3 John and reverted in the earlier message in which Jesus was not central. The Spirit is given a prominent role.

Contrary to Meagher, the preaching of the Baptist, Jesus, and the earliest apostles was strikingly similar, especially in such topics as repentance and eschatology and Jesus as the Gospel's center already in His own preaching. Such a radical evolution in such a short period of time from the Baptist to the apostles does not meet the evidence. Meagher does recognize a rival gospel in the early church and attempts to reconstruct it. He does call attention to the often overlooked fact that our New Testament documents surfaced among the plethora of documents all claiming a similar divine authority for themselves. The Gospel of Demetrois may have well been the de-*Christ*ianized Hellenized document Meagher suggests.

On the side, how the writer views the origin of the resurrection doctrine is not totally clear. It seems to be a result of the Gospel preaching, a view also associated with Bultmann. What is certain for Meagher is that after Jesus' death the apostles scattered and left the burial to others. *Five Gospels* is creative and speculative to the point of imaginative fancy. Scholarship certainly wants to reconstruct the early church situation, but the evidence will certainly lead in directions other than suggested here. If traditional views are rejected because they involve the supernatural, they are on the surface more plausible.

David P. Scaer

"The Bible and Its Traditions," MICHIGAN QUARTERLY REVIEW. Edited by Michael Patrick O'Connor and David Noel Freedman. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1983. Vol. XXII, No. 3. Single Copy, $3.50

The *CTQ* does not generally receive scholarly journals for review. This special issue of the *Michigan Quarterly* was sent with a specific request for review. This issue numbers over 500 pages with approximately thirty-five essays divided under the following six categories:

The Hebrew Bible, The Christian Scriptures, Latter-Day Adaption, New Fiction and Poetry, the Politics of the Holy Land, and Religious Tradition. The divisions are so diverse that it seems that they were established after the editors perused their materials. Don't expect any valient calls to faith, but reading the Bible from a strictly human perspective is hardly without value. Who can deny at least some small vision to those who do not read it from faith? Often they see single trees, even if they are unaware of the forest around them.

David P. Scaer

THE AUTHORATIVE WORD: Essays on the Nature of Scripture. Edited by Donald K. McKim. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1983. 270 pages. Paper, $10.95

Fourteen essays from twelve theologians present current discussions on the nature of Scriptures. The scholars operate with a commitment to the Bible as the norm for the church and to the generally accepted current procedures of interpretation. Thus the most radical and likewise the most conservative views are avoided and for an overview this can be a weakness. Still the book is extremely useful in gathering these previously published materials of so many pacesetters between these two covers. It does not do justice to the historic position. For example, Rogers who gives a brief history gives hardly more than a page to Luther and plays the old saw that for the reformer "Christ alone was without error and was the essential Word of God" (p. 204). Why sell Rogers' view as Luther's? Bloesch, recognized as an 'evangelical' more or less, regretfully puts forth neo-orthodox view as if it were the traditional one (pp. 117-53). Throughout, the Lutheran tradition is avoided for the Reformed. It becomes clear that the problem of relating the divine and human words is a philosophical problem (Plato) stemming from Calvin and not Luther. If this general thread in nearly all the contributions can be recognized for what it is, the reader can profit from these essays.

David P. Scaer

JAMES BARR AND THE BIBLE: CRITIQUE OF A NEW LIBERALISM. By Paul Ronald Wells. Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Philipsburg, New Jersey, 1980. 406 pages. $12.00.

This is the doctoral dissertation of Paul Ronald Wells, produced as a part of the requirement for the Doctorate in Theology at the Free University of Amsterdam. Since 1972 he has taught Systematic Theology at the Faculte Libre de Theologie Reformee, Aux-en-Provence, France. The subtitle of the volume tells the reader where Wells places James Barr on the theological spectrum.

James Barr, famous professor at Oxford, has specialized for years in the fields of biblical semantics, interpretation, and authority. He

has not hesitated to criticize Old and New Testament Biblical critics and has taken issues with some of the reigning views and theories of our time. If he has been hard upon critical Biblical scholars, he has been even more severe on those who followed the views on the Bible of the Protestant Reformers and those scholars and theologians who have rejected the historical-critical method.

In this dissertation Wells has analyzed Barr's criticisms of both modern theology and fundamentalism and his rejection of traditional views of inspiration and authority. For Barr the Bible, at best, represents a record of a progressive human tradition. Five of the six chapters of this volume set forth the distinctive views propounded by Barr in his books and many journal articles. Wells has listed over 70 books, journal articles and papers on pages 380-384.

