

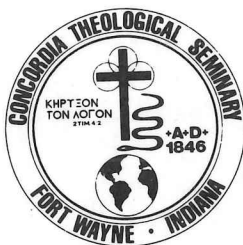
CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

CTQ

Volume 49, Numbers 2 and 3

APRIL-JULY 1985

Dedication	81
Robert D. Preus: A Bibliography 1974-1984	83
An Assessment of LCMS Polity and Practice on the Basis of the Treatise ... George F. Wollenburg	87
The Lord's Supper according to the World Council of Churches ... Charles J. Evanson	117
Antichrist in the Early Church William C. Weinrich	135
Spiritual Gifts and the Work of the Kingdom Albert L. Garcia	149
Was Luther a Missionary? Eugene W. Bunkowske	161
Sanctification in Lutheran Theology David P. Scaer	181
Theological Observer	199
Book Reviews	207
Books Received	237



CONCORDIA
THEOLOGICAL
QUARTERLY

ISSN 0638-8610

CTQ

Issued quarterly by the faculty of
Concordia Theological Seminary

The *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, a continuation of *The Springfielder*, is a theological journal of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, published for its ministry by the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

DAVID P. SCAER, *Editor*, DOUGLAS JUDISCH, *Assistant Editor*,
GERHARD AHO, *Homiletical Editor*, G. WALDEMAR DEGNER,
HEINO KADAI, ROBERT D. PREUS, *Associate Editors*.

The Faculty: GERHARD AHO, JAMES BOLLHAGEN, HAROLD BULS,
EUGENE BUNKOWSKE, STEPHEN CARTER, ROBERT H. COLLINS,
G. WALDEMAR DEGNER, ALBERT L. GARCIA, WILLIAM G.
HOUSER, DOUGLAS McC. L. JUDISCH, ARTHUR JUST, HEINO
KADAI, EUGENE F. KLUG, GEORGE C. KRAUS, CAMERON A.
MacKENZIE, WALTER A. MAIER, KURT E. MARQUART, NORBERT
MUELLER, RICHARD MULLER, ROBERT D. PREUS, DANIEL G.
REUNING, WILBERT H. ROSIN, JOHN SALESKA, DAVID P. SCAER,
ALVIN J. SCHMIDT, RANDALL W. SHIELDS, OTTO F. STAHLKE,
RAYMOND F. SURBURG, HOWARD W. TEPKER, JAMES VOELZ,
WILLIAM WEINRICH, DEAN O. WENTHE, WARREN WILBERT,
ALBERT WINGFIELD, HAROLD ZIETLOW, MELVIN ZILZ.

The CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY is indexed in
Religion Index One: Periodicals, and abstracted in Old Testament
Abstracts and New Testament Abstracts.

The CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY is published in
January, April, July and October. All changes of address (including
Missouri Synod clergymen), paid subscriptions and other business
matters should be sent to Concordia Theological Quarterly, Concordia
Theological Seminary, 6600 N. Clinton Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana
46825.

Annual subscription rate: \$5.00

©Concordia Theological Seminary Press
1985

Dedication:
Robert David Preus, Ph.D., Th.D.



The English language does not have an equivalent for the German word *Festschrift*, a book or a collection of essays to commemorate anniversaries or birthdays of notable scholars. The year 1984 marked the tenth anniversary of Dr. Robert D. Preus as president of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, and his sixtieth birthday. The year 1974, in which he was chosen as president of the seminary, was a notable one for the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and for Dr. Preus. Before that year ended, he served as academic dean of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and its effective leader when its acting president, the late Dr. Martin Scharlemann, became too ill to serve. In July of that year Dr. Preus began serving as president of this seminary, then in Springfield, Illinois.

By the time he had come to Springfield, Dr. Preus had established himself as a scholar and a recognized authority in confessional Lutheran theology, having published three academic books in that area.

During his tenure as seminary president, he established himself as a churchman and leader, giving a new direction and a different image to the seminary. Two years after coming to the seminary, he supervised its move from its near century-long home in Springfield to a new location in the city of its founding, Fort Wayne, Indiana. This change made new programs possible.

Dr. Preus was responsible for adding a missions department to the seminary with two faculty posts designated for this area. A graduate school was added which now awards the Doctor of Ministry and Master of Sacred Theology degrees. A more extensive program of continuing education was started. An annual Symposium on the Lutheran Confessions, which is about to begin its ninth year, was initiated. During these ten years he served as a member of the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy, the Synod's Commission on Theology and Church Relations, and the Synod's Colloquy Committee; as a director of Lutheran Bible Translators; and as a scholar of the Christianity Today Institute. He has left his mark not only in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod but in "evangelical" circles as well.

His chief contribution has been as president of Concordia Theological Seminary. He has widened the participation of the church in the guidance of the seminary by organizing the President's Advisory Council, which brings together from all over the country Lutheran lay persons who use their divergent professional backgrounds for the benefit of the seminary. Special programs for Hispanic, black, deaf, and handicapped ministries have been added to the seminary's curriculum. The seminary has its own printshop and publishes articles of theological interest. His term as seminary president has been marked by academic excellence in the faculty, daring and courage in new programs to fit the needs of the synod, and a widely recognized firm commitment to the confessional tradition of the Lutheran Church. He is well known as a preacher and evangelist. The name Preus in the twentieth century has become synonymous with confessional fidelity, and he has earned a place in histories of American Lutheranism that are still to be written. His place in the history of Concordia Theological Seminary (which he has served longer than any other president in the last half century) and in the history of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, as foremost spokesman for its confessional theology, is certain. Though he has fulfilled a special role in the history of Fort Wayne, without him, humanly speaking of course, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, would not be the institution that it is today. To him, therefore, this issue of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* is dedicated as a *Festschrift*. May God continue to use him for the benefit of the church in the decades to come.

The Editors

Robert D. Preus: A Bibliography 1974-1984

"Are There New and Current Issues Calling for Confessional Statements?" In *The Confession-Making Process*. New York: Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., Division of Theological Studies, 1975.

"The Basis for Concord." *Christian News*, December 5, 1977, pp. 9-10.

"Article XI—Predestination and Election." In *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord*. Ed. R.A. Kolb et al. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978.

"Can the Lutheran Confessions Have Any Meaning 450 Years Later?" *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 44 (1980), pp. 104-107.

"The Colloquy Program." *Affirm*, February 1980, p. 3.

"Confessions and the Mission of the Church." *Springfielder*, 39 (1975), pp. 20-39.

A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord. Ed. in collaboration with Wilbert Rosin. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978.

"Doctrine of Justification in the Theology of Classical Lutheran Orthodoxy." In *Essays on Justification*. Fort Wayne: Concordia Seminary Printshop, 1980.

Doctrine of the Word: Course Material for the Seminary Elective Course of the Same Title. Springfield: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1975.

"Evangelical Catechism." *Affirm*, April 1983, p. 1.

Getting into the Theology of Concord; A Study of the Book of Concord. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1977.

Hermeneutics, Inerrancy, and the Bible: Papers from ICBI. Ed. in collaboration with Earl D. Radmacher. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1984.

"The Hermeneutics of the Lutheran Confessions and the Historical-Critical Method." In *The Function of Doctrine and Theology in the Light of the Unity of the Church*. New York: Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., Division of Theological Studies, 1978.

"How Is the Lutheran Church to Interpret and Use the Old and New Testaments." *Christian News*, July 15, 1974, p. 12.

"Inauguration Address." *Springfielder*, 38 (1974), pp. 91-94.

"The Inerrancy of the Bible." *Christian News*, April 21, 1975, pp. 9-10.

"The Influence of the Formula of Concord on the Later Lutheran Orthodoxy." In *Discord, Dialogue, and Concord; Studies in the Lutheran Reformation's Formula of Concord*. Ed. L. Spitz and W. Lohff. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977.

Justification as Taught by Post-Reformation Lutheran Theologians. Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1982.

Luther's Catechisms—450 Years: Essays Commemorating the Small and Large Catechisms of Martin Luther. Ed. in collaboration with David P. Scaer. Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1979.

"The Need for a Certain Statement of Faith." *Lutheran Witness*, August 1983, p. 27.

"The Pastor as Teacher; Address at the Conferral of Degrees, Luther Seminary, November 27." *The Lutheran*, 28, December 1981, pp. 6-9.

"Perennial Problems in the Doctrine of Justification." *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 45 (1981), pp. 163-184.

"Reflections on the International Congress on World Evangelization." *Affirm*, November 1974, p. 6.

Selected Articles on Objective Justification. Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1984.

"The View of the Bible Held by the Church: The Early Church through Luther." In *Inerrancy*. Ed. N. Geisler. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1980.

Note: For works written by Robert Preus previous to his presidency of Concordia Theological Seminary see "Robert D. Preus: Bibliography," *Springfielder*, 37 (2; September 1974), pp. 95-98.

An Assessment of LCMS Polity and Practice on the Basis of the Treatise

George F. Wollenburg

The uniqueness of church polity in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod can perhaps be illustrated in no better way than to recall an incident which continues to make headlines in the news media of our country. A Lutheran pastor was ordered by his Synod president to surrender his pulpit. When he refused to do so, the Synod president sought a court order to enforce his mandate. As a result the pastor was arrested by civil authorities for refusing to obey the court order enforcing the mandate of the Synod president. Since the pastor was supported by a significant number of members of his congregation and the congregation itself was divided over the matter, the Synod president declared the congregation dissolved and the church closed. Under the constitution of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod no event such as this can occur. It might happen in other denominations in which a hierarchical form of church polity is followed, but it could not be envisioned in the LCMS.

On the other hand, the church polity of the LCMS is not an autonomous congregationalism. Perhaps the best way to describe the church polity of the LCMS is to call it a "synodical" church polity. The Synod is an association of congregations and pastors and teachers who are bound together, not by an overarching organizational structure which exercises power and authority over its members, but instead are bound together by agreement in the doctrine of the Gospel. The Synod is not over its congregations, neither is it under its congregations. Instead, the Synod *is* its congregations walking together. The only power and authority which is to rule and govern in the Synod is the Word of God. Thus the constitution of the Synod provides freedom for its members from any coercive kind of power exercised by elected officers of the Synod. "In relation to its members the Synod is not an ecclesiastical government exercising legislative or coercive powers, and with respect to the individual congregation's right of self-government it is but an advisory body" (Constitution, Article VII). "All matters of doctrine and of conscience shall be decided only by the Word of God" (Constitution, Article VIII, C).

This unique form of church polity has its source in the genius of C.F.W. Walther whose own spiritual and ecclesiastical pilgrimage took him from his native Saxony as a dedicated follower of the cult of Martin Stephan to the frontiers of America. We can pay no greater tribute

to Walther than to say that his own personal desire was to be first of all a man completely obedient to the Word of God, the Sacred Scriptures, and secondly a true Lutheran, bound by his views of ordination to the Sacred Scriptures and the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. The constitution of the Missouri Synod, and the form of church government which he advocated, and under which the Missouri Synod was organized, was derived, not from the principles of American political thought, but instead from the writings of Martin Luther and the Lutheran Confessions. A clear case for this point has been made by Carl Mundinger in his volume, *Government in the Missouri Synod*.¹

The uniqueness of Walther's understanding of church polity is pointed out by his presidential address to the 1848 convention of the Synod. Under the Synodical constitution the assembled delegates have only the "power to advise one another, . . . only the power of the Word, and of *convincing*." The assembled delegates of the Synod are "not above our congregations, but in them and at their side." The church is not of the same nature as the temporal state. The church as the kingdom of Christ is ruled by Christ alone. He exercises His power and rules in His church by ". . . His Word, accompanied and sealed by the Holy Sacraments." He also expressly "denies to all others any other power, any other rule, and any other authority to command in His church." Even the Apostles "did not at all claim any dominion over the congregation." In the church no one dare be required to submit to any power other than the Word. Matters which are not regulated by the Word of God, but which must be arranged in the church for the sake of order, ". . . are not to be arranged by any power above the congregation, but the congregation, that is, pastors and hearers, arrange them, free of every compulsion. . ." If congregations are required by membership in the Synod to submit to the rules and regulations of the Synod, the result would be "constant dissatisfaction, . . . fear of hierarchical efforts, and thus . . . endless friction." The "chief battle would soon center about the execution of manufactured, external human ordinances and institutions and would swallow up the true blessed battle for the real treasure of the church, for the *purity and unity of doctrine*." Underlying the thoughts in this presidential address is the primary concern for the purity of the Gospel. Church polity must recognize the primacy of the Word as the only power in the church. Any form of church polity which subordinates the people of Christ to human authority not only denies them the freedom which Christ has purchased for them at so great a cost, but will ultimately result in the loss of the Gospel.² We shall now assess the polity enunciated by Walther in the light of the Treatise. We shall then proceed to look at the development of the polity and practice as it

presently exists within the LCMS in order to determine whether the polity envisioned by Walther still retains its vigor.

Efforts to Arrange Polity in the Reformation

In order to understand the background for the Treatise, it is necessary to examine briefly the development of church polity in the churches of the Lutheran lands of Germany. In 1523 Luther published his tract entitled *That a Christian Assembly or Congregation Has the Right and Power to Judge All Teaching and to Call, Appoint and Dismiss Teachers Established and Proved by Scripture*. This tract was a reply to the congregation at Leisnig who, having chosen their own pastor without the consent of the bishop, found themselves involved in a dispute. In 1523 they appealed to Luther to provide a Biblical rationale for their action. In the Treatise Luther clearly emphasizes the Word as the basis for ministry. The congregation is created by the Word through which men are called to faith. The congregation created by the Word also bears the responsibility of proclaiming the Word. Since the congregation shares the authority of the Word on the basis of Baptism, it may call its own preachers.³ The Christian congregation is identified by the preaching of the pure Gospel. Wherever the Gospel is, there must be Christians.⁴ In the matter of judging doctrine and appointing pastors or teachers, no human statute, law, precedent, usage, or custom should be of concern to a Christian congregation.⁵ The congregation has the right and duty to depose and remove from office any and all who teach and rule contrary to God and His Word.⁶ Since every Christian has the duty and right to teach the Gospel, there is no doubt that a congregation may call or appoint someone from among its members to teach publicly.⁷

Prior to this work Luther had written *Against the Spiritual Estate (So Called) of the Pope and Bishops*. Since the bishops are more concerned with wealth and temporal honor than with the teaching of the Word, God's gracious offer of forgiveness is not proclaimed to the souls of people. For the sake of their salvation, Christians are therefore to root out and destroy the episcopal form of government. This is to be done with the Word, not with violence.⁸ No distinction is to be made between grades of ministers in the church. The true bishop in the church is the one who tends the flock of Christ with the Gospel.⁹

In 1523 Luther's treatise *Concerning the Ministry* appeared. It was addressed to the Bohemian Christians and the senate of the city of Prague. Since they were Hussite Christians and celebrated the Sacrament under both kinds, the pope refused them an archbishop. Because they still counted ordination as a sacrament, they sent their

candidates to Italy for ordination. Luther first encourages them to refuse papal ordination. The function of the office of the ministry has been given to all Christians. These functions are enumerated. The first is the ministry of the Word; second, to baptize; third, to administer or consecrate the sacred bread and wine; fourth, to bind and loose from sin; fifth, to offer the sacrifice of a holy life, praise and thanksgiving; sixth, to intercede for others; seventh, to judge doctrine.¹⁰ Since these are the common right of all Christians, no one may arrogate to himself what belongs to all without the consent of the whole body. To act publicly means to act on behalf of all in the stead of others.¹¹

The ideas of church government which Luther had formed during the period from 1519 to 1525 underwent a change as a result of the religious conditions that prevailed in the churches of Saxony. On November 30, 1525, Luther wrote to Elector John, urging him to appoint four teams of visitors to investigate the religious conditions of the churches.¹² In February of 1527, the visitation began. However, the lack of explicit instructions hampered the visitors. Philip Melancthon drew up a short guide for the visitors entitled *Articles of Visitation*. The Biblical basis for such visitation is first established (Acts 9:32; 15:3). This Biblical basis is not seen as a divine command, but as an apostolic practice which is wholesome for the parishes. The visitor is identified as a bishop. "Actually bishop means supervisor or visitor."¹³ Such visitors possessed no authority other than the authority of the Word, common to all Christians. Luther regarded this *Kirchenordnung* as a temporary expedient until something better would be brought to pass by the Holy Spirit.¹⁴ The instructions for visitation focus on the Word, as is indicated by their content.

Included in the *Visitation Articles* was the provision for the appointment of a superintendent. This superintendent was to be responsible for all other parish priests in his district. His first concern was that correct teaching be done in the parishes. When a parish was without a pastor, the new pastor was to be presented to the superintendent for examination regarding his life and doctrine.¹⁵ The superintendent was accountable to the elector. This seems to be the only effort at establishing any form of church government in the decade prior to the Augsburg Confession. With this arrangement the foundation was established for church government in Germany, a form of church government in which the territorial prince later became the counterpart of the medieval bishop.¹⁶

Luther's shift in emphasis can best be illustrated by his reaction to the constitution (*Kirchenordnung*) for Hesse, drawn up by Lambert of Avignon in 1526. "In this constitution, the local congregation

is dominant. In fact, Luther's principle of the priesthood of all believers receives full recognition. The congregation elects the pastor."¹⁷ Luther opposed this constitution and suggested that the prince bore the responsibility for the parishes in his territory. The result of these efforts to find a suitable form of church government to replace the Roman episcopacy and papal primacy led to the eventual rule of the churches in Germany by the temporal powers. Such regulation of the churches was carried out through the consistorium and the superintendent. Carl Mundinger describes the way in which a parish received a pastor, or in which a theological candidate received an appointment to a parish. The congregations possessed little power in calling their pastors. Although the local boards of the parish had some high-sounding names they had little authority. "They kept the buildings in repair, supervised the janitors, administered the funds which came in through the plate collections on Sundays."¹⁸ Thus the freedom of the congregation, and the priesthood of all believers which Luther had taught with such vehemence again was buried under a church polity which was more concerned with the orderly and smooth functioning of an organizational institution than with the true spiritual worship of God. Melancthon proposed in the Treatise that the chief members of the church, the kings and princes, should "...have regard for the interests of the church and see to it that errors are removed and consciences are healed" (Treatise 54). This arrangement led to an new form of human tyranny in the church and to a suppression of the Gospel.

My somewhat cynical observation regarding all forms of government, whether in the temporal affairs of the state or in the church, is: "Imagine the worst that could possibly happen under this particular form of government, and rest assured that eventually it will happen." The Revelation of St. John makes it clear that all human institutions and structures, no matter how good and even though divinely instituted, are subject to Satanic perversion (Rev. 13:1,4; 11-18). Melancthon identifies the medieval institution of the papacy with the Antichrist. He does so, not on the basis of the personal immorality or impiety of the pope and bishops, but on the basis that the very institution which could and should have served the ministry of the Gospel had been subverted by and become guilty of promoting and defending "godless forms of worship, idolatry, and doctrines which conflict with the Gospel" (Treatise 38, 39). The advent of the episcopacy in the church originally was intended to preserve the Gospel. The ultimate outcome was the obscuring of the Gospel.

The founding fathers of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod had sufficient reason to fear a hierarchical structure in the church. Their

experience with the consistoriums of Germany, and the attempt of Martin Stephan to assume the title and authority of bishop, taught them to fear any polity and structure which governed the church through the exercise of power and authority vested in human beings. Their experience indicated to them that the Word and work of the Lord could not be guaranteed by the powers of control vested in and exercised over the church by persons in authority. Rather than serving to keep the church faithful, these very structures of control and power vested in the hands of the leadership corrupted the church, its doctrine and life. The danger in any form of church polity which seeks to guarantee the purity of the Gospel by means of structures of power and control lies in the very fact that once the structures of power to control have been created, there is no guarantee that in the future the power to control will not fall into the hands of persons who, either through ignorance or by design, subvert the Gospel.

Historically, the church has never been preserved from corruption of its doctrine and life by placing its trust in some sort of external organization with the power to control. Seeking security for the future in such organizational genius is a form of idolatry. The story of Israel in the Old Testament, as well as the history of the church since the days of our Lord offer ample evidence of the idolatrous nature of such confidence in human genius.

Church Polity in the Treatise

While the Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope was drafted primarily as a rejection of the papal and episcopal polity of the medieval church, it sets forth the basic principles for church polity which the reformers were convinced came from the Holy Scriptures. I shall try to summarize these principles in the following paragraphs.

(1) *The purpose of all church polity is the correct teaching of the Gospel, the glory of Christ, the consolation of consciences, and the true worship of God (that is, the exercise of faith which struggles against unbelief and despair over the promise of the Gospel)* (Treatise 44). Articles IV and V of the Augustana are basic for a proper understanding of church polity as set forth in the Treatise. The chief article of the Christian faith is the article on justification. All that the church is and does and teaches must be related to this article in such a way that it is not obscured or denied. "We receive forgiveness of sins and become righteous before God by grace, for Christ's sake, through faith. . ." (AC IV). Article IV is followed immediately by article V which describes how such faith is obtained. "To obtain such faith, God has instituted the office of the ministry, that is, provided

the Gospel and the Sacraments" (AC V; according to the Latin, God "...instituted the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments").

A valid church polity exists when the only power which the church claims is a spiritual power. "Christ gave only spiritual power, that is, the command to preach the Gospel, proclaim forgiveness of sins, administer the Sacraments, and excommunicate the godless without physical violence" (Treatise 31). Churches (congregations) have the right to change any form of polity which corrupts or obscures the Gospel. Not only do Christians have this right, but they are under obligation to disobey and disassociate themselves from such structures and to ordain ministers for themselves in order that the Gospel might be administered (Treatise 66,67,73).

Administration of the Gospel is not administration in the modern sense, namely, of maintaining a smoothly functioning organization. Administration is the right feeding, guiding, and direction of the church by means of the Gospel and the Sacraments. The command of Christ is that the church be governed by the preaching of the Word alone. Through the preaching of the Word, God leads to true repentance and genuine faith, gives His Holy Spirit, and thus brings men into the kingdom of His Son. In this kingdom He alone rules; His Word alone has authority over His people. No one has the right to demand obedience to any other authority in the church.

The kingdom of Christ or the church in the proper sense of the word is "an association of faith and of the Holy Spirit in men's hearts" (Ap. VII-VIII:5,28). In this present world and life it is hidden and known to God alone. Therefore, it may not be directly identified with an outward organization or with any "association of outward ties and rites" (Ap. VII-VIII: 5,10). It is guided, governed, and judged by the Gospel, by which the church is created and sustained. For this reason the church must be free from the encumbrances of ecclesiastical legislation (Treatise 11).

(2) *A proper church polity must recognize and give expression to the truth that the keys belong to the whole church, and not to any select group of individuals or persons within the church.* It is evident that the church possesses the power of the keys, or the ministry of the Gospel and the sacraments, since the words of Jesus, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. 18:20), and the declaration of Peter, "You are a royal priesthood" (I Pet. 2:9), apply to the true church which alone possesses the priesthood. The church, therefore, has the right of electing and ordaining ministers. The authority of the keys, or the authority of the church, is nothing else than the authority to proclaim the Gospel, remit sins, administer the sacraments, and, in

addition, exercise jurisdiction, that is, excommunicate those who are guilty of notorious crimes and absolve those who repent (Treatise 60). This authority is "... bestowed especially and immediately upon the church..." (Treatise 24). The keys are nothing else than the office (*Ampt*) by means of which the promise of the Gospel is distributed (*mitgeteilt*) (Treatise 24). The ministry of the church does not consist of persons, but instead consists of the proclamation of the Gospel (Treatise 26).

Since the authority of the keys belongs to the entire church, those who are ordained and chosen by the church as ministers are not granted authority by their election or ordination. They already possess the authority of the keys as members of the Body of Christ. Thus ordination confers no authority upon the minister which he does not already possess, neither does it give him a spiritual authority which other Christians do not have; "... the church is above ministers" (Treatise 11). Even if there were superiority or primacy which existed in the church by divine right, obedience would still not be due to those ministers or bishops who "defend godless forms of worship, idolatry, and doctrines which conflict with the Gospel" (Treatise 38). In addition to this, the churches have the responsibility to remove impious teachings and impious forms of worship and, therefore, the responsibility and duty to judge those who teach in the church (Treatise 51).

(3) *A proper church polity must recognize that the smallest local church (congregation), by divine right, possesses the power of the keys and therefore has as much authority as the whole church (Tota Ecclesia).* Since the keys are given to the church immediately by Christ, the local church does not derive its power or authority from the larger church, much less from the authority of bishops or pastors. The Treatise quotes Matthew 18:19 (20), "If two or three of you agree on earth," etc., in order to support the position that the local church does not derive its power and authority from the larger ecclesiastical organization (Treatise 24). Accordingly, there is no divine command which compels a local congregation to recognize or submit to the jurisdiction of any ecclesiastical authority in the organizing of its own affairs. It is bound solely by the Word of God and therefore possesses complete liberty in all matters not prescribed by the divine word. Such liberty applies to matters such as organizational structure, liturgical forms, officers, auxiliaries, committees, etc. The only limit to such liberty is that nothing be done which is contrary to the meaning and nature of the gospel and the sacraments, and that such matters are arranged without "frivolity and offense... , serve the purpose of good order, Christian discipline, evangelical decorum, and the edification of the church" (FCSD X: 9).

"Accordingly, no church polity is valid if it denies or curtails, under whatever pretext, the full churchly power, dignity, and authority of local churches."¹⁹ Thus, the understanding of church polity presented by Edmund Schlink cannot be supported by the Confessions: "Disobedience to the bishop is disobedience to God. Over against this it cannot be urged that the institution of a superior church government and the delimitation of its authority is by human right, that is, the outgrowth of the free arrangement of the church. For obedience to church administration is taken out of the area of free interest of individuals and of those *congregations*. . . moreover, we should not only obey the preaching but *also the regulations which the church has adopted in the unity of faith* and love for the preservation of preaching. . . Also disobedience to an ordinance of the church instituted by human right is disobedience to God, since it violates the law of love."²⁰ This same position was advocated by Pastor J. A. Grabau in opposition to the position that the Missouri Synod adopted. Grabau maintained that unconditional obedience is due the ministerial office not only when the Word of God is applied, but in all things not contrary to God's Word. Only a combination of congregations, or synod, not a congregation is the supreme tribunal to decide what is at variance or in accord with the Word of God. In contrast to this position the Formula of Concord states regarding the freedom of the local churches, "As soon as this article is weakened and human commandments are forcibly imposed on the church as necessary and as though their omission were wrong and sinful, the door has been opened to idolatry, and ultimately the commandments of men will be increased and be put as divine worship not only on a par with God's commandments, but even above them" (FC SD X:15). The churches must retain the power to remove impious teachings and impious forms of worship (Treatise 51) in order that the Gospel may be rightly administered (Treatise 67). Wherever the church exists, this right, including the right to call, elect, and ordain ministers also exists (Treatise 67).

(4.) *Proper church polity must recognize that all the pastors of the church are equal in so far as divinely given right and authority is concerned.* Although a church polity which give various ranks of ecclesiastical hierarchy may be a legitimate church polity, such ranks are created by human authority not by divine command (AC XIV:2). When such an arrangement is made, the bishops have a responsibility to see to it that there is proper preaching of the Gospel and administration of the sacraments in the church (Ap. XXVIII:1). Even in such polity, the bishops have only the power of order and the power of jurisdiction, that is, the ministry of the Word and Sacraments and the authority to excommunicate those guilty of public offenses,

or to absolve them if they are converted (Ap. XXVIII: 13, 14). If such hierarchical ranking of pastors is done in the church, it is done only for the sake of order, and such persons possess no power or authority over others by divine right, but only by human right (Treatise 7). All who preside over the churches, whether they are called pastors, presbyters, or bishops, possess the same right and authority (Treatise 61,74).

The church has the command to appoint ministers (Ap. XIII:12). For this reason the right to elect, call, and ordain ministers always belongs to the church and must be retained by it (Treatise 67). Ecclesiastical ordination is an apostolic tradition and has no divine mandate (Treatise 14). If ecclesiastical ordination is interpreted in relation to the ministry of the Word, it may even be called a sacrament (Ap. XIII:12). However, it is the call and election of the church which places a man into the pastoral office, or the public ministry of the Word. Ecclesiastical ordination serves the useful purpose of preventing schism in the church through a cult of personality in which an individual pastor gathers a personal following for himself (Treatise 62). Ecclesiastical bishops, or those who function as bishops (district presidents), are elected and chosen by their own churches according to the ancient tradition which is called an apostolic usage by Cyprian (Treatise 14,15). The right of such bishops to administer ordination may be granted by the church, not of divine necessity or command, but for the sake of love and order and to prevent schism.

Whether the "churches" mentioned in the Treatise are local churches, in the sense of congregations, or groups of congregations in a particular territory cannot be determined with absolute finality. From Luther's own writings it can be established that he did not understand the word "church" to refer to an external ecclesiastical organization or institution.²¹ On the other hand, Luther does not mean that the church is not perceptible. Just as the invisible God is perceptible in His work, so also the church is perceptible and can be recognized by the means of grace in action. Wherever the Gospel is proclaimed, there the Holy Christian Church is found. Although unbelievers may be included among those who hear the Gospel and use the sacraments, they in no way belong to the church in its strict sense. Nevertheless, the term "church" may be applied in an "improper sense" to that group of persons who are united in a common confession and in external fellowship to proclaim the Gospel and administer the sacraments. C.F.W. Walther and other fathers of the Missouri Synod understood the word "churches" in the Treatise to apply to local churches or congregations. Apparently this understanding can be supported by the statement in the Treatise, "... it is manifest that

ordination administered by a pastor in his own church is valid by divine right" (Treatise 64). That Christians gather regularly to proclaim the Gospel and to administer the sacraments takes place by divine command. Accordingly, the only way in which the church, strictly speaking, is perceptible is in the local church or congregation.

(5.) *Local churches owe one another fraternal churchly recognition and cooperation, that is, church fellowship.* The external marks by which such churchly recognition, or church fellowship, is recognized are the pure teaching of the Word (Gospel) and the administering of the sacraments in conformity with the Gospel (Ap. VII-VIII:5). Agreement in the confession, that is, in the doctrine of the Gospel and in the right administration of the sacraments is sufficient to establish the external fellowship between congregations (AC VII). Such mutual recognition is accorded by the churches to one another through the apostolic usage of ordination. The election of a pastor by the people of a local church was confirmed with the laying on of hands by the bishop of that church or the bishop of a neighboring church (Treatise 70). Although the church, strictly speaking, is perceptible in the local church or congregation, it is not circumscribed by the geographic boundaries of the congregation. By placing a man into the office of the ministry, the congregation acts as church. The confirmation of their action is not demanded by divine right. However, since the congregation owes mutual recognition to other churches which are agreed with it in the confession of the Gospel, it ought not act arbitrarily in this matter (Treatise 14). Just as the external ecclesiastical organization cannot be identified with the church, strictly speaking, so also the local congregation in its institutional form cannot be identified with the church. For the local church to seek mutual recognition of its pastor from other congregations with whom it is in confessional fellowship by means of ecclesiastical ordination is not simply an adiaphoron. To refuse such confirmation and recognition is a schismatic act and separates a congregation from the confessional fellowship (Treatise 62).

On the other hand, the local church owes no fellowship to bishops or ecclesiastical organizations which promote doctrines that conflict with the Gospel (Treatise 38). Here the words of Christ in Matthew 7:15 apply, "Beware of false prophets" (Treatise 41). This matter does not fall into the realm of Christian freedom or the vote of a majority (Treatise 57).

There is no divine command that local churches form larger bodies or organizations such as synods, with officers and so on. Such organizations exist for the purpose of enabling the mutual recognition of churches and maintaining the unity of confession of the Gos-

pel. In addition, such organizations can and do serve a useful purpose in mutual strengthening and nurture of local churches. When such organizations are created in Christian freedom, they may not in any way infringe on the freedom and dignity of the local churches. "No church polity is valid if it allows one church to oppress another, few to oppress many, or many to oppress few."²² A proper polity may not violate the powers and rights of the local churches.

A synod is church when and if the local churches walk together in the confession of the truth of the Gospel, and because the local churches walk together as churches, not for reasons of human goals and temporal causes, but for churchly purposes. In this sense "decisions of the synods are decisions of the church . . ." (Treatise 56). The chief purpose of such a larger organization is the definition, proclamation, and defense of the Gospel and the sacraments through mutual action and work by the local churches. The true purpose of such larger ecclesiastical structures can easily be ignored and neglected when they are seen as self-generating organizations that seek power and control over the churches by means of legislative authority, managerial techniques, and total control of the media of communication within the organization (Treatise 7,8).

(6.) *Proper church polity must provide for proper judicial procedures by means of which the churches are allowed to remove impious forms of worship and impious teachings* (Treatise 51). No single person or group of persons within the church may be vested with such authority that they cannot be judged by the churches (Treatise 50). The primary consideration in any form of church polity is the ministry of the pure Gospel and the administering of the Sacraments according to the Gospel. For this reason a valid Lutheran church polity will have congregations bind their pastors, not only to the Sacred Scriptures, but also to the Lutheran Confessions. This is the congregations' chief protection against its ministers becoming lords over their faith. "The primary requirement for basic and permanent concord within the church is a summary formula and pattern, unanimously approved, in which the summarized doctrine commonly confessed by the churches of the pure Christian religion is drawn together out of the Word of God" (FCSD, Rule and Norm:1). On the other hand, no Lutheran polity may require of its ministers that they pledge themselves to teach in accordance with other expositions and explanations, useful and helpful as these may be (FCSD, Rule and Norm:10).

Just as the Scriptures are subject to private interpretations which are contrary to the apostolic doctrine, so also the Lutheran Symbols are subject to private interpretations which do violence to their meaning. For this reason a true Lutheran polity will provide a way in which

the churches may determine their commonly agreed understanding of the Confessions (FCSD, Rule and Norm:4,6,10). For the sake of the Gospel the right of judging teachers and teachings may not be taken from the churches or congregations (Treatise 56).

Larger ecclesiastical structures are the means by which the churches seek to prevent schisms and to maintain the unity of confession among their fellowship. For this reason the right of supervision of doctrine is entrusted to persons who are chosen by the congregations. Whether such persons are called bishops, after the tradition of the ancient church, or whether such persons are called presidents or visitors, they are under the authority of the churches, not set over the churches to lord it over their faith (Treatise 20). Such offices are not a divine arrangement, but exist by human right. Persons who hold such offices should be held accountable to the churches.

Within the larger ecclesiastical structures, adequate judicial procedures need to be adopted to protect the rights of the congregations. Thus, by-laws (or canon law) exist to set limits to the authority of persons who hold office in ecclesiastical structures. Such church regulations also need to provide for an orderly way of determining when an individual teaches contrary to the accepted doctrinal confession. This involves not only pastors within congregations, but also teachers at seminaries and schools, officials of the ecclesiastical structures, district presidents, etc.

An Evaluation of Present Church Polity in the LCMS

Walther's understanding of the church which grew out of his own study of the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions, his personal experience with Martin Stephan, and his experience as pastor of Trinity Congregation in St. Louis gave him a true appreciation for the priesthood of all believers and the uniqueness of the local church or congregation. For these reasons he wanted the Synod to be a consultative body to which troubled congregations might come to seek counsel. The Synod, therefore, was not to be a kind of ecclesiastical organization with power to execute laws for the congregations. Not all who met in 1847 were of the same mind. Pastor W. Sihler, then of Fort Wayne, Indiana, maintained that the "Synod should not merely be advisory, but it should be a body or corporation which in the name of the church, i.e., the whole number of the adult and confirmed members, will direct, watch over, and administer the church."²³ Walther's position prevailed in the constitution eventually adopted to organize the Missouri Synod.

Since the Synod was not a superior ecclesiastical organization, but instead a "walking together" of the congregations, provision was made

for the congregations to be represented by their pastor and by one elected lay-delegate. At the insistence of Trinity Congregation in St. Louis, the constitution contained the stipulation that the voting strength of the clerics must never exceed the voting strength of the laymen. Since congregations were represented in the meetings of the Synod, the right to vote was restricted to congregations represented by a pastor and a lay delegate. Thus, the full churchly rights of the local churches or congregations were recognized and protected. If a congregation had two pastors, only one of them was permitted to cast a vote. The size of congregations did not matter, since the smallest congregation possesses as much spiritual power and authority as the largest.