Chapter six contains Wells' conclusions relative to the position embraced and advocated by Barr, together with suggesions. Wells is seen in this dissertation defending the historic Calvinistic or Reformed view on the nature and authority of Scripture. Wells believes the theology taught to him at Westminster Seminary, Pennsylvania is correct and that Barr's theology is seriously deficient.

Raymond F. Surburg

ONE GOD IN TRINITY. Peter Toon and James D. Spiceland, editors. Cornerstone Books: Westchester, Illinois, 1980. 177 pages. Cloth, $12.95.

Beginning his contribution to this volume of essays, Brian Hebblethwaite of Cambridge writes: "The most striking feature of recent British trinitarian theology--at least where England is concerned--is the frankness with which orthodox trinitarianism is being questioned or even rejected" (p 158). Hebblethwaite himself discusses two major patristic scholars who have radially called into question the traditional trinitarian and christological doctrines, Maurice Wiles of Oxford and Geoffrey Lampe of Cambridge, but one could easily enumerate others in England whose thinking has been progressing down similar paths: J. A. T. Robinson in his *The Human Face of God,* for instance and the authors of the *The Myth of God Incarnate* (John Hick, Dennis Nineham, Don Cupitt, etc.). Indeed, there is a renewed interest in the doctrines of the Trinity and Christology, especially in the question of their continuity with the primitive Church's original kerygma. This interest has, for example, engendered renewed debate about Arianism and its true historical antecedents. While this new debate has, it would seem, been largely elicited by the negative evaluation of persons like Wiles, the doctrine of the Trinity has not been without its defenders and some of them are eloquent indeed.

Most of the essays in this book were given at a conference of the historical theology group of the British Tyndale Fellowship held at Durham in 1978. While their interest in the question of the Trinity

was no doubt grounded in the debate in England, the contributors represent various Christian traditions and come from five countries. As the Preface says: "Surely international co-operation in the exposition and defense of the Faith is a good thing" (p.v.) A listing of the essays indicates the scope of the book's discussion: "The Meaning of the Trinity" by Roger Nicole; "The New Testament" by Bruce Kaye; "The Discernment of Triunity" by Christopher Kaiser; "The Patristic Dogma" by Gerald Lewis Bray; "The *Filioque* Clasue" by Alasdair Heron; "Karl Barth" by Richard Roberts; "Bernard Lonergan" by Hugo Meynell; "Jurgen Moltmann" by Richard Bauckham; "Process Theology" by James Spiceland; and "Recent British Theology" by Brian Hebblethwaite.

While none of the essays are long, all are informative and stimulating. To be sure, some are more provocative than others. The attempt by Christopher Kaiser to give an empirical basis to God's triunity by using the empirical-phenomenological model of discernment (derived from thinkers like Rudolf Otto and Mircea Eliade) was extremely interesting, perhaps because he did such a masterful job at the near impossible. Bray's article on the patristic period reflects the same moderation that is becoming identified with his work. But most provocative of all were the articles on Karl Barth and Jurgen Moltmann. Roberts very well explicates the centrality of the Trinity for the complete Barthian approach, and Bauckham does a marvelous job relating Moltmann's attempts to relate the doctrine of the Trinity to the crucified Christ. These two articles especially deserve a reading and could easily be starting points for much worthwhile discussion. The essays on Lonergan and process theology merit attention as well. In the midst of the debate by some that the doctrine of the Trinity is useless and unnecessary, it is helpful to realize that some theologians of international and even of historic stature recognize in the Trinity a *sine qua non* of the Gospel itself and of a proper theological exposition of the Biblical message.

This book is not ponderous reading. I mention that simply to encourage our students and pastors to read it. It is necessary that we once again recognize the essential role our doctrine of God plays in our presentation of the Gospel. If God is the subject and the author of our salvation, it is well that we learn to speak of Him.

William C. Weinrich

THE CHURCH. By Wolfhart Pannenberg. Translated by Keith Crim. Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1983. 175 pages. Paper. n.p.

The Westminster Press is putting out what will eventually be an edition of Pannenberg's dogmatics in paperback. Now republished are *Basic Questions in Theology*, Volume I and Volume II (1983) in arrangement with Fortress Press, the first publishers (1970-1).

These first volumes were constructed from essays delivered in the 1960s. They set forth Pannenberg's prolegomena that history is revelatory. The God of the Old Testament and Jesus is the universal God. *The Church,* is translated from Part II of *Ethik and Ekklesiologie* (1977) and has not appeared previously in English translation. Any possible trade of universalism implicity in the prolegomena approaches the explicit here.

Working from a concept of a revelatory universal history, Pannenberg sees, quite expectedly, the ecumenical movement as a step to the final goal of the unity of mankind. Within this dimension, Pannenberg addresses other theological issues. First addressed is the problem that in the Christian European nations only fifteen percent are regular church goers. From my own observation this is at best a slight exaggeration, unless regular participation refers to Christmas and Easter. These "churchless Christians" are not held responsible for their disinterest in the church. Denominationalism must bare the blame. How does he explain that nearly 45% of all Americans attend church inspite of an aggrevated denominationalism here? The church for Pannenberg reflects the unity to which all mankind is striving. He is quite willing to let the pope serve as the leader of all Christians, since church unity can be expressed through his office. Nowhere does he suggest that individual churches surrender their distinctive characteristics but that each should offer the other mutual recognition. Not merely church unity but that of all mankind is the real goal. Consider the following from the last chapter.

> Christians and non-Christians alike share the insight that if they are to achieve their human destiny of unity through peace and justice, they must achieve it through unity with God. This basic insight into the meaning of religious for the unity of mankind can grow in spite of the remaining disagreements in our understanding of God and of the ways in which is to be worshiped. It can also be the starting point for a new closeness even in the areas of disagreement. This closeness has already been partially achieved as the result of reciprocal relationships between the Christian and non-Christian religious traditions. (p. 154)

Two chapters are devoted to a discussion of the Lord's Supper. No one, not even non-Christians should be barred from receiving this sacrament of unity. Pannenberg's historical method of doing theology leaves open the question of a specific historical occasion for the super's origin, but still he contends for its historical character. (Christian baptism is not instituted specifically by Jesus, but is the church's own tradition developed from John the Baptist's baptizing of Jesus). The Lord's Supper is disconnected from any specific interpretation of Christ's death and is to be celebrated within the context of His coming. For the record, the *manducatio oralis* does not refer

to receiving the bread and wine, as Pannenberg claims, but to the actual reception of the body and blood (pp. 147-8).

Pannenberg, using a traditional Lutheran vocabulary, writes a dogmatics for a church caught between the World Council of Churches and Vatican II, both of which are frequently quoted to support his understandings. In accomplishing this he is what the book jacket says he is, "one of the world's most influential theologians." But is he really a prophet or a theological meterologist, clever enough to read the signs?

David P. Scaer

PASTORAL THEOLOGY: ESSENTIALS OF THE MINISTRY. By Thomas C. Oden. Harper and Row, San Francisco, 1983. Paper, 372 pages. $14.95

Pastoral theologies, whether in the written form of a book, or in the oral form of a lecture tend to be without definable form. Oden's work does not suffer from this at all. Even before getting down to the practical, he has six chapters presenting the theology of call, ordination, and ministry. Another five chapters discusses the pastor's relationship to the congregation. We are nearly half way through the book before we face the general divisions of Pastoral Counsel and Crisis Ministry. This is the kind of a book deserving a warm endorsement. Where else are discussions found on ministering to the poor and dying? Oden writes for an ecumenical audience, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic. He is acquainted with Lee Thoran practices and makes use of them. Such an approach has a few recognizable drawbacks in such obvious areas as infant baptism and communion practices. These are counterbalanced by the opportunity to profit from observing how clergy of other traditions handle similar problems. Never are the differences glossed over as insignificant and the theological and historical background for these are presented. For a pastoral theology here are some thoughts to digest over a longer period of time. Oden proves that pastoral theology is still theology and not sociology parading around as the inadequate substitute which it always is. What is highly disturbing is chapter four, "Women in the Pastoral Office" - disturbing for two counts. The issue more than any other remains the most sensitive issue in such confessional churches as the Missouri Synod as the key to total involvement in the ecumenical movement and Oden's convincing winsome approach. He puts himself in the place of an opponent of women's ordination and then through a series of arguments brings himself and the readers to the opposing opinion. For example if Genesis 2 provides the basis for an all male ministry, then Genesis 1 suggests no division based on gender at all. If the maleness of Jesus presents a model, then why doesn't his being a Palestinian and Jew

also offer restrictions? Persuasive for those less informed! 1 Corinthians 14 is mentioned as an objection to women pastors, but Oden offers not one word of rebuttal. The suspicion lurks that those who endorse the practice realize that the Biblical restrictions are never really answered.