The Right of Suffrage in the Synod

Recent efforts to change this arrangement for voting grow out of an American ideal of democracy with its roots outside the confessional understanding of the nature of the church as expressed in the Lutheran Symbols and advocated by C.F.W. Walther. For more than a decade each convention of the Synod has been confronted with overtures that request that Synod give the right to vote at conventions to individuals, rather than representatives of congregations. Parochial school teachers, professors of colleges and seminaries, and advisory clergy have all asked for the right to vote at meetings of the Synod. Another suggestion has been offered on numerous occasions, that the number of delegates to a convention of the Synod or district be determined by the number of communicant members in a congregation or group of congregations. This idea is advocated on the principle of "one man, one vote," applied by the Supreme Court of the United States to political elections. It is important for us to recognize that neither of these suggestions in essence understand that the Synod is a fellowship of local churches; instead they understand the Synod to be more than a Synod, to be an ecclesiastical structure with legislative authority over its congregations. The reason why the pastor of a congregation is one of its delegates to a convention lies in the fact that the congregation has chosen him and appointed him to tend the Gospel in its midst. For this reason he cannot be excluded from a voice or vote in decisions which are made regarding the Gospel within the church or the Synod. Again in recent years the suggestion has been made to use the words, "pastor or other professional church worker," in lieu of "pastoral delegate." This idea again fails to recognize the nature of the congregation. The congregation is pastor and people, not "professional church workers and people."

Much of this grows out of a changing perception of what the Synod is. It is only natural to look at the visible organization with its

structure and in our thinking externalize the church and approach it primarily from the institutional, statistical, and organizational point of view. Efforts are then directed toward perfecting the organization, making it operate smoothly and efficiently. This is especially true when the church is measured by the common statistical measurements used in any society of men. Externalizing the church by emphasizing it as a visible organization, permits the intrusion of John Calvin's view of the church: "The functionaries of the visible church make the church a holy church, not primarily through faith in Christ, but through an enforced sanctification. Thus the communion of saints becomes a *congregation, not of believers, but of obeyers*."²⁴ That such influence should be felt in the Synod ought not to be a surprise in view of the fact that we live in a country where the predominant theological climate and understanding of the church is formed in Protestant circles by the teachings of Calvin or by Arminian theology, both of which view the church as a visible body of holy people.

This understanding of the church produces some, not only unfortunate, but also serious consequences. "Stewardship and righteousness become intimately related to the question of quantity. Righteousness and commitment become measureable qualities in people as they compare directly to the amount of offerings and time dedicated to the church and its mission."²⁵ In this view of the church, congregations have value because they are local "retail outlets" for the religious corporation. Their efficiency and effectiveness is subject to evaluation on the basis of measureable statistics. When one such "outlet" fails to "produce," the management is examined to determine whether or not it is properly handled. Usually this means the pastor. To this end, the questions asked most about a pastor are not, "Does he faithfully teach and proclaim the Gospel and administer the Sacraments in order to distribute the benefits of Christ's redemption?" but, "Is he a good administrator-manager? Does he have the ability to get people involved (in activities of the church)? Can he get the congregation to produce for the Synod in terms of visible membership growth, but especially in terms of funds for the organizational treasury, in order to carry out the mission of the church?"

Out of concern for the larger mission of the church, the mission that goes beyond the geographic boundaries of the local congregation, it is easy to move in the direction of controlling the congregations and building the kind of organizational structure which will achieve that subtle form of control. Today, we tend to look at successful organization in business and the body politic for models for organizational structure in the Synod. Recognizing the dangers inherent in a synod where, seemingly, every pastor is his own bishop

(pope) and each congregation its own authority, we need to be aware of trying to eliminate these dangers by substituting control for patient persuasion. A drift toward control is a betrayal of our confessional foundation and heritage, the sale of our birthright for a mess of ecclesiastical porridge. The original concept of the organization of the Synod was drawn out of biblical and confessional ecclesiology. Modern business methods emphasize control of "units" in order that the goals and objectives of the corporation may be served. In such a model, love and patient persuasion merely serve as a preliminary step and are never really genuine, since the ultimate threat of power and control constantly remains in the not too hidden back-ground.

Has there been a subtle shift toward control? It seems to me that the arguments about voting rights at synodical conventions indicate that a perception exists in the minds of many in the Synod that conventions and structures of the Synod do, in fact, possess authority and power to control. The demand for "rights" arises when people feel themselves to be powerless against a superior authority, or when people desire to exercise power and control over others.

Church or Synod

It seems significant that the original name chosen by the founders of the Synod did not contain the word "church": "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States." The Synod was not the church. The Synod was a walking together of churches who found themselves united by a common confession. The churchly functions by which the church is identified (i.e., the administration of the means of grace) are not a proper function of a Synod. The Synod is not identified as a church because it does not, as Synod, possess the keys immediately as do the local churches. The Synod does not call men to administer the means of grace. The local churches or congregations do this. The temporary meeting of any group of individuals, even though it includes pastors and members of local congregations, does not have the character of church. The call and election of the congregation, not ecclesiastical ordination, confers the pastoral office upon a man, and he is appointed through such a call and election to administer the means of grace publicly, i.e., on behalf of the church. Without such a call, even the person who has received ecclesiastical ordination acts only on the basis of his call into the priesthood of all believers, in the same manner as any laymen.

Nevertheless, ecclesiastical ordination by the Synod was regarded as important for the well-being of the church and in order that the confessional fellowship should not be sundered by individual pastors or congregations. Thus Walther writes in his *Pastoral Theology*:

"...neither the examination administered by a duly appointed congregational commission...nor the ordination he likewise receives from duly appointed persons outside the congregation make the *vocatio* (call) valid; both procedures belong to the most salutary arrangements of the church and have...among other purposes, especially the weighty one of publicly certifying the *vocatio* (call) as one recognized by the whole church as legitimate and divine. Therefore anyone who, except in case of necessity, omits one or the other acts schismatically and lets it be known that he belongs to those who 'having itching ears...accumulate for themselves teachers to suit their own liking...' (II Tim. 4:3)." ²⁶

The authorization of the ordination and installation of pastor by the synodical or district president does not confer authority upon the pastor of the congregation. The president acts as representative of the churches in the confessional fellowship in such authorization and publicly attests the recognition which the churches of the synod give to this act of the congregation and the person whom it has called. The proper examination of men who present themselves to be called as pastors is to be done by those whom the churches have chosen for the supervision of doctrine in the fellowship. Thus, the rights of the congregations to have pastors who are able and competent to proclaim sound doctrine is protected. Neither such examination and certification, nor ecclesiastical ordination, however, place a man into the pastoral office. Only the election of a congregation can do so. For this reason ordination was to take place in the presence of the calling congregation.²⁷ The call, not ordination, confers the pastoral office upon a man.

Just as the call by a congregation places a man into the pastoral office, so the congregation alone can remove him from that office. The congregations of pastors who are found guilty of false doctrine are required to deal with them according to the command of Christ (Matt. 18:17). The Synod does not remove from the pastoral office, but merely suspends from membership in the Synod. The congregation is to act in removing the man from the pastoral ministry.²⁸ Failure on the part of the congregation to depose such a pastor from office forfeits the congregation's membership in the Synod.²⁹ All of this indicates that the Synod was not regarded as "church" in the same sense as the local congregation. The synodical polity sought to guard the authority of the local congregation and at the same time to maintain the unity of confession. In such a polity, the primary concern was not human authority and power, but the pure doctrine of the Gospel.

Over the years there has been a gradual shift in practice within the Synod. Prior to 1962 the by-laws of the Synod restricted ordination

to men who had received a call from and to a certain congregation. In 1962 the convention adopted Resolution 6-35 which amended the by-laws to permit the ordination of a man when he has been declared qualified for the office of the ministry of Word and Sacrament in the church by the proper (seminary) faculty or the Colloquy Board and has received and accepted a call to full-time work in the church. Ordination is no longer restricted to the public confirmation of the election and call of a pastor by the congregation, but instead seems to be regarded as conferring some sort of ecclesiastical authority to administer the office of Word and Sacrament. Is it the election and call of a congregation that authorizes a man to publicly administer the Gospel and the Sacraments, or is it ecclesiastical ordination by the synodical authority?

The original constitution of the Synod, in conformity with its understanding of the pastoral office and of the local congregation as the only group which could confer the pastoral office upon a man, also insisted that the *ordination or installation* should take place *in the presence* of the respective congregation. A number of years ago an exception was made to this rule. Today the exception has become the rule, and ordination in the presence of the congregation which has called the candidate as its pastor is the exception.

In the light of these changes in practice, it is not surprising that in the perception of most people ordination, and not the call and election of a congregation, is considered as the means by which some authority or power is granted to an individual. We should not be surprised, therefore, that a baptismal font has been installed in the chapel of the international headquarters of the LCMS and that baptisms are performed there by synodical staff members. Neither ought we to be surprised when members of the congregation request that their "favorite pastor" baptize their children, rather than the pastor of their own congregation. The multiplication of non-congregational communion services likewise follows from the perception that ecclesiastical ordination, not the election and call of a congregation, confer upon a man the authority to administer the sacraments of Christ. We might well ask the question, "Why are communion services held at youth gatherings, LWML rallies, LLL conventions, conventions of the Synod, and its districts, etc.?" Do people have no opportunity to receive the blessed body and blood of our Lord in their own congregations? If the answer is given that such practices build greater unity in the Synod, it is my contention that they do precisely the opposite. They may create a feeling of unity and oneness, but this is something quite different from the true unity of the church, which is perceived by faith, not by the senses. Dr. C.F.W. Walther quotes the opinion of

the Wittenberg Faculty of 1638 concerning the performance of pastoral functions: "...the pastor is not permitted to perform official pastoral functions in another diocese without the permission of the regular pastor, ...for the call is limited not only to a certain number of parishioners but also to a definite place. I Peter 5:2."³⁰

Strange language has crept into our vocabulary in the past quarter century. As late as 1967, Dr. Oliver Harms rejected the title "Pastor to the Pastors." Today it is the common perception of the office of district president. Other titles such as "Presiding Minister" applied to the district or synodical president also indicate a subtle shift in the understanding of synodical polity. The duties of district presidents as given in the synodical constitution are to "exercise supervision over the doctrine, life, and administration of office of the pastors and teachers of their district...and, according as they see it necessary, hold investigations in the congregations...suspend from membership...see to it that resolutions of the Synod...are carried out...perform" or authorize "ecclesiastical ordination...as well as the installation...of all ministers and teachers...in their districts." Not one of these duties is in any way the duty of the pastoral office in the church. The pastoral office is identified with the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The duties prescribed for the district president in the constitution are a ministry of the law, not of the Gospel. Perception of the office of district president as a pastoral office confuses law and gospel in the church and destroys both the purpose of the office of district president and the pastoral office in the congregations. The hierarchy in the church serves only the purpose of order; therefore, this ministry is not properly speaking a ministry of the Gospel, but a ministry of law. The ministry of the Gospel is greater than the ministry of the law (II Cor. 3:7-11). Therefore, the pastoral office in the local church is the highest office in the church. It is divinely mandated, for it is the office of preaching. The function of ecclesiastical government is to serve the ministry of the Gospel. Therefore it is always under, and never over, the congregations.

This does not imply that the district president ought not to fulfil his duties in a kind and gentle manner, or that he should see himself as only an ecclesiastical law-enforcer. However, it must be remembered that there is no such thing as an "evangelical law" or "by-law" and that the administration of laws and by-laws is never an evangelical (strictly speaking) ministry.

The Preservation of the Unity of the True Faith

The right of the congregation to call and ordain pastors does not make it exclusively the church. Such a perception of the church is not biblical or confessional. Such an institutionalized view of the

church, namely, that it is a visible organized body of believers, is unscriptural and self-contradictory. The idea that the local church or congregation is an autonomous entity with no relationship to the larger whole (*tota ecclesia*) is inconceivable according to confessional church polity. The unity of the local congregation with other local churches finds its outward and visible expression in the external marks of the church, the means and grace and confession of the true faith (AC VIII). There is a mutual responsibility and fellowship which such churches owe to one another. The practice of visitation which began in Saxony in 1528 indicates that Luther regarded the larger body of believers as having some responsibility also for the local churches. Such a relationship, however, in no way means that there is a divine command which subordinates the congregation's rights to a larger group. Just as the individual Christian does not surrender his rights and duties as one of the holy priesthood by becoming part of a congregation, or by delegating the responsibility of the public exercise of those duties to a called pastor, so the congregation surrenders none of its duties or powers to a larger group when it becomes a member of such a larger whole.

In matters such as calling a pastor and those matters which have not been prescribed by the word of God, the larger whole may not impose laws or restrictions on the congregation without its consent. This does not apply to the area of doctrine in the same way. No congregation which wants to be Christian may act arbitrarily in the matter of doctrine. In this area a Christian congregation is subject to a norm which not only coordinates it with sister congregations, but also subordinates it. Lutheran congregations are placed under a norm, the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions, and this has validity beyond the individual congregation. This subscription (or the norm) obligates the pastor to the larger whole, those congregations teaching the same doctrine. The norm under which the congregations and pastors are subordinated is the true and correct proclamation of the Gospel and the administering of the sacraments of Christ according to the Gospel (AC VII:2).

Mutual recognition, which churches owe to one another when there is such unity, extends beyond the boundaries of synodical membership. Orthodox pastors who are members of the synod may serve congregations that are not members of the synod. The mutual recognition in the form of church fellowship (pulpit and altar fellowship) is granted to such congregations on the basis of their subscription to the norm and the doctrine and teaching of their pastors, who have become members of the synod and subordinated themselves to the confessional

norm. Although the congregation may be urged and encouraged to join the confessional fellowship of the synod, that is not a requirement for church fellowship. The pastors of such congregations are, however, under the supervision of the synod's district presidents. The expulsion of such a pastor from the synod, or his withdrawal in order not to be under the doctrinal supervision of the synod, constitutes a break in church fellowship with the congregation, if it continues to hold him as its pastor. The same basic principle applies to congregations that are members of the synod.

The decision to extend church fellowship to another church does not lie within the province of a congregation which is a member of the synod or served by one of its pastors. That decision is not made by the congregation alone, or by the congregation and its pastor, but by the entire synod. To permit such independent action by a single congregation and its pastor sunders the fellowship already established between such a local congregation and other congregations within the confessional fellowship.

To preserve the unity of the true faith, and to prevent schism within the confessional fellowship, supervision of the doctrine of pastors and teachers is not only a wholesome practice but a necessary one. Such supervision is intended to prevent factions created by self-appointed leaders who seek to draw men after themselves. The supervision is carried out by those persons whom the churches themselves choose. Thus it is not imposed upon the congregations by some sort of ecclesiastical authority, but represents a willing subordination of the pastors and congregations to one another in the interest of maintaining the unity of the confession. Since such supervision cannot be carried out over great distances (Treatise 16), the Synod is divided into districts and circuits. The district president could not fulfil the obligation to visit all of his congregations once every three years. Thus the office of the circuit visitor was initiated. The principal duties of the circuit visitor (counselor) were described by his title. The circuit visitor was assigned the duties of visitation and inquiry which originally had been delegated to the president of the synod, then to district president, as the synod grew. These duties included listening to the pastor preach at least one sermon (determining whether the pastor rightly divided law and Gospel, whether doctrine and admonition were in correct proportion to each other, whether there was a reproof of existing errors, and whether this was done out of love, not carnal zeal) and observing the church's program of catechization of the youth, the handling of liturgical acts and ceremonies, the application of law and Gospel by the pastor in the private care of souls, and, in general, the spiritual condition of the congregation. The visi-

tor, like the president in the original constitution, was empowered to call a meeting of the congregation through its officers, even if the pastor objected.

In recent years the office of the circuit counselor has assumed more of the character of an administrative position in the synod. The change of the name to "counselor" indicates a change in the perception of the office. The common understanding of what a counselor is differs considerably from the perception of parish visitors as described in the "Instructions to the Parish Visitor" of 1528 and the office of circuit visitor which was patterned after the model. It is, I believe, essential for the LCMS to seek to restore this office to its originally intended function.

In addition to such a provision for supervision, pastors of the synod were required to meet in conferences. The circuit conference, although not required, was regarded as one of the principal opportunities for the brethren to grow in their own knowledge and understanding of doctrine and thus to promote the unity of the true faith. No other church body of which I am aware was organized with such an emphasis upon the unity of doctrine. Underlying all of this was the conviction that, if pastors and congregations were bound to no authority other than the Word of God, and if agreement in the confession of the true faith was maintained, the body of Christ, that is His church, would continually grow in love (Eph. 4:16).

Such supervision of doctrine also demands that pastors who are found guilty of false doctrine, or of an ungodly life, and remain impenitent, must be removed from the synodical fellowship by expulsion. The right of the congregations to be assured that those men who were declared suitable for the office of pastor are indeed men who proclaim the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and set an example for the flock in their own manner of life, cannot be guaranteed unless there is such discipline in a confessional fellowship. Expulsion from the synod does not depose a man from the pastoral office. The synod cannot depose from this office, since it does not confer the office upon a man. Only the congregation can confer the office of pastor; only the congregation can depose from the pastoral office. On the other hand, the congregation is held to depose such a pastor when he is expelled from the synod. If it does not do so, the congregation forfeits its membership in the synod. By continuing to retain a pastor whose doctrine is not in agreement with the confession of the synod, the congregation separates itself from the confessional fellowship and from the synod.

Congregations may not, on the other hand, arbitrarily dismiss or depose their pastors. When a congregation acts in dismissing its pas-

tor, such action is subject to review by the official judicial processes of the synod. The purpose of such review is not simply to guarantee the individual rights of the pastors and teachers, but again has as its basic purpose the "preservation of the unity of the true faith." If congregations were allowed to summarily and arbitrarily dismiss their pastors or depose them, the authority of the Word of God would not rule in the church, but instead the mere wishes of people. The pure doctrine of the Gospel and the right administration of the sacraments would not be maintained. A congregation which deposes its pastor, either for false doctrine or for an ungodly life, thereby removes him, not only from his office in that congregation, but also declares him to be disqualified for the pastoral office in any other congregation of the synod. In dismissing or deposing its pastor for these reasons, the congregation has submitted itself to the authority of the Word of God and has the right to expect other congregations in the synod to honor its submission to Christ by recognizing its action as proper and right. Officers of the synod are likewise to honor the action of the congregation and may not suggest a man so dismissed or deposed to another congregation for the pastoral office.

What is honored in principle is often ignored in practice. The subtle danger is always present that the authority of the Word will not be recognized. Dr. Paul Bretscher has summarized this danger: "the smooth operation of the institution with maximal efficiency and minimal friction is mistaken for the unity and power of the church. Statistical progress becomes the mark of divine approval."³¹ How easy it is for congregations as well as synodical authorities to apply this principle. Thus, a pastor who is able to demonstrate his administrative ability by remarkable statistical progress is retained in office, even though he may be guilty of the most gross immorality. The congregation hesitates to depose him or, if it dismisses him from its own pastorate, he is retained on the roster of the synod and simply moved to another congregation. Problems which are truly spiritual in nature are resolved by administrative measures that are designed to keep the organization operating smoothly. Charges of false doctrine, whether valid or invalid, are not resolved by a proper judicial procedure which either exonerates the individual or ultimately results in his removal from the synod, but are instead allowed to go unresolved in the hope that administrative action may remove the problem from public scrutiny and maintain the smooth functioning of the organization. Conflict between persons, disagreements and arguments that rise from personal sins of pride, envy, or self-aggrandizement, are dealt with as administrative matters, rather than spiritual problems to be confronted with the authority of the Word. When was the last time that one heard of

a congregation placing its pastor under church discipline and excommunicating him for gross and impenitent immorality? Or, when was the last time that a personal quarrel between professors at any of our schools, or between persons within the synodical structure, was dealt with on the basis of the authority of the keys?

How easily the external form is preserved, but the true authority of the church is altered and changed! Human authority replaces the authority of the Word. The "office" becomes a clerical office in which the cleric is regarded as having some kind of authority over the church other than the authority of the Word alone. Rules, regulations, constitutions, by-laws, and policy manuals become the authority. Someone has observed that as the unwritten moral consensus of a people changes, more and more legislation is needed to retain some semblance of decency and order in the society. Perhaps this applies as well to the church. The multiplication of rules, regulations, and by-laws becomes necessary as there is less and less consensus on the pure understanding of the Gospel and the administering of the sacraments in accordance with the Divine Word (AC VII).

Quo Vadis?

The theological battles and warfare of the seventies have in the eyes of some enhanced the desirability of vesting more power and control in the leadership of the synod. At least some feel that the doctrinal solidarity of the church and doctrinal purity cannot be maintained without increasing the power and authority of the central structures of the synod. That raises the question of whether we are creating a synodical structure which will in the future make any kind of reformation in the synod an impossibility. The reformation which occurred in the seventies was possible precisely because there were no central structures which could control by the exercise of power. If, in the interest of preserving a doctrinally pure church, we create a structure of church government which places the power to control into the hands of the elected leadership, without adequate safeguards, the very thing which we fear will eventually happen. The following observations are not intended to impugn the good will or the good intentions of any person. Instead, they are offered as my personal opinion.

The restructuring of the synodical organization which was accomplished by the 1981 and 1983 conventions of the synod have invested two offices within the synod with more power to control. The powers of the president were enormously enhanced by by-laws adopted in 1981. The duties of the president were enlarged as the chief executive officer of the synod. He now bears the responsibility for the day-to-day supervision of all employees of the synod. The specific changes

are requiring the approval of the synodical president for the appointment of the principal staff person for each board or commission and the approval of the president for the dismissal of any such person. While this may seem to be an insignificant change, it has much greater implications than would at first appear. It vests the synodical president with the power to control the selection of staff persons of elected synodical boards. This is not an insignificant change.

The office of synodical secretary has also undergone a number of significant changes in the past two decades. In 1971 the office was made a full-time office. Since that time the duties of the secretary have been considerably increased. In addition to the duties normally required of a secretary of any corporate structure, the secretary of the synod serves as secretary of the Commission of Constitutional Matters. He serves at the same time on the Commission on Structure and is the only full-time employee of the synod serving on both these commissions. Thus the secretary serves as resource and staff person to that commission which proposes changes in the constitution and by-laws of the synod, and at the same time he serves on the commission which determines the constitutionality of such by-laws. While this may be interpreted as a "congruence of interest," it certainly provides the possibility of a radical conflict of interest.

The Commission on Constitutional Matters offers another example of a possible difficulty. The commission originated about a quarter of a century ago to give an opinion when a dispute developed concerning the interpretation of a by-law, the constitution, or a resolution of a convention. Such opinions were at first not binding upon the parties involved in the dispute. The gradual evolution of this commission into a kind of ecclesiastical supreme court occurred in the past decade. On at least one occasion the secretary of the synod argued that an opinion of the commission could not be set aside by a convention. More recently the commission in guidelines prepared for the constitution and by-laws of congregations "... *ruled* that included in this process are also the by-laws which congregations adopt."³² Other strange language occurs in the guidelines: "Then follows a chapter on bylaws. Here still more license is accorded to congregations. . ." License, according to my understanding, is the same as permission. Permission is granted by a governing authority. Does the congregation receive permission for its bylaws from the synod?

Another issue is raised by the suggested constitutional provision in congregational constitutions in the event of a division. The suggestion is that, in the event of a division over doctrine, the property of the congregation and all benefits remain with those communicant members who "continue to adhere in confession and practice to the

given to His church. New forms and new structures will be created for the work which we do together as synod. In doing so, we must not turn to the models of successful organization and government in temporal society, but instead seek to draw our polity from the Biblical and confessional understanding of the nature of the church.

Endnotes

1. Carl S. Mundinger, *Government in the Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House 1947), pp.199 ff.
2. Carl S. Mayer, *Moving Frontiers* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House 1964), pp.170-177.
3. *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehmann (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House and Fortress Press, 1955-1972), 39, pp.303,304.
4. *Ibid.*, p.305.
5. *Ibid.*, p.306.
6. *Ibid.*, p.308.
7. *Ibid.*, p.311.
8. *Ibid.*, pp.247 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.282-284.
10. *Luther's Works*, 40, pp.21-31.
11. *Ibid.*, p.34.
12. *Luther's Works*, 49, pp.137-139.
13. *Luther's Works*, 40, p.270.
14. *Ibid.*, p.273.
15. *Ibid.*, p.313.
16. Mundinger, p. 12.
17. *Ibid.*, p.15.
18. *Ibid.*, p.31.
19. K. Marquart, "Implications of the Lutheran Confessions for Church Structure" (unpublished paper, 1977), p.2.
20. H. Armin Moellering, unpublished research paper prepared for the Commission on Theology and Church Relations of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1978.
21. *Luther's Works*, 39, p.67.
22. Marquart, p.2.
23. Mundinger, p.175.

-
24. F.E. Meyer, "The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel and the Terminology 'Visible' and 'Invisible Church,'" *CTM* XXV (March 1954), p.183.
 25. Leonard Harms, unpublished conference paper, Billings, Montana, 1980.
 26. C.F.W. Walther, *Pastorale*, p.62, as quoted by H. Armin Moellering, op.cit.
 27. *The Synodical Handbook* (St. Louis: Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1924), p.29, bylaw G,2.
 28. Meyer, p.153.
 29. *The Synodical Handbook*, Constitution, Art. XIII,3.
 30. C.F.W. Walther, *The Form of a Christian Congregation*, trans. J. T. Mueller (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), p.163.
 31. Paul G. Bretscher, *Cain Come Home* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1976), p.90.
 32. "Guidelines for the Constitution and Bylaws of a Lutheran Congregation" (St. Louis: Commission on Constitutional Matters of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, May 11, 1984).

The Lord's Supper according to the World Council of Churches

Charles J. Evanson

The doctrine and use of the Eucharist presents modern Christendom and its impulses toward ecumenical consensus with a unique problem, for it is here that Christian churches are most obviously divided. Recent years have brought an ever increasing number of protocols offering various degrees of eucharistic "hospitality" between Christian groups, but such agreements have not generally been made on the basis of any significant degree of theological or liturgical consensus between the contracting denominations.¹ There are, in addition, some denominations which claim that no particular theological consensus is necessary or even desirable, and there are many groups which depart in one way or another from their traditional positions with regard to fellowship of the altar. Perhaps nowhere else is the piety of a particular church more clearly revealed than in its doctrine and use of the Eucharist. What is made of it and how it is used says much about what we believe about God and about ourselves, about the nature of the relationship between us, and about the nature of the Supper of which He is the Giver and we are the receivers and beneficiaries. In short, here we reveal our theological foundations and show clearly how we do our theology.

For Evangelical Lutherans the understanding of the Eucharist centers in what is given us in the bread and in the cup: "It is taught among us that the true body and blood of Christ are really present in the Supper of our Lord under the form of bread and wine and are there distributed and received. The contrary doctrine is therefore rejected" (Augustana X).² Thus, our confession of the Eucharist flows out of our confession of Him who instituted the Supper and gives His body and blood in it. He who is Giver and Gift is God made flesh, the Righteous One made sin and a curse for us, forsaken in His death and vindicated in His resurrection. He is Son of God from eternity and also Son of Man, born of Mary—one Person in two natures which are unconfused, unchangeable, indivisible, and inseparable.³ To confess that He is our Lord is to confess about ourselves that we are poor sinners and beggars before God who have nothing of our own to offer on behalf of ourselves or our world, whose call from God is to receive thankfully what He gives us in this Supper. To know and use the Gift aright comes of knowing and confessing the Giver.

To confess the presence of the body and blood of Christ is, for Lutherans, to confess the only Lord they know in the only way they know Him, in His incarnation—as the One who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilaté, was crucified, died, and was buried, descended into hell, and on the third day rose again. It is this historical Lord who is Presiding Minister, Giver, and Gift; and the Supper He gives us is bound to the earth as He is Himself bound to them in His incarnation. He is not for us a Lord who once bore flesh and blood but bears them no longer. It is not some mythic figure who mystically confronts us in the Eucharist, for we have and know no merely mythic Lord. In the same way, the only Supper we know is the one He instituted at one point in history, in the night in which He was betrayed. Before that night there were sacred meals aplenty, both among God's Old Testament people and among the pagans, but never before a Supper in which the Lord had given men His body to eat and His blood to drink. This phenomenon began with His word of institution in which He took bread and wine and spoke powerful words over them to make them His body and blood. The Supper is always *His* Supper, and not the church's creation. It was instituted and established, as Luther reminds us, by Christ Himself, according to the will and command of His Father:

Now if you want to engage in a marvelous, great worship of God and honor Christ's passion rightly, then remember and participate in the Sacrament; in it, as you hear, there is a remembrance of Him, that is, He is praised and glorified. If you practice and assist in practicing this same remembrance with diligence, then you will assuredly forget about self-chosen forms of worship, for, as has been said, you cannot praise and thank God too often or too much for His grace revealed in Christ.⁴

Instruction in such worship comes from the words of Christ Himself, Luther reminds his readers. It is Christ who teaches us the nature of true *anamnesis*, how we are to remember Him by our preaching, praising, honoring, listening, and giving of thanks for the grace revealed in Christ. Such instruction teaches us how we are to make God our God—a God who does not receive from us but gives to us.

The essay on the Eucharist in the Lima Paper is meant to aid the churches of the world toward consensus in confessing and celebrating the Eucharist.⁵ It will fulfil this purpose only to the extent that churches are willing to study the Eucharist from the perspective from which the essay is formulated. Here the Eucharist is understood as a phenomenon, an event in the life of the church viewed primarily

from the perspective of its continuing celebration. The task before the churches is to make sense of this celebration, to cut through "much diversity in theological expression" to find a basis for a common understanding, expression, and use of the Supper. It is significant that the essay should choose to ground the Eucharist in the churches' own theological and liturgical expressions and usages, rather than in the divine institution of the Supper, for in the Lima Paper the accounts of the institution cannot be understood to be either the exclusive source or the continuing norm of the Eucharistic celebration. At most those accounts serve as a kind of historical justification and resource for theological and liturgical reflection. Here the Eucharist is the Lord's Supper only in a secondary and derived sense, for it is the event of the Eucharistic celebration itself which stands as the one fixed point. It is celebrated on the churches' own authority, and its celebration ought to be a testimony to the obligation toward reunion to which the social nature of the celebration impels us. The necessary result is that the essay must fail in its stated task of concentrating on those aspects of the Eucharist which have been directly or indirectly related to problems of mutual recognition. The essay avoids coming to grips with questions about the derivation and nature of the Gift and its relation to God and man. That the essay fails here is a serious indictment, for we cannot be satisfied with a document which refuses to come to grips with important issues in dogmatic and exegetical theology and the ecclesiastical traditions which enshrine them.

The eucharistic discussion in the Lima Paper is developed under three headings: (1) "The Institution of the Eucharist"; (2) "The Meaning of the Eucharist"; (3) "The Celebration of the Eucharist." The first section identifies the Eucharist as a Gift from the Lord to the church, but this identification indicates that here the term "Eucharist" is being used to indicate the food of the Lord's Supper, the *Eucharistia*.⁶

All that the WCC can establish on the basis of the New Testament reports of the institution is that this "Eucharist" is a gift from the Lord, and it is on this basis that it can be said to derive from Him. The continuing significance of the Eucharist, however, is neither derived nor developed from the reports of the institution in Paul (First Corinthians), Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but it is instead derived, at least in part, from the *motif* of meals both in the life of Jesus and in the history of God's saving activity among men. Consequently, we celebrate this Eucharist mindful of the important role that suppers play in the history of salvation and, in particular, in the life and ministry of Jesus. The answer to the question "What is this Supper?" cannot be sought only in the words and actions of this one, isolated supper kept in the night of Christ's betrayal, central though that event is; it

is instead found in the role that suppers play in the ministry of Jesus (that is, as parabolic actions illuminating aspects of the Kingdom). By approaching the Eucharist in this way the essay seeks to circumvent questions about the priority of the words of institution and their place in the understanding of the Eucharist today.⁷ The essay does not seek to come to terms with the question of whether or in what sense the present Eucharist really derives from the Last Supper at all. Instead, the essay employs an "event" - centered, phenomenological approach in which the operative question is "What do we understand ourselves to be doing when we celebrate the Eucharist?" because in this way the celebration can be salvaged without our having to struggle with the question of the relationship of our Eucharist with what happened in the Upper Room.

Further, the Eucharist stands in a special relationship to the celebration of the Passover commemoration of God's saving deliverance of Israel and to the covenant meal celebrated on Mount Sinai (Ex. 24). It is within the perspective of these meals that the Eucharist comes to be understood as the new covenant parallel, and like the earlier meals it stands as a mark of identification of God's people, a mark of profession clearly seen by themselves and others. The new celebration commemorates God's saving deliverance in Christ's death and resurrection and is itself the pre-figurement of the eschatological Banquet of the Lamb (Rev. 19:9). Here Christ commands His disciples, as the continuing people of God, to remember and encounter Him in a "sacramental meal." The impact of this encounter is such that it brings us into immediate contact with God's love. This love was evident and manifest in Jesus, and here and now it is communicated to us through symbolic words and actions, just as in the night of His betrayal Jesus attached great meaning to His symbolic words and actions. In other words, the significance of what Jesus says and gives in the Supper is to be sought not so much in the particular words He has spoken and the actions which accompany those words, but in the recognition that here we have entered the world of parabolic actions where nothing is quite the way it seems and where what is signified is the unfolding of the love of God. It is hard to avoid the impression that the essay simply stirs together rather uncritically all the diverse interpretations promoted by the last one hundred years of critical scholarship, and lays it all before us without any careful sifting or straining—in a kind of ecumenical eucharistic stew.

The second section of the eucharistic essay of this Lima Paper is concerned with the quintessential meaning of the Eucharist. It is defined as the sacrament of the gift of salvation which God makes to

us in Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit. This gift is communicated to us through our communion *in* (not, however, *of*) the Body and Blood of Christ. Bread is one thing; Body is quite another. Here we are dealing on two levels—on the earthly, we are eating bread and drinking wine; on a higher, more spiritual, level we are sharing in the Body and Blood of Christ, in the sense that we are being encountered by the reality of Christ's personal presence. All that the WCC can say is that in the eating and drinking of the earthly elements in the Eucharist, Christ grants us communion with Himself. It cannot, however, be said to be a bodily eating of His Body and Blood. The gift is personal fellowship with Christ, mediated by God the Holy Spirit through our action of eating and drinking bread and wine, but it is in no way directly linked with the bread and wine that are eaten and drunk. The blessing is in the communion, but not in what is eaten and drunk as such. Thus, what makes this bread and wine different from other bread and wine is, first, its representative character (it is said to stand for the present creation, human labor, and the fruit of labor) and, secondly, the context of the meal in which it is used. Through this eating and drinking God renews the members of the church, here described as the Body of Christ. In the Eucharist every baptized Christian receives assurance of forgiveness—but not forgiveness as such, according to what the WCC understands as Christ's *promise* in Matthew 26:28. The Christian at the same time receives the pledge of eternal life, according to John 6:51-58 as construed by the WCC. (This WCC exegesis is, of course, quite fallacious. For John 6 clearly makes no reference to bodily eating, and Matthew 28 makes no promise but rather proclaims forgiveness in the contents of the cup, that is, His blood shed for many.)

The discussion of the significance of the Eucharist makes it clear that the Lima Paper understands the Eucharist not simply as the Lord's gift to the church, but also as the cultic ceremony and ritual celebration in which this food is blessed and administered, the unified action of the church. This action can best be considered, according to the essay, by a consideration of five specific aspects of the words and actions which immediately surround the administration: (1) Thanksgiving to the Father; (2) Memorial of Christ; (3) Invocation of the Spirit; (4) Communion of the Faithful; and (5) Meal of the Consummation. The nature of the Eucharist as gift is, in fact, dependent upon the action of the church in her celebration under these various aspects. This, according to the perspective of the essay, is the real object of our Lord's command when He says, "This do!" And here the basic orientation of the document becomes most clear—the Eucharist is

a parabolic action by which the church actualizes herself as the Body of Christ. God's gift is also the result of our right action; it is the way by which we actualize and realize the gift—not by simple and faithful eating and drinking, as though this were the essential thing that our Lord wanted us to do, but rather by a total eucharistic action (which culminates in the eating and drinking, to be sure, but which comprises much more than that).

The five aspects of the Lima Paper are, then, the action of the church by which the Eucharistic actions is accomplished. The first aspect comprises her giving of thanks to God, for it is by this that she proclaims and celebrates the work of God by word and action. The Eucharist (i.e., the total action) thanks God for all that He has done in creation, redemption, and sanctification, for everything He is presently doing in both the church and the world in spite of our sins, and for everything that He will do in the future to bring the Kingdom to fulfillment. The Eucharist is the church's great *Berakah* by which she blesses God for all His benefits. According to the WCC, furthermore, the church utters and acts out her praise on behalf of all creation, as creation's representative, for present in every celebration is the world which God has reconciled—in the bread and wine, in the persons of the worshipers, and in their prayers for themselves and their intercessory prayers for all the world. Such a great sacrifice of praise to God is possible for us only through, with, and in Christ, in the Eucharist. Now, by means of her offering up of bread and wine, the church realizes the world's great and final goal—the offering of the *Great Thanksgiving*, an offering and hymn of praise of the Creator within the universal fellowship which is ours in the Body of Christ, the kingdom of justice, love, and peace in the Holy Spirit.

Here the essay very properly accents the general eucharistic character of the church's worship and praise, but it unduly restricts that eucharistic element to the celebration of the Eucharist. Such thanksgiving and sacrifice cannot be restricted to the Eucharist, lest we run the danger of relating our own spiritual sacrifice with the appropriation of Christ's sacrifice through the communion of His body and blood. To concentrate on the Eucharistic celebration as the locus of our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving gives the impression that it is by means of our communion that we actively take part in Christ's sacrifice. And this further obliterates the important distinction between what Christ has done for us and given us and our receiving and using the fruit of it. Actually, nowhere in the New Testament is Holy Communion ever referred to in sacrificial terms.⁸

In addition to her giving of thanks, according to the Lima Paper, the church makes a memorial of Christ in her Eucharist. Under this

second aspect the Eucharist is understood to be the living and effective *sign* of the unrepeatable sacrifice of the crucified and risen (!) Christ which is operative on behalf of mankind. By its liturgical celebration the Eucharist renders this sacrifice efficacious in the present moment and makes it possible for the sacrifice to accomplish its purpose on the basis of "the biblical idea of memorial." No reference is supplied to provide us with biblical examples, for it is in fact a notion of re-presentation developed by the Benedictine monk, Dom Odo Casel, to which reference is being made. According to this theory, Christ and His work (including His incarnation, servanthood, ministry, teaching, suffering, sacrifice, resurrection, ascension, and the sending of the Spirit) are made effectively present through the liturgical action, to grant us communion with the person of Christ.⁹ In its eucharistic *anamnesis* Christ is at work in His celebrating church both by *representation* and *anticipation*. By means of her liturgical action (and not, significantly, by means of Baptism, absolution, or preaching) the church proclaims God's mighty acts and promises in such a manner that the effect of those acts and the promises attached to them are made present in and for the church. She gives thanks for God's great benefits and pleads that all mankind may receive these blessings. The *anamnesis* presents Christ's working anew to the Father in the church's Great Thanksgiving and anticipates the fulfillment of that work by her intercessory prayer for all creation. According to this perspective, the presence in this world and among us of the saving effects of Christ's person and work is not the result of the preaching of the Gospel and its reception into open ears and believing hearts, but it is instead dependent upon the ritual activity of the church is her eucharistic celebration. By this means the church now uses symbolic words and actions which point beyond themselves to render present the saving effects of the work of Christ.

The promotion of this understanding of memorial is the central point of the Lima Paper; all that follows rests largely upon this second aspect of the church's celebration of the Eucharist, the commemoration. It rests upon an understanding of what our Lord is commanding us to do when He says, "This do," which is not only different from, but antithetical to, what we confess and teach to be a faithful understanding and doing of Christ's command. It is clear that Christ wants something to be done, but according to the church's confessions, that command encompasses the whole action of the sacrament in which the bread and wine are taken, consecrated, distributed, and received by eating and drinking. By this means the Lord's death is proclaimed in the church, and all this must be kept entire and unchanged (*SD* VII,83f.). But according to the position of this essay, the action of

the rite, considered under the aspects of thanking, remembering, invoking, communing, and anticipating comprises the *anamnesis* which properly memorializes what God has done for the salvation of the world and renders it present and effective. This *anamnesis*, and not our Baptism, stands also as the foundation of all Christian prayer, for here Christ empowers us to live with Him, suffer with Him, and pray through Him as justified sinners who now freely fulfil His will. According to this understanding, we pray from the eucharistic commemoration, not our Baptism, and all our living and holy sacrifice is formed and nourished in the eucharistic cultus, in which we are here and now sanctified and reconciled in love and made the servants of reconciliation. In Christ, and with all His saints and martyrs, we are here renewed in the covenant which is sealed by His blood. This *anamnesis* is the engine which drives all prayer, preaching, and thanksgiving. While centering its attention on the church's action in celebrating the Eucharist, the Lima Paper still wishes to maintain and affirm that the words and actions of Christ in the institution do uniquely stand at the heart of the church's eucharistic celebration. The meal is the sacrament of His body and blood, the sacrament of His real presence. The words which He has spoken declare His real, living, and active presence in the Supper. This presence does not indeed depend upon faith, but needs to be discerned by faith.

Since the doctrine of the real presence is so central to Lutherans, this apparent affirmation of that doctrine needs to be closely examined. It must first be asked how the real presence is to be understood. Since it was this point which was at issue between Luther, Carlstad, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, it should be determined just what was at stake in that controversy. Was it the question of whether or not Christ is really present in His Supper? Actually, no one argued in favor of a doctrine of the unreal presence or the real absence. The issue was not whether Christ is really present, but rather in what that presence consists, that is, what is the mode of His presence and the relation of that presence to the material elements.

This question was not new; it was already being asked over a thousand years before Luther and Zwingli. The shape of the question is already anticipated in the statement of Irenaeus about the two realities in the Eucharist: the earthly and the heavenly. It is in Augustine that we are confronted by a well-developed discrimination between these two realities on the basis of Neo-Platonism. Augustine discriminates between the outward sign (the material element) and the invisible content (the grace of God) of which the material elements are a sign (*pignus*). From the standpoint of the outward sign, the

sacrament is a material symbol of an invisible content, and the material symbol is honored and revered for the sake of that content. The visible sign is what is seen by the eye, and the invisible content is what is understood in the mind. In addition to the natural likeness or similarity of the sign to its invisible content, it is the interpreting word spoken over the element which makes it an effective sign or symbol. "Verbum accedit elementum et fit sacramentum"—a phrase which in a slightly altered form ("accedat") is used by Luther, once in the Schmalkald Articles in reference to Baptism, and twice in the Large Catechism in reference both to Baptism and the Supper. By this Augustine understands that the real power of the sacrament is in the word which is heard and believed; the power is not in the element itself—a position which Luther found most congenial. But Augustine's Neo-Platonic orientation inclines him further toward a purely *symbolic* view of the sacrament, although he wants still to say that something real and effective happens in the administration of the sacrament. In Baptism there is a real and effective forgiving of sins, and in the Eucharist there is a real and effective refreshment. God works through the sacraments effectively, but in themselves they are simply symbols. Thus, what Christ calls His body in the sacrament is, in fact, the sign of His body, but at the same time, the personal nature of the fellowship with God which is effected through the Supper makes it a real and effective gift—a position later taken up, against Luther, by Oecolampadius.

Still unresolved, however, was the question of the relation of the material element to the uncreated grace of God: how can the grace of God be related to earthly and material elements? Various solutions were offered—Hugo and Bonaventura saw the element as pointing by natural similarity to the grace communicated (water washes; bread nourishes). Thomas recognized this as a begging of the question and sought to resolve the matter by a distinction between the principal cause (God Himself) and the instrumental cause (moved and driven by the principal cause).¹⁰ The question was not really resolved, and the reformers inherited it.

In their attacks on Luther's insistence on a bodily presence of the body and blood of Christ in the material elements, the opponents argue from the Augustinian framework they inherited from the schoolmen. They build on the thesis that a bodily presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine is not possible, necessary, worthy of Christ's glory, or even desirable. The physical body cannot communicate spiritual benefits. The bread can be only the symbol, sign, signification, or figure of that body which is now enthroned in heaven.

The movement of the pious heart must be away from the earthly and material to the heavenly and immaterial. The presence of Christ is real, but in no way a bodily presence.

The question of the relation of the material to the divine rests not only or even primarily in the doctrine of the sacraments, however, but in the incarnation. If it is a real incarnation such as is proclaimed by John and Paul and confessed at Chalcedon, then here the created and uncreated are brought into perfect communion in the person of the Son of God. The uniqueness of Luther's contribution to the sacramental discussion is the way in which he relates the sacramental union to the personal union of the two natures. In this communion of attributes the divine is not so much hidden behind or beneath as revealed in its conjunction with the earthly. It is a union completely without analogy. As the whole *pleroma* of God is pleased to dwell in the bodily flesh of Jesus Christ, so is the bodily flesh of the Son of God—born of Mary, bruised and crucified, dishonored and despised, and now gloriously risen—present in the Eucharist, precisely in the bread and in the wine. Luther's purpose is here to cut through the dilemma posed by Neo-Platonic ontology and the theological opinions derived from it—especially the utter dichotomy it posits between the divine and the human. The question, as Luther sees it, is whether our understanding of the divine is developed independent of the incarnation of Christ or from it. If independent of the incarnation, then that incarnation itself would have to be viewed from the dichotomy, and any real communication between the divine and human natures in the person of Christ would have to be denied. We would be left with a Christology with a tendency toward Nestorianism and plainly away from Cyril and Chalcedon. As it is, Luther never tires of confessing that apart from Christ our picture of God is enshrouded in shadows.

The question about the presence of Christ in the Eucharist is not answered adequately when it is affirmed that it is a real presence or even a sacramental presence. Zwingli, for his part, is willing to say, "The sacrament is the sign of the true body." But to this he then adds, "... therefore it is not the true body." The fact is that the terms 'sacrament' and 'sacramental' themselves have no fixed and invariable sense. Indeed, when Zwingli uses the term, and as well when it is used in the Lima Paper, it is easy to understand this in the Augustinian sense of "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." It was in this sense that Olevian, one of the fathers of the Heidelberg Confession could completely alter the sense of Luther's definition of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Luther said, "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ Himself." ("Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, unter dem Brot und Wein uns Christen zu essen und zu trinken von Christo selbs eingesetzt.") Olevian, on the other hand, said, "It is the sacrament of the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ with bread and wine for us Christians to eat and to drink in true faith, instituted to His glory and our comfort by Christ Himself." ("Es ist das Sakrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, mit Brot and Wein uns Christen in wahrem Glauben zu essen und zu trinken von Christo selbst zu seiner Ehre und unserem Trost eingesetzt.")¹¹

The third aspect of the eucharistic celebration according to the Lima Paper, is the invocation of the Holy Spirit, who makes the crucified and risen Christ really present in fulfillment of the words of institution. The essay affirms that the promise (not declaration) of these words is central to the celebration, yet that the event as such has its true origin and fulfillment in the Father; it is accomplished by and in the Son, and the Holy Spirit makes it both possible and effective. Again we are caught in the dichotomy between earth and heaven; in the mystery of the Triune God it is supposedly the Holy Spirit who bridges the gap and makes the historical words (not the historical body and blood!) present and alive. Assured by Jesus' promise, the church prays to the Father for the Spirit to make the eucharistic event a reality. By means of Christ's words and the Spirit's power, according to the WCC, the bread and wine become sacramental signs of Christ's body and blood, for the purpose of communion and in order to provide us a foretaste of the Kingdom by giving us the life of the new creation and the assurance of the parousia. In reality, to put it simply, a clear word by which Christ declares His presence where and when His word is kept and used is replaced by an elaborate *schema* of transactions within the communion of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit upon which we are not permitted to speculate.

The tradition of the Western Church has called the words of institution *Verba Consecrationis*. This is a position already articulated by Ambrose of Milan. It is emphatically affirmed in Article VII of the Formula, which quotes not a Western theologian, but no less than John Chrysostomos, whose name is given to the liturgy most often used in Eastern Orthodox churches:

Christ himself prepares this table and blesses it. No human being, but only Christ himself who was crucified for us, can make of the bread and wine set before us the body and blood of Christ.

The words are spoken by the the mouth of the priest, but by God's power and grace through the words that he speaks, 'This is my body,' the elements set before us in the Supper are blessed. Just as the words, 'Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth,' were spoken only once but are ever efficacious in nature and make things grow and multiply, so this word was indeed spoken only once, but it is efficacious until this day, and until his return it brings it about that his true body and blood are present in the church's Supper.¹²

Modern liturgical scholars like to claim that the Roman Mass must have "lost" the *epiclesis*, the invocation of the Holy Spirit, very early. Actually, we do not have any clearly identified Roman mass which ever included such an invocation. It is not possible for us to see in the so-called *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* the Roman mass of the second century in the absence of any convincing evidence to give it such authority or even to clearly identify this Hippolytus. The work appears to come from Egypt—rich ground for the development of a prayer of invocation. Investigations into liturgical documents of the same period and *milieu* have revealed at least three stages of liturgical growth leading finally to the so-called classical *epiclesis*: (1) a prayer for the Holy Spirit to prepare the communicants to receive worthily; (2) a prayer for the Holy Spirit to prepare the communicants and to bless the bread and wine to be used in communion; and finally (3) the invocation of the Spirit to work a change in the bread and wine and make them the bearer of spiritual grace.¹³ The theological rationale for the *epiclesis* has always been the special concern and province of Eastern Orthodox theologians, whose opinions on this subject have never been raised to the level of dogma. A Lutheran should be concerned about how the assertion of the importance of such an invocation either clarifies or further obscures the whole matter of the relation of the element to the blessing and the priority of the words of institution. If such a prayer is advocated as a necessary asking of the Spirit to make something earthly the bearer of a spiritual content, or if the advocate argues that the words of institution are not in themselves life-giving, active, and powerful words which are able to do what they say, then the inclusion of such a prayer, much more any insistence upon it, is highly questionable, and perhaps even a blasphemy.

The fourth aspect of eucharistic celebration, according to the Lima Paper, is the communion of the faithful, which both nourishes the life of the church and at the same time fosters communion within the body of Christ which is the church. Here the predominant dimen-

sion is horizontal rather than vertical. It is supposedly the common sharing of the bread and the cup that makes us one with Christ and with each other; it is our common activity which demonstrates the fellowship of the church. That is to say, oneness is predicated on the common activity of the worshipers for whom the eucharistic ceremony is a community-creating event. Unfortunately the community-creating aspect of the celebration, which is identified by such "liturgical ceremonies" as the mutual forgiveness of sins, common eating and drinking in the Supper, and the extension of the fellowship through the taking of the elements to the infirm and the imprisoned, create a social dimension and obligation which, from the perspective of Lutheran theology, creates a clear Law emphasis. There is, in fact, no Gospel emphasis in the description of the communion of the faithful in the Lima Paper. Furthermore, there is no reference to Christ or the Gospel creating a new social ethos, but rather only a calling into question of all existing social, economic, and political inter-relationships and a call to reform on the basis of a supposed social nature of the eucharistic celebration.

In its fifth and final aspect, according to the Lima Paper, the Eucharist shows and offers a foretaste of the eschatological rule of God over all things in the final renewal of creation, signs of which are said to be evident already in the reformation of the present social order. Here the Eucharist, as God's Gift, is said to bring a new reality into this present world which serves to transform us into the image of Christ and make us His witnesses. This happens by example and imitation; the pattern of the eucharistic celebration is supposedly the heavenly pattern which we are called to approximate through our own celebration. Here again the social dimension and its resulting ecumenical imperative are the predominant impulses which call all existing arrangements into question and place them under judgement.

The final section of the eucharistic essay in the Lima Paper is concerned with the practical ordering of the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist, with special attention to the twenty-one elements which ought to be included on the basis of the previous discussion. Special attention is given to the role of the clergyman as both president, who stands in the name of Christ, and as representative of the connection between the local community and other such groups within the universal church. Frequent, even weekly, celebration is advocated as a fitting celebration of the resurrection and to deepen Christian faith. Attention is given to the question of reservation, which is justified at least in so far as it aids in the communion of the sick and absent. Finally, the hope is expressed that common usages will in themselves

hasten the day when divided churches will visibly unite around the Table of the Lord.

I have expressed apprehension over the Lima Paper. It fails to speak with one voice even in so elementary a matter as providing an adequate definition of the Eucharist. That it fails to offend is a tribute to its manner of presentation rather than its positive contents. Failing to ground the "eucharistic" celebration in the specific words and deeds of Christ in the night of His betrayal, the document's authors are unable to ground its continuation in the "This do!" which He spoke, but must instead regard that continuation as something deduced from the nature of the celebration itself.

That the Lima Paper may appeal to us is a testimony to the fact that we are no longer reverent auditors of the words of Christ in the Supper, have forgotten our catechism, and have lost track of the terms of the eucharistic controversies which still cry out for resolution. What the paper offers us is a far cry from what we have confessed to be the nature, benefit, and gift of the Sacrament. What is lost in this presentation is a more than simply an adequate statement of the *manducatio indignorum* or *impiorum*. Here we are faced with a Eucharist that preaches law, with no warmth or joy in it. What the WCC has portrayed is far from what Luther so simply describes in his characterization of the true Christian mass:

... God be praised, in our churches we can show a Christian a true Christian mass according to the ordinance and institution of Christ, as well as according to the true intention of Christ and the church. There our pastor, bishop, or minister in the pastoral office, rightly and honorably and publicly called, having been previously consecrated, anointed, and born in baptism as a priest of Christ, without regard to the private chrism, goes before the altar. Publicly and plainly he sings what Christ has ordained and instituted in the Lord's Supper. He takes the bread and wine, gives thanks, distributes and gives them to the rest of us who are there and want to receive them, on the strength of the words of Christ: "This is my body, this is my blood. Do this," etc. Particularly we who want to receive the sacrament kneel beside, behind and around him, man, woman, young, old, master, servant, wife, maid, parents, and children, even as God brings us together there, all of us true holy priests, sanctified by Christ's blood, anointed by the Holy Spirit, and consecrated in baptism. On the basis of this our inborn, hereditary priestly honor and attire we are present, have, as Revelation 4 [: 4] pictures it, our golden crowns on our heads, harps and golden censers in our hands; and we

let our pastor say what Christ has ordained, not for himself as though it were for his person, but he is the mouth for all of us and we all speak the words with him from the heart and in faith, directed to the Lamb of God who is present for us and among us, and who according to his ordinance nourished us with his body and blood. This is our mass, and it is the true mass which is not lacking among us.¹⁴

Endnotes

1. *Kirche und Abendmahl I: Studien und Dokumentation zur Frage der Abendmahlsgemeinschaft im Luthertum*, ed. Vilmos Vajta, and *II: Kirchengemeinschaft. Umfang und Grenzen der Kirchengemeinschaft in Leben und Praxis der lutherischen Kirchen in Lateinamerika, Asien, Afrika und Australien, sowie der lutherischen Minderheitskirchen in Europa*, ed. Paul E. Hoffman and Harding Meyer, give a history and documentation of agreements between Lutherans, Reformed churches, the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, etc. Cf. also Marc Lienhard, *Oekumenische Perspektiven II: Lutherische-reformierte Kirchengemeinschaft Heute*. The Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogues have led to concrete recommendations, now acted upon, among the majority of American Lutheran churches and the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. allowing for joint celebrations for the purposes of fostering a closer alliance and the development of theological and liturgical consensus between the communions involved.
2. "Von dem Abendmahl des Herren wird also gelehrt, dass wahrer Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftiglich unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwaertig sei und da ausgeteilt und genommen werde. Derhalben wird auch die Gegenlehr verworfen." Rejected also is the notion that the parallel Latin text confesses a different understanding: "De coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in ceena Domini; et improbant secus docentes." Cf. Wilhelm Neuser, "Der Abendmahlsartikel der Confessio Augustana" in *Die Abendmahlslehre Melancthons in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (1519-1530)*.
3. The reference is to the *asynchytos*, *atreptos*, *adiaretos*, *achoristos* in the classical Christological definition of the Council of Chalcedon.
4. *LW* 37, 25.
5. The Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (Faith and Order Paper III, Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1982), generally known as the Lima Paper.
6. Here it must be assumed that the term "Eucharist" is used in the manner of the earliest sub-

apostolic fathers. Justin Martyr calls the food of the Supper *Eucharistia*, "of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh" (*First Apology*, 66). And Irenaeus uses the same term in a similar, yet somewhat more developed sense: "For as the bread which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity" (*Against Heresies*, IV, 18).

7. Such questions were raised on the basis of modern critical scholarship already in the last century. Albert Schweitzer summarized the attempts to establish the origins of the Eucharist and its original meaning in *Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums* (1901). He noted two major approaches: (1) attempts to underscore the memorial-aspect of the Supper, according to which what Jesus did in the Last Supper is seen as a symbolic action which points to His passion—a view which accepts the authenticity of the New Testament accounts of the origin of the Supper, but not its repetition; and (2) attempts to lay the central emphasis on the receiving of the bread and wine as the act of communion—a view which explains the repetition of the rite but seems at the same time to erode any continuity with the Last Supper. Schweitzer's own view is eschatological.

In the continuing discussion the frankly modernist views of Loisy (*Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, 1908) and others tended to center the development of the Eucharist in Paul, seeing it primarily as a means of mystical communion or oneness with the crucified Christ while Adolf von Harnack (*Brot und Wasser: Die eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin*) saw the origin of the Supper in Christ Himself, who feeds the soul to symbolize forgiveness of sins and sanctify earthly life, but found no specific command to repeat the action. Juelicher saw only a parable teaching that the death of Jesus is a fount of blessing ("Zur Geschichte der Abendmahlsfeier in der ältesten Kirche," *Theologische Abhandlungen, Karl von Weizsäcker gewidmet*, 1892).

Han Lietzmann, in *Messe und Herrenmahl* (1926), posited the independent development of two Suppers in the early church. The first, based on Jewish family meals which Jesus observed with His disciples, was continued in the church in Jerusalem as the Breaking of Bread in a joyful expectation of His coming again, with no direct connection with the words and events in the Upper Room. This supper became the basis of the *Agape*. The second type of meal developed from Paul's theological reflection on the Last Supper and finds its center in the incorporation of the Christian into Christ.

The best summary of this material is in the first chapter of Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic*

Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic (tr. by A. G. Hebert from the Swedish *Nattvarden i evangeli. kt gudstjänstliv*, 1926), 1930. "Therefore a study of the eucharistic rite in the churches of the Reformation cannot avoid the consideration of the problem of the Eucharist and the Gospel. The problem resolves itself into two principal questions: (i) Can the eucharist of the church still be derived from the action of Jesus in the night that he was betrayed? (ii) Can any particular view of the rite be established on the basis of the New Testament evidence as the norm and standard by which all subsequent developments are to be judged?" (p. 2).

8. This point is made by Carl Fr. Wisloff in "Worship and Sacrifice," *Lutheran World* 56, 345-455. Wisloff points out Luther's insistence on a proper distinction between the Sacrament itself and the service of liturgy in which the Sacrament is received and used.
9. Dom Odo Casel, *Das christliche Kultmysterium*, defines the church's liturgical action as a mystery by which Christ's redemptive action is made to be present in the worshiping community's action. By this means the community is made to participate in the saving act and its effects.

Oliver K. Olson, "Contemporary Trends in Liturgy Viewed from the Perspective of Classical Lutheran Theology" (*Lutheran Quarterly*, 25, p. 128), notes the affinity between Casel's theory and that of Zwingli—not surprising, considering the latter's plainly humanist orientation. Olson further quotes Gottfried Lochner: "Still it must first be recognized that 'remembrance' is no intellectual occurrence and does not awaken the association with the past, but awakens the association of the present. *Memoria*, according to St. Augustine, represents, as does *anamnesis*, according to Plato, the soul-power of present re-actualization (*Vergegenwaertigung*), and thereby of the consciousness itself; it is often coterminous with consciousness. 'Recalling,' in this tradition, refers not to our ability to place ourselves back into a near or far past, but the way that a past event is transferred into our present time and becomes contemporary with us and efficacious among us. Zwingli thinks in the categories of this platonic-augustinian anthropology; the power of the present re-actualization (*Vergegenwaertigung*) of Christ's death as our salvation lay for him not in our souls, but on the basis of the eternal effectiveness of the Lord's sacrifice in the Holy Spirit; the receptive organ is faith, or the conscious contemplation of the same."

Luther, for his part, also speaks of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, identifying it not with the ritual action of the congregation (important though that action is), for right praise and thanksgiving adorns and decorates God, and nothing more. Outward decoration, vesture, and ceremonies should, however, never themselves be called divine worship, for right praise and thanksgiving consists in the use of the sacrament, that is, in the faithful eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood. In this way he who worships holds to the right understanding of Christ's remembrance and performs two important priestly acts: (1) he submits himself to God's instruction and ordinance and (2) he keeps Christ in remembrance and perseveres in that remembrance. He both thanks God in Christ and confesses Christ openly before the world. "By thanking, praising, and glorifying God he performs the most beautiful sacrifice, the supreme worship of God, and the most glorious work, namely, a thank offering. With his confession before men he does as much as if he preached and taught people to believe in Christ." *LW* 38, 108.

- Luther's understanding of "remembrance" is discussed by Gottfried G. Krodel in "The Great Thanksgiving of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship: It is the Christians' Supper and not the Lord's Supper," *The Cresset: Occasional Paper I* (1976), 16ff.
10. Hugo of St. Victor (d. 1142) speaks of the material element openly and sensibly pointing on the basis of its institution to an invisible and spiritual grace which it contains by virtue of its consecration. Bonaventura develops his position along similar lines, positing that the natural element points by similarity to the grace given (i.e., water washes and bread feeds). For neither of them does the element contain grace, but it is a symbol or seal which reminds us that God has promised that, where and when the seal is used, He will accompany its use with His grace. Thomas Aquinas rejects this as no real solution, since it still does not get at the question of how something created can communicate something divine. His answer is a distinction in the agent cause between the principal cause (which works by the power of its form, as fire causes something to become hot by virtue of its own heat) and the instrumental cause (which works by the motion whereby the principal cause moves it, as a chair is not like the axe by which it is hewn, but like the idea in the mind of the one who hews it with the axe). "We must allow that there is in the sacraments a certain instrumental power of bringing about the sacramental gifts" (II.62, 1.4).
 11. Hermann Sasse, *Corpus Christi: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Abendmahlskonkordie*, p. 58.
 12. *De Proditione Iudae*, 1,6, quoted in the Formula of Concord, SD,VII,76.
 13. Arthur Voobus traces the development of the "trend of sacramental magic" in *Liturgical Traditions in the Didache*, pp. 94-99.
 14. *LW* 38, 208- 209.

Antichrist in the Early Church

William C. Weinrich

Lutheran Confessional statements concerning Antichrist are based upon a very limited selection of Biblical material. Only three passages from the Bible are adduced in contexts which speak of Antichrist or the Papacy as Antichrist: Matthew 7:15; 2 Thessalonians 2:4; Daniel 11:36-38. Of these three only 2 Thessalonians 2:4 and Daniel 11:36-38 recur with any regularity or are used in a substantive way. The reason for this narrow Biblical basis is evident. The Confessions especially apply the idea of Antichrist to the papacy and perceive the papacy to be Antichrist (1) in its claim to be a "supreme outward monarchy" in which the pope has unlimited power in both church and world and (2) in what Melancthon calls "a new worship of God" whereby the papacy has instituted human rites as the necessary instruments by which one becomes just before God. Self-exaltation to virtual divine status and the institution of false worship were traditional elements in the depiction of Antichrist, and 2 Thessalonians 2:4 and Daniel 11:36-38 had long been biblical warrant for these two elements in the picture of Antichrist. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that nowhere do the Confessions adduce John's epistles, where alone in the New Testament the term "antichrist" is used, nor do they adduce the book of Revelation, which was throughout the church's history a principal source for discussions concerning Antichrist.

This rather sparse use of Scripture by the Confessions is in contrast to patristic discussions of Antichrist, which employ in a more or less regular way a broader selection of Biblical material. This is, no doubt, largely due to the fact that the Fathers spoke of Antichrist primarily as that eschatological end-time figure who would immediately precede Christ's return. That is, patristic literature presents a composite and complex figure of Antichrist because he is a significant part of the Fathers' general eschatological expectation and only secondarily a figure which has application to contemporary circumstances. John of Damascus makes explicit a distinction which is implicit throughout the patristic period. He writes: "Everyone who does not confess that the Son of God is God come in flesh and that he who is perfect God also became perfect man while remaining God is antichrist. Nevertheless, in a peculiar and special way is that one called Antichrist who comes at the consummation of the age" (*Exp. fidei* IV. 26). This distinction which John of Damascus makes is probably also the way to regard I John 2:18, which speaks of the Antichrist who "comes" or "is coming" and the many antichrists which are now

in the world. In any case, the distinction between the Antichrist whose coming immediately precedes the end of all things and contemporary, one might say preliminary and partial, representatives of Antichrist is commonplace in the Fathers.

When the Fathers apply the figure of Antichrist to contemporary persons, usually John's epistles and 2 Thessalonians 2 are employed, although along with the Pauline passage elements of the prophecy of Daniel are also in mind. In keeping with the specific interest of John's epistles, which call "antichrists" those who deny that Christ came in the flesh (I John 2:22; 4:3; 2 John 7), the Fathers employ John's epistles only when referring to heretics as antichrists. Within an extended comment on 2 Thessalonians 1-2, Tertullian refers to "John the apostle who says that antichrists have already come forth into the world, forerunners [*praecursores*] of the spirit of antichrist, denying that Christ has come in the flesh and dissolving Jesus" (*Adv. Marc.* 5.16.4; see I John 2:18; 4:3 v. 1.). Here, of course, Tertullian has especially Marcion and his disciples in mind as antichrist. John of Damascus, in the passage quoted above, alludes to I John 2:22 and 4:3 and 2 John 7 when referring to the Christological heresies of his day. For him it would appear Nestorians and Monophysites are the antichrists of his day.

Cyril of Jerusalem is very conscious of the fact that the church of his day, full of inner strife and heresy, was living in the last days. For him the "apostasy" of which Paul speaks (2 Thess. 2:3) has already begun in the Sabellian and Arian heresies, for through them many are falling away from the true faith. These heretics are "forerunners" of the Antichrist (*Cat.* 15.9; Athanasius had also called the Arians *prodromoi* of the Antichrist [*Or. c. Arian* I.1]). Similarly, Cyril believes that the signs of the end spoken of by Christ in the Synoptic Gospels are being fulfilled in his day. Christ's promise that "many will come in my name saying, 'I am the Christ'" (Matt. 24:5), has already happened "in part" in the heretics Simon Magus and Menander and will continue to happen in heretics "after us" (*Cat.* 15.5). The war between Rome and Persia over Mesopotamia is a fulfillment of the prophecy that wars, uprisings, and pestilence shall characterize the last days (*Cat.* 15.6). And that in the last days there will be mutual hatred and betrayal and the waning of love is for Cyril amply demonstrated in the strife between bishop and bishop and laity against laity (*Cat.* 15.7).

Paul's statement that the "mystery of lawlessness is already at work" (2 Thess. 2:7) not infrequently led to attempts to identify the mystery. Theodoret of Cyrus identifies the mystery with the heresies which cause many to fall from the truth, although he acknowledges that some

believe the mystery to be Nero, who was a worker of impiety (*In 2 Thess.* 2:7). Ambrosiaster, a fourth-century commentator, is one who believed that the "mystery of lawlessness" was the line of persecuting emperors: "the mystery of lawlessness began with Nero and [continued] unto Diocletian and most recently unto Julian" (*Comm. in 2 Thess.* 2:7). Also John Chrysostom interpreted Paul's "mystery of lawlessness" to mean Nero who "as it were is a type of the Antichrist, for he even wished to be regarded as God" (*In 2 Thess.* 2, Hom. 4).

More specific crises within the church could also call forth contemporary applications of the Antichrist figure. On at least two occasions Cyprian of Carthage uses 2 Thessalonians 2:10-11 against those who had lapsed in times of persecution and did not wish to submit to the penance of the church. Such people are perishing and have received from God a working of error so that they may believe that which is false (*De lapsis* 33; *Ep.* 59.13). Similarly, the protocol of the Council of Carthage (256) tells us that Bishop Secundinus of Carpis called those who did not rebaptize heretics "offshoots of Antichrist" (*suboles Antichristi*; Mansi, 1.955f.).

All of the above examples have in common the application of the Antichrist figure to contemporary persons whom the Fathers believed were in active conflict against the truth of Christ and his church. In none of them, however, is there an exhaustive identification of the contemporary opponents of Christ with the Antichrist. They are "precursors" of the Antichrist or "types" of the Antichrist, but they are not *the* Antichrist in the sense of being the very appearance of the great eschatological opponent of God who shall appear immediately before the second advent of Christ. For the Fathers, the Antichrist was a figure of Christian expectation but a figure whose coming was largely indeterminate and vague. A common view among the Fathers was that the "restrainer" mentioned by Paul (2 Thess. 2: 6,7), whose presence hinders the appearance of "the lawless one," was the Roman Empire (e.g., Tertullian). This view was based upon an exegesis of Daniel 7, which contains the vision of the four beasts which represent four kingdoms whose rise and fall precede the coming of One like the son of man. According to a common patristic understanding, the fourth beast was the Roman Empire, and until the Roman Empire dissolved into ten smaller kingdoms, represented by the ten horns, the "little horn" or Antichrist could not appear, nor, of course, could the second coming of Christ. Given this theory of history, heretics and persecuting emperors could only be "forerunners" of that Antichrist who would come at the end of the age. But as the fall of the Roman Empire was not foreseen and was not indeed an object of hope, so also the coming of the Antichrist was regarded

as a future event, expected but not finally determinable.

Although the Fathers tended to be quite vague in their predictions concerning the time of the Antichrist's appearing, they could nonetheless depict with considerable detail the figure and activity of the Antichrist. Indeed, the Apocalypse of Elijah (c. 150-275 A.D.) can describe the physical appearance of the "son of lawlessness" with gruesome precision (3:15-18):

He is a . . . of a skinny-legged young lad, having a tuft of gray hair at the front of his bald head. His eyebrows will reach to his ears. There is a leprous bare spot on the front of his hands. He will transform himself in the presence of those who see him. He will become a young child. He will become old. He will transform himself in every sign. But the signs of his head will not be able to change. Therein you will know that he is the son of lawlessness.

But who would the Antichrist be? What would be his nature, his origin, his work? Patristic answers to these questions involved considerable variation and sometimes complexity. This variation, it seems to me, is due primarily to the fact that early Christian notions of Antichrist derive from two principal sources: (1) traditional depictions of opponents of God and His people mediated through such Biblical texts as Daniel, Ezekiel 28:2 and 36-38, Isaiah 14:13-14, 2 Thessalonians 2:3-12, and John's Revelation, and (2) a more specifically Christian image of the Antichrist as the opponent of Jesus, the Christ of God. In the first case, the Antichrist is a secular figure from paganism who arrogantly elevates himself to divine status and to enforce his false claims to deity speaks blasphemy against the true God, desecrates the true worship of God (usually by defiling the temple), substitutes false worship, and persecutes the people of God who remain steadfast. In the second case, the Antichrist is a "false Christ," usually coming from within Judaism, who mimics the words and deeds of Jesus in order to deceive the Jews and even the Christians concerning the true identity of the Messiah. Here too there are often signs and wonders, understood as satanic counterfeits of Jesus' miracles; there is false messianic activity, such as the rebuilding of the temple; and there is, of course, misdirected worship of the false Christ. Let us look at both of these views of Antichrist in a little more detail.

The idea of Antichrist as a pagan tyrant who haughtily arrogates to himself divine honor and worship finds its prototypes in Old Testament texts in which kings hostile to Israel are depicted. Despite the well-known attempt of Hermann Gunkel and, to a lesser extent, Wilhelm Bousset and R. H. Charles to locate the origin of the Antichrist idea in ancient Near-Eastern myth, it seems to me more plausible to see Antichrist, like many other elements of Old Testament escha-

tology, as given in the nature of Israel as the chosen people of God. Given Israel's belief that it was the chosen people of God to whom the promise of the Holy Land had been given, any king or people who withstood or prevented the fulfilment of that promise would necessarily be understood as an opponent of God and for that reason arrogantly in competition with God for honor and worship. Israel's history, therefore, provided the content and the form for the picture of Antichrist. Hence, already in the classical prophets characteristics of the traditional Antichrist figure are found in pagan kings. Of the king of Babylon Isaiah writes (14:13-14):

You said in your heart, "I will ascend to heaven; above the stars of God I will set my throne on high; I will sit on the mount of assembly in the far north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will make myself like the Most High."

Ezekiel speaks in a similar way of the king of Tyre (28:2; cf. vv.6,9):

Because your heart is proud and you have said, "I am a god, I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas," yet you are but a man, and no god, though you consider yourself as wise as a god . . . therefore, I will bring strangers upon you."