David P. Scaer

THE CHRISTIAN NEWS ENCYCLOPEDIA. Volume I and II. Washington, Missouri: Missourian Publishing Company, 1983. 1790 pages. Cloth, $31.95; paper, $24.95.

Since the turbulent history of the Missouri Synod began in the mid-1960's *Christian News* has been a major artery of news circulation. Many would happily erase the memory of these years, but for those who want a more than gentle reminder these two volumes will serve admirably and exhaustively. These two gargantuan volumes (each measures 11" by 17" by 2") contain articles from 1973 through 1983. Letters and brief news notices are omitted. With a lengthy index, these volumes will be consulted by researchers for years. Where do you get so much in one place?

Lutheran (Missouri) In Perspective should drop the other shoe and offer its articles in such volumes. Then we can have both sides of the story on the same shelf. The Christian News Encyclopedia because of its size will need its own shelf.

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF RELIGION IN AMERICA SINCE 1865. Edited by Edwin S. Gaustad. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1983. 610 pages. Paper.

A panorama of American religion is presented by bringing the writings of prominent religious leaders together in one volume. Religous matters are brought up to date so as to include the opinions of Dr. J.A.O. Preus and Dr. John Tietjen on the situation of the Missouri Synod in the 1970's. Readers may discover they were unaware of the great movements that have affected religion in America. A minimum of editorial comment is provided. The reader is pretty much left alone with the raw data.

TRADITIONS OF MINISTRY: A History of the Doctrine of the Ministry in Lutheran Theology. James H. Pragman. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983. 208 pages. Paper.

No theological book in the English language could have been more welcome in the Lutheran Church in North America at this time than Pragman's historical survey of Lutheran thought from the Reformation to the present on the doctrine of the ministry. A much wider selection of materials on this topic is available in the German language (e.g., Heubach's *Die Ordination),* but this does little to satisfy the desire for readily available information for English-speaking pastors and school teachers. As the Missouri Synod through its commission on theology is currently addressing the question of ministry, especially the relation of the pastor to other full-time church workers, this work could not be more timely.

Dr. James H. Pragman, a theological professor at Concordia College, Seward, Nebraska, does not tackle the current questions, but he does gather the historical evidence necessary for answering them. The cause of much confussion on the doctrine of the ministry is the language barrier preventing twentieth-century Lutherans from historically investigating their German roots from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Proposed contemporary solutions are often offered without any reference to how Lutherans have previously resolved this issue. Pragman fills in the gaps, and any attempt to discuss the office of the ministry without use of his study would be unconscionable. The first six chapters cover Luther, the confessors, the Orthodox theologians, Pietism, the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, with a final brief chapter laying out the lines of the current discussions. Today's debate differs little from the past, as the discussion of the ministry has moved between the poles of viewing it either as office or function.

Those who are sensitive about their particular position on the ministry will be impressed by Pragman's fair treatment of the historical positions. Whereas some material on Luther's view is available in English (e.g., Haendler's *Luther on Ministerial Office and Congregational Function),* virtually nothing in English is available on the intervening years. How many are aware of the complex process of selection of pastors in the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy which involved the clergy, the officers of the state, and the people? Pietism switched the emphasis away from a concern about a pastor's correct beliefs to the sincerity of his personal faith. Muhlenberg's successful struggle to be recognized as pastor of the Pennsylvania Lutheran congregations, in confrontation with the traveling preachers and especially Zinzendorf, did much to establish a viable Lutheranism along with a high regard for the pastoral office. The nineteenth-century controversy, first with Loehe, then Walther and Grabau, is carefully spelled out. Twentieth-century matters are even rounded out to include the Wisconsin Synod position that the pastoral office in local congregations is not specifically mandated and the Association of Evangelical

Lutheran Churches' position paper on worker priests. Whatever Lutherans have said about the ministry is here.