This feature of self-glorification and exaltation is most significantly described in the various visions of Daniel: the "little horn" of Daniel 7 "speaks words against the Most High" (7:25); the "little horn" of Daniel 8, who is a "king of bold countenance" (8:23), magnifies himself "even up to the Prince of the host" (8:11) and "rises up against the Prince of princes" (8:25); and in Daniel 11 there is a usurper king who "shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god," who shall "give no heed to the gods of his fathers or to the one beloved by women . . . , for he shall magnify himself above all" (11:36-37). This tradition of the haughty tyrant finds its New Testament deposit in Paul's description of the man of lawlessness as one who "opposes and exalts himself against every so-called god or object of worship" and who "proclaims himself to be God" (2 Thess. 2:4) and in the Revelation description of the beast from the sea which has a mouth uttering blasphemy and whose image is worshipped (13:1-18). On the basis of this Biblical foundation the false claim to be God (or Christ) became a common traditional feature in patristic depictions of Antichrist (Irenaeus, Lactantius, Ambrosiaster, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodoret, John of Damascus).

Whether or not one believes that the Danielic visions refer to the Hellenistic king, Antiochus Epiphanes (as most modern commentators do), there is no doubt that the pretensions of deity of that notorious king and later of the Roman emperors added experiential impetus to this element of the Antichrist idea. Perhaps this feature of the An-

tichrist belief helps explain that most strange fact that in both Jewish and Christian literature the expectation of an end-time opponent of God became mingled with the belief that a resurrected Nero, *Nero redivivus*, would arise and make a final assault upon the world. The pagan writers Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.8f.) and Suetonius (*Nero* 57) report of this belief among the populace of their day, and they give three instances in which impostors actually attempted to claim imperial authority under the name of Nero. This legend of *Nero redivivus* is used especially by the Jewish author of the fifth Sibylline Oracle in his description of the eschatological havoc that shall befall Rome (5.104-110, 137-178, 361-385). The legend becomes part of the discussion of Antichrist in a number of Christian authors who believe that *Nero redivivus* will be part of the chaos of the last days or the very Antichrist himself. Jerome affirms that many in his day believed the legend (*Comm. in Dan.* 11.29), although he, along with Lactantius (*De morte pers* 2.8) and Augustine (*Civ. Dei* 20.19), rejects the view. However, the Christian writer, Commodian, held to the legend and perhaps identified the Antichrist with *Nero redivivus* (*Carm. apol.* 823-838, 869-890). Victorinus of Pettau and St. Martin of Tours in their own idiosyncratic ways combined the Nero legend with other traditions concerning Antichrist. Victorinus joined the Nero legend with the expectation of an Antichrist from the Jews. According to him, Nero will return as a Jew, become a vindicator of the Law, demanding that all submit to circumcision, and will erect a golden image in the rebuilt temple in Jerusalem (*Comm. in Apoc.* 13). Martin of Tours believed that Nero would arise along with the Antichrist, Nero seizing the western part of the empire, where he would induce idolatry, and the Antichrist seizing the Eastern portion, where he would restore Jerusalem and its temple and there establish his capital (Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* II.14).

As we indicated above, the tyrant who claims divine dignity for himself is often depicted as one who also desecrates true worship and substitutes idolatry in its place. Also here the visions of Daniel are fundamental. The "little horn" of Daniel 7 assumes the right "to change the times and the law" (7:25); the "little horn" of Daniel 8 takes away the continual burnt offering and overthrows the sanctuary (8:11); the wicked king of Daniel 11 profanes the temple, removes the continual burnt offering, and sets up the abomination which makes desolate (11:31). The historical experiences of the Jews again reinforced this picture of the great opponent of God. We learn from the account of I Maccabees how horrified and revolted the Jews were by the policy of Antiochus Epiphanes, who defiled the sanctuary of Jerusalem by setting an altar of Zeus Olympius, the abomination of desola-

tion, upon the altar of burnt offering (I Macc. 1:20-54). It is usually assumed by scholars that the Psalms of Solomon refer to the Roman general, Pompey, when they speak of "the sinner" whose soldiers desecrate the altar in front of the temple (Ps. Sol. 2:2). Furthermore, the threat of the Roman emperor, Gaius Caligula, to erect his own image in the temple at Jerusalem caused civil unrest among the Jews, who saw in this intent the typical behavior of the tyrant who opposes God. No doubt Paul had in mind the Danielic visions, and perhaps also these relatively recent temple desecrations when he asserted that the man of lawlessness would "take his seat in the temple of God" (2 Thess. 2:4).

Paul's statement is used in the Treatise by Melancthon to demonstrate that the Antichrist is "one who rules in the church" and is not a king of nations (Treatise, 39). Only rarely, however, did the Fathers' exegesis of 2 Thessalonians 2:4 lead them to the opinion that by "temple of God" Paul had the church in mind. John Chrysostom believes it refers to "not the temple in Jerusalem but churches everywhere" (*In 2 Thess.* 2:4, *Hom.* 3). Theodoret follows Chrysostom in this opinion. Augustine is uncertain about the meaning but reports that some believe "temple of God" refers to the Antichrist together with all those who belong to him. The Antichrist then would take his seat not "in" the temple but "as" the temple, proclaiming himself to be the temple of God, that is, the church (*Civ. Dei* 20.19).

However, by far the majority opinion of the Fathers understands Paul's reference to the temple of God to mean the temple of Jerusalem. And since that temple was destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D., not infrequently patristic writers will mention that the Antichrist will rebuild the temple. For example, Hippolytus speaks of the Antichrist raising up a temple of stone in Jerusalem (*De Anti.* 6; cf. *Ps-Hipp., De consumm.* 20). The Greek *Apocalypse of Daniel* states that the Antichrist shall "dwell in the temple which had been raised to the ground," and similar statements are made by Martin of Tours, Ephrem Syrus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Lactantius, Pelagius, and Andrew of Caesarea. This opinion continued into the early medieval commentators. For example, Adso of Montier-en-Der, writing around 950, states that the Antichrist "shall build the destroyed temple, which Solomon had built for God, and restore it to its [former] state." A contemporary of Adso's, Haimo of Auxerre, commenting on 2 Thessalonians 2:4, writes similarly: "And they shall rebuild the temple that the Romans had destroyed, and he shall seat himself there."

This view that the Antichrist shall sit in the temple of Jerusalem leads to a consideration of the second principal depiction of Antichrist to which we earlier referred, namely, to the view that the Antichrist

is a "false Christ," a sort of pseudo-Messiah from the Jews sent to deceive the Jews, and if possible Christians, concerning the true identity of the Christ. Characteristic of this Antichrist is not direct, overt attack upon God and his people, as was true of the arrogant tyrant in Daniel's visions, but the deceptive claim to be the Christ of God based upon messianic signs and wonders in perverse imitation of Jesus' miracles and works. This view of the Antichrist seems to me to be a specifically Christian development of the Antichrist idea and may even explain the term "antichrist," which may mean, not only "against Christ," but also "in the place of Christ." In any case, in literature other than Christian I can find no evidence of the idea that the endtime opponent of God will mimic God's Anointed One. One can find, of course, false prophets in the Old Testament and in the intertestamental literature, and these false prophets do present a kind of false counterpoint to the true prophet. Indeed, false prophets often work signs and wonders, as do true prophets, and the effecting of signs and wonders is a traditional feature of the Antichrist. Yet, although the figure of the false prophet is early connected with an Antichrist figure (Rev. 13:1-18), it is not sufficient to provide background for the figure of Antichrist as a messianic pretender.

It may be that the theme of imitation of Christ by the Antichrist occurs already in the two principal New Testament Antichrist passages, 2 Thessalonians 2:3-12 and Revelation 13:1-18. As Christ has a parousia (2 Thess. 2:1,8), so also the lawless one has a parousia (2 Thess. 2:9). The "power and signs and wonders" of the lawless one (2 Thess. 2:9) is perhaps a parody of the "mighty acts and wonders and signs" of Jesus to which Peter refers in Acts 2:22. The contrast between salvation and destruction and between truth and falsehood (2 Thess. 2:10-12) may also point to the imitation motif. There are clear parodies of Christ and His work, however, in Revelation's vision of the beast from the sea. Most important is the notice that one of the heads of the beast had a mortal wound which was healed (Rev. 13:3). While some scholars believe this refers to the legend of *Nero redivivus*, it can more plausibly be understood as a parody of Christ's death and resurrection. Similarly, the beast from the earth which exercises the authority of the first beast has two horns "like a lamb" (Rev. 13:11), a probable parody of the slain Lamb who sits on the throne of heaven (Rev. 5:6; 21:22-23). The fire from heaven (Rev. 13:13) likewise seems to parody true prophecy (remember Revelation is an explicitly prophetic book) and to parody Pentecost. If the motif of antichristic parody of Christ is, in fact, present in Revelation 13, it may even help explain the troublesome number 666 (Rev. 13:18). Since seven is the number of completion, a triple six would

be "penultimacy intensified." We know, on the other hand, that early Christians reckoned the number of Jesus name to be 888 (Sib. Or. 1.326-330). Now eight was the number of eschatological fulfilment, as we know, for example, from the early Christian worship practices which regarded Sunday as the eighth day; 888 would, therefore, signify Jesus as the utter fulfilment of all things.

However, whether or not the imitation idea exists in these New Testament texts, it is implied in the widely held patristic view that the Antichrist would be a Jewish pseudo-Messiah who performs works like the rebuilding of the temple. Thus, for example, Cyril of Jerusalem says that the Antichrist will come to the Jews as Christ and will desire to be worshipped by the Jews. In order better to deceive them, he will say that he is one from the tribe of David who is going to build the temple which Solomon had erected (*Cat.* 15.15). The idea of parody is more extensively worked out in the *Apocalypse of Elijah* (c. 150-275). Here the author gives a listing of the wonders of "the son of lawlessness," and they are clearly patterned after the miracles of Jesus (3:5-13; for the last point, cf. Cyril Jer. *Cat.* 15.14):

But the son of lawlessness will begin to stand again in the holy place.

He will say to the sun, "Fall," and it will fall.

He will say, "Shine," and it will do it.

He will say, "Darken," and it will do it.

He will say to the moon, "Become bloody," and it will do it.

He will go forth with them from the sky.

He will walk upon the sea and the rivers as upon dry land.

He will cause the lame to walk.

He will cause the deaf to hear.

He will cause the dumb to speak.

He will cause the blind to see.

The lepers he will cleanse.

The ill he will heal.

The demons he will cast out.

He will multiply his signs and his wonders in the presence of everyone. He will do the works which the Christ did, except for raising the dead alone. In this you will know that he is the son of lawlessness, because he is unable to give life.

However, nowhere is the idea of the Antichrist's parody of Christ more fully developed than in Hippolytus' treatise, *Concerning Christ and the Antichrist*, and in the pseudo-Hippolytan work, *Concerning the Consummation of the World*. A full quotation of *De Antichristo* 6 will make clear Hippolytus' view:

For the deceiver seeks to liken himself in all things to the Son of God. Christ is a lion, so Antichrist is also a lion; Christ is a king, so Antichrist is a king. The Savior was manifested as a lamb; so he too, in like manner, will appear as a lamb, though within he is a wolf. The Savior came into the world in the circumcision, and he will come in the same manner. The Lord sent apostles among all the nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. The Savior gathered together the sheep that were scattered abroad, and he in like manner will bring together a people that is scattered abroad. The Lord gave a seal to those who believed on Him, and he will give one in like manner. The Savior appeared in the form of man, and he too will come in the form of a man. The Savior raised up and showed his holy flesh like a temple, and he will raise a temple of stone in Jerusalem.

Pseudo-Hippolytus adds to these contrasts two more: as Christ is king of things heavenly and things earthly, the Antichrist will be king upon earth; as Christ arose from among the Hebrews, so will the Antichrist spring from among the Jews (*De consumm.* 20).

The belief that the Antichrist shall come from the Jews and for the deception of the Jews is sometimes derived from John 5:43, where Jesus, speaking to the Jews, says, "I have come in my Father's name, and you do not receive me; if another comes in his own name, him you will receive." This refers to the Antichrist, says Irenaeus, and he is here called an "other" (*allos*) because he is alienated from the Lord (*Adv. Haer.* 5.254; cf. Ambrosiaster, Theodoret, John of Damascus). Irenaeus also applies the story of the unjust judge in Luke 18 to the coming of the Antichrist and his acceptance by the Jews. The widow is the earthly Jerusalem, who in her forgetfulness of God goes for her vindication to the Antichrist, who in the parable is the judge who neither fears God nor regards man (Luke 18:1-8; *Adv. Haer.* 5.254).

Perhaps the most interesting variant in the pseudo-messianic view of the Antichrist is that which expects the Antichrist to come forth from the tribe of Dan. In a number of Old Testament texts Dan is a problem. According to Leviticus 24:10-11, a man whose mother was from Dan blasphemed God and was stoned for it. The Book of Judges speaks of the tribe of Dan as "seeking for itself an inheritance to dwell in" (18:1) and tells of the idolatry of Dan (18:30-31). Finally, in I Kings 12 Dan is one of the two locations where King Jeroboam erected a calf of gold. Dan, it appears, was an especially idolatrous people. However, it is especially through a midrashic combination of Genesis 49:16-17 and Deuteronomy 33:22 that the connection between Dan and Antichrist is derived. In both of these chapters there is a listing

of blessings and prophecies concerning the twelve tribes of Israel, and thus they invite this kind of combination. In Genesis 49 there is the important messianic reference to Judah from whom the scepter of Israel shall not depart, and in this context Judah is called "a lion's whelp" (49:9). In the same chapter Dan is called "a serpent in the way, a viper by the path" (49:17). In typical midrashic fashion, Hippolytus relates this reference to Dan as serpent to the serpent of Genesis 3: "What then is meant by the serpent but Antichrist (the deceiver from the beginning), that deceiver who is mentioned in Genesis who deceived Eve and bruised the heel of Adam" (*De Anti.* 14). Furthermore, the fact that in Deuteronomy 33:22 Dan is called "a lion's whelp" as Judah was in Genesis 49:17 indicated the kind of satanic parody of Christ that we discussed above: as Christ is a lion's whelp, so will the Antichrist appear as a lion's whelp (see *De Anti.* 6). In this matter the Fathers seem to be following, albeit adapting, a Jewish tradition which finds good expression in the *Testament of Dan* 5:4-5:

I know that in the last days you shall depart from the Lord, And you shall provoke Levi unto anger, and fight against Judah; But you shall not prevail against them, for an angel of the Lord shall guide them both;

For by them shall Israel stand.

And whensoever you depart from the Lord, you shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits of wickedness work in you.

Irenaeus bases his view that the Antichrist will come from Dan on Jeremiah 8:16 alone: "The snorting of their horses is heard from Dan; at the sound of the neighing of their stallions the whole land quakes." While the prophet no doubt intended by this merely to indicate the geographical direction from which a Gentile invader would come, Irenaeus, probably under the influence of the tradition we are discussing, understood this passage to mean the genealogical origin of Antichrist (*Adv. Haer.* 5.30.2). Hippolytus uses Jeremiah 8:16 along with Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33 as well as a prophecy from an unknown prophet, or perhaps from an unknown apocryphal book (*De Anti.* 15).

This belief in Dan as the tribe from which the Antichrist would come pervades the full chronological breadth of patristic exegesis. It is represented for example by Ambrose, Theodoret, Prosper of Aquitaine, Gregory the Great, Primasius of Hadrumetum, Anastasius Sinaita. Since the tribe of Dan was on occasion located in Babylon,

sometimes the Fathers expected the Antichrist to come from the East. Thus Andrew of Caesarea writes: "It is probable also that the Antichrist shall come from the eastern parts of the land of Persia, where is the tribe of Dan of the Hebrew race" (*Comm. in Apoc.* 6.12; cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* 11.37).

With virtual unanimity the patristic authors believe the Antichrist of the endtime will be a man. While the Antichrist will come from the earth, whether as tyrant or pseudo-messiah, Christ will come only from heaven with glory and with His angels (Cyril Jer., *Cat.* 15.10). Perhaps the language of Paul in 2 Thessalonians 2:3 was determinative: "the man of lawlessness." Yet, although a writer like John of Damascus explicitly rejects the notion that the Antichrist will really be Satan incarnate, that view does find its few representatives in the patristic literature. The *Testament of Hezekiah* (c. 100) speaks vaguely of Beliar descending "in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother" (4:2 of Asc. Isa.). More definite is Ambrosiaster, the fourth-century commentator: "For he [the Antichrist] shall imitate God, and so as the Son of God demonstrated His divinity, having been born a man and having done signs and mighty acts, so also Satan shall appear in a man (*homine*) in order that he might by his mighty deeds of falsehood show himself to be God" (*Comm. in 2 Thess.*). Firmicus Maternus is explicit: "the Devil is the Antichrist himself" (*De errore profanarum religionum*). Unique is the view of Pseudo-Hippolytus, who asserts that the Antichrist, who apparently is the Devil, will appear docetically as man (*De consumm.* 22):

Since the Savior of the world, with the purpose of saving the race of men, was born of the pure and virgin Mary and in the form of the flesh trod the enemy under foot in the exercise of the power of His own proper divinity; in the same manner also will the accuser come forth from an impure woman upon the earth, but shall be born of a virgin in deception. For our God sojourned with us in the flesh, after that very flesh of ours which He made for Adam and all Adam's posterity, yet without sin. But the accuser, though he take up the flesh, will do it only in appearance. . . . And it is my opinion that he will assume [this] imaginary substance of flesh as an instrument.

This summary of major themes represented in patristic views of Antichrist in no way exhausts the variety and complexity of patristic views concerning the Antichrist. Most important is the fact, as it seems to me, that while the Fathers do apply the Antichrist idea to contemporary persons and parties (heretics, persecutors, schismatics), the figure of the Antichrist in his fullness remains a distinctly future, eschatological reality. Although most often conceived as a man, he is

larger than life, a prodigious figure who greatly exceeds the boundaries of the usual evil man. For John Chrysostom he will be "a certain man who receives all the energy of" Satan (*In 2 Thess.* 2, *Hom.* 3). According to Theodoret, Satan shall choose a man capable of receiving all of Satan's power (*In 2 Thess.* 2). Jerome tells us that the Antichrist shall be one "from men in whom the whole of Satan shall dwell bodily" ("unum de hominibus in quo totus satanas habitaturus est corporaliter," *Comm. in Dan.* II.7.8). But it is Irenaeus who best sums the matter up. The Antichrist is the great and complete opposite of Christ, and as Christ, the incarnated Word of God, is, as the new Adam, Head of the redeemed race of men and recapitulates in His own person the whole history of the human race from its beginning to its appointed end, so also the Antichrist sums up and recapitulates in himself all satanic apostasy (*Adv. Haer.* 5.25.1). For Irenaeus 666 is the number of the Antichrist because he sums up "the whole of that apostasy which has taken place during six thousand years" (5.28.2). And, after giving his own particular understanding of 666, Irenaeus says that 666, the number of Antichrist, "indicates the recapitulations of that apostasy taken in its full extent, which occurred at the beginning, during the intermediate periods, and which shall take place at the end" (5.30.1).

The calculation of the Fathers that the end would come quickly upon the demise of the Roman Empire has proved erroneous. But it was this prodigy of the end that the Fathers expected and awaited. This may explain the repeated exhortations to constant faith and moral rigor, the patristic echo of the dominical warning: "See to it that no one deceive you" (Matt. 24:4).

Spiritual Gifts and the Work of the Kingdom

Albert L. Garcia

Recently there has been a reexamination of spiritual gifts for pastoral work in the Lutheran context. This is highly commendable, for the New Testament speaks of "spiritual gifts" for the purpose of building the Kingdom. We need, however, to enrich our understanding of spiritual gifts. This can only be accomplished if we place the biblical teaching of spiritual gifts within its proper theocentric perspective, allowing the whole of Scripture to speak. We can accomplish this goal if we study "spiritual gifts" under four themes: (1.) How does the Old Testament view the charismata? (2.) How does Jesus understand the work of the Holy Spirit in the Gospels? (3.) How does St. Paul explain spiritual gifts and their purpose? (4.) How are we to apply this doctrine in our pastoral tasks?

The Gift of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament

Can we speak of "spiritual gifts" in the Old Testament? Indeed we can! If we read carefully, we will note how the gift of the Spirit is very much present in the Old Testament for the building up of God's people. The anointing of David provides us with a clear example of these gifts (cf. I Samuel 16:1-14). At the time of Saul Israel needed a new king. Saul could no longer fulfill the work of the Kingdom. Thus the Lord anointed David with His Holy Spirit to replace Saul. It is interesting to see how David is chosen for the task at hand. Samuel thought that he could determine by human standards who would be the most likely candidate, the most qualified, to receive the anointing. Even Jesse, David's father, thought that he could determine by human standards whom among his sons would be the one anointed to be king. Samuel should have understood right away the meaning of spiritual gifts in the light of God's revelation. When Jesse presented his son Eliab as the most worthy candidate, the Lord spoke to Samuel: "Do not look at his appearance or at the height of his stature, because I have rejected him; for God sees not as man sees, for man looks at the outward appearance, but the Lord looks at the heart" (v. 7).

From this biblical account a clear pattern for spiritual gifts begins to emerge. No one can tell in plain human terms whom the Lord chooses for His specific purposes of building the Kingdom. God does not use human standards. But when God does choose people as He has promised to do to provide for His Kingdom, His Spirit comes mightily upon them and equips them with His spiritual gifts to accomplish His purposes. We see this in the case of David (v. 13).

But human standards persisted in judging David's spiritual qualifications. In the next chapter David's gift was again misunderstood in the crisis with the Philistines. David was not taken seriously by Saul. How could David, a weakling, a light-weight, fight an experienced welter-weight, Goliath? But God had chosen this young man David not according to human standards. This is why David could face the mighty Goliath with a simple slingshot (cf. I Samuel 17:33-50).

Here we also find a tremendous insight that points to a *theologia crucis* over against a human theology of glory. No one can boast in the church of his own accomplishments. The Kingdom belongs to the Lord. He is King! He provides His people at specific times and places with the necessary gifts and talents to accomplish His purposes. Let us remember that our theology is Christocentric. All is related to the centrality of Christ for our salvation (I Cor. 1:22-25). David was a Christian. In him and through him God wanted to show that we ought not to search for "success" through apparent human perceptions. We should, instead, trust that for our time and situation the Lord will provide His gifts so we can glory in His power rather than our own. This leads us then to the revealing teaching of the Gospels concerning the gifts of the Spirit.

Jesus and the Gifts of the Spirit

St. John's Gospel, of all the Gospels, provides us with the clearest teaching concerning the gifts of the Spirit. Chapters 14, 16, and 17 offer the most detailed explanation of this doctrine that uplifts and builds the work of the church. In this context we concern ourselves with three important questions: (1.) Why do the gifts of the Spirit belong to the church? (2.) How are the gifts manifested? (3.) In what manner do the gifts enrich our pastoral theology?

John 14:16-17 provides us with a clear answer to the first question. Jesus sees a real need for the gift of the Spirit in the work of the church. Jesus knew that His apostles would feel useless, empty, and powerless at the time of His visible parting. Jesus fully understands human nature. At times we fail to understand the full implications of our

human nature. This is why we want to grant to the apostles some sort of perfect human state. But the apostles chosen by Jesus were real people—sinful and frightened people. They lacked the natural ability to do the work of the Kingdom. Thus, the gift of the Spirit would be very much needed at the time when Jesus could no longer be seen visibly. The apostles certainly needed the daily presence of the Holy Spirit to find comfort and courage in building Christ's church (John 20:21-22). What made the apostles effective was no particular hidden talent in their human reservoir that was ready to be tapped or discovered as spiritual gifts for the church. No! They were a group of odd-balls—tax collectors and fishermen. They were what they were, sinful individuals by nature. That they behaved the way they did during the Lord's crucifixion points to the continual reality of sin in us. Their apostolic call and their work must be measured, then, by other than human standards.

Jesus' understanding of humanity applies to every situation. The words spoken to Nicodemus carry a very complete understanding of the human condition. For "that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit" (John 3:6). Many have the idea that this sinful condition ends after baptism, or at some point in the Christian life. This idea negates the clear scriptural teaching concerning original sin. If we are not to negate original sin as a present living reality, the reality of the flesh, then we must also maintain a proper understanding of spiritual gifts. The gift of the Spirit must be present, then, in each and every Christian called to live a genuine Christian existence.

In his early theological career, Martin Luther was very much aware of this need and tension. Even though at this time he had to struggle with the correct understanding of original sin, he did not fail to take into account the whole dimension of "flesh and spirit" in his theological work. For example, as early as his first lectures on the Psalms, the *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513-1516), Luther perceived this living tension in the life of the Christian during this earthly existence. Luther comments accordingly in his *scholion* on Psalm 119 (118:122):

Who will boast that he is a pure spirit, now without flesh, the adversary of the Spirit, even if he presently finds in himself no part in or temptation to luxury, avarice or other manifest iniquities? . . . Therefore we always sin and are always unclean. And should we say that we have no sin, we are liars, for we deny that we have flesh in the face of the fact that, wherever flesh is, it has with it those evils, and thus fights against the spirit. . . one and the same man is spirit and flesh. . . !

Since Luther understands the clear tension in the biblical anthropology of "flesh and spirit," he then relates this tension to the doctrine of spiritual gifts. He understands early in his career the constant role of the Spirit in building the Kingdom. He also understands how we are to obtain these gifts. He comments in an earlier *scholion* on Psalm 119 (118: 28):

Just as Christ is the end of the synagogue and the beginning of the church, so is every power, every act, all knowledge and understanding, an end and a beginning. But disgust creeps into this movement; the step we have reached begins to be distasteful and the one not yet attained incapable of coming to our aid. So the soul begins to sleep from weariness with the letter and the delay of the Spirit. In this interval nothing is more efficacious than the Word of God, which strengthens us in the present step and excites us to the future. . . . For the Word of God, more than anything else, has moving power. It is not only an illuminating, but also a heating fire. "The Word of God is living, more penetrating than any two-edged sword" (Heb. 4:12). Therefore, in all moments of disgust, remember the Word of God, and you will be strengthened (or confirmed) in your purpose.²

Here Luther shows our great need for the gifts of the Spirit. Also we see how these gifts are obtained for the life of the church. His teaching at this point is in continuity with the teaching of Jesus in the Gospel of John.

First, we see because of the tension between flesh and spirit that the Holy Spirit must play an important part in the building of the church. Secondly, we see how this work is very important to us as believers. Our very actions as workers in the Kingdom occur in continuity with the work of Christ. But where is the power and gift to be found so we daily can do the work of the church? The Word of God is the very instrument that empowers us as believers. The Word of God gives us this dynamic power, that motivates us to complete all the tasks we need to accomplish in the future. To Luther, then, only the Word of God, could daily empower us with the necessary spiritual gifts. For Luther to find the gifts of the Spirit outside of this clear paradigm of Word and faith was to engage in synergism.³ That we still persist in these things suggests that we do not properly understand the doctrine of original sin.

In Luther's understanding of the Gospel, to find some unique talent in each and every individual as the guiding principle in the work of the church is to deny the powerful priority of Word and faith. To expect a special transformation of the Spirit or a special perfectionist

power is also to negate the biblical, realistic dimension of flesh and spirit. This denial is a clear denial of the power of Law and Gospel in the building of the Kingdom. If the reader has some problem in discerning these important theological perceptions, he should read Professor Lowell H. Zuck's article, "Spiritual Renewal in the Radical Reformation Tradition."⁴ This article reveals the candid perceptions of a theologian that disagrees with Luther's theological perception. Yet Zuck fully understands how and why Luther disagrees with the radical reformation tradition of spiritual renewal. This difference is what is at stake here in this discussion of spiritual gifts.

Once one attributes to an individual in our present history some special gift unique to his person because of the transforming power of the Spirit, then one has clearly denied the Lutheran and biblical Word-and-faith model in theology. (Today this Spirit-transformation model is the proper model for doing theology in the current "charismatic" movement.⁵) That this perspective is quite alarming in our present theological circles can be seen in the radical outcome of the left-wing of the Reformation. For in this model special gifts of prophecy can be assigned to current "prophets." In Luther's day one such prophet arose in Thomas Muntzer. Zuck is quite perceptive in showing the differences from a systematic perspective between Muntzer and Luther. He supports Muntzer but he is aware of the consequences. Zuck observes, against Luther, "Thus, the Lutheran dialectic of Law and Gospel is done away with by Muntzer, who replaces it with a gradualistic work of the Holy Spirit."⁶

It is frightening to note that, as Zuck points out, even in Luther's day, the Word-faith model was being replaced by the Spirit-transformation model. This is important for our whole perception of spiritual gifts. We need to realize that people who follow a Lutheran model of theology are, for the most part, standing alone against the current prevailing model of the contemporary Spirit-transformation theology. But, as we shall see, this Spirit-transformation model does not match Jesus' clear teaching concerning these matters.

The Doctrine of Inspiration and Spiritual Gifts

The Lord as Head of His church is very much concerned that His church grow and prosper. For this reason He established in New Testament times the clear meaning of biblical inspiration grounded in apostolic authority. The office of apostle was very much needed by Jesus to give a proper foundation to His Church. Jesus selected men to this office for a particular function—to preserve and spread His

Word of salvation in the world. The gift of the Spirit in this interrelationship serves one function—to “remember” and “recall” Jesus’ witness to the Father in the world (John 15:26-27 ; 14:25-26). There is no human rhyme or reason why these particular apostles were chosen for the task. There is only one clear basis for the choosing. This is theological. In such an undistinguished group the Lord’s only requirement was that under His authority and power they would be eye-witnesses and proclaimers of His Word. This is why He chose His apostles.

Jesus gave to His apostles the gift of a special revelation so that they would be witnesses in and through the Spirit of the mighty acts and words of God. The Spirit’s role is to aid in the very purpose for which they were sent—to testify and to spread the redemptive message. Thus, the role of apostle is reserved, as other gifts are reserved, for that particular authoritative function that builds the church. This is to point with authority to the words of Christ. The Spirit’s function within this office is to uplift the role of the apostle for one purpose only—to establish the very foundation of the church. This foundation is grounded in the words of Christ. The role of the apostle and the function of the gifts of the Spirit is one and only one—to express the one foundation for the building of the church under the one authoritative Gospel of the incarnate Word.

The New Testament paradigm of the establishment of the church is clearly established here. We have Christ’s proclamation—the apostolic authority in the testimony of the Spirit—for the one purpose of building the church. The sanctification aspects of the apostolic office are grounded in the proclamation of Christ. The gifts of the Spirit also fall within this paradigm and dimension. All is subjected to the proclamation of Christ (John 17:14-26). To build a different paradigm is not to build the proper framework to understand our spiritual gifts. For the very power of individuals, even of the apostles, is grounded in the proclamation. From there follows the dynamic power of the Spirit, creating new opportunities, so that God’s Word may be preached to the salvation and edifying of God’s people.

Christ’s testimony is the foundation that builds and enlightens the work of the church. This New Testament testimony also takes very seriously our reality of sin. For the reality of the Spirit is expressed within the flesh-and-spirit tension of the redeemed individual. This is, in my opinion, the proper starting point for a Lutheran understanding of spiritual gifts (at least for the one expressed by Luther). God creates, preserves, and sustains through His Word the function of the church. Our mighty testimony in that Word creates and illuminates

those functions appropriate to the building of the Kingdom. It can also empower each and every individual to perform the needed tasks that the Lord deems necessary for the continual spreading of His Kingdom. We shall see how this understanding prevails in the Pauline teaching concerning spiritual gifts.

Paul's Teaching concerning Spiritual Gifts

Paul clearly delineates the place of spiritual gifts for the work of the church in Ephesians 4, Romans 12, and I Corinthians 12. A clear pattern emerges in Ephesians. This epistle, which offers to us the clearest statement concerning ecclesiology, gives us some directions to understand our spiritual gifts. The priority of the Word is found here in relationship to these gifts. It is necessary, if we read Ephesians correctly, that everyone come to a living understanding of the Christian faith. This is the final goal and intention that we find in 4:13. Thus it is necessary that through His Word God provide the necessary talents to build the "body of Christ" (v. 12). The Word works mightily, challenging the whole people of God in the Spirit. This is God's choosing. In spite of human frailty God provided apostles and prophets at the right time to proclaim the greatness of His Kingdom. This is the only correct explanation of this text if we view it in relationship to the pertinent texts in the Gospel of John. Today also, in continuity with God's purpose, other heralds are called to witness as evangelists, pastors, and teachers to His authoritative apostolic Word. This was also the marvelous result in the days of Paul. At the center of the works of the Spirit is the realization that the spiritual gifts spring forth from the Word so that the Word may have free course in the edifying of God's people.

We must relate Ephesians 4 to the rest of the epistle. Ephesians 2 shows the centrality of the message as the only power and basis for the work of the church. Unity and reconciliation, we can clearly perceive, are related to the power of the proclamation of the Word. This powerful Word, is the Word of reconciliation under the cross (Ephesians 2:14-17).

Turning to Romans 12, we find a similar perspective. Here, however, the context of the message dictates another important concern in reference to spiritual gifts. Since it is God who offers through His Word the gift of the Spirit to build His church, and since this work does not depend on human abilities but only on God's particular measure of grace (Romans 12:6) given to accomplish His purpose, such as exhortation and service (vv. 6-8), then we ought "not to think

more highly" of ourselves. The gifts or talents listed here are really not human gifts or talents. Again, if we take seriously original sin and the tension between flesh and spirit, then we cannot look upon our apparent human talents as the foundation to discover our *spiritual* gifts. Rather, God has provided these gifts for His specific time and purposes. This is found within the context of Romans 12 in relationship to Jesus' intention. What the text urges us to do is use those gifts that the Lord, through His proclamation, has urged us to use. If God calls others to specific tasks and purposes, then we should be happy with this too since there is only one goal—to proclaim the message of salvation and to build the Kingdom under this Word.

The very key to the understanding of Romans 12 is the word *faith*. Faith is the foundation of our spiritual gifts (v. 2). Our very usefulness and the very overflowing of spiritual gifts are only the specific call of God under the paradigm of His New Testament Word and faith. Here we are called to serve not by our worth, but by the very tasks assigned under the living Word. The call at the specific time, under the Word, equips us for this. There is no human perception that can help us determine this. But God empowers in the midst of inability and powerlessness. This is New Testament teaching at its best. This should also give us some food for pastoral reflection.

Our Pastoral Task in Discerning Spiritual Gifts

Recently there has been a number of pastors within our theological context that have decided to search for special "spiritual gifts" among the brethren entrusted to them for pastoral care. They earnestly believe that if we search for those gifts which are present that our church can grow beyond bounds. To accomplish this purpose spiritual questionnaires have been formulated to discover such gifts. But can we really discover the "spiritual gifts" around us through mere human tools? If this was the way that God had intended, most apostles and certainly King David would have never been discovered. This approach places into a secondary role Luther's pastoral model of Word and faith. Also this approach invalidates or hinders present mission growth.

It was Luther's pastoral concern to search out the spiritual gifts of each and every Christian. However, his approach was theocentric, for it was centered in the Word-and-faith model. Under this model he sought to motivate each and every Christian to live a genuine Christian existence. But how did he search for these gifts? "The Freedom of a Christian" provides us with an excellent case study of Luther's pastoral concern.

This treatise is very important for it pinpoints the responsibility of every Christian. The responsibility is to be "a dutiful perfect servant to all." Luther goes on to show how Christians become genuine servants. Here again he realizes the very realistic biblical anthropology of "flesh and spirit." He cites II Corinthians 4:16 and Galatians 5:17 to support his claim.⁹ He then proceeds to search for the way that a Christian person can become a servant of all. Luther's approach is completely theocentric. He regards the whole issue from the perspective that each and every Christian has the potential to become a complete spiritual person. The question is not, "What shall we become?" Rather Luther states: "First, let us consider the inner man to see *how* a righteous, free, and pious Christian—that is, a spiritual, new, and inner man—becomes what he is."¹⁰

To Luther the first and most important question is the one how one becomes and lives as a spiritual person. Again, here Luther is consistent in his use of the Word-and-faith paradigm. To Luther the Word is essential to lead a person to a living faith and to Christian service.¹¹ The German text expresses more clearly what happens to a person that lives at all times under the Word and in faith. It speaks of a "joyous exchange" ("der froelich Wechsel").¹² This joyous exchange is the true realization that Christ's righteousness replaces our unrighteousness. Luther realizes here that all of our spiritual gifts are related to Christ's presence in our lives.

If we understand Christ's daily presence in us through the constant testimony of the Word, the whole dimension of spiritual gifts acquires a different perspective; spiritual gifts become more democratic and at the same time a real and complete source of power. Each of us has Christ in us for the purpose of building His Kingdom. The same Christ, who is also God, dwells and works in us by the testimony of the Spirit. Thus it is possible for all of us to accomplish His purposes.¹³

Luther discusses the whole dimension of spiritual gifts in relationship to Christ's office of priest. Christ as our High Priest intercedes for us before the Father. He teaches and communicates the value of this office to each and every believer by means of His Holy Spirit.¹⁴ It is from this vantage point that Luther shares one of his most significant Reformation concepts—the priesthood of all believers (I Peter 2:9).¹⁵

The Reformer at this point uses the same image that he employed to explain the joyous exchange, the *admirabile commercium*. This image is the one of marriage. In a marriage "the wife owns whatever belongs to the husband."¹⁶ Thus, we too possess the royal priest-

hood by our Spirit-filled union with the incarnate Christ. His priesthood is an intricate part of every Christian, for His living reality under the Word is ours. From this realization comes the most enabling principle for the work of each and every Christian. Wherever we are as believers, whatever God wants us to do, there, by the call of the Word, we can do all things, for He is part of our living reality. He is the Priest and we are His royal priesthood.

Luther, then, finds in each believer the possibility to accomplish all things needed for Christ's Kingdom. He discerns our complete spiritual gifts:

Not only are we the freest of kings, we are also priests forever, which is far more excellent than being kings, for as priests we are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one another divine things. These are the functions of priests, and they cannot be granted to any unbeliever. Thus Christ has made it possible for us, provided we believe in Him, to be His brethren, co-heirs, and fellow-priests. Therefore we may boldly come into the presence of God in the spirit of faith (Heb. 10:19,22) and cry "Abba, Father," pray for one another, and do all things which we see done and foreshadowed in the outer and visible works of priests.¹⁷

Thus, in providing for a clear pastoral perspective, I do not think that it is possible to discover specific spiritual gifts by questionnaires or any other human pretention. Wisdom and ability come from God. God shaped David for His purposes. He also called the apostles for His specific tasks. Today also, because we are Christ's royal priesthood, His power and possibilities are ours for the purpose of building His Kingdom.

If a task needs to be carried out for the purpose of building His Kingdom, the Lord can certainly use earthen vessels in whatever capacity He wants. He is strong, but we are weak. Our only role is to be faithful hearers of the Word. We only need to find the needs and opportunities in which God wants to accomplish His purposes. If the Goliaths of indifference, secularity, and difficult cultural situations seem ready to devour us and to stifle the growth of the Kingdom, God will provide from among us the gift of many Davids. If there are needs, the Gospel will open many doors mightily. People who seem weak and incapable could be through the Word the very powerful tools of God unto salvation. This is again a proper understanding of our theology of the cross.

All missionaries in very difficult situations have found clear evidence of the truth of this theology. When one begins work in an im-

possible missionary situation, there are not too many people on whom one can count for the purpose of spreading the Kingdom. But the Lord has provided without measure for our many needs when we ask in the name of Christ and reflect on the Word of the Gospel. His call under the Gospel is enough to develop and to find the many spiritual gifts needed!¹⁸

I know that many of my colleagues and I have found the same reality in our tenures as seminary professors. Often we have wondered whether a particular individual could meet a specific challenging missionary task. Yet the Lord pointed beyond our human expectations. For when the Lord called for His purposes, the royal priesthood met the challenge. The Lord time and time again has provided for His most specific and arduous tasks in this manner. If we had judged otherwise our function as professors would have been less productive and rewarding. But the Lord in His Word calls us to faith and to His purposes.

Endnotes

1. WA 4,364,5ff. Here, however, Luther is still a Roman Catholic at heart in terms of the doctrine of justification. He refers to justification here as something that occurs in human beings. He refers to a "semper iustificandi" as a conventional activity in human beings. However, here throughout the context he is very dedicated to the "flesh and spirit" tension. See also *Luther's Works, II* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1976), 495-496.
2. WA 4,321,26ff. Cf. LW 2, pp. 437-438. I owe a great deal to Steven E. Ozment. He provides us with a detailed study of Luther's *Dictata* concerning these matters in his *Homo Spiritualis (A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson, and Martin Luther (1509-16) in the Context of Their Theological Thought)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969). Cf. especially Part Three, pages 87-214. We can also find an excellent discussion of these matters in Heiko A. Oberman, "Simul Gemitus et Raptus: Luther and Mysticism," in *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, ed. Steven E. Ozment (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971). Cf. especially pages 228-229; 234-236.
3. I point the reader to Luther's "On the Freedom of the Christian." Here we clearly find the dimension of the Word of God, Law and Gospel, as the basis of a genuine Christian vocation. This is how we always live in Christ in a "joyous exchange." (LW 31, 327-377.)
4. Lowell H. Zuck, "Spiritual Renewal in the Radical Reformation Tradition," *Brethren Life*, 26 (Winter, 1981): 18-30.
5. I use the word "charismatic" here to refer to current movements that claim special and direct gifts of the Spirit and those who uphold a perfectionist theology of the Spirit.

6. Zuck, p.22.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
8. *LW* 31, 344.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, 345-350.
12. *WA* 7, 25, 30.
13. *LW* 31, 351-352.
14. *Ibid.*, 354.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, 355.
18. After the present article was written I came across an essay by Malcolm O. Tolbert that supports many of my conclusions ("The Place of Spiritual Gifts in Ministry," *The Theological Educator* (Fall, 1983): 53-63). Dr. Tolbert makes these observations about "spiritual gifts": (1)they are given by God for specific tasks(p.53); (2)they are given to build the church (pp. 56-57); (3)they are anchored in the Word (p. 58). Tolbert, a professor of the New Testament and one-time missionary to Brazil, warns that we should not "make the mistake of confusing natural ability and talent with spiritual gifts" (p. 58). To do so not only places human works over the work of God (p. 58), but also changes the context of the Pauline teaching, which is clearly within the realm of the doctrine of redemption rather than creation.

Was Luther a Missionary?

Eugene W. Bunkowske

Gustav Warneck, in his *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time, with an Appendix concerning Roman Catholic Missions*, contends that Luther was not a man of missions in our sense of the word.¹ After all, Luther never founded a modern-day missionary society. Instead of accompanying Ferdinand Magellan, who was his contemporary, on a voyage to take the Gospel around the world Luther stayed at home and devoted himself, of all things, to the reformation of the church. However, reading around in Luther's works, especially his sermons and notes on the Psalms² and in Werner Elert's *The Structure of Lutheranism*,³ as well as looking at Paul Peter's article on "Luther's Weltweiter Missionssinn" in the journal *Lutherischer Rundblick*⁴ leads one to believe that most modern scholars have badly misrepresented Luther on missions. Johannes von Walter (in my opinion) takes a more balanced view in his *Die Geschichte des Christentums* where he says: "It is only a legend that Luther failed to recognize the church's missionary duty at the time of the discoveries in America, Africa and the Orient."⁵

Luther's Theology of Missions

For Luther a theologically correct view of the world meant that everything and every person should be in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ. From Colossians 1:23 and Mark 16:15 he concludes that "the Gospel is not to be kept in a corner but should fill the whole globe";⁶ from Psalm 117 that "the Gospel and Baptism must come to the whole world";⁷ from Haggai 2:7 that "it will be a precious treasure for all nations."⁸ Luther says God wants to bless "not two or three nations but the whole world."⁹ Even though Luther cannot believe that non-Christians long for the Gospel,¹⁰ he does not doubt that they are in need of it. For him the very promise of blessing for the heathen "bears witness that all nations are under the curse and power of the devil."¹¹ For Luther the words *Welt* (world) and *Wort* (word) are key concepts in his worldwide sense of missions. *Wort* is the vehicle by which the happy message is announced. *Welt* is the place and object of the message.¹² According to Luther Noah traversed "the entire world and preached everywhere, giving instructions concerning the true worship of God."¹³

Luther speaks of Abraham as "preaching publicly and building a public chapel or altar." Luther holds up Abraham as an example for instructing especially his servants and also the neighboring Canaanites concerning true religion. Abraham did not do this, according to Luther "in some corner—for fear of the threats or the violence of the heathen—but in a public place in order that by his own example and that of his people he might lead others to the knowledge of God and to true forms of worship."¹⁴ Luther goes on to say: "God even used hunger to drive Abraham to Egypt, so that he might enlighten some with a right understanding of God." Then Luther applied this statement to his own time by saying: "In such a miraculous way does God act on earth sending apostles and preachers to the nations in the twinkling of an eye before they can think of it; nor do those who are sent know whither they go."¹⁵

Paraphrasing Joseph's conversation with his brothers after they recognized him in Egypt, Luther says: "Now you have recognized God, and me too. And what I told you in your ears that same thing it is proper for you to preach from the housetops (Matthew 10:27). Proclaim such things to your father and to his entire retinue in the same way that Christ demanded His disciples in Mark 16:15 to go to all the world and preach the Gospel." Luther goes on to say that Joseph sent his brothers out saying, "Rush out to say what you have heard." Then Luther added the admonition for his listeners and also for us: "As soon as we have received God in His Son Jesus Christ, the immediate consequences should be: go out now, be not quiet, so that it will not be only you who become holy, but also the others around you who are sustained."¹⁶

Here Luther is speaking not only of evangelism and missions; he is also leading us to understand that the history of the people of God is as a whole the history of missions. Insofar as Israel's history is intimately tied up with the history of the Canaanites and Egyptians it is a worldwide history of missions. For Luther, in the words of P. T. Forsyth, "The entire course of history is an all-encompassing missionary movement."¹⁷ Luther also underscored the promise to Abraham that in him all the races of the world should be blessed (Genesis 12:3) when he said: "Here comes the right promise which we should write with golden letters, and glorify and praise in the languages of all lands. For this promise brings and offers eternal treasures." Luther adds: "But if, as the words clearly indicate, this promise is to be extended to all nations or families of the earth, who else, would we say has dispensed this blessing among all nations except the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ?"¹⁸

The first part of Luther's systematic approach to missions is a description of the "kingdom." Wherever he does this the world-wide dimension of his sense of missions comes into view. According to his exegesis of Psalm 8, the kingdom of Christ is "in all lands, and yet in heaven . . . [It] is founded and regulated, namely, only through the Word and Faith, without sword and armour."¹⁹ According to Luther this kingdom is "not a temporal, transitory, earthly kingdom, ruled with laws and regulations, but a spiritual, heavenly and eternal kingdom that must be ruled without and above all laws, regulations and outward means."²⁰ As such the kingdom, according to Luther, reminds us of the great missionary truth "that all the heathen should praise God and become God's people."²¹ Here we see the extent to which Luther's sense of missions (missionary consciousness) is drawn from his deep understanding of the "correct way of teaching." As Luther once said it when expounding Psalm 19:4:

The days and nights will declare the glory of God and the works of His hands in the languages of all people and in all lands. . . This was fulfilled as the apostles proclaimed the great deeds of God in many tongues and it continues to be fulfilled in the whole world, for the Gospel which was disseminated into various languages through the apostles continues to resound in those same tongues unto the ends of the world.²²

At the same time Luther also recognized together with the psalm writers that "In the wake of the preaching of the Word, Satan and so many smart people, so many holy and powerful men—in fact the whole world together with the gates of hell—would persecute the Word." Other obstacles, according to Luther, will be "the ingratitude of the people, contempt and weariness with the Word."²³ Furthermore, according to Luther, it is so very hard for us "openly and without fear to praise the mercy of God freely. . . for it is boldness above boldness, strength above strength and courage above courage to dare to speak in public and to confess the name of the Lord." For Luther there are various motivations for closing our lips: "Sometimes the fear of danger, sometimes the hope of gain and often the advice of friends intervenes."²⁴ For Luther it is therefore clear why the Psalmist in Psalm 51:15 says: "Lord, open Thou my lips, and grant that I may confidently cry out, teach and instruct others in what I have learned, namely, that Thou alone art praiseworthy and glorious forever, Thou who doest really justify the wicked." In this way Luther encourages us to continue in the work of missions, "So that we might learn how great a thing it is to dare to speak of what we have experienced."²⁵ Although recognizing that not all would accept the wit-

ness, Luther says: "Still some from among the nobility, kings, princes and the wise of the world will join themselves to you and will accept the Word. God will have His tithe from the mass of kingdoms and peoples. . . . God always converts a few through this doctrine of faith in spite of all reason and opinions."²⁶ In order that this might happen Luther developed a lively correspondence with several hundred princes and nobles who ruled over the various political units of Europe.²⁷

The most important thing for Luther is that God will always supply a place in which the Word of God can be taught, and so Luther's sense of missions knows no bounds. For the Lord, according to Luther, will have a kingdom not merely in the Jewish people, but also in the whole earth throughout the world. Christ will have His baptistry, His chancel, from which He teaches, and His apostles and teachers teach in cities and towns even if only one or two believe. So Christ's name and the altar on which the Sacrament is celebrated remain. They will be extended in length as well as in breadth so that Christ and His name will be found in every extremity throughout the world.²⁸

On the basis of Psalm 68:11 Luther says: "The Lord will give the Word (*Ausreden*), so that there will be a great host of evangelists."²⁹ Luther continues: "this came to pass in the apostles and their successors throughout the world. God blessed the world with a host of these, dispatching them into all the world."³⁰ Luther further speaks of the apostles as "kings of these hosts. . . , for they are the ones who converted the whole world. Each one in his particular sphere of action led his army to Christ."³¹

How can Luther say that apostles have "converted the whole world"? Did he mean to say that the apostles had personally converted people throughout the whole world? Some theologians have taken Scripture in that way. Some have even believed that in the apostolic age the Gospel was planted in the Americas. But this is not Luther's view. In his interpretation of Mark 16:14-20 Luther says, "The apostles did not go to all the countries for no apostle came to us" (the Germans, that is). And since America had just been discovered during Luther's time, he was well aware that, as he said it, "Many islands have been found even in our days where there are heathen to whom no one has preached."³² Luther therefore poses a question: "How could these discoveries accord with Paul's words in Romans 10:18 (quoted from Psalm 19), 'your preaching has gone out to all the world,' although it has not arrived in all the world?"

Luther's answer is found in his exegesis of this psalm. He says that "according to David's word God's grace will in the future be preached everywhere. . . ; His kingdom will extend under all of heaven. . . ; Christ

will reign and rule all the lands that will believe in Christ and that the holy Christian Church will be as broad as the world.”³³ Thus Luther is speaking of the future and not limiting the preaching concerning the grace of God to the apostolic era. Rather, Luther says, “The word of the Gospel which the apostles preached . . . has run abroad in the whole world and still runs.”³⁴ In his Ascension sermon Luther tells us how he wishes that this matter should be understood:

Their message has gone out to all lands even though it has not yet reached all the world. This going forth has begun and goes into motion even though it has not been completed or accomplished. Rather it will be preached out to an ever greater extent, in distance and breadth, until the last day. As soon as this message is preached and heard and proclaimed in all the world, then is the message complete and accomplished for all. Then will the last day come to pass.³⁵

Luther visualized it thus: the continual issuing forth of the message was “throwing a stone into the water which makes waves, circles and streaks around itself, and the waves push each other further and further; one pushes the other, until they reach the shore.” Or he compares the divine message with a human one: “The message of the emperor which has gone out from Nuremberg, or to Turkey, even though it has not yet gotten there; in the same way are we to understand the preaching of the apostles as well.”³⁶ Luther encapsules it all by saying, “And so it has come, is coming and will come to us too, who live at the end of earth; for we (the Germans) too live on the sea.”³⁷

Luther and the Great Commission

Some scholars have attributed to Luther the opinion that the Great Commission was only for the apostles. Some based this idea on Luther’s interpretation of Psalm 82:4 in which he cited Mark 16:15, “Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures,” but added, “since then, however, no one has had this general apostolic command.”³⁸ The context, however, shows that in this situation Luther was distinguishing between “public preaching” and “street-corner preaching.” Luther wanted to call to the attention of the “street-corner preachers” that the call is holy and that the called preacher receives a clear-cut office. He is called by a defined community to carry out the ministry. With the apostles, from Luther’s point of view, it was different because they were the pioneers who started the whole process that set the ongoing waves of missions into progress. Because of

this they had a general call to go "to all lands," to "foreign houses," and there to preach to all people.

But this point in no way changed for Luther the all-encompassing validity of Christ's Great Commission. For Luther made only one distinction between the call of the apostles and the call of their followers. The call of the apostles was direct, the call of their disciples mediated. Nevertheless, both were divine calls both as to their content and as to their power. Therefore, both the apostles and their followers have the one call to preach Christ, or as Luther expressed it in his interpretation of Psalm 45:14:

The Apostles teach about Christ. The Prophets teach about Him too. The teachers, bishops, pastors and ministers who baptize, who administer the Sacraments—all are led to Christ that they may believe and serve in faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, each one in his own way. . . . So if I am a teacher of the Gospel, I do the same thing that Paul and Peter did.³⁹

In fact, it has always been a common concept in Lutheranism that all "legitimate ministers of the Gospel are true successors of the apostles," not by virtue of their person, but by virtue of their being men whom the Lord Jesus Christ has "sent out" as witnesses not only in Jerusalem but also in all Judea, Samaria, and the uttermost parts of the world.⁴⁰

Luther did not think of missions as being primarily individualized or privatized. He thought of missions as pertaining to the church; that is, he thought in terms of Christendom as a whole as well as of the world of nations. He thought of the people and the nations that had not as yet heard the Gospel and so he saw the Gospel moving from nation to nation, from *ta ethne* to *ta ethne*. Luther often spoke of these groups of people as "heathen." Luther, like missionary preachers of today, did not use that term in a negative sense but rather he understood the word in the sense that Christ the Good Shepherd used it when he spoke about "the other sheep."⁴¹ Or Luther spoke about those whose invitation to the great wedding came later and who were brought from the highways.⁴² In conformity with the Scriptures Luther takes the word "heathen" as referring primarily to non-Jews. As a result, Luther can say that the Good News is meant for "us heathen" or that "accordingly the apostles came to the heathen." Yet in the same connection Luther continues: "This has not yet been done. The time is in progress, inasmuch as the servants are going into the highways; the apostles made a beginning and are still calling us together."⁴³

Luther was not satisfied to preach only to Christians. He said, "It is necessary always to proceed to those to whom no preaching has

been done, in order that the number of Christians may be greater.”⁴⁴ He pointed out that this obligation rests on all Christians when he said:

The Christians should also through the Word harvest much fruit among all the Gentiles and should convert and save many, and thus they shall devour around about them like a fire that is burning in the midst of dry wood or straw. The fire of the Holy Spirit, then, shall devour the Gentiles according to the flesh and prepare a place everywhere for the Gospel and the kingdom of Christ.⁴⁵

Particularly in Luther's time this obligation to do missionary work confronted the prisoners of war among the Turks who, Luther said, by their Christian conduct should “adorn and praise the Gospel and the name of Christ” in Turkish surroundings. He said that by doing this the prisoners of war would “perhaps convert many.”⁴⁶ According to Luther, indeed, every Christian in heathen surroundings, not only the prisoners of war, should be a missionary. A Christian in such circumstances “not only has the right and the power to teach God's Word but has the duty to do so on pain of losing his soul and of God's disfavor.” For Luther when the Christian is at “a place where there are no Christians he needs no other call than to be a Christian, called and anointed by God from within. Here it is his duty to preach and to teach the Gospel to erring heathen or non-Christians, because of the duty of brotherly love even though no man calls him to do so.”⁴⁷ Lest, however, we suggest Luther is leaving the duty or obligation to do mission work completely dependent on chance, it will be good to listen to Luther at another time: “Now if all heathen are to praise God . . . they must know Him and believe in Him . . . If they are to believe, they must first hear His Word . . . If they are to hear His Word, then preachers must be sent to proclaim god's Word to them.”⁴⁸ In concluding this section it is fitting to note how highly Luther thought of missionary work among the heathen: “It is the best work of all when the heathen are led out of idolatry to the knowledge of God.”⁴⁹

Luther the Missionary in Action

The above citations from Luther's writings have shown us what a broad understanding the Reformer had of the propagation of the Gospel in all the world. It remains now to show that he went on to translate this sense of missions into action and that his contribution to world missions is far from negligible. Luther himself spoke of this missionary activity of his when someone objected that he, although only a preacher in Wittenberg, was teaching in all the world through his books, and

that he therefore was not staying within the bounds prescribed by his congregational call. To this Luther retorted that "as a Doctor of Holy Scripture. . . I began, at the command of pope and emperor, to do what such a doctor is sworn to do, expounding the Scriptures for all the world and teaching everybody."⁵⁰ In this passage it comes into sharp focus how Luther and his contemporaries regarded their writings as a means of worldwide missions. Luther speaks of his task of writing as "a divine office and work" even though many "do not see how necessary and useful" (his writings) "are to the world."⁵¹ In short Luther's writing activity is to be seen as part of his worldwide missionary activity.

This point is especially helpful for some of us who think particularly of the worldwide influence of Luther's translation of the Bible. For his activity as an author comes to a peak in his work as exegete (*Hermeneut*). Thanks to Luther's translation of the German Bible, the Apostle Paul's longing pointed out in 2 Thessalonians 3:1, "that the word of the Lord might spread quickly and become known in its splendor," became a reality not only in Germany but also in the diaspora, when Bible translations into all the European languages were made with reference to Luther's German translation. As one who has worked with Bible translation in Africa for several decades I can say that the ever spreading circles of the influence of Luther's Bible translation, in which content took precedence over form—cannot be too strongly emphasized. In truth Martin Luther is the father of Bible translations in the vernacular languages throughout the world. At the time of the Reformation only 33 languages of the world had any part of Scripture written in them. By 1982 some portion of the Scripture was available in 1,763 languages; 279 languages had full Bibles, 551 additional languages had New Testaments, and 933 additional languages had a portion of Scripture.⁵²

Any honest look at Luther must take a clear-eyed view of the tremendous influence of his writings, including 350 published works and 3,000 letters to people all over the globe.⁵³ As missionary writings his Large and Small Catechism are paramount and remain effective tools in missions even today. With the Catechism, "the jewel of the common school," as it was called, Luther introduced for the first time a means of thorough instruction in church and school by which, according to his words, "the heathen who want to be Christians are taught and guided in what they should believe, know, do and leave undone according to the Christian faith."⁵⁴ In this connection it is noteworthy that the Small Catechism was first published not in book form but in 40-by-24 inch posters or placards which were fixed on

the walls in the homes and schools. These posters contained Luther's Morning and Evening Prayers, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, ect. The missionary dimension of the Small Catechism is shown in the fact that it was very quickly translated into Low German, Latin, Dutch, Frisian, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Wendish, and Prussian. In many of these languages it was the first book ever published. The catechism was used in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Romania, Latvia, Estonia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Netherlands, Belgium, England, France, and even Spain and Italy.⁵⁵

In addition, one has to mention Luther's church and home postils (books of prayer and sermons) which were read by emergency preachers in various churches and were also read as devotional books in countless Christian homes.⁵⁶ With these two works Luther restored the office of preaching to its rightful place in public worship and in the communion liturgy. One can hardly overlook the missionary impact of this step on the church for the subsequent centuries, both at home and abroad. Johannes von Walter in his *Geschichte des Christentums* noted that passages from Luther's sermons and home devotions encouraged countless Christians even down to his own day.⁵⁷

In the third place, Luther's many pamphlets should be mentioned. As writings for instruction and edification they constituted a new tool for missionary outreach. They were distributed by many colporteurs and missionaries (A. G. Dickens calls such people "missionaries" repeatedly).⁵⁸ These pamphlets went out to families and cities and countrysides and they were read by young and old. They were also taken abroad by missionaries including the many students who came from other countries to study at Wittenberg. These pamphlets were translated into the languages of many other lands.⁵⁹

Then, too, Luther's hymns cannot be overlooked. In these hymns he invites people to worship in a totally new way. He propels them to take part in the worship service in a manner unthinkable prior to the Reformation. Among these hymns we find "May God Embrace us with His Grace," in which we find these phrases: "Let Jesus' healing power be revealed in richest measure, converting every nation." "May people everywhere be won to love and praise You truly."⁶⁰ The last verse in "Dear Christians, One and All" reminds us of Christ's Great Commission in Matthew 28:20, "Teach them to observe everything that I have taught you." The last verse of this hymn reads: "What I on earth have done and taught guide all your life and teaching; so shall the kingdom's work be wrought and honored in your preaching." In this verse "you" (*du*) stands for "every Christian."⁶¹ In fact,

it must be said that it was Luther's Reformation that put the communal song next to the church choir and thereby broke the preponderance of the standardized liturgy in a foreign language. The result was that a rich stream of hymnody flowed into the home, the school, and the church—into the life and hearts of the people. Luther opened the way for the great hymns, including missions hymns, in the vernacular that we hold so dear today. Truly Luther in a real sense is the father of the vernacular Christian hymnody which now exists around the world.⁶²

Luther's missionary activity did not exhaust itself with his effectiveness as an author. His sermons and speeches also had a great missionary impact. For his sermons were echoed by numerous preachers who sat at the foot of his pulpit and attended his classes. No fewer than 16,000 theological students enrolled at the University of Wittenberg between 1520 and 1560. Like no other university, this one trained missionaries for home and overseas services. The enrollment list at Wittenberg shows that one-third of the students came from other lands.⁶³ This means that no fewer than 5,000 students who had learned from Luther's sermons and lectures and from Luther's successors went out to spread Luther's deep desire that all should be brought to a saving knowledge of Christ even to the very ends of the earth. What Luther said about preaching in the quotation already mentioned, that it is like a stone thrown into the water which creates many circles around it, thus became a reality. For Luther preaching was always a message taken from place to place just as Isaiah likened the word of the Gospel to a stream in Isaiah 35:6. On the basis of this passage Luther said: "Thus the prophet points out through this simile that the Word will be preached richly and will be disseminated further and further and that from the Church—that is, in a certain place—many others will be drawn to the Word."⁶⁴

Luther's confidence in the "endless dynamic of the Gospel" and in the "corresponding movement of the church" likewise directed his eyes toward the non-Christian people with whom he came in contact. In this respect we should not think immediately of overseas people. For Luther the hearers were the Jews of Germany and also the Turks of the Balkans. Luther naturally had personal feelings about the first of those groups. The way that he felt about the conversion of the Jews at the beginning of his public activity is witnessed by his energetic sense of missions; his confidence in the Gospel as the power of holiness roused in him the hope that "if one deals in a kindly way with the Jews and instructs them carefully from Holy Scripture, many of them will become genuine Christians and turn again to the faith

of their fathers, the prophets and patriarchs.”⁶⁵ Luther even gives advice on how to lead a Jew “who is not tainted or obdurate”⁶⁶ to Christ. And in a writing to the esteemed Jesel, a Jew of Rossheim, “my good friend,” Luther informs the Jews about a “booklet” that he would like to write “if God gives me time and room.” On this booklet Luther pinned the hope that “he might win over some of the descendants of the holy patriarchs and prophets and that he may lead them to the Messiah promised to them.”⁶⁷ He closed this writing with the assurance that he “wished the Jews all the best . . . for the sake of the crucified Jew, whom no one is to take away from me.”⁶⁸ This even in 1537, when this letter was written, Luther still sought to bring about the conversion of the Jews even though he had long before experienced how they had misunderstood his neighborly love and how they had made use of his “benevolence” for their “impenitence.”⁶⁹ In another place Luther said, “We have a high regard for the Jewish people and yet they are so arrogant and proud.”⁷⁰ All of this proves again that Luther craved to bring about a conversion of the Jews and that he actually took measure to this end.

Luther also turned his sights continually back to the warlike Turks who had constantly threatened the existence of Germany. At first he turned against them in his polemical works *On the War Against the Turks*, *An Army Sermon Against the Turks*, and *An Exhortation to Pray Against the Turks*.⁷¹ However, it is noteworthy that Luther did not preach a crusade against the Turks. For Luther the sword does not serve Christ’s kingdom but only the transitory kingdoms of the left in which the sword is used to create compulsory law and order. In his writings Luther does not omit thoughts on missionary activities among the Muslims who were threatening the empire. These thoughts have already been shared in the previous discussion on Luther and the Great Commission. Luther’s attitude was a seed that soon began to sprout. Primus Truber (1506-1586) and Baron Ungnad von Sonegg (1493-1564) reached out from Wurttemberg to establish missions not only to the southern Slavs but also to the Turks. In 1559 the successful Slovenian translation of Stephan led a team of spiritual and secular experts to say, among other things, that through it, “we hope, the right Christian religion and the true saving Gospel will be promoted throughout Turkey, that the heart and disposition of the Turks will be renewed to the holy faith . . . and that in time our Savior Jesus Christ will be made known throughout Turkey.”⁷² The matter did not stop with the written report of 1559, for in 1561 Baron Ungnad issued a call for help to the German princes “in order that thus the pure doctrine of the divine Word may also be brought into Turkey.”⁷³

Electors August of Saxony, Count Christopher of Württemberg, and others responded in a noteworthy manner to this call and to the calls of book-printer Ambrosius Frohlich of Vienna and of the preacher Blohovic. Count Ludwig of Württemberg sent the master valedictorian of his class from Knittlingen to Morocco in 1583, so that he could learn Arabic and become familiar with Islam. In such a manner Ludwig hoped that "our saving religion might be propagated among these barbarian peoples."⁷⁴ The Scandinavian princes also followed Luther's good example. King Gustavus Vasa (1496-1560) started mission work among the Laplanders and translated the New Testament into that language.⁷⁵ According to Elert, however, it was only during the nineteenth century that the "definite breakthrough"⁷⁶ of Luther's missionary orientation came into full fruition in the part of Christendom that was named for him. This is all the more reason for us, who are contemporary Lutherans and especially committed to the theological position that Luther held, to make Luther's sense of missions our own in imitation of some of the great nineteenth-century missionaries.

Endnotes

1. Gustave Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time, with an Appendix concerning Roman Catholic Missions* (New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1906, original German edition published in 1881), pp. 9-10: "We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions, in the sense in which we understand them today. . . Luther did not think of proper missions to the heathen, i.e. of a regular sending of messengers of the Gospel to non-Christian nations, with the view of Christianizing them. . . Luther's mission sphere was, if we may so say, the paganized Christian church." To put Warneck's quotation into perspective we must recognize that he wrote it in 1881 which was right in the midst of the high tide of Protestant liberalism in Great Britain (1870-1914). He was polemicizing against three authors of his time who very much believed that Luther had a sense of missions. They were Albert Ostertag, *Uebersichtliche Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1858); Gustav Leopold Plitt, *Kurze Geschichte der lutherischen Mission* (Erlangen, 1871), and Christian Andreas Herman Kalkar, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission unter den Heiden* (Gutersloh, 1879). The first two authors were German and Kalkar was Danish. The fact that only Warneck has been translated into English puts many present day readers at a definite disadvantage when studying this period.

2. Martin Luther, "Selected Psalms" in *Luther's Works*, Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. editors (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-1958; cited Lehmann, hereafter as *LW*, XII, XIII, XIV.
3. Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism; the Theology and Philosophy of Life of Lutheranism, especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), Volume I:385-402.
4. Paul Peters, "Luthers Weltweiter Missionssinn," *Lutherischer Rundblick*, XVII (1969):162-175.
5. Johannes von Walter, *Die Geschichte des Christentums* (Gutersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1939), Volume II, Part 2: 441: "Erst die Entdeckung Amerikas sowie des Seewegs nach Indien liess die Heidenmission wiederaufleben. Das Luther keinen Sinn fur diese Pflicht der Kirche gehabt hatte, ist Legende."
6. Luther, "Die ersten 25 Psalmen auf der Koburg ausgelegt 1530, herausgegeben von G. Koffmane," in *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Hermann Bohlhaus Nachfolger, 1913; cited hereafter as *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:339, line 18ff. (on Psalm 19): "Hic psalmus est de evangelio invulgando per totum orbem . . . Evangelium ad oculus sit manifestatum, ubicunque est coelum, dies, nox, loquela, terra et fines orbis, 'das das Evangelium so weit sey gangen, als himel und erden ist,' quod non sit praedicatum in aliquo angulo, sed sicut Paulus ad Coloss. 1 (23) cap. dicit: 'in omni creatura' et Christus: 'Ite et praedicate evangelium omni creaturae' (Mark 16:15), quod debet replere totum orbem." For another, similar, exposition by Luther of Psalm 19, "Kurze Auslegung Uber den 19. Psalm," see *LW* XIII:139-144 (in English); Luther, *Sammtliche Schriften*, Johann Georg Walch, editor (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1896; hereafter cited as Walch-St. Louis), V:1332-1339, and *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:580-586, both in German. According to Walch, this "Brief Exposition of Psalm 19" by Luther was first written down in 1524, by Melancthon in Latin, then it was put into German by Georg Spalatin. See *LW*, XII:x, and Walch-St. Louis, VI:1332-1333. See also *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:285, line 9 (on Psalm 8:1): "Regnum Christi in verbo sit et spirituale, item non in aliquo angulo, non in Germania solum sed in universa terra." A later (1537) exposition of Psalm 8:1 is found in *LW* XII:97-107. See further a 1534 sermon by Luther on Psalm 65:5, *WA*, XXXVII:435, line 27: "Das heist eine kyrche, die so weit ist, als himel und erden ist." On Psalm 65, see *LW*, X:314 (Luther's 1513-1515 lectures).
7. *LW*, XIV:13. For the original see "Der 117. Psalm ausgelegt (1530)," *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:232: "Denn das Evangelion und die Taufe Mussen durch die gantze welt komen . . ."
8. Luther, "Praellectiones in prophetas minores (1524-1526)," *WA*, XIII: 525, line 4 ff.: '*Veniet*: Per evangelium proferetur desiderabile, dignitas, forma, species, quae deceat omnes gentes, 'ein kostlicher schatz,' qui sit invulgandus inter omnes gentes, non quasi desiderium omnium gentium, quia ignorant Christum, sed commendat hunc thesaurum inaeestimabilem et iucundissimum, qui est Christus per verbum praedicatus vel res quaedam iucundissima invulganda inter omnes gentes, quia vult propheta significare regnum aliud institutum, quid sit dilatandum in omnes gentes." *LW*, XVIII:382, reproduces a similar, but somewhat less mission-oriented Luther commentary on Haggai 2:7.

9. Luther, "In Genesisin Declamationes (1527)," *WA*, XXIV:392, line 13, on Genesis 22:18: "Er wil aber segenen, nicht zwey odder drey volck, sondern die gantze welt." For an English translation of a later Luther commentary on Genesis 22:17-18 (1535) see *LW*, IV:151-178.
10. *LW*, XVIII:382, on Haggai 2:7 (1525): "... A treasure that had to be published through the Gospel . . . of which the Gentiles were so unaware that they were unable to desire it." For the original Latin consult *WA*, XIII:541, lines 14-17.
11. Luther, "Lectures on Genesis (1535)," *LW*, IV:161 on Genesis 22:17-18. For the original Latin see *WA*, XLIII:252, lines 13-14.
12. Peters, pp. 164-165.
13. Luther, "Lectures on Genesis," *LW* II:57 on Genesis 6:9-10. For the German see Walch-St. Louis, I:501, and for the original Latin consult *WA*, XLII:302, lines 15-16.
14. *LW*, II:333 (on Genesis 13:4). For the German see Walch-St. Louis I:839, and for the original Latin consult *WA*, XLII:500, lines 14-17.
15. Luther, "Auslegungen uber das erste Buch Mosis (1523-1524)," Walch-St. Louis, III:234 (on Genesis 12:10-16): "So handelt Gott wunderlich auf Erden, schickt Apostel und Prediger zu den Leuten, ehe sie sich's versehen, oder eines daran gedenkt; auch die geschickt werden, wissen selbst nicht, wie sie hinkommne." For the original Latin look in *WA*, XIV:228.
16. *LW*, VIII:46 (on Genesis 45:9-11). For the German see Walch-St. Louis, II:1711-1712, and for the original Latin consult *WA*, XLIV:612, lines 36-37.
17. Samuel J. Mikolaski, editor, *The Creative Theology of P.T. Forsyth; Selection from His works* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969), p. 76.
18. *LW*, II:260. For the German see Walch-St. Louis, I:747-748, and for original Latin consult *WA*, XLII:447.
19. *LW*, XII:98. For the original German see Walch-St. Louis, V:192, or *WA*, XLV:207.
20. Luther, "Psalm 117 (1530)," *LW*, XIV:14. For the original German see Walch-St. Louis, V:1144, or *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:233-234.
21. *LW*, XIV:18. For the original German see Walch-St. Louis, V:1149, or *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:236-237.
22. Luther, "Operationes in Psalmos (1519-1521)," *WA*, V:546: "Coelorum, dierum et nocturnum, cui enarrant gloriam dei et opera manuum eius. Sed ubi istos celos audiemus? aut in qua gente? aut quibus linguis loquentur? Respondet: omnium gentium linguis loquentur et in omni terra, ut sequens versus dicet. Id impletum est, ubi Apostoli loquebantur variis linguis magnalia dei, et adhuc impletur in orbe terrarum, quia Evangelium per Apostolos varriis linguis evulgatum adhuc sonat in eisdem linguis usque in finem mundi." For a German Translation see Walch-St. Louis, IV:1133.
23. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 45 (1532)," *LW*, XII:219-220. For the German see Walch-St. Louis, V:368-269, and for the original Latin consult *WA*, XL, Part 2:501-502.
24. Luther, Commentary on Psalm 51 (1538)," *LW*, XII:393. For the German see Walch-St. Louis, V:595, and for the original Latin see *WA*, XL, Part 2: lines 17-26.
25. *LW*, XII:394; Walch-St. Louis, V:596, *WA*, XL, Part 2:447-448.

26. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 45," *LW*, XII:290. For the German see Walch-St. Louis, V:458-459, and for the original Latin consult *WA*, XL, Part 2:596, lines 13-18.
27. Ernest Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times; The Reformation from a New Perspective* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), p. 4.
28. *LW*, XII:297. For the German see Walch-St. Louis, V:468, and the original Latin is found in *WA*, XL, Part 2:606, lines 19-27.
29. Luther, Walch-St. Louis, V:667, translated Psalm 68:12 (sic): "Gott wird geben das Ausreden, dass der Evangelisten wird sein eine grosse Heerschaar." See also *WA*, VIII:12, lines 27-28. In his Bible, on the other hand, Luther translated: "Der Herr gibt das Wort mit grossen Scharen Evangelisten."
30. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 68 (1521)," *LW*, XIII:12. for the original German see Walch-St. Louis, V:667, or *WA*, VIII:13, lines 9 and 10.
31. *LW*, XIII:13; Walch-St. Louis, V:668: "Die Konige diesser Heerschaaren sind die Apostel, vor der Welt angesehen fur arme Knechte, aber vor Gott grosse konige. Denn sie sind, die alle Welt bekehrt haben, ein jeglicher an seinem Ort sein Heer zu Christo gebracht." See also *WA*, VIII:13, lines 27-30.
32. Luther, "Ascension Day Sermon on Mark 16:14-20 (1522)," Walch-St. Louis, XI:950-951: "All hier begibt sich eine frage uber diesen Spruch: Gehet hin in alle Welt; wie dieser Spruch zu verstehen ist, und zu halten, sintemal die Apostel je nicht in alle Welt kommen sind? Denn es ist kein Apostel her zu uns kommen; auch sind viel Inseln erfunden worden noch zu unsern Zeiten, die da Heiden sind, und niemand hat ihnen gepredigt."
33. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 19 (1531)," *LW*, XII:141. For the original? *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:582, or Walch-St. Louis, V:1335.
34. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 110 (1539)," *LW*, XIII:269. For the original German see Walch-St. Louis, V:969.
35. Luther, "Ascension Day Sermon" (1522) Walch-St. Louis, XI:951: "Ihre Predigt ist in alle Welt ausgangen, wiewohl sie in alle Welt noch nicht ist kommen. Dieser Ausgang ist aufgefangen und ausgangen; wiewohl er noch nicht vollbracht und ausgerichtet ist, sondern wird je weiter und ferner ausgepredigt, bis an den jugsten Tag. Wenn diese Predigt in aller Welt gepredigt und gehort wird, und verkundigt, alsdann ist die botschaft vollbracht und allenthalben ausgerichtet; dann wird auch zutreffen der jungste Tag." See also *WA*, X, Part 3:139, lines 23-26.
36. Walch-St. Louis, XI:951: "Est ist eben um diese Botschaft der Predigt, als wenn man einen Stein ins Wasser wirft, der macht Bulgen und Kreise oder Striemen um sich, und die Bulgen walchen (drangen) sich immer fort und fort, eine treibt die andere, bis das sie an das Ufer kommen. . . Als wenn man spricht: Des Kaisers Botschaft ist ausgangen gen Nurnberg, oder zum Turken, wiewohl sie noch nicht dahin kommen ist, also ist es auch zue verstehen mit der Predigt der Apostel." See also *WA*, X, Part 3:140, lines 1-16.
37. Walch-St. Louis, XI:95: "Also ist es auch jetzund zu uns kommen, die wir liegen am Ende der Welt; denn wir liegen hart am Meer." See also *WA*, X, lines 1-16.
38. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 82 (1530)," *LW*, XIII:64. For the original German see *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:211, or Walch-St. Louis, V:721: "Aber darnach hat niemand mehr solchen gemeinen Apostolischen befehl."

39. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 45," *LW*, XII:295. For the original Latin, somewhat different from the English, see *WA*, XL, Part 2:603: "Sic Apostoli docent Christum, eundem docent Prophetæ, Doctores, Episcopi, Pastores, Ministri, qui baptisant, qui porrigunt Sacraments. Omnes adducuntur ad Christum, ut credant et serviant in fide Domini nostri Jesu Christi unusquisque in sue genere. . . Sic ego, si sum Doctor Evangelii, idem facio, quod Paulus et Petrus faciunt." For the German see Walch-St. Louis, V:465.
40. Luther, "Smalcald Articles," in *Concordia Triglotta* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 507: "The authority of the ministry depends upon the Word of God. . . The office of the ministry proceeds from the general call of the Apostles." The scriptural allusion is Acts 1:8.
41. Luther, "Sermon on John 10, for the Sunday after Easter (1523)," *WA* XII: line 2 ff.: "So sagt er nun hie 'Ich hab noch andere schaff, die nicht aus diszem schaffstal sind, die musz ich auch hertz zu bringen,' da sagt er, das den heyden auch sol das Evangelion predigt werden, das sie auch an Christum glawden, das aus Juden und Heyden eyne Christliche gemeyne werde; das hat er darnach durch die Apostel than, die den Heyden predigten und bekereten sie zu dem glawben."
42. Luther, "Sermon on Luke 14:16-24 for the Second Sunday of Trinity (1523)," *WA*, XII:600, lines 11-13: "Auf die gassen und strassen ist nicht anders, dann das sich die Juden des Evangelii unwirdig machten und sich abwandten und die junger sich zu ben kerten." See also Luther's "Sermon on Matthew 22:1-14 for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity (1533)," *WA*, XXXVII:181, line 11 and "Sermon on John 18 for Palm Sunday (1534)," *WA*, XXXVII:342 line 1.
43. Luther, "Sermon on the Sunday before Simon and Jude, on Matthew 22:1-14 (1525)," *WA*, XVII, Part 1: 442, lines 32-37, and 443, line 1: "Paulus inquit (eph. 2:11.) nobis gentibus nihil promissum, neque invitati per scripturam. Nos vero per apostolos invitati et hi vocant, quoscunque inveniunt, sieve fuerant 'gest oder nicht.' Hoc est, quod Evangelium praedicatum per omnem mundum. Malos et bonos, inquit, adduxerunt. Hoc nondum factum. Hoc tempus 'ghet,' quod servi 'ghen auff der strassen,' apostoli incepterunt et nos adhuc 'ruffen zu samen.'"
44. Luther, "Sermon on the Second Book of Moses—Allegory of the Twelfth Chapter (1525)," *WA*, XVI:215, line 7-10 and 216, lines 1-2: "'Vicinos' i.e. quod Christus non solum debet 'treiben' inter Judeos, sed et gentes. Paulus (Rom. 15:9 ff.): Christus ut semper latius divulgatur Christus Ro. ut multi adducantur in hanc domum, donec totus mundus. Credo non defuisse, qui non ederent agnum, sed hic semper desunt, oportet semper progredi ad eos quibus non praedicatum, ut plures fiant. Est agnitio Christi, ut verbum dei 'zunimt.'"
45. Luther, "Lectures on Zechariah (1527)," *LW*, XX:326. For the original German consult *WA*, XXXIII:645, lines 30-35: "Die Christen auch dazu viel frucht durchs wort unter allen Heiden schaffen, viel bekeren und selig machen, also das sie unben sich fressen sollen als ein fewr, das mitten ym durren holtz odder stro brennet, also sol das fewr des heiligen geists die Heiden nach dem fleisch verzeren und dem Evangelio und reich Christi allenthalben rawn nachen."

46. Luther, "Heerpredigt wider den Turken (1529)," *WA*, XXX, Part 2:194, lines 28-31 and 195, lines 1-4: "widerumb wo du trewlich und vleissig dienetest, wurdestu das Evangelion und den namen Christi schmucken und preisen, das dein herr und villeicht viel ander, wie bese sie weren, sagen musten: Wolan, Nu sind doch die Christen ein trew, gehorsam, frum, demutig, vleissig volck, Und wurdest dazu der Turken glauben schanden machen und villeicht viel bekeren, wenn sie sehen wurden, das die Christen mit demut, gedult, vleis, trew un der gleichen tugenden die Turcken so weit ubertreffen." See also Walch-St. Louis, XX:2191.
47. Luther, "That a Christian Assembly or Congregation has the Right and Power to Judge all Teaching and to Call, Appoint, and Dismiss Teachers, Established and Proven by Scripture (1523)," *LW*, XXXIX:310. For the original German see *WA*, XI:412, lines 11-13, 16-20. "das keyn Christen sind, da darff er keyns anders beruffs denn das er eyn Christen ist ynnwendig von gott beruffen und gesalbet. Do ist er schuldig den yrenden heyden odder unchristen tzu predigen und tzu eren das Evangelion aus pflicht bruderlicher liebe, ob yhn schon keyn mensch datzu berufft."
48. Luther, "Commentary on Psalm 117," *LW*, XIV:9. For the original German see *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:228-229.
49. Luther, "Sermons on Matthew 23 (1537-1540)," *WA*, XLVII:466, lines 5-6: "Also ist es das allerbeste werck, das die Heiden aus der Abgottere zu Gottes erkendtniss sind gefuhret worden."
50. Luther, "Commentary on Psalms 82," *LW*, XIII:66. For the original German consult *WA*, XXXI, Part 1:212, or Walch-St. Louis, V:723.
51. Luther, "Predigt, dass man die Kinder zur Schule halten soll (Sermon to Give before Children in School) (1530)," in Walch-St. Louis, X:449: "Doch weil ich soeben darau komme, dass die Schreiberei so feindselg ist bei vielen Hansen; denn sie wissen oder achten's nicht, dass es ein gottlich Amt und Werk ist, sehen auch nicht, wie noth und nutze es der Welt sei. . ." See also *WA*, XXX, Part 2:571, lines 4-7, 20-22.
52. United Bible Societies, "Scripture Language Report," *Bulletin*, No. 130-131. First-Second Quarter, 1983-168.
53. Peters, p. 171.
54. Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service (1526)," *LW*, LIII:64. For the original German see Walch-St. Louis, X:230: "Catechismus aber heisst ein Unterricht, damit man die Heiden, so Christen werden wollen, lehrt und weiset, was sie glauben, thun, lassen und wissen sollen im Christentum."
55. M. Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism. A History of Its Origin, Its Distribution and Its Use* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929), pp. 17-20, picture between 8 and 9, 46-56, 87-137; and Th. Graebner, *The Story of the Catechism* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), pp. 94-110.
56. For an explanation of Luther's sermons and postils see John W. Doberstein, "Introduction to Columbe 51," *LW*, LI:XI-XXI, especially XIV-XV. Volumes XI and XII of Walch-St. Louis contain the Gospel and Epistle portions of Luther's *Kirchenpostille*.
57. Walter, II, Part 1:221: "Abschnitte seiner Predigten als Hausandachten auch heute noch

- unzähligen Protestanten ans Gemut greifen."
58. A. G. Dickens, *Martin Luther and the Reformation* (Mystic, Connecticut: Lawrence Verry, 1967), p. 75: "In no country was the soil of the Reformation irrigated through princely channels alone. To many communities the new religious notions were brought, with or without governmental consent, by missionaries and booksellers. . . The early missionary history of Lutheranism should not be unduly obscured by the personal story of Luther; ever inspired from Wittenberg, it remains in its own right an achievement worthy to be ranked alongside the miracles of propaganda later wrought by the Society of Jesus."
 59. On Luther and pamphlet literature see Vincenz Hasak, *Dr. M. Luther und die religiöse Literatur seiner Zeit bis zum Jahre 1520* (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1881); Suzanne Ritter, *Die Kirchenkritische Tendenz in den deutschsprachigen Flugschriften der frühen Reformationszeit* (Tübingen: 1970) and Steven Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities. The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975).
 60. The Commission on Worship of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, *Lutheran Worship* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982), Hymn 288, stanzas 1 and 3. For a different translation see *LW*, LIII:234. The German is in *WA*, XXXV:418-419: "Das wir erkennen seyne werck/und was yhm liebt auff erden, und Jesus Christus heyl und sterck bekand den heyden werden/und sie zu Gott bekeren. . . /Es dancke Gott und lobe dich/das volck yhn guten thaten,/Das land bringt frucht und bessert sich,/ deyn wort ist wol geraten./Uns segen vater und der son,/uns segen Gott der heylig' geyst,/dem alle welt dis ehre thun,/fur yhm sich furchte aller meyst./Nu sprecht von hertzen Amen."
 61. *Luthern Worship*, Hymn 353, stanza 10. For a different translation see *LW*, LIII:220. For the original German see *WA*, XXXV:425: "Was ich gethan hab und gelert,/Das solltue thun und leren,/Damit das reych Gotts werf gemert/Zu lob und seynen ehren."
 62. On the impact of Luther's hymns see the bibliography found in Ulrich S. Leypold, "Introduction to Volume 53," *LW*, LIII:xx.
 63. Peters, pp. 172-173.
 64. Luther, "Kurze Auslegung uber dem Propheten Jesaia (1527-1534)," Walch-St. Louis, VI:427: "Daher zeigt der Prophet durch diess Bild an [Isaiah 35:6: "Waters shall break forth in the wilderness, and streams in the desert," RSV], dass das Wort reichlich gepredigt, und immer weiter und weiter ausgsbreitet werden wird, und aus der Kirche, die an Einem Orte ist, viele andere das Wort schopfen werden." The American Edition's version of Luther's "Lectures on Isaiah," *LW*, XVI and XVII, is based on a different manuscript of these lectures which does not contain the aforementioned passage. See *LW*, XVI:x, 302-303.
 65. Luther, "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew (1523)," *LW*, XLV:200.
 66. Luther, "Schrift vom Brauch und Bekenntnis christlicher Freiheit (1524)," Walch-St. Louis, XX:1014: "Darum ist in diesem Thun gleich zu handeln, als wehn dir ein Jude vorkame, der nicht vergift noch verstockt ware, den du wolltest zue Christo bringen."
 67. Luther, "Letter to Jesel, Jew of Rossheim (December 10, 1537)," Walch-St. Louis, XX:1826: "Ich, so mir Gott Raum und Zeit gibt, will ein Buchlein schreiben, ob ich etlich konnte aus eurem vaterlichen Stamme der heiligen Patriarchen und Propheten gewinnen, und

zu eurem verheissenen Messia bringen. ”

68. Walch-St. Louis, XX:1829: “Ich um des gekreuzigten Juden willen, den mir niemand nehmen soll, euch Juden allen gerne das Beste thun wollte.”
69. Walch-St. Louis, XX:1829: “. . .ausgenommen, dass ihr meiner Gunst nicht zu eurer Verstockung gebrauchen sollt.”
70. Luther, “Tischredenoder Colloquia” (published in 1566), Walch-St. Louis, XXII:1584: “Wir haben das Volk (die Juden) lieb, sprach D. M. Luther, und sie sind doch so hoffärtig und stolz.” I could not find this reference in *LW*, LIV.
71. The first two of these works are in *WA*, XXX, Part 2:81-197. An English version of *On the War Against the Turk* is in *LW*, XLVI:155-205.
72. Quoted in Elert, *Morphologie*, I:344: “Damit hoffentlich die rechte christliche Religion und das wahre heilsame Evangelium durch die ganze Türkei gefordert, der Turken Herz und Gemut zum heiligen Glauben erneuert . . . und unser Heiland Jesus Christus mit der Zeit in der Türkei ausgebreitet werden.” For the English see Elert, *Structure*, I:394.
73. Quoted in Elert, *Morphologie*, I:344: “Damit die reine Lehre des gottlichen Wortes dadurch auch in die Türkei gebracht werde.” See also Elert, *Structure*, I:399.
74. Quoted in Elert, *Morphologie* I:348: “. . .unsere seligmachende Religion unter diese barbarische Völker fortgepflanzt mochte werden.” See also Elert, *Structure*, I:399.
75. Elert, *Morphologie*, I:347, or Elert, *Structure*, I:397.
76. Elert, *Morphologie*, I:351: “Die lutherische Mission des letzten (19.) Jahrhunderts ist kein Produkt reformierter Anregungen, sondern der endgültige Durchbruch des Missionsgedankens Luthers in dem nach ihm benannten Teil der Christenheit.” See also Elert, *Structure*, I:402.

Sanctification in Lutheran Theology

David P. Scaer

Lutheran theology certainly requires that sanctification be put in proper perspective, at least in regard to justification. A preliminary step would require taking a look at sanctification in the fundamental writings of the Lutheran Church, i.e., the Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism of Martin Luther, since it is especially with the latter document that even today Lutherans are formally introduced to Lutheran teachings on sanctification. Sanctification is defined in this essay as the Christian's life in the world, i.e., good works. This is the definition of dogmatic theology and not the common Biblical use of the word, which describes the entire activity of the Spirit in the Church, e.g., sacraments, conversion, faith, and good works.¹

The first reference to good works in the Augustana is made in the article on original sin where the Pelagian opinion is condemned that good works in some way contribute to the justification of sinners before God. Letting good works play any part in justification is said to be an affront to Christ as it detracts from and extinguishes the glory of His merits and benefits.² What is striking about the Lutheran approach from the start is that the role of good works in the matter of salvation will not merely be resolved from Biblical citations and not even from the narrower subject of justification except as part of the larger question of Christology.³ The next article, the one dealing with Christology, which takes and combines statements from the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and connects these revised credal formulations with justification, makes a reference to Christ's sanctifying those who believe in Him. This is accomplished by Christ's sending of the Holy Spirit into their hearts. The Spirit is said to rule, comfort, and bring believers to life. He also defends against the devil and the power of sin. It is clear that good works or sanctification here in the Augsburg Confession is defined not as the work of men, but as the total work of the Spirit upon Christians.⁴ It is the Holy Spirit and not Christians who confronts and fights against sin. What is striking is that the life of the Christian here is not understood as "third article Christianity," if we dare use that phrase, but sanctification is seen as an extension of Christology. The Spirit belongs to Christ and the Spirit's working is Christ's. Christ's struggle against Satan, the central theme of the Christus Victor theory of the atonement, now is being fought by the Spirit within Christians. The article on justification states unequivocally that works have no role in the justification of the sinner

before God.⁵ The article on the ministry avoids the question of sanctification altogether and simply states that the ministry's major role—really only role—is to make justification effective in the lives of sinners.⁶ This contrasts with Calvinism where the ministry is instituted for disciplining the congregation for good works.⁷

The article on the new obedience specifically discusses the topic of good works or what is called sanctification in the narrower sense.⁸ Good works are called the fruits of faith. Not only should the good works be performed by faith, but they must. Good works are not optional as they are commanded by God and are to conform to God's will. With this said, this article immediately says that good works have no validity in the question of justification, i.e., how the sinner stands before God and that the remission of sins is apprehended through faith and not works. In one of the few Scriptural citations in the Augsburg Confession, Luke 17:10 is quoted to show that even after we have done all things we are still useless servants. Then Ambrose is cited: "This has been established by God, so that whoever believes in Christ is saved without works, alone by faith, as he freely receives the forgiveness of sins."

Augustana XIII again briefly takes up the topic of good works. The Roman Catholic system of penance consisted in oracular confession, absolution, and penance.⁹ In place of the three part penance of the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans have two parts, contrition or pangs of conscience and faith in the Gospel. Good works are seen as the fruits of penance, but not as part of the penitential process itself.

The founders of Lutheranism were so concerned with a proper understanding of justification that they wanted to leave no doubt that works had nothing to do with it.¹⁰ This does not mean, however, that even in such a fundamental document as the Augsburg Confession no specific directives for good works would be given. In the matter of churchly rites it is made clear that they cannot be made a matter of conscience for Christians and they cannot enter into the question of the sinner's justification.¹¹ Perhaps the article on liturgical rites disqualifying them as good works, loses its full force unless it is read with the next article, the one on the works of the civil sphere, where specific good works are listed.¹² Listed as good works are civil service, serving as a judge in a civil court, engaging in just wars and soldiering, commerce, taking required oaths, possessing property, and getting married. What is striking is that, in taking the articles on liturgical and civil service together, it is apparent that Lutherans have taken good works out of the area of the sacred and secularized them. Good works are not those performed within the walls of the church, but what is done out in the world. In its time the Lutheran doctrine of

sanctification must have been quite revolutionary; but in another sense this theme was already set forth by Luke in the parable of the good Samaritan, where the one who pleases God does the menial secular service and where the ones who attend to their religious duties fail to gain divine favor. The one held up as example is the one who assists the stricken traveler and not those intent on performing the required temple rituals.¹³ More must be said about the Lutheran understanding of good works as secular works, since the impression may be given to our people even today that works done specifically for the church have a higher quality than those done in the world. Properly understood, Lutheranism offered a secular Christianity in its time.¹⁴

The article "Faith and Good Works" brands as "childish and foolish works" such acts of religious devotion as "rosaries, the cult of the saints, monasticism, pilgrimages, appointed fasts, holy days, brotherhoods." Though good works are to be preached, they can never be preached in such a way that the Christian conscience ever relies on them. "It is also taught among us that good works should and must be done, not that we rely on them to earn grace but that we may do God's will and glorify him."¹⁵ Even in the performing of the good works, the Lutheran principle of total divine monergism is maintained, since faith is only the instrument through which the Holy Spirit performs the works. As Augustana XX calls attention to the writings of the Lutheran reformers on the Ten Commandments, it must have in mind, at least in some sense, the explanations of them in Luther's Small Catechism. Ideally there should be no Lutheran who has learned of sanctification without this catechism.

Luther's explanation of the commandments have their focus in laying out the life of the Christian regardless of his or her station in life. It is neither a parochial nor provincial document and can serve in any time or place. Its purview is both catholic and ecumenical. His explanation of the First Commandment as fearing, loving, and trusting in God above all things is an invitation of faith.¹⁶ Justification of the sinner is thus made fundamental to good works. Luther's explanations of the second through the tenth commandments are what would later commonly be called the third use of the law, referring to the relationship of the law to the Christian *qua* Christian. It would be difficult to show that Luther intended his explanations to serve the first or the civil use of the law. His explanations would have no place in the secular instruction of a public school. Luther's use of the law for Christians as exemplified in the commandments' explanations should be carefully distinguished from Calvin's understanding. Cal-

vin, as we shall later see, saw the Christian life and the third use of the law primarily in God's good pleasure over the sinner's restraint from sin. Good works in this sense are avoiding what the commandments prohibit.¹⁷ More must be said about Calvin's view of good works and sanctification, since it is easily and disastrously confused with Luther's views.

To be sure, Luther not only keeps the commandments' negative prohibitions but intensifies them in his explanations. Thus, the commandment about not taking God's name in vain prohibits cursing, swearing, sorcery, lying, and deception. Here the commandment condemns the sinner, but it does not do this to teach him that God hates him but to bring him to an awareness of his condition. Thus, the commandment serves the Christian in making his confession of sins. Even making the sinner aware of his condition still is not the final goal of Luther's explanations. The meaning of the commandment is not exhausted by intensifying its condemnation of the sinner. For Luther the commandment serves its ultimate purpose when the negative prohibition is transformed into positive description of the life of the Christian. Note what Luther does with the second commandment. It becomes an invitation to prayer. The Sabbath prohibition of the third commandment is transformed into a description of posture of the Christian as he hears the preaching of God's Word. The prohibition against killing lays on the Christian the necessity of helping the endangered neighbor, and the one against stealing sees the Christian actually providing funds for the impoverished neighbor. Thus the prohibition against stealing becomes the opportunity for giving. The comparative lesser significance of the negative prohibition in regard to the greater significance for doing good can be seen in that in two of his explanations, the first and the sixth, Luther totally omits the prohibitions. What this means is that for Luther the law can stand without its condemnations and still be the law in some sense. This is in no way suggesting that Luther was antinomian in any sense. He held very strongly to the civil use of the law with his concept of the two kingdoms. In addition, for Luther the law also always condemns the sinner as he is sinner. Luther can see the believer in Christ untroubled by sin. In this ideal state, the sinner has been transformed by Christ and now is in Christ. The Christian sees the law from an entirely different perspective. As Christian he is free from the civil and accusing functions of the law. The law functioning for the Christian as Christian is not law in the sense of prohibition and condemnation. This is the content of the Lutheran understanding of the third use of the law.¹⁸ True, the phrase "third use of the law" can be slightly misleading and may have given rise to misunderstandings simply because the word

"law" is used.

But let it be immediately said that the Christian is never completely Christian. As sinner—and he never escapes his sin—he is subject to the civil and accusatory functions of the law, since the old man does not believe, has never believed, and will never believe. He is finally destroyed only in death. The unregenerate part, the Old Adam, is an enemy of God and must be threatened by the law to conform to outward standards. He must be reminded that he has offended God continually. Such outward conformity to the law by unbelievers or by the unbelieving part of Christians has nothing to do with sanctification. Fear of penalty or the fear of God's wrath can never be a motivation for performing works which are pleasing to God as signs of faith and flowing from the Holy Spirit. Works performed in the civil sphere are called good works because they contribute to the well-being and outward serenity of society.¹⁹ Their quality of being good comes from what they accomplish in the world and not from their motivation. These works should, however, not be confused with those flowing from faith and belonging to sanctification.

Sanctification for Luther in the Small Catechism certainly includes the overcoming of sin in Christian life, but this hardly encompasses its full dimensions. The positive requirements placed on the Christian are clearly Christlike qualities. The Christian fears, loves, and trusts God. He calls upon Him in every need. He gladly hears the preaching of God's Word. He holds his parents in highest esteem. He helps the neighbor in his physical distress. He loves his spouse. He works to improve the financial condition of his neighbor and refuses to believe evil of him. What Luther is describing is not life lived under the law, but the life of Christ Himself. Luther is frequently cited as saying that every Christian is a Christ to his neighbor. I am not so sure that all those who speak in this way fully understand what this means. Frequently it may be an excuse for an existential Christianity to treat the historical Jesus without any real significance. It is, however, a valuable distinction if it means that the life flowing from faith is, in fact, a practicing Christology in the world.

Even Luther's conclusion to the commandments with its threat of visiting the father's iniquity upon the children is only but an expression of his law-gospel principle. The Christian as unbeliever sees God's wrath but as a Christian sees an entirely different God. At the very end of his explanation to the Ten Commandments, Luther concludes with almost the same kind of gospel statement with which he began, "We should therefore love Him, trust Him, and cheerfully do what He has commanded."²⁰ A more accurate translation of the German would be "and gladly act according to His commandments."²¹

Here the dilemma of the Christian's life can be noted. How is it in Luther's theology that the law threatens the Christian and then it is something which he gladly does because he trusts in God? Does the contradiction between being threatened by God and loving Him lie in God, in the law, or in the Christian? The contradiction cannot lie in God. Seeing subterfuge in God as mystery is too easy a solution and really no solution at all. The law-gospel dialectic, regardless of how we interpret it, can never mean that God is condemning in the same way that He is loving. The dialectic does not lie in God. Such a concept is recognizable as Manichaeism, where two principles, a good and a bad one, fight within God for supremacy.²² Manichaeism is condemned by the Augsburg Confession. Condemning law and saving gospel cannot have equal value in describing God. Neither can the dilemma or contradiction belong to the nature or the essence of the law itself; since if it is God's word, it must reflect the unity of God. God's word cannot be opposed to itself. The contradiction lies not in God or in His law but in the dual moral nature of the regenerate man.²³ The law in its earliest expression is a positive statement of God's relationship to the world and the world's relationship to God. In this form the law is more indicative than imperative. It is more description than it is requirement. To say it better, in this form the law's imperative nature and the indicative of God's and man's relationship to each other are perfectly harmonized. Man does not need to be told how he is to be related to God or to other men, because he is by nature accomplishing all these things. The distinction between indicative and imperative is theologically unjustifiable for saints as saints.

The law begins to function only as negative imperative with prohibition when man no longer maintains his relationship to God. When Melancthon says in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession that the Law always accuses, this citation must be understood as referring only to the law's functioning in the realm of sinful humanity.²⁴ The law's first function (not its first use) and its nature is positive and descriptive, not demanding and condemning. Man stepping out of a positive relationship with God sees the law as a cruel taskmaster requiring him to do what he knows he cannot do. In a sense man is responsible for this new turn of events. When man knows the law in this way, he hates the law and also hates the God who gave the law. Here Luther's and Paul's experiences are similar.

In Christ the believer is again being restored to the pristine relationship that the first parents had with God. The condemning law now serves for him as a description of his positive relationship with God. The dilemma of the law as both negative and condemning pro-

hibition and positive Christological statement does not rest in God or in the law but in the Christian who is *simul justus et peccator*, believer and unbeliever. The man outside of Christ knows the law only as prohibition and condemnation. The man in Christ sees the law as a Christological activity in his own life. The Christian in this life is both in and outside of Christ. He is in the Spirit, i.e., he belongs to God; and he is in the flesh, i.e., he is opposed to God. The one word of God, without any contradiction in it at all, is seen as opposed to itself, because of man's dual moral nature as saint and sinner. Works done from fear of God's condemnation by the old man do not flow from faith and are not part of sanctification. Works done by faith, i.e., works performed because the believer is in Christ and has the Spirit, are part of sanctification. They are pleasing to God.

The Christian's dual comprehension of the law as prohibition in regard to the Old Adam and positive description and suggestion in regard to the new man is never resolved in this life. Condemnation and description are always simultaneously occurring phenomena. Luther taught it correctly in his explanations to the Ten Commandments by first stating the law with its prohibitions and condemnations and then by stating the commandments as Christlike activities in the Christian's life. One outward work can and does flow out of a dual motivation. What is an expression of Christ's work in a Christian's life can also be motivated before the work is completed by selfish and grudging motives.

This dialectic and contradiction is a necessary theological conclusion from the Lutheran doctrine of justification. Luther's concept of *simul justus et peccator* is fundamental for a Lutheran understanding not only of justification but also of sanctification. Before God the person is totally justified and the same person is in himself and sees himself as a sinner. What is important in this understanding is the Latin word *simul*, at the same time, and not in a sequential sense as if one followed the other in point of time. Historically this distinction was lost in Lutheranism, as in the case of Pietism, where man is first justified and rescued from sin and then the work of sanctification begins. The end result is perfectionism or at least a mild form of it. The matter is viewed in this way: After a person is justified by faith, the new life of obedience sets in and progresses. Justification is seen as a past event in the Christian life and sanctification as a temporal result, separate and distinct from justification as the cause. Wherever justification and sanctification are separated from each other with this kind of temporal understanding, Lutheran theology is brought to ruin.²⁵ Such a distinction common in Pietism was picked up by Wesley and characterizes the charismatic movement as its chief flaw. In Luth-

eran theology justification describes the believer's relationship with God. Sanctification describes the same reality as does justification but describes the justified Christian's relationship to the world and society. Justification and sanctification are not two separate realities, but the same reality viewed from the different perspectives of God and man. From the perspective of God the reality of the Christian is totally passive and non-contributory as it receives Christ only. From the perspective of the world, the same reality never ceases in its activity and tirelessly performs all good works. In this scheme the justification of the sinner never becomes a past event. In the phrase *simul justus et peccator* the *simul* carries the weight. This scheme resolves the often alleged contradiction between Paul on one side and Jesus, James, and the writer of the Book of Revelation on the other. Therefore, before God it is no works and pure grace, but before the world it is only works. As James says, "And I will show you my faith by my works." This scheme can be reversed only with the most disastrous results. Works have no standing before God and faith has no standing before the world. Activism before God is an affront to Him and makes Christology meaningless. Passivism in the world prevents God from acting Christologically in the world and thus thwarts His purposes.

If Luther's understanding of sanctification in his explanations to the Ten Commandments are, in fact, the description of Christological activity in the life of the Christian, is there any place else where his catechism demonstrates this? In the oft-quoted explanation of the Second Article, he concludes that because of Christ's work we are to "serve him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and blessedness."²⁶ This is clearly a description of what is commonly called the life of sanctification. Strangely, Luther makes no mention of the activity of the life of sanctification, i.e., understood in the narrow sense, in the explanation of the Third Article, where it could ordinarily be expected to be found. Here the Christian passively receives the gifts of the Spirit. This is sanctification understood in the wider sense, its more usual Biblical use. This might demonstrate that not only in the article on redemption, but more so in the article on sanctification, Lutheran theology is thoroughly monergistic. Sanctification, understood as God's work in Christian life, is placed in the article on Christian life. What the Christian does is essentially Christ's work in the world today. The concept that sanctification deals with secular works, i.e., works carried out in society, is reinforced by the catechism's ninth section, "Table of Duties," where the roles of Christians are defined by each's place in society.²⁷

The full import of Luther's secular concept of good works could

be appreciated more in his time, when the religious life of a priest or monk was considered of higher merit, than in ours.²⁸ Today "secular" means without God. For Luther "secular" included the presence of God in the world. A good work is performed when one fulfils his calling in life. God is served in the world. Thus, sin which is to be confessed before the pastor is the failure to carry out one's obligations to the neighbor.²⁹ This does not mean that Christians with their good works do not speak of Christ to the neighbor and support the preaching of the Gospel. It is, however, not the religious content of good works that makes them good.

Apology XXVII specifically handles the question of the value of good works performed by those who have taken religious vows.³⁰ Taking and performing the vows do not qualify as good works. The poverty, chastity, and obedience of the monks are called hypocrisy and sham. Religious ceremonies should not be identified as good works that merit salvation. Still, a further question is whether the same error appears when it is assumed that a church-related occupation has a higher intrinsic value. Measuring a person's sanctification by his or her performance of religion-related works, is not allowed by Apology XXVII. The whole matter of good works or sanctification came to a head with the controversy over whether good works were necessary for salvation. One party, associated with Philip Melancthon and George Major, asserted the "good works are necessary for salvation" and the other, associated with Nicholas von Amsdorf, went so far as to say "that good works are detrimental to salvation." The controversy over good works and their necessity was inevitable for Luther's disciples since their primary doctrine of justification by grace through faith with its explicit exclusion of the deeds of the law could easily suggest antinomianism, if not properly understood. The seeds of the controversy were present in the chief characteristic principle of Lutheran theology. As with many controversies of this type, it would be wrong to question the motives of the combatants. Isolating principles, setting them off as autonomous principles, is always dangerous. This was no exception. The slogan cliches of each party were valid expressions of the Lutheran faith; but at the same time they were invalid.³¹ What is true in one context is not necessarily true in another.

While on the surface it might appear that the seeds of antinomianism are present in Lutheran theology, it would be difficult to demonstrate a practical example of it ever leading to this. It must be added that some Roman Catholicism and Fundamentalist Protestants point out that a certain amoral streak exists in Lutheranism.³² I am not going to belabor this point, since historically Lutherans have been anything but antinomian. The truthfulness of a religion is not ultimately

judged by the moral conduct of its adherents, though the lack of morality can curtail its influence.

Let us first take the statement of Amsdorf that good works are detrimental to salvation. If good works are understood in the sense of Roman Catholic works of supererogation, performed above and beyond the call of duty, then such good works are detrimental. If the performance of good works becomes the object of one's devotion and concern in which we trust over which we have what we think is a justifiable pride, then such good works are detrimental to salvation. Then let it be immediately said that these are not the works flowing from faith and cannot be called good in a dogmatic definition of sanctification. The Majoristic statement that good works are necessary for salvation is also capable of a double understanding.³³ It is completely true when viewed from the perspective of the judgment day. As in any court of law, evidence concerning the guilt or innocence of the accused is required. What Christians do indicate what they are. If, however, salvation is understood in the sense of justification in reference to whether the sinner finds himself acceptable to God now, then it is completely wrong to suggest that works have anything to do with this present justification. The problem lies in how the word "salvation" is interpreted. In the Scriptures themselves, it can refer to the present rescue of the sinner or the final deliverance on judgment day. Though they are related meanings, they must be distinguished. The Lutherans resolved the problem by simply saying that good works were necessary, but they omitted the modifying clause "for salvation."

The doctrine of sanctification in Lutheran theology can be presented with more clarity when it is placed into juxtaposition with another theology. While the Roman Catholic historical dependence on good works may have allowed the Lutherans to set forth their position on justification which does not allow any human participation, I am not so sure that a simple restatement of that position is adequate for today. Simply repeating the concerns of the Formula of Concord also does not answer today's issues. Merely to distinguish the sense in which good works are necessary and detrimental does not really begin to penetrate the issues that are at stake today in the question of sanctification. For this reason Calvin's position, as it has permeated all of non-Lutheran and much of Lutheran Protestantism through Pietism, should be evaluated.

In Calvin's theology sanctification or regeneration is discussed before justification.³⁴ This is not simply a matter of order, but reveals a different theology. In Lutheran theology justification and sanctification are inseparable, i.e., the one is logically but not temporarily sequential to the other. If in Lutheran theology, sanctification is the

manifestation of the life of Christ in the world, in Calvin's theology the sinner is justified chiefly in order that he may be enabled to honor God through the activity which springs from regeneration. For Luther God loves the sinner for Christ's sake. It is not a question of what God will get for Himself out of His expenditure of redemptive love. For Calvin God moves from the motive of divine sovereignty. God redeems not for the sake of the sinner but for Himself. The question is no longer Luther's, what God can do for man, but what man can do for God. For God there is a type of internal satisfaction in having the sinner turn and repent. Of course, there is also a type of satisfaction when the reprobate are consigned to hell. Damnation and salvation are both satisfying to God. The doctrine of the double predestination is the classical expression of the sovereignty of God. None of this is true for Luther.³⁵

Luther's famous "for us," so central in his Christology, is ultimately replaced by Calvin by "for God." The real goal is not reinstitution of fallen mankind for its own sake, but for the praise of God. Since the sovereignty of God is the final goal of all of His acts, including redemption, the works have value, not because of their Christological association as in Lutheran theology, but because they are in themselves pleasing to God. In fact, the works have a higher value than the persons performing them. It is a matter of what God can get out of man for Himself. Thus, prayer is particularly important for Calvin since God is glorified by the praises of believers.³⁶ For Luther prayer is the Christian's recognition of his faith's own helplessness and by prayer he throws himself upon the mercy of God.³⁷ Consider the phrase "saved to serve." It is proper if it refers to the result of God's redemptive work. If it is understood as His purpose, then this is Calvin's view.

Important for Calvin as for Luther is the threefold use of the law, but each puts the thrust in a different place. Though the change in emphasis is subtle, the theological change is significant. Where for Luther the second use of the law in its role of accuser was the predominating use of the law, since even the Christian in this world is always more unbeliever than he is a believing Christian, in Calvin's theology the third use predominates. In addition, in Calvin's theology the third use of the law is understood differently. As mentioned above, in Luther's theology the third use means that the negative prohibitions of the law are transferred into positive indicatives and descriptions of the life lived with Christ. In Calvin's theology, the third use of the law has two parts. It makes the Christian more certain of the will of God and it prompts to obedience.³⁹ It is right at this point, with Calvin's understanding of Christian life as obe-

dience to the law, that his theology demonstrates its non-Christological content.

Against Calvin's view that Christian life is obedience to the law, the Lutheran view must be set forth. First of all, the law with its negative prohibitions cannot properly be understood as the predominating will of God. Though from our perspective God is described as without sin, His nature and will cannot ultimately be described in negative terminology. Even if, with the advent of sin into the world, God's holiness can be described only in negative terms as opposed to sin, certainly His holiness has an existence not dependent on sin for definition. In the same vein the law for man in pristine bliss was positive and not negative. Man's fall is responsible for viewing God and His will in negative terms. The advent of sin puts a negative cast on God's will, but with the coming of Christ, Christ and salvation now comprise God's will to the world. When Luther and Calvin both understand God as desiring that men should live by His will, they understand by God's will two different things. Luther understands God's will as conformity to Christ as the expression of divine mercy in the world; and Calvin understands God's will as refraining from evil, i.e., the moral life. Secondly, for Calvin the will of God as prohibitive law is seen as motivation for Christian living.³⁹ To be sure, Luther sees the Christian obeying the law out of fear, but this he does not as Christian but as unbeliever. The unbelieving part of the Christian must be threatened into obeying the law as any person who has never believed in Christ.⁴⁰ Such works performed from threats, even when done by Christians, are necessary for the welfare of society, but they should never be understood as belonging to sanctification, flowing from faith, or fulfilling the law's third use. Calvin's view of the third use of the law as conforming to the law of God as prohibition and as instigation and motivation for holy living has given Puritanism its peculiar character and through Puritanism is responsible for the particular hue of American religion.⁴¹ The law as prohibition in the life of the Christian as Christian also accounts for his stress on moral discipline in the congregation to the point of making it one of the necessary signs whereby the church is recognized as church.⁴² For Luther the signs of the church are simply the word and sacraments. Luther's understanding of the law as God's foreign or alien work and of the Gospel as His real or proper work is reversed in Calvin's theology. If for Luther the preaching of the Gospel is God's final and ultimate work, for Calvin Christian performance of good works pleasing to God is the final and real goal.

Calvin's understanding of sanctification as external works pleasing to God expresses itself in his understanding of the civil law which

is constituted to bring about the promotion of the true faith and outward obedience.⁴³ This would account in part for the traditional blue laws in some parts of the United States and for such a phenomenon as the Moral Majority whose leader specifically calls himself a preacher of the Gospel and his followers his congregation, even though his program is one solely of civil law.⁴⁴ The uproar about prayer in public schools can be traced through Puritanism back to Calvinism, where the Christian life is viewed as a discipline under the law.

It is not surprising that, with Calvin's view of the law's role in sanctification, he must move in the direction of perfectionism, even though he would deny it. He does say that Christians "regenerated by God's Spirit. . . make true holiness their concern."⁴⁵ Sanctification is thus separated from Christology as a separate theological enterprise. While, on the one hand, Calvin with Luther is totally committed to the concept of the imputed righteousness God given the sinner in faith, it is also true that for Calvin God takes a certain amount of pleasure in seeing the contrite sinner weeping before God.⁴⁶ In Evangelical Protestantism the conversion experience becomes a necessary sign. Unlike Luther, for whom the Christian performs good works out of faith, Calvin sees the Christian as Christian performing his good works in the presence of God the righteous judge, who will punish all wickedness. Fear of God's wrath becomes a motivation in performing good works.

Unless a position like Calvin's is brought in as a foil for Luther's it is difficult to understand the characteristically unique Lutheran view on sanctification. For Calvin Christology is only a prelude to sanctification; Christ is set forth by God as the means to bring about the sanctified life. Historically Calvinism is not recognized as Christological to the extent that Lutheranism is. In Lutheran theology every article of faith is Christological. This simply is not so in Calvinism. God's majesty is so overwhelming for Calvin that not all of God is incarnated in Christ. Hence the famous Lutheran jibe of the *extra Calvinisticum*. Consider, for example, Calvin's view of wrath as an eternal attribute of God. This wrath is manifested in the atonement without the atonement's exhausting this wrath.⁴⁷ The all-embracing Christology of Luther simply does not belong to Calvinism or for that matter to any of its contemporary manifestations. Also, in Calvinism all of the parts of theology, e.g., Baptism and the Lord's Supper, have their purpose in promoting good works among believers. In Lutheran theology Christology is a total manifestation of theology and Christology alone gives meaning to Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and sanctification. Merely stating that in Lutheran theology faith expresses itself in good works out of necessity does not do justice

to the Lutheran view that the life of the Christian is the life of Christ in the world, that is, it tells us what Christ is doing now.

From this it follows that there are certain items that do not belong to a Lutheran understanding of justification, at least as it is viewed differently from Calvinism. Thus, in Lutheran theology the Gospel cannot be preached in such a way that the Gospel's real purpose is the production of good works. Good works are preaching's result. Justification remains its only purpose. The Gospel it is a complete message in itself. Good works result from the preaching of the Gospel, to be sure, but there can be no suggestion that the Gospel is to be preached as if its ultimate and essential purpose were to bring them about. The Gospel declares a completed atonement in Christ and shapes good works in the life of the Christian as a necessary reflection of God's love in Christ. The Gospel is not an opportunity for reinstating the religion of the law. The works produced by the Gospel conform to God's love in Christ and are not those of the law. People, identified as Christian or not, should not be viewed as living sanctified lives if they merely refrain from sin and evil. The sanctified life will eschew evil, but its characteristic mark is seen in that it adopts Christlike activities.

The Lutheran doctrine of sanctification, which came to its classical expression in the Confessions vis-a-vis the Roman Catholic position, found the distinction between religious and secular works, as if the former were greater than the later, invalid and defined good works as those actions whereby one fulfilled the requirements of his calling. Whether Lutheranism has adequately defined its doctrine of sanctification over against Calvinism in a thoroughly adequate statement, especially in the United States, whose religions are predominantly Reformed, is another question. Any attempt to make Christology preliminary to theology, or even only its most important part, but not its only part, is a denial of Luther's doctrine and effectively destroys the Gospel as the message of a completed atonement.

Endnotes

1. Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, III (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), pp. 3-4. Defining sanctification in the narrower and wider sense is a distinction commonly made in Lutheran theology. This paper deals with what Dr. Pieper calls "the internal spiritual transformation of the believer," i.e., the narrower sense.

2. All quotations of the Lutheran Confessions are taken from *The Book of Concord*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), p. 29. Hereafter this source is cited simply as Tappert, The Augsburg Confessions is abbreviated CA, the Formula of Concord as FC with the Epitome as Ep. and Solid Declaration as SD.
3. Pieper's introductory discussion of sanctification centers around its relationship to justification, op. cit., pp. 6-14.
4. Tappert, pp. 29-30, CA III.
5. Tappert, p. 30, CA IV.
6. Tappert, p. 31, CA V.
7. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), II, pp. 317, 453-454.
8. Tappert, pp. 31-32, CA VI.
9. Tappert, pp. 34-35, CA XII.
10. Egil Grislis calls attention to some Luther scholars who went so far as to say that the reformer had no effective doctrine of sanctification. "Luther on Sanctification," *Consensus*, 10 (January 1984): 4, especially n. 1. There is no foundation to the charge of Anabaptists that Luther's doctrine of justification lead to a less than acceptable moral life among Lutherans. What is true is Grislis' understanding that Luther's concept of human depravity did temper his view of the grandeur of the Christian life. Luther found a continued life in sin intolerable for a Christian.
11. Tappert, p. 36, CA XV.
12. Tappert, pp. 37-38, CA XVI.
13. Luke 10:29-37.
14. Today secular Christianity means a religion centering on Jesus without any prior objective transcendental reality. Religion only has meaning within the dimensions of this world and only within these boundaries does theology function. Secular Christianity as a separate movement was popularized by Harvey Cox in the 1960's. Pannenberg and Moltmann could be cited as more moderate examples of this approach. Applied to Luther's theology, "secular" means God's involvement with the world at every point and is a natural consequence of his Christology.
15. Tappert, pp. 41-46, CA XX.
16. Tappert, P. 342. In Apology XII: 38 Melancthon describes fear as faith. Thus the presupposition for Luther's explanation to the commandments is the Gospel and faith.
17. For a fuller discussion of this matter see Burnell F. Eckardt Jr., "The Wrath of God in the Theology of John Calvin—A Lutheran Perspective," S.T.M. dissertation, Concordia Theological Seminary, 1984, pp. 21-22.
18. Tappert, pp. 564-565, FC-SD VI: 5-6.
19. Tappert, p. 37, CA XVI (Latin version).

20. Tappert, p. 344.
21. "Er verheisset aber Gnade und alles Guts allen, die solche Gebot halten, darum sollen wir ihn auch lieben und vertrauen und gerne tun nach seinen Geboten."
22. Tappert, p. 28, CA I.
23. Tappert, p. 566. FC-SD VI: 15-16.
24. Tappert, p. 112, Apology IV.
25. Lowell Greene, *How Melancthon Helped Luther Discover the Gospel* (Fallbrook, California: Verdict Publications, 1980), p. 264. The concern with progressive sanctification has its roots for Protestant theology in Calvin.
26. Tappert, p. 345.
27. Tappert, pp. 354-356.
28. "It may be that Anthony and other hermits were saintly men; but you are committing a grave sin if you abandon your calling and follow their example by secluding yourself in a hiding place; for what the Lord has commanded you to do is something else, namely, to obey your parents, the government, and your teachers." *LW* 3:131.
29. Tappert, p. 350.
30. "Monastic Vows," Tappert, pp. 268-281.
31. See my "Article IV. Good Works," *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord*, ed. Robert D. Preus (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), pp. 163-170.
32. John S. Oyer, *Lutheran Reformers Against Anabaptists*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964). p. 219. Oyer claims that the necessity of good works is not-prominent in Luther's theology.
33. FC-SD VI is the classical Lutheran expression of the necessity of good works. Tappert, pp. 551-558.
34. In Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* regeneration is discussed in Book III, Chapters VI-X, and justification in Chapter XI.
35. For a fuller treatment of this matter see Eckardt.
36. Calvin, II, pp. 183-184.
37. Cf. my "Luther on Prayer," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 47 (October 1983), pp. 305-315.
38. For a discussion of this in regard to Calvinism in general see Ulrich Asendorf, "Luther's Small Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism," *Luther's Catechisms—450 Years*, ed. David P. Scaer (Fort Wayne, Indiana: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1979), p. 2.
39. Calvin, I, pp. 488-489.
40. Tappert, p. 568. FC-SD VI.
41. Asendorf, p. 2.
42. Calvin, II, p. 453. Calvin calls discipline the sinews which keep the body of the church together.
43. Calvin, II, pp. 657-659.

-
44. Cf. my "Lutheran Viewpoints on the Challenge of Fundamentalism: Eschatology," *Concordia Journal* 10 (January 1984), pp. 4-11.
 45. Calvin II, p. 74.
 46. Calvin II, pp. 463-464.
 47. The limited atonement in Calvin's theology necessarily means that God's wrath against the unbeliever remains unsatisfied. See Eckardt, pp. 63-64.

Theological Observer

"CONCORDIA" — WHERE DID IT COME FROM?

The term "concordia" has become synonymous with The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod where it is used as the frequent designation of its colleges, seminaries, high schools, publishing company, retirement facilities, some of its congregations, and many of its auxiliary institutions. Tracing the use of the word would be a statistician's dream. The word touches the four winds. "Concordia" on the east coast clearly means Bronxville, on the west coast Portland, in the south Austin, and in the north St. Paul. In the Fort Wayne telephone directory appear the following: Concordia Village, Concordia Cemetery Association, Concordia Gardens, Concordia Church, Concordia High School, and Concordia Seminary, a cradle to grave situation. In between there is a Ralph Concordia, presumably not an LCMS-related institution. The term "concordia" has been used in addressing college student bodies to urge them to live harmoniously, but beyond that the frequently used verbal sign "concordia" is just that — a sign. It can refer to any number of institutions but for nearly all those who use it, it has no clearly agreed significance. To the untrained ear, Concordia Cemetery could easily be confused with Concordia Seminary and anyone can draw his or her own conclusions from that.

The four-hundredth anniversaries of the Formula of Concord (1577) and the Book of Concord, the *Concordia*, (1980) at least gave our church opportunity to review the historical meaning of the term. The church of the *Concordia* is the church that accepts all of the sixteenth-century Lutheran confessions as they have been preserved in the Book of Concord. Now that five years have passed since the celebration, the term is again lost, it was indeed ever recovered, for the LCMS rank and file. The Small Catechism was intended by Luther to be the people's "Bible" and it serves well as an abridgement of all the Lutheran Confessions for them. Pastors pledge themselves to the *Concordia* at ordination and it is the basis for the constitution of our congregations. But why was the name chosen by the authors of the Formula of Concord and then the Book of Concord?

Dr. Otto Stahlke, seminary professor emeritus, has called attention to "Luthers Ekklesiologie," an essay by Michael Beyer, published in *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526-1546* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1983), pages 108-9, for an answer to the question of origin. The term or concept originated with the January 21, 1530 decree of Charles V calling for a convocation of the imperial states (i.e., a diet) to bring about reconciliation in matters of faith and church order by seeking "for one united Christian truth" ("zu eyner eynigen cristlichen warheytt"), i.e., agreement on what the truth was. This phrase was taken over into both the Lutheran Augsburg Confession and the Roman Confutation of the Augsburg Confession as "concordia christiana." Nearly half a century later it became the title of all the confessions as the *Concordia*, the Book of Concord, sometimes called the *Concordia Christiana*, the Christian Book of Concord. In the same article Beyer also points out that since the purpose of the imperial convocation was doctrinal agreement, i.e., "concordia," it was foredetermined that the Lutheran document, later known as the Augsburg Confession, could not have an article on the pope as the Antichrist. This slack was taken up in the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope*, which was an appendix to the Augsburg Confession. The concept of "concordia" as agreement in Christian truth comes, so far as can be determined, not from a Lutheran, but from the imperial defender of the Church of Rome, Charles V.

David P. Scaer

ALTERNATIVES TO ABORTION

Opposition to abortion is not enough, said Surgeon General C. Everett Koop at a White House briefing on November 15, 1984. Alternatives must also be provided, he said, which offer support to unwed pregnant teenagers who choose not to have abortions. This was the general thrust of the "White House Briefing on Alternatives to Abortion and Help for Unwed Mothers." According to Koop, the only chance which the pro-life forces in the nation have of reversing Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade* in the next four years will be the President's appointment of new Supreme Court justices to replace those who retire. Hopes for a constitutional amendment reversing *Roe v. Wade* were dimmed when Congress killed the proposal in 1981. Pro-life forces were then "in disarray," said Koop.

In the meantime, he said, individuals and churches can do much to help save the lives of the unborn. The unwed teenager who finds that she is pregnant is likely to be asked to leave her home when her parents learn of the pregnancy. Unless she knows that there is a place she can turn for support and has a place to stay, she is likely to see abortion as her only alternative. When a group of concerned people offers support and a place to stay, the unwed mother will often accept this life-line and reject the abortion which she usually did not want in the first place.

What these women need, said Koop, is encouragement, support, and often a catalyst to aid in family reconciliation. Often when parents force their daughter out of the home, a reconciliation later results when the parents see the care and support which others will give her. Until such reconciliation comes about, the unwed mother needs the haven best provided in a Christian home where surrogate parents are willing to support her, to be her advocate, to give her advice on how to handle the cost of childbirth, and to present to her the advantages of adoption. Koop said he felt adoption was a better alternative than single parenting in view of recent research. There are no adoption problems for newborn babies, since the demand has grown so high in the last ten years. Adoption therefore "not only saves babies, but also provides a blessing for a childless couple."

Koop's keynote speech was followed by a day-long series of lectures, panels, and workshops dealing with the "how-to's" of providing support for unwed mothers who wish to choose life for their babies. Presenters gave materials and suggestions to anyone wishing to work toward the establishment of a so-called Crisis Pregnancy Center in his community. It would provide the necessary home and support for unwed mothers for the duration of the pregnancy and in many cases for a time after the birth of the child. In general, according to workshop presenter Curtis Young of the Christian Action Council, a board of directors consisting of seven to nine devoted people can learn how to raise the necessary funds and establish such a center manned by volunteer workers and perhaps one full-time salaried director. Young suggested that the best way to raise needed funds is to hold a well-publicized banquet at which donations and pledges are received. Anyone desiring information on how to start and operate a Crisis Pregnancy Center may request the information from the Pearson Foundation (3663 Lindell Blvd., Suite 290, St. Louis, Missouri 63108).

It was refreshing to see that the present administration is not only opposing abortion, but taking positive steps to make it unnecessary. It was readily apparent to those attending the briefing that the American president's firm stance against abortion is more than mere rhetoric. Several observers commented during the recess periods that it appeared clear to them that these issues remain a chief concern of the Reagan White House. That should come as a welcome observation to anyone agreeing with the Missouri Synod's pro-life position.

Burnell F. Eckardt, Jr.,
Our Savior Lutheran Church
Winchester, Virginia

PROVIDING A BASIS FOR A
CIVIL RELIGION IN AMERICA

Since its founding the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS) has operated with definitive boundaries of church fellowship. Though they have been flexible in certain periods of the Synod's history and remain so in some parts of the church today, both clergy and people have not participated in the general religious movements of the nation. Its comparative isolationism may be traced to several causes, some historical and others doctrinal. But whatever the causes for its fellowship practices may be, the LCMS has not felt an *ecumenical* obligation either to other church bodies or the nation in the same sense that other large denominations have. Of course, exceptions may be cited, but LCMS members are less likely to be found in the halls of power. The removal of prayer from the public schools was not as traumatic for the LCMS as it was for other Christian groups. Our church body had a proportionately larger percentage of its children in parochial schools than other similar-sized churches and our understanding of fellowship which did not allow for joint services with other Christians would hardly permit religious services to serve the secular purposes of the state. Even where this has been done in the last generation or so, as with military chaplains, it hardly established a pattern. Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms, as it was commonly understood, divided church and state into two separate realms. If the *secular* state (for Lutherans this would be tautology) wanted to become even more secular by prohibiting prayers and other religious exercises in state supported and controlled schools, the state would only be acting according to its inherently secular nature. The necessity and benefit of a civil religion are hardly of paramount importance. In fact, the prohibition against a school prayer might even remove the possibility of embarrassing "unionism" for LCMS children who might otherwise be tempted to say the Lord's Prayer outside of the ordinary fellowship of the Lutheran church. Regardless of LCMS scruples about prayer in public schools, such prohibition of religious activities is seen by many observers of the public scene as a growing secularism and hardly as concern for the fellowship principles of any one Christian group. Secularism does not mean the existence of a plurality of religions, all with an equal right to carry out their activities, but the elimination of religious principles from the political scene. Religion is at best tolerated, but not protected and fostered. With the growth of secularism, defined as the absence of religion from public life, there has been in America paradoxically growth in religious interest, including, surprisingly enough, among college students. Declining church attendance figures have reversed themselves. While religious influence in the government can be seen as a goal of such groups as the Roman Catholics and Evangelicals (i.e., the conservative Protestants), it also became a concern of some who are hardly recognized as belonging to these groups. Harvey Cox, who earned for himself a reputation as a radical in the 1960's, says that without some sort of articulated religious principles, the citizens are left to the mercy of the brute power of the state. Erstwhile LCMS pastor Richard Neuhaus has been further catapulted into prominence by criticizing the absence of religion in public life with his *The Naked Public Square* (Eerdmans, 1984).

In European countries, including the Soviet-dominated ones, the involvement of religion in the public sphere is less problematical, as the state provides channels for church involvement. In certain cases ecclesiastics are appointed by the government and in other cases direct financial aid is provided. Ironically the salaries of theological faculties are paid from the public coffers in the officially atheistic govern-

ment in East Germany (DDR). In the western European countries the ecclesiastical establishment may serve as a conscience for the state. The situation in our country is a bit more problematical. In Europe the church remains as a permanent fixture in the cultural-political life, even when theology loses a clear Christian orientation. The church structure can be "re-Christianized." This has frequently happened. This cannot happen in America since the churches have no explicitly defined role and function toward the government. At least until the 1960's it was an implicit relationship and no need for anything more explicit was seen. A secular interpretation of the church-state relationship has argued that such a relationship in fact has no basis in law. The amendment prohibiting religious establishment has been interpreted to mean that each must work independently of the other. A number of court cases, several proposed prayer amendments to the constitution, and proposed bills for tax credits for church supported or related schools are in one way or another attempts to establish church-state relations in some areas more clearly. The search for a once and for all determination may be a long way off, as in our system it is being carried out on various levels of government.

What might not be clear to the American people is the Reagan administration's commitment to the restoration of religion as an influencing factor in the public life. This is a bit different from the Carter administration where this was done through the personal force of an avowed "born-again Christian" president. President Reagan is less candid about his religious commitment than President Carter, who made personal witness an agenda item in his talks with heads of other states. President Reagan seems to support a more formal role for religion. The current administration is on record as supporting some sort of benefits for the parents of children in religious schools and a prayer amendment. What might not be known is that the administration has been meeting with several religious groupings: Roman Catholics, the Jewish community, Evangelicals, mainline denominations associated with the National Council of Churches, and others.

Selected church leaders have been meeting with White House officials for briefings on administration policies and, in turn, to offer their opinions. The impression that this is limited to Jerry Falwell is erroneous. Perhaps Roman Catholic bishops have had an equal amount of access. For the first time leaders representative of the religiously plural American culture are being invited to participate in public policy-making. This culture is identified as Judaeo-Christian without providing a precise definition for this concept. In European countries such involvement is made possible in most cases through the ministry of culture which may make recommendations concerning bishops and theological faculties and may provide and maintain houses of worship. While such direct support of religion is not possible in the American structure, a silhouette or shadow of such a system may be reflected in the current administration.

President Reagan has appointed personal liaison representatives to some of the major religious groupings. Note that these liaisons are not official contacts with official church officers. The government's purpose is not involvement in church structures, but to determine a commonly agreed religious basis for political-governmental actions. This is a delicate task, since previously the relationship between the state and church has been implicit, without formal structure, in America. The problem facing both the government and the churches is providing a structure for restoring a religious basis for political actions, which was self-understood up until the 1960's. The liaison officers for religious matters have been assigned to the Department of Health and Welfare. Such an assignment is at first slightly startling, but one can draw his own conclusions. This department is probably closest to what

the Europeans call the ministry for culture. It does recognize in a way that man does not live by bread alone. A real concern might be raised if such activities were more closely aligned with the Department of Education. It may be that no philosophical thought went into the decision to place the liaison officers in the Department of Health and Welfare and that this was the easiest option. It was perhaps just a payroll matter. Clearly it is an attempt for the current administration to recognize religion as an intricate and vital part of American cultural life and to reintroduce its voice into the political arena.

The question remains of how will the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod with its doctrinal stance and history involve itself in reintroducing religion into the public life. It is not a question to which an answer will be attempted here, at least not in a definitive way. We could evoke our tradition and stay out of it. But in a way we have already involved ourselves in it. In the abortion issue we have already been drawn into the question. The rank and file of the Missouri Synod are probably more opposed to abortion than any other major Christian denomination, including the Roman Catholics. Our low public profile, resulting from fellowship principles and history, has failed to reveal to the public just how much we are opposed to abortion. Our anthropology, derived both from the Bible and the Lutheran Confessions, equates abortion with downright premeditated murder of the worst kind. Man may be conceived in sin, but he is still man, whose life is not only sacred to God but redeemed by the Son of God. The Son of God was once a fetus (to use the abhorrent clinical terminology often used to mask the personhood of the unborn child) and made the womb holy.

Lutherans may have a difficult time participating in reinstatement of a public religious consensus in America, simply because we do not have the kind of history that easily involves us in this sort of thing. The Church of Rome has understood itself as being as much a political institution as a church. Lutherans interpret this as belonging to its identification as the kingdom of Antichrist. We do not, however, deny that it is still church. Non-Lutheran Protestants, whether they are of the more conservative Evangelical stripe or the more politically active NCC stripe, attribute some sort of redemptive significance to the state and society. Lutherans recognize the state as having divine functions and even as God's surrogate on earth, but clearly deny it any ultimate or even mediating salvific significance. The final manifestation of God's kingdom will not be associated in any way with any government, state, or human rule, including the modern state of Israel. The existence of the "Christian" state does not guarantee more or better Christians. The big question is what, if any, role will Lutherans play in bringing back religion into the public sphere.

For the three centuries that Lutherans have lived in the colonies and the United States, they have clearly benefited from the pluralistically religious American society. We have exploited this situation as much as any other group has. What might have been an exclusively German immigrant group in the 1830's has grown in the 1980's into an American church for which German is just as foreign as any other European language. The Missouri Synod has enjoyed not only governmental protection, but certain benefits, e.g., freedom from property taxes and parsonage allowances. Someone from outside could possibly ask: If your church has benefited from the favorable religious climate in America, does it have some sort of obligation to make a contribution to it? To say that we pray for the president, governors, courts, and legislative bodies hardly qualifies as a fully adequate response. Would it not be strange if we left to those church bodies with whom we do not find ourselves in fellowship the task of determining the religious and cultural life from which we would ultimately benefit?

Civil religion is a given of all cultural life, whether that be pagan Rome, Christian

Europe, or even atheistic Russia. Is there a role for our church to play as government officials wrestle with the problem of determining a *religious* consensus? The question does take on crucial significance when some are saying that such a consensus is not allowed by the constitution. Is it possible to oppose state-sponsored secularism and not involve ourselves in reaching a common religious consensus for governmental action? We cannot have it both ways.

David P. Scaer

POLITIKGESCHICHTE UND URGESCHICHTE

While rejecting critical claims of an evolution of theology within the Old Testament, we are prepared to speak of an evolution of Old Testament theology itself during the course of the past two centuries (so long as one understands that we invest the word "evolution" with no connotation of progress). Indeed, higher criticism has undergone a process of metamorphic variation of constantly accelerating rate. First to emerge from the primordial ooze of rationalism was historical criticism; which bore within it the germs of literary criticism; which, in turn, gave birth to form criticism; which, in its turn, spawned redaction criticism and tradition criticism. In recent years, however, the mutations of modernism have multiplied so rapidly as to make it rather difficult to disentangle the branches of the evolutionary tree. One approach to the Old Testament which has gradually emerged as a distinct species of higher criticism is "political criticism." This approach assumes the validity of its ancestors previously mentioned and, of course, the basic presupposition of all forms of higher criticism—the fallibility of Scripture. Yet some critics are predisposed to find a political background to the words of the Old Testament as opposed to the mythological or sociological or etiological explanations which may occupy the minds of other critics.

Walter Wifall provides an example of political criticism in an article entitled "Bone of My Bone and Flesh of My Flesh—The Politics of the Yahwist" (*Currents in Theology and Mission*, X, pp.176-183. There he builds upon previous proposals made by himself and Walter Brueggemann concerning the interpretation of Genesis 2 and 3. Both work, of course, from the usual source-critical assumption that these chapters basically consist in preliterate Israelite folklore crafted into a literary unit by the theological genius called the Yahwist (by adherents of the documentary hypothesis of the origin of the Pentateuch). Broadly speaking, Brueggemann has argued ("David and His Theologian," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, XXX [1968], pp. 156-181) that the Yahwist shaped both primeval (Gen. 2-11) and patriarchal accounts (Gen. 12-50) "for the political purpose of lending legitimacy to the Davidic monarchy in Jerusalem and warning the House of David against unwarranted political and religious ambitions." The Yahwist supposedly "discerned the path of all history through the specifics of the history of the Davidic royal family."

Wifall differs from Brueggemann, however, in two respects. In the first place, he is more inclined to ascribe a mythological background *as well as* a political background to the various figures of the Yahwistic narrative, asserting that "both the actual history of the Davidic monarchy and the mythology of ancient Near Eastern kingship seem to be reflected in the Yahwist's description of 'Adam.'" At another point Wifall describes his approach in a picturesque trope: "Behind the figure of 'Adam' as the 'man' lurks the 'king' as a member of the 'ruling class,' just as behind

the figures of the 'man' as 'husband' and the 'woman' as 'wife' there lurk royal figures. . . ." In this respect, Wifall seems to remove himself even further than Brueggemann from the hermeneutics of the Reformation by ascribing (at least) two meanings to a statement and so renouncing the cardinal principle of Lutheran exegesis ("sensus literalis unus est").

Wifall's second divergence from Brueggemann is his identification of the exact point in the political history of the Davidic monarchy to which one must assign the work of the Yahwist. Brueggemann sees the four stories of Genesis 2-11 as reflections of four episodes in the life of David himself—with David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11-12) appearing as Adam and Eve; Amnon and Absalom (2 Sam. 13-14) appearing as Cain and Abel; the account of Noah's flood reflecting the relationship between David and Absalom (2 Sam. 15-20); and the problems of Solomon's succession (1 Kings 1-2) featuring in the story of the Tower of Babel.

Wifall, on the other hand, considers these parallels insufficiently exact and so argues for a political background of Genesis somewhat later in the history of Judah, namely, the time of Athaliah. Thus, the "man" of Genesis 2 is Jehoram and the "woman" is Athaliah, whose marriage cemented the alliance between the Southern and Northern Kingdoms forged by Jehoram's father, Jehoshaphat, and Athaliah's father, Ahab (2 Kings 8:16; 2 Chron. 18:18). The description of the woman as a "helper suitable" for the man (Gen. 2:18) Wifall takes to mean that Athaliah was an "ally" who was the "social equal" of Jehoram. Wifall understands the man's depiction of the woman as "bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (Gen. 2:23) as a formula reflecting a political alliance based on consanguinity, while the term "this woman" indicates the Yahwist's contempt for Athaliah, the alliance, and the associated marriage. This hostility likewise manifests itself, according to Wifall, in the following verse (24); the leaving of father and mother refers to Jehoram's abandonment of the godly ways of his father Jehoshaphat through his devotion to Athaliah—as a result of the marriage alliance which made the royal houses of Judah and Israel "one flesh." This same revulsion emerges in the next verse (25), says Wifall, who understands the nakedness without shame as domestic immorality in which Jehoram and Athaliah engaged. The interpretation, therefore, which Wifall puts upon these three verses of Genesis 2 provides a signal example of the way in which the application of the critical method to Scripture yields results which are the exact contrary of those flowing from the historical-grammatical hermeneutic of the Reformation. For in each case the critic sees odium in the precise place where the Reformers saw divine benediction.

The doctrinal implications of this political approach to Genesis are, of course, sweeping. For one thing, such an interpretation of Genesis razes the foundations of the divine origin of the orders of creation in general and of marriage in particular. Suffice it to say here that confessional Lutheranism, contrariwise, takes its cue from our Lord and the Apostle Paul in seeing Genesis 2 as the primary locus of its doctrine of divinely ordained natural orders, including the institution of marriage (Matt. 19:3-8; 1 Tim. 2:12-14; 1 Cor. 11:8-9). The political approach, however—like the critical method generally—erodes the Biblical basis not only of the law but, more importantly, of the gospel as well. Wifall propounds this explanation of Genesis 3:15: "The lone remaining true 'seed' of David, Jehoash (Gen. 3:15; 2 Kgs. 12-13), would soon crush Baal and his devotees (the serpent and his seed)." This exposition at least identifies the woman's seed in this verse as an individual. In this respect, the interpretation is superior to Calvin's collective understanding of the "seed" as the human race generally (and so referring to Christ only in an indirect manner). An exegesis, on the other hand, which follows the hermeneutical rules of the Lutheran Confessions immediately recognizes the woman's seed as the God-man who was

to achieve the salvation of sinners. Joash and his destruction of sinners do not come into the picture. The promise that the woman's seed would crush the serpent's head was a proclamation not of the law, but of the gospel without adulteration; it was the *protoevangelium* (F.C.S.D. VI:23).

Douglas MacCallum Lindsay Judisch

Book Reviews

WHAT ARE THEY SAYING ABOUT THEOLOGICAL METHOD? By J.J. Mueller.
Paulist Press, New Jersey, 1984. 82 pages. \$3.95.

Paulist Press continues to make a valuable contribution to the busy pastor by publishing its series under the heading, "What are they saying about . . ." This brief exposition will make a valuable contribution to bring pastors and seminary students up to date on methods of systematic theology. The book covers four important theological methods with the help of two representative theologians of each perspective. Thus it also makes an important contribution by providing for us a brief overview of eight of the most influential theologians in the century.

The four methods described are the transcendental method, the existential method, the empirical method, and the socio-phenomenological method.

Mueller provides us with three questions that are useful guides in the study of each of the theologians: (1) Because each theologian uses a method differently, what is the vision of theology with which each is concerned (and this will include the starting point for doing theology)? (2) Because method and content go together, what is the step by step preparation of the method? (3) Because we should benefit from the findings, what difference do the consequences make for our lives today?

For pastors who have postponed their serious study of Vatican II theology, this book is a good start. This is because Karl Rahner is the first theologian discussed under the transcendental method. Karl Rahner (1904-1984) even after his death will continue to occupy a prominent place in Roman Catholic theology. The most influential document of Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, bears the imprint of his transcendental method. Rahner's point of departure is his "theological anthropology." Thus it is through our human experience and limited horizon that we ask questions about God (p. 7). It is here that the transcendental method ("trans" - going beyond ourselves) begins (p. 5). In our finitude we are able to go beyond ourselves and be grasped by God as mystery. It is here that revelation takes place.

Mueller gives us a four step process to apply Rahner's transcendental method of theology (pp. 11-12). Rahner's redirection of Thomism with insights gathered from Kant and Heidegger leads to some conclusions: (1) All theology is anthropology. Historical people and not "a set of beliefs chiseled on stone tablets" (p. 12) will be the point of departure. (2) Rahner's theology is extremely "Christocentric in that anthropology find its most complete expression of meaning in Jesus Christ." (3) Rahner's theology is "evolutionary and hopeful" (pp. 12-13). That is, the process is a "hominisation" (humanization) where one becomes "more and more Christlike through becoming more and more human." Through our *cooperation*, all creation responds in giving birth to a Spirit-filled world - (p. 13).

Rahner's theology, we can clearly see here, is (1) a confusion of special and general revelation and (2) a synergistic model in which an incarnational model is offered from the perspective of creation rather than redemption. I agree with Mueller that today, if we are to be well-informed twentieth century theologians, at least Karl Rahner's *Foundation of Christian Faith* (Seabury Press, 1978) should be studied and read. Mueller should, however, have had at least a reference to Rahner's latter involvement with "eschatology." How does eschatology relate to transcendental theology?

The second representative of transcendental theology discussed is the recently deceased Canadian Jesuit, Bernard Lonergan (1904-1984). I agree with Mueller that Lonergan will be a theologian with whom we will spend more time into the twenty-

first century. Lonergan was not influential in Vatican II. His theological work was more comprehensive and less inter-disciplinarian than Rahner's. He attempted to provide in his lifetime a methodology that would be truly "scientific" for theology. What Francis Bacon attempted for science, Lonergan attempted for theology. Mueller provides us with a good introduction to Lonergan's classic *Method in Theology* (Herdez, 1972). It is clear and easy reading (pp. 13-20).

Paul Tillich and John Macquarrie were good choices to discuss the existentialist method. Also David Tracey and Bernard E. Meland were excellent choices to speak of the empirical method. It seems to me that Mueller here is at his best in his careful explanations. However, I was surprised that he did not discuss here a more current and influential theologian of the empirical method. I am referring to Landon Gilkey's *Naming the Whirlwind* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1969). At least Mueller mentions Gilkey in the bibliography (p. 81).

Mueller's book, however, has a major weakness. It should have had a section on the "eschatological method." The theologians of hope (such as W. Pannenberg and J. Moltmann) are ignored. The perspective of the study of theology from the point of departure of God as future in our reflection on history is absent. This method occupies a prominent place in theology today.

The discussion of the "socio-phenomenological" method shows Mueller's deficiency in explaining eschatology. He lumps the "political theologians" with the "liberation theologians." This is a terrible mistake. Liberation theologians apply the Marxist "socio-analytical" method to theology. Their emphasis is clearly perceived by Mueller as "praxis." "Praxis combines practice with theory together in reflection and begins from action" (p. 66). However, political theologians like Moltmann place their emphasis on the future of God. It is there that action in history takes place. Ruben Alvez pointed this out quite clearly in his doctoral dissertation. Gustavo Gutierrez also adopted this posture in his *Theology of Liberation*. The difference is great! Political theologians stress the future of God to change our present injustices in society. Marxist sociologists must stress revolution and the class struggle for change to occur. Revolution is not a deterministic conclusion in political theology, as it is to Marxism and liberation theology.

Mueller classifies Jon Sobrino as a liberation theologian and a political theologian. Sobrino is really influenced by Moltmann and does not apply the Marxist analysis in *Christology at the Crossroads*. Juan Luis Segundo sees Sobrino (and I agree) more as a political rather than a liberation theologian (cf. *El Hombre de Hoy ante Jesus de Nazaret*, II). Perhaps if Mueller had dedicated a section to the eschatological theologians, this confusion could have been avoided.

I am also amazed that Mueller did not choose Gustavo Gutierrez's *Theology of Liberation* (Orbis, 1973) as the *textus classicus* in discussing the socio-phenomenological model of liberation theology. The bibliography also omitted two classical current texts on method. They are W. Pannenberg's *Theology and the Philosophy of Science* (The Westminster Press, 1976) and Gerhard Ebeling's *The Study of Theology* (Fortress Press, 1978). On the other hand, Dr. Mueller gives us seven "commonalities" that the eight theologians share in method in spite of "doing theology" in an age of "pluralism" (pp. 71-75). These are quite perceptive and revealing.

Albert L. Garcia

TREATISE ON THE VIRTUES. By St. Thomas Aquinas. Translated by John A. Desterle. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 171 pages. \$7.95.

There is a story told of St. Thomas that when in Rome one of the popes was showing him the treasure the church had begun to accumulate. The pope said, "Saint Peter no longer has to say, 'Silver and gold have I none.'" St. Thomas responded, "that may be true; but now he can no longer say, 'In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise and walk', either!" I was reminded of that story when reading through Thomas' *Treatise on the Virtues*. Our day has multitudes of volumes written on theology. But few, if any, contemporary theologians can boast the same command of sources, depth of thought, and precision of expression that is seen in Thomas.

Treatise on the Virtues is a translation of Part I-II, questions 49-67, of Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*. In these questions Thomas analyzes habits and virtues. Thomas defines the notion of habit and examines how habits arise, increase or diminish, and may be distinguished. Then he considers human virtue as a species of habit, discusses intellectual, moral and theological virtues and the duration of the virtues after this life. In the context of his discussion of the theological virtues, Thomas speaks of the relation between faith and love. This discussion helps to shed light on his view that faith must be "formed" by love (Question LXII, Art. 4), a view strongly rejected by Luther (LW 26, p. 88).

This book is not easy reading. It requires a great deal of time and careful reflection. Though the translator's footnotes help a great deal, the presentation of material in Thomas is very strange to the twentieth-century reader. If some hardy soul is interested in understanding Thomas' work, I would recommend that they first read *Toward Understanding St. Thomas* by M.D. Chenu, especially pages 79-98. Chenu's work helps one appreciate the powerful arguments and careful expression in Thomas' work. It will greatly help to make this part of the work of the angelus ecclesiae more understandable.

Charles R. Hogg, Jr.
Akron, Ohio

CARL F. H. HENRY. By Bob E. Patterson. Word Books, Waco, Texas, 1983. 179 pages. Paperback. \$8.95.

There can be little question that Carl F. H. Henry, son of a Roman Catholic mother and a Lutheran father, and eventually a Baptist of strong, conservative commitments, is one of today's leading theological voices in the revival of evangelicalism as a force in modern theology. The book is one of the series of twenty or so studies devoted to the "Makers of the Modern Theological Mind," for which Patterson serves as editor. The reader will find not merely helpful biographical notes on Henry's life but above all also sensitive analysis of Henry's significant contribution to theological thought in our day. What Henry has succeeded in doing, according to Patterson, is tantamount to the restoration of a positive image for conservative theology in the style, or manner, of the giants of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, like Charles Hodge, William Shedd, Franz Pieper, and Louis Berkhof. Over against Barth's nonbiblical and even philosophical theologizing, inimical to propositional revealed truth through the inspired Scriptures, Henry was successful in "helping evangelicals present an attractive and well-reasoned case for orthodoxy" (p. 56). He argued "that empirical evidence should be presented in correlation with the Christian

revelation-presupposition, and not independently of it" (p. 82), namely, that Christian teaching must be derived from and grounded upon supernatural revelation as given in the Biblical text, and not something derived or distilled from mere historical phenomena, ancient or modern. Few men have been equal in the mastery of a reasoned apologetic for the inspiration of the Biblical Word and the articles of Christian belief taught in it. His *magnum opus*, *God, Revelation and Authority*, stands as a monument to his intellectual and profound mastery of the subject, in many ways the outstanding accomplishment from the side of conservative, evangelical theology in our time, according to Patterson. This is so even though the Lutheran theologian will miss the proper emphasis upon Holy Scripture's causative efficacy for faith along with the focus upon its authoritative power in Christian belief, a usual failing in Reformed theology over against the means of grace in God's purposing of things for His church. Aside from this structure, the book will serve the reader well.

E. F. Klug

SIGURD CHRISTIAN YLVISAKER 1884-1959. A Commemorative Volume at the Centennial of His birth. Edited by Peter T. Harstad. Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, 1984. Paperback. No price given.

It was my privilege to have met and known the subject of this *Festschrift* personally. The book (illustrated aptly with photos) reaffirmed the memory that I had of Dr. Ylvisaker. Here was a strong personality who had stood tall and strong in the breach when Confessional Lutheran theology in the Old Norwegian Lutheran Church in America (later the ELC) was being led into a new direction. That doctrinal laxity has presently made the ALC a leader in the proposed formation of the "new" Lutheran Church, scheduled for birth, January 1, 1988. In a daring move, not yet ten years in the ministry, Dr. Ylvisaker voiced his dissent from what he conceived to be a surrender of Scriptural and Confessional principles by resigning on June 17, 1919, at the synod's convention, from the ministerium of the church body so closely tied to his Norwegian roots. His life from then on was intimately intertwined with the little band of congregations and pastors who two years earlier had joined forces to "reorganize," in their terms, the old Norwegian Synod, loyal to the principles of true fellowship and unity, agreement in doctrine.

Four well-balanced chapters give his story. Each chapter has as its author a graduate of Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, each having either studied under Dr. Ylvisaker during his years of presidency at the college or having otherwise enjoyed strong, direct, and personal recollections of his person and work. All of the authors likewise are faculty members of the college. The biographical study tracing Dr. Ylvisaker's life is done by Juul B. Madson. Multiple sources were at his disposal, as for the other writers, and the net result is not the placing of a halo around the subject's head but a good insight into the life of a remarkable man. The same holds true for the other chapters. Erling T. Teigen does the next one on Ylvisaker as theologian, the theme pretty well summed up in the analysis of what made the man tick, namely that "his finely tuned conscience necessitated a denunciation of all deviations from Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions" (p. 60). He knew and strongly respected the theology of the Missouri Synod and its theologians, especially C.F.W. Walther, but he deplored what he considered to be its drift, especially in the forties, toward unionistic compromises. Always polite and straightforward, his polemic could at

times be sharp and abrasive. Moreover, as I remember things, his arguments and judgments, for example, against the military chaplaincy, were also occasionally tenuous and open to debate. But there was no questioning of the persuasive tenacity with which he held them. Teigen takes note of the fact that from one point of view he might have been characterized by some as of negative bent and opposed to any new departure in the church's life. That would not, however, be fair to the man, since in all honesty he first and always intended only to maintain fidelity to the Scriptures and the Confessions. Moreover, as the third main chapter (by Norman S. Holte) shows, Ylvisaker was a most gifted and innovative leader as president of the college. From there on out his influence spread widely and deeply within his church (ELS) and beyond, especially in the Synodical Conference. Much of the success of Bethany College and the shaping of its graduates into strongly committed Lutheran men and women may be traced to Ylvisaker's hand on the rudder. Here was a leader who knew where he wanted the boat to go. The valuable fourth chapter (by Peter T. Harstad, the editor) summons up selected, often very intriguing, letters and other literary work that help the reader to understand not only the man but also the times and the crucial events through which the college and the synod (ELS) were passing. The Ylvisaker family graciously made available to the authors additional sources, and the book is dedicated to Norma Norem Ylvisaker, widow of this gifted, dedicated theologian, Biblical scholar (Ph.D., Leipzig, in Semitic languages), and church leader, who at the same time was a devoted family man and musician of considerable talent. The book, therefore, is not only a valuable tribute to the man but also a valuable historical and theological resource of conservative, confessional striving in the Lutheran church in the twentieth century.

E.F. Klug

TWENTY CENTURIES OF ECUMENISM. By Jacques Elisee Desseaux. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. Paulist Press, New York, 1984. 103 pages. Paperback, \$4.95.

Considerable optimism pervades this history of the church's struggle to overcome its embarrassing divisions. Well it should be optimistic, for Desseaux, a Roman Catholic priest, has headed the French Secretariat of Christian Unity and at present serves as advisor to the Vatican Secretariat of Christian Unity. It is also an ambitious little book, seeking to cover twenty centuries of conflict, division, and often polemical striving against the foes, on the part of the component parts of eastern and western Christendom. The author is often refreshingly blunt, asserting, on the one hand, that Luther was a man with a righteous cause who "moved from a religion of works to a Christianity of pure faith," contending that not "by works or penances" is man justified, but "by grace which comes through faith in Christ," and, on the other hand, frankly indicting of Trent's "Counter-Reformation" theology as being "incapable of seeing the properly Catholic elements that were at the basis of Protestantism" (p. 25). Desseaux does not opt for an overly simplistic formula for the reunion of divided Christendom; nor does he espouse an overly sentimental scheme for reconciliation. He is frank as to what needs to be done as the various communions deal and dialogue with each other. Moreover, the story of these efforts is well told in the brief span of these less than a hundred pages of text. A student of the subject of ecumenism, especially as a happening in this century, will find most, if not all,

of the details he needs to get the picture of what has gone on in the church, both to divide it and to heal it, in the last twenty centuries. Yet one cannot help feeling that once again an earnest voice has settled for a minimal formula of unity in diversity. It has been tried before and it has always failed. Desseaux expresses it: "The goal can only be visible unity in a faith that finds expression in a variety of formulations and in communion in a single Eucharist, and this within an organic body which, however, tolerates various types of organization" (p. 74). Such relativizing of the Christian faith's expression or formulation dooms every effort at healing the church's divisions to failure right from the start.

E.F. Klug

FUNDAMENTALISM TODAY: What Makes It So Attractive? Edited by Marla J. Selvidge. Foreword by Jerry Falwell. Brethren Press, Elgin, 1984. Paperback, \$7.95. 134 pages.

To get Jerry Falwell to write the foreword, and to plaster this fact on the cover, must be granted to be quite a publisher's coup, particularly when the team of writers then proceeds to pick fundamentalism apart like carrion crow. But Falwell fends well enough for himself in the space of a one-page foreword, ready to admit that there may be some flies in fundamentalism's stew but gently affirming that the panel of writers "still improperly represent some of our characteristics" and, like other critics of fundamentalism who write from their "ivory towers," settle for the "somewhat uninformed and distorted." The editor herself describes the book as "a collection of thoughts by a variety of people." Not least among the faults of a book like this is the failure really to distinguish between serious-minded, Bible-based, conservative scholars who take (and took) their Christian faith very earnestly and pastorally, and the kind of fundamentalism which is simply unable to distinguish properly between Law and Gospel, mixes up Biblical exegesis, and specializes in eschatological toying with pre-millennial expectations. Thus theologians of the stature of Benjamin Warfield and C.F.W. Walther, among other giants, all get lumped into the same pile with fundamentalism. Such an ivory-tower sort of critique withdraws from existential reality where the action is. I make no brief for fundamentalism, but in fairness the writers owed their readers a more careful distinction between certain levels of fundamentalism and conservative Christian theology. Moreover, generalizing the condemnation upon fundamentalism in all aspects leads to obvious stereotyping and simplistic caricaturing. If even Martin Luther—that great evangelical, pastoral, pious heart, who lived out of Scripture's content as few others before or after him—is going to be classified among the prejudiced, bigotted, pietistic, literalistic Bible interpreters of his day, all we can say is, let us have more like him, whatever he, or those like him be called. The world needs his kind. Now, having said these things in criticism, let us also say that some of the chapters will reward the reader for his efforts and cost. There are challenges here, especially if one is smug in what he considers to be the fundamentals of the faith.

E.F. Klug

EVANGELICAL DICTIONARY OF THEOLOGY. Edited by Walter A. Elwell. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1984. 1204 pages. \$29.95.

The expressed goal of the editor and publisher was to produce a successor volume to Baker's *Dictionary of Theology* of 1960 that would communicate well and pass the scholar's scrutiny, at the same time that the layman would judge it to be understandable. More than 200 contributors provided the grist for more than 1200 items, always approaching the subject from a theological vantage point, even when the thing itself lay on an apparently secular plane. Elwell's conviction was that even in the scientific realm the deepest questions invariably have theological overtones. He is undoubtedly right in thinking so. A spot check of given entries indicates that the reader will find thoughtful answers to many, if not all, of the questions that arise in this way in his own experience. Naturally there is some un-evenness and subjective preference apparent under various categories, related to each author's own theological stance; but there is help, nonetheless, for quick reference, plus bibliographies of suggested readings. The reader who, for example, is looking for an explanation of neo-orthodoxy, crisis theology, or dialectical theology will not be disappointed. Dr. Robert D. Preus was called on to write the short descriptive piece on the Book of Concord and the Formula of Concord, and other Lutherans likewise on topics of particularly Lutheran orientation. The life and work of C.F.W. Walther, who "emerged as the most influential Lutheran clergyman of the nineteenth century," is given due attention. There is much to commend this production by Baker Book House.

E.F. Klug

A PRINCE OF THE CHURCH. Schleiermacher and the Beginnings of Modern Theology. By B. A. Gerrish. Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1984. Paperback. No price given.

To call Schleiermacher a prince of the church is an invitation to theological pitched battle, since in the minds of conservative defenders of the Biblical faith within evangelical Christianity he was the black knight who did most to destroy it. He used the language of orthodoxy for the most part but denied virtually all of the articles of the faith, rejecting the reliability of the Biblical accounts and viewing the story of Jesus as a fabricated bundle of deliberate lies on the part of disillusioned disciples. In place of their witness to Christ's deity, vicarious atonement, triumphant resurrection, and equality with the Father and the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, as objective truths presented for faith's acceptance and the individual's salvation, Schleiermacher pointed to the "consciousness of God" which the man Jesus of Nazareth demonstrated in a preeminent way for our redemption. He enabled us to achieve for ourselves in similar manner a unique God-consciousness, without the implausible and unacceptable doctrines of the personal union of natures in Christ and His true deity, miracles, and other things that human reason finds objectionable in this scientific age. In this way Schleiermacher, though reared in conservative Lutheran theology and strongly influenced by Moravian piety during his teens, hoped to be able to speak convincingly to the cultured despisers of religion in the days of the Enlightenment, as well as for himself as a product of the new thinking that looked for relevant categories in so-called up-to-date theology. He did not seem to realize that by his intense internalizing of the religious experience he had created a "God" in his own image and to his own liking, exchanging objective Christian truth for highly sophisti-

cated subjectivism. Schleiermacher's Jesus was a creation in his own mind. Fundamentally for him, as for all liberal theologians, the problem had to do with the repudiation of Holy Scripture's authority in deference to human judgements. The title of the book indicates that Gerrish approaches his subject with a great amount of respect for Schleiermacher's theological contribution to modern theology. There can be no doubt that the reader will find in this short analysis and excellent summation of Schleiermacher's thought, the author's obvious intent being to present an objective, brief review; but absent for the most part is an objective critique showing how the "father of modern theology" eroded the Christian faith to the hurt of the church in his day (1768-1834) and ours.

E.F. Klug

I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE. By pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Edited by Glenn E. Reichwald. Walther Press, 130 Electa Blvd., Mankato, Minnesota, 56001.

The collection of funeral sermons demonstrates a variety of styles yet a singleness of content and purpose. It is exactly what one needs and expects from a Lutheran shepherd at the traumatic time of the death in the family. This is the second edition of the book (I have not seen the first); the fact that it sold out is ample evidence that there is a need for this material.

The reviewer's overall response to the book is a very definite approval. It is at the graveside that the richness or the bankruptcy of the church's faith is evident. What does the church say to those who face death? This volume speaks to the issues with Christ-centered clarity.

The parish pastor would do well to have this selection in his library. The various styles and applications of God's Word to this ultimate crisis of life will be helpful in the pastor's care of souls. The styles are different, some short and pithy, some longer and slower of pace; but all proclaim the same content and purpose — the crucified and risen Christ is the center piece of these sermons, the hope of the bereaved. The Day of Resurrection is central to the care of souls who suffer the loss of friend or family member.

The kinds of funerals we find in the book relate to old age, infancy, suicide, youth, and so on. There is a wide range of material for the busy pastor. The reviewer heartily recommends these sermons to the brethren in the field. It is a valuable resource.

George R. Kraus

THE CHEESE AND THE WORMS. Carlo Ginzburg. Translated by John and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980. \$6.95.

Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* is a fascinating account of the religious beliefs of one man and the social context in which he expressed them. Its "hero," Menocchio by name, was a miller by trade from the town of Montereale (north of Venice), who entertained unusual views of creation, Christ, and the Church; expressed them openly and frequently; and finally was burned at the stake as a heretic in 1599. It is because of his deviant views that his story survives, in that he was

caught in the snares of the Inquisition, many records of which, including remarkable detailed accounts of Menocchio's interrogations, are extant to this day. From these, Ginzburg has put together Menocchio's story.

Ginzburg, however, attempts to do much more than just reconstruct the story of a 16th-century Italian peasant heretic. Instead, he desires to use Menocchio's story as a key to understanding the popular culture which produced Menocchio. Ginzburg states:

Even a limited case (and Menocchio certainly is this) can be representative: in a negative sense, because it helps to explain what should be understood, in a given situation, as being "in the statistical majority," or, positively, because it permits us to define the latent possibilities of something (popular culture) otherwise known to us only through fragmentary and distorted documents, almost all of which originate in the "archives of the repression."¹

What this amounts to in practice, therefore, is that Ginzburg uses the inquisitorial records of Menocchio's case to describe both the "normal" majority from which he deviated and the deviant minority to which he belonged in terms of a common oral culture of which both majority and minority were a part. This demands a careful distinguishing between those elements of Menocchio's religious ideas which came from the outside, i.e., from books to which Menocchio had access either personally or through conversation with others, and those elements which originated with Menocchio himself. Thus, Ginzburg speaks of a "filter" or "screen" that Menocchio unconsciously placed between the written word and his understanding of it—"a filter that emphasized certain words while obscuring others . . . that acted on Menocchio's memory and distorted the very words of the text." Furthermore, it is Ginzburg's conviction that by analyzing this mental "filter," we come into contact with Menocchio's cultural milieu and discover that it "is very different from the one expressed on the printed page—one based on an oral tradition."²

Thus, for example, in his analysis of Menocchio's cosmogony with its central metaphor that God and the angels emerged from the primordial chaos like worms from cheese, Ginzburg examines carefully the sources which may have influenced Menocchio's views, e.g., the *Fioretto della Bibbia*, so as to determine how Menocchio's mind understood and modified what he read or heard. Since Menocchio did not simply parrot the ideas in his sources but shaped them into something new and, indeed, shocking to his judges—though not necessarily to his neighbors among whom he lived unmolested for decades and who chose him as mayor—it is Ginzburg's contention that Menocchio

made use of remnants of the thinking of others as he might stones and bricks.

But the linguistic and conceptual tools that he tried to acquire were neither neutral nor innocent. This is the explanation for most of the contradictions, uncertainties, and incongruities of his speeches. Using terms infused with Christianity, neo-platonism, and scholastic philosophy, Menocchio tried to express the elemental, instinctive materialism of generation after generation of peasants.³

But is Ginzburg's approach valid? Do the original elements in Menocchio's arguments really reveal an oral culture widespread and centuries old? Ginzburg argues that Menocchio's case is not unique, for there are other instances where this pre-Christian oral culture surfaces in the written records to impress likewise the members of the Christian written culture who discovered them. Ginzburg cites as examples peasants from Eboli in the mid-17th century and Scilio from Lucchese in the mid-16th. Like Menocchio, these witnesses testify to an anti-dogmatic, anti-clerical, materialistic view of the universe.⁴

However, the question still remains regarding the validity of generalizing from

Menocchio and these few other cases to a European-wide, peasant oral culture, particularly since both Menocchio and Scolio are not themselves a part of that oral culture, having learned to read and write and so transcend their roots. Furthermore, even if Menocchio's townsmen were willing to put up with his irregular religious views, the fact remains that their own were apparently orthodox enough to satisfy the ecclesiastical authorities so that in Montereale, at least, the oral culture was more Christian than the written one to which Menocchio aspired. In fact, as Ginzburg demonstrates, all kinds of radical religious works circulated in 16th-century Italy, including the Koran. Is it not possible that Menocchio's original contributions to this religious mix were the product of his own imagination? Do we have to postulate a larger cultural milieu in order to explain them? Ginzburg seems to think that we do; however, I am not so sure.

Probably, we will never know for sure what the "ordinary" person of the sixteenth century thought or believed, and the Menochios of that era provide us with at best a warped reflection of everyman's beliefs. Even so, however, readers of Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* will still find interesting its accounts of how an Italian peasant became a defendant in the courts of the Inquisition.

1. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. xxi.
2. Ibid., p. 33.
3. Ibid., p. 61.
4. Ibid., p. 112f.

Cameron A. MacKenzie

MINISTRY. Joseph T. Lienhard. *Message of the Fathers of the Church*. Edited by Thomas Halton. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. 183 pages. Paper, n.p.

SOCIAL THOUGHT. Peter C. Phan. *Message of the Fathers of the Church*. Edited by Thomas Halton. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. 268 pages. Paper, n.p.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Lutheran Confessions make heavy use of the early church fathers. For the confessors it was not simply another way to authenticate the Biblical truth, but the patristic sources were the very air they breathed. They did not see the Reformation as a disavowal of church tradition but a confirmation of it. It is unlikely that the Lutheran pastor will purchase one of the multi-volume sets costing several hundred dollars, and in them the classic English translations can be awkward. Under the general editorship of Thomas Halton, Michael Glazier, Inc., of Delaware is collecting the sayings of the early church fathers according to topics, printing them in readable, modern English and, equally important, at a modest cost. A whole area of Christian thought suddenly becomes available in a digestible form. *Social Thought* begins with the Didache and concludes with Leo and Gregory (both titled the Great). Matters discussed are slavery,

the taking of interest, and the conduct of the clergy, among many others. Perhaps *Ministry* would be of more interest because it always seems to be a lively topic. Author Lienhard, after a brief introduction about diversified practice in the New Testament, traces the origin of the bishop from Clement of Rome (ca. 96 A.D.) to Pope Siricius of Rome three hundred years later. I have found myself paging through these works many times. Of course, these are only republications of ancient writings, but most will find their message to be new to them. Though printed under Roman Catholic auspices, the Lutheran claim to this history is no less than theirs.

David P. Scaer

LUKE-ACTS: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar. Edited by Charles H. Talbert. New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1984. 224 pages. Cloth, \$12.95.

In the tradition of J. Louis Martyn's and Leander Keck's *Studies in Luke-Acts: Festschrift for Paul Schubert* (1966), Charles Talbert challenges us once again to consider some of our basic assumptions about the Gospels by gathering together a group of essays he entitles *Luke-Acts*. As the subtitle suggests, this book is from a seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature, a scholarly but critical organization. These essays span five years of work by the seminar, intended to "serve as a stimulus to further study of the Lucan writings" ("Introduction").

This anthology certainly accomplishes its stated purpose. In the past twenty years, there has been great interest in Luke-Acts, and many of the major discussions that have arisen concerning Luke's two volumes are treated by these essays. They are very challenging, and require a working knowledge of recent critical thought and methodology to glean any positive benefits for the orthodox reader.

Talbert has divided his book into three parts: "Introductory Issues"; "Thematic Studies"; and "Exegetical Studies." The serious student of Luke will find something among these groups of interest. For example, among the "Introductory Issues," three of the four essays are bold and provocative. The first essay by George Rice, entitled "Western Non-Interpolations: A Defense of the Apostolate," attempts to argue that the omissions in the text of Luke 23 and 24 were due to a bias by the Western scribes who were attempting to defend the apostles and justify their pre-resurrection unbelief. We may disagree with his arguments, but as is the case with much critical scholarship today, we must deal with its challenge. In any event, it forces us to wrestle once again with the text and the question of Western non-interpolations and decide for ourselves how to read Luke 23 and 24. Two other essays among the "Introductory Issues" are also worthy of study. John T. Townsend's "The Date of Luke-Acts" does not bring forth any new revelations, but it is a wonderful summary of the state of critical scholarship on the date of Luke-Acts. (With no malicious intention to spoil the ending for you, it can be revealed that he accepts the middle of the second century as the date of Luke-Acts). The third essay of interest was co-written by David L. Barr and Judith L. Wentling, entitled "The Conventions of Classical Biography and the Genre of Luke-Acts: A preliminary Study." This is a very valuable contribution to the discussion of the genre of "Gospel," a topic of considerable interest to both the critical and orthodox scholar. They disagree with Bultmann's conclusion that gospels are not biographies, but they do not

consider them "biographies" in the classic sense of the term. Ironically, not really knowing to what genre the Gospels belong, they end up concluding what traditional scholarship has been saying for centuries—the Gospels are a totally unique genre without any precedents or subsequent imitations of enduring value.

Perhaps some of the following articles included in this collection of essays on Luke-Acts would be of interest: "Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke's Use of Sources" by Thomas Louis Brodie; "Promise and Fulfillment in Lucan Theology" by Charles H. Talbert (an excellent summary of the position which is a continuing tradition at Yale that Luke's theological intent is to demonstrate in Jesus Christ the fulfillment of Old Testament promises); "The Salvation of the Jews in Luke-Acts" by Jack T. Sanders; "Paul in Acts: Lucan Apology and Conciliation" by Robert L. Brawley; "The Title 'Servant' in Luke-Acts" by Donald L. Jones (this article deals with the prevalent view that Luke's gospel deliberately avoids the vicarious atonement and has no hint of Jesus' death as producing the forgiveness of sins—an alarming thought for Lutherans and one in need of scholarly investigation by conservatives); "Luke 3:23-38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies" by William S. Kurtz; "The Divine Purpose: The Jews and the Gentile Mission (Acts 15)" by Earl Richard; "The Forensic Defense Speech and Paul's Trial Speeches in Acts 22-26: Form and Function" by Jerome Neyrey; "On Why Acts 27-28 and Beyond" by G. W. Trompf.

As one can clearly see, this book tackles as ambitious range of topics, and each essay provides a challenging attempt to deal with the contemporary issues in the current debate on Luke-Acts. For the serious student who needs to stay up with the latest in a particular field like Luke-Acts, this book is a must. For the less committed, this book is a good way to clear out the cobwebs and confront some excellent scholarship. What is lamentable is that there are not many equivalent collections of essays from a conservative perspective. For once, it would be nice to read some serious exegesis that does not require wading through a critical quagmire.

Arthur A. Just, Jr.

GENESIS WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO NARRATIVE LITERATURE. By George W. Coats. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1983. 322 pages.

This volume is the first in a projected series of twenty-four which will offer a "form-critical" analysis of every book or unit of the Old Testament. The avowed purpose of the editors (Rolf Knierim and Gene M. Tucker) is to illustrate the results of critical research by "the analysis of the forms in and of the texts themselves" (p. x).

In seeking that goal, *Genesis* plots a somewhat different course than standard commentaries. There is no verse by verse exposition in the classical, commentary mold. Neither is there the theological application which marks more

popular works. Rather Coats focuses pointedly on the "narrative form" of particular textual units. The format which he follows—bibliography, structure, genre, setting, intention—eminently serves his purpose particularly when he has the final form of the text's structure and texture in view.

It is at this point that the major benefits will come to the parish pastor. Coats' sensitivity to the structure of Genesis stimulates a new awareness of the possible ordering of the material. While one cannot achieve certainty on such issues, the type of chiasmic outline which is offered for Gen. 25 through 35 (pp. 177-178) is worthy of consideration. The author's alignment with standard critical perspectives on sources, etc., should not obscure this attention to the *final form* of the text. Indeed, this volume might serve as an avenue into several recent trends in exegesis, namely, structuralism and canonical criticism. The pastor with an interest in the current 'state of the art' will no doubt be better informed by this extended example than by the rather more obtuse, theoretical discussions of a volume like Edgar McKnight's *Meaning In Texts* (Fortress, 1978). Further, the bibliographies provide the interested reader with foundational critical texts on the respective pericopies. It should be noted that the person with sympathies for Mosaic authorship will hesitate longest at those places where the commitment to prior sources is most obvious. The recurrent explanations of how these hypothetical and independent materials were combined will illustrate the highly speculative nature of such assessments. For example, while 20:1-18 has been ascribed to E, there is now a shift to regard it as an expansion of J (p. 151). Examples could be multiplied, but the reader is invited to glean those insights which stem from the text and discard any superstructure that departs from it.

Dean O. Wenthe

IDOLS FOR DESTRUCTION. Herbert Schlossberg. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1983. Paper, \$8.95.

For a society engulfed in humanism and addicted to idols of which most people are not aware, this book is a clear and provocative analysis of modern culture; and it provides the biblical concept of idolatry and judgment for understanding the frustration and despair of those controlled by the world's systems. The author exposes all of the idolatries of our modern world which are substituted for the Creator and the Redeemer and which will destroy us. Reviewing the systems which human reason, estranged from God, has built over the years in history, humanity, mammon, nature, power and religion, Schlossberg reveals how these systems break down basic Christian institutions and injunctions which God set in motion in the world through the incarnation of Jesus Christ.

A society thus de-Christianized has no moral limitations. Ethical standards and moral principles are moving targets, propelled by the march of sentiments and desires. Everything is relativized except the idols. With a society based on pagan assumptions, human beings act as God. Good and evil are purely a mat-

ter of sentiment, and no action can be judged, for even laws are interpretations of feelings rather than of facts or Christian thought. This leaves no standard against which to judge culture, since human idols are supreme.

The author shows, in a striking way, how humanism is a philosophy of death, and how humanism ends in an exercise of power not of love. Humanism's misuse of "love" is troublesome because it borrows Christian terminology, thus befuddling many in the church. Humanism romanticizes a love which justifies evil, and in so doing exposes its own irrationality. Both humanism and idolatry claim to offer salvation through an ethic that makes man into a deity.

Schlossberg shows that the solution is an intellectual revolution and fundamental change in values such as only the Christian doctrine can perform by the Holy Spirit, which radically alters the understanding that people have of their own nature, who they are and why they are on earth. When people turn to idolatries, those faiths become incarnated in society's institutions and rot sets in. Then antinomianism is an accompaniment to decline, which together with naturalism, does not lead to the promised freedom, but to slavery. The irony of humanism and idolatry is that they de-humanize.

What is needed today is apologetics, which should never be apologetic. Idolatries are hostile to the Christian faith, and Christians need to recognize when idolatry dons the guise of Christian virtues. God does not permit rivals, and neither should His people.

Many vital thoughts drawn from an insightful understanding of the Bible are applied to modern culture. This exceptional book helps Christian leaders work more effectively in the moral morass of our day. You will do well not to miss it.

Waldo J. Werning

GOD'S HAMMER. THE BIBLE AND ITS CRITICS. By Gordon H. Clark. The Trinity Foundation, Jefferson, Maryland, 1982. 190 pages. Paper, \$6.95.

Periodically since the coming of Christ the Bible has been under attack. In the early Church it was Marcion who attacked the Bible. During the Middle Ages, it was the Roman Catholic Church which tried to smother the Word of God with human rules and regulations. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was the Council of Trent which endeavored with the aid of secular governments to destroy those churches who limited their teaching to what the Bible taught. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the Bible undermined in the churches by rationalism and the historical-critical method. The twentieth century has witnessed the attacks of various types of anti-Scriptural philosophies on the Bible. Neoorthodoxy, logical positivism, process philosophy, communism and experientialism have all attacked and undermined the Judaeo-Christian foundations of Western civilization.

Gordon H. Clark, Professor of Philosophy at Covenant College, Lookout Mountain, Tennessee, also for twenty-eight years chairman of the department of philosophy at Butler University, Indianapolis, and author of thirty volumes, has here issued ten essays that deal with the Bible and its critics. this is an apologetic volume, designed

to defend the inspiration and infallibility of Holy Writ against its critics and detractors. In this book the reader will find an exposition of what the Bible claims about itself, namely, that it is the very Word of God. In *God's Hammer* the author discusses such questions as "How may a person know the Bible is inspired?" In another essay he shows that the Bible is God's truth. He defends the verbal and plenary inspiration of the Bible, because that is the claim of the books which constitute the canon. Clark, a member of the Evangelical Theological Society, defends the platform of this organization, which requires of its members subscription to the following statement: "The Bible alone, and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written, and therefore inerrant in the autographs." It is the author's deep conviction that the Christian belief in special divine revelation is a rational stance; and that without special revelation there can be no certainty relative to life's most important questions.

Well versed in the history of philosophy and current philosophical systems, Clark is well prepared to set forth