Since Pragman's study included material from as late as 1979 and 1980 AELC publications, it could have been rounded out with a discussion about the unauthorized ordinations of Seminex graduates beginning in 1974, which led first to the suspension of certain district presidents from office and, secondly, to the formation of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. The issues of who may authorize ordinations, who may ordain, and who may be ordained—issues addressed in all other centuries of Lutheran history by Pragman—led to the first real schism in the Missouri Synod. While underlying causes may have been at the heart of the rift, the superficial cause was the claim of the schismatic group to insist on the validity of one of the congregational traditions of Lutheran ministry. A chapter here would have added a little more bite to an already absorbing work. The chapter on Luther should have been deferred to an entire book, as the reformer can still be cited on all sides of this question. He had no use for the popish ceremonies but had high regard for ordination to the point of never tolerating the celebration of the Lord's Supper by an unordained man.

Since the controversy on the ministry is continuing in our day, this book should be read by every Lutheran pastor and church worker in America. Pragman gives a theologically penetrating and readable look at the four centuries which intervene between Luther and today. The reader may learn that many of the views he holds may indeed not have come from Luther. Pragman has made it possible for us all to be a bit more knowledgeable on this question. For this we owe him a debt.

David P. Scaer

WHAT ARE THEY SAYING ABOUT PAPAL PRIMACY. J. Michael Miller. New York: Paulist Press, 1983. 103 pages. $3.95.

Any rapprochment within Christendom faces its highest hurdle with papal primacy and infallibility. Both Lutherans and Anglicans have dialogued with Rome representatives. Miller shows that even the Reformers (e.g., Melanchthon and the earlier Luther) could assert that papal primacy is a human, not divine, institution.

On the basis of the Biblical data, dialogue participants agree on a nonexclusive Petrine primacy but will not concede that Rome is its sole inheritor. Miller offers compromise by viewing Petrine supremacy as a divine institution established by the New Testament and papal primacy as a divine design disclosed through an act of history. Since for Rome her history has always been canon, this is not a really new idea.

LUTHER ON CONVERSION: THE EARLY YEARS. Marilyn J. Haran. Ithaca, New York and London: Cornell University Press, 1983. 218 pages. Cloth, $24.95.

A doctoral graduate from Stanford University, where Dr. Lewis Spitz is the recognized Luther scholar, and now an assistant professor at Barnard College of Columbia University, Haran provides the first one volume, in depth, scholarly analysis of Luther's concept of conversion. As conversion is necessarily closely related to the Reformer's concept of faith and so fundamental for his Reformation theology, it is amazing that this subject has not been taken up previously. The first chapter presents the various understandings of how conversion was understood from New Testament times to Luther. Haran understands Luther's view of conversion first as God's activity in the incarnation, second as occurring in man through faith and third as the experience of confronting God in the future life. Haran interprets the tower experience not as Luther's coming to faith, but as his personal reflection on what he previously discovered; thus, she favors the later date of 1518 for the tower experience. The topic is presented with impeccable scholarship and sobriety—perhaps too much.

Luther's conversion, i.e., his personal self-awareness of justification, must rank after Paul's conversion as the most world shattering personal experience. Indeed, the entire western civilization was different because of this experience. An analysis of this type is not only valuable for understanding the Reformer, but also this fundamental point in Lutheran theology; especially now since a Baptistic or revivalistic understanding of conversion as a decision of the will has become so influential. The reviewer was constantly tempted throughout the reading to ask whether the author was in any way affected by her study of Luther's personal agonies in his own conversion, or was it simply another topic in the history of religion suggested by the anniversary year. LCMS readers will be interested to know that several, Concordia Publishing House publications are mentioned and that the names of Uuras Saarnivaara and Lowell Green come prominently into the discussion. The Luther anniversary year is being productive far beyond our dreams. Haran's work belongs among the productions of the highest magnitude.

David P. Scaer

Books Received

THE LAMB: Sermons for the Easter Cycle from Pentecost to Ash Wednesday. Frederick W. Kamper. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983. 86 pages. Paper, n.p.

THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT: Crisis and Opportunity for the Church. Geoffrey Wainwright. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983. 263 pages. Paper, $8.95.

FAITH THAT MAKES A DIFFERENCE. John W. Bachman. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 224 pages. Paper, $9.95.

WITH OPEN HEART. Michael Quoist. Translated by Colette Copeland. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1983. 231 pages. Paper, $8.95.

TEARDROPS TO DIAMONDS. Carl W. Berner. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 93 pages. Paper, n.p.

TENSIONS IN CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGY. 2nd edition. Stanley N. Gundry and Alan F. Johnson. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983. 478 pages. Paper, $12.95.

THE THIRD REFORMATION?: Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition. Carter Lindberg. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1983. 345 pages. Cloth, $24.95.

LUKE-ACTS: The Promise of History. Donald Juel. Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox Press, 1983. 138 pages. Paper, $7.95.

AT THE EDGE OF HOPE: Christian Laity in Paradox. Howard Butt and Elliott Wright. New York: The Seabury Press, 1978. 211 pages. Paper, $9.95.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS. Norman Anderson. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1983. 219 pages. Paper, $6.95.

THE GRAVEDIGGER FILE: Papers on the Subversion of the Modern Church. Os Guinness. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1983. 245 pages. Paper, $6.95.

CHRISTIANITY MADE SIMPLE: Belief. David Hewetson and David Miller. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1983. 159 pages. Paper, $4.95.

CONFIRMATION AND THE CHARISMATA. Theodore R. Jungkuntz. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1983. 115 pages. Cloth, $18.75; paper, $7.75.

GOD AS THE MYSTERY OF THE WORLD: On the Foundation of the Theology of the Crucified One in the Dispute between Theism and Atheism. Eberhard Jungel. Translated by Darrell L. Guder. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983. 414 pages. Cloth, $20.95.

SIGHTING IN THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW. Balfour Mount. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1983. 126 pages. Paper, $9.95.

IS MAN THE MEASURE. Norman L. Geisler. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983. 197 pages. Paper, $7.95.

CARMEN CHRISTI. Ralph Martin. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983. 319 pages. Paper, n.p.

THE HARD SAYINGS OF JESUS. F. F. Bruce. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1983. 250 pages. $6.95.

PASTOR AT PRAYER. George Kraus. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983. 240 pages. Paper, $14.95.

WHOLENESS AND HOLINESS: Reading on the Psychology/Theology of Mental Health. H. Newton Maloney. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983. 344 pages. Paper, $12.95.

THE FAITH WE HOLD: The Living Witness of Luther and the Augsburg Confession. James A. Nestingen. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 96 pages. Paper, $4.95.

SENTENCED TO LIFE. Malcolm Muggeridge and Alan Thornhill. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1983. 129 pages. Paper, $3.95.

DANIEL. John G. Gammie. KNOX PREACHING GUIDES. John H. Hayes, editor. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1983. 116 pages. Paper, $5.95.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND CRITICISM. Carl E. Armerding. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983. 134 pages. Paper, $6.95.

HOW TO TEACH ORIGINS (WITHOUT ACLU INTERFERENCE). John N. Moore. Milford, Michigan: Mott Media, 1983. 382 pages. Paper, n.p.

THE MESSAGE OF EXODUS: A Theological Commentary. Lester Meyer. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 176 pages. Paper, $8.95.

SEEKING JESUS IN CONTEMPLATION AND DISCERNMENT. Robert Faricy. WAYS OF PRAYER #7. Wilmington, DL: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983. Paper, $4.95.

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WHEN THE KINGS COME MARCHING IN: Isaiah and the New Jerusalem. Richard J. Mouw. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmands Publishing Company, 1983. 96 pages. Paper, $3.95.

THE FIRST PARISH: A Pastor's Survival Manual. J. Keith Cook. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983. 156 pages. Paper, $8.95.

1-2 SAMUEL, 1-2 KINGS: with Excursus on Davidic Dynasty and Holy City Zion. Charles Conroy. OLD TESTAMENT MESSAGE. C. Stuhlmueller and M. McNamara, editors. Wilmington, DL: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983. 266 pages. Cloth, $12.95; paper, $8.95.

SIRACH. R.A.F. MacKenzie. OLD TESTAMENT MESSAGE. C.Stuhlmueller and M. McNamara, editors. Willmington, DL: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983. 197 pages. Cloth, $12.95; paper, $7.95.

YESTERDAY AND TODAY: A Study of Continuities in Christology. Colin E. Gunton. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983. 228 pages. Paper, $7.95.

SHORTER LEXICON OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT. F. Wilbur Gingrich. Second Edition revised by Frederick W. Danker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983. 220 pages. $20.00.

WORD BIBLICAL COMMENTARY: Psalms 101-150. Leslie C. Allen. Waco, Texas: Word Book Incorporated, 1983. 342 pages. Cloth, n.p.

WHY AM I AFRAID TO TELL YOU I'M A CHRISTIAN?: Witnessing Jesus' Way. Don Posterski. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1983. 114 pages. Paper, $2.95.

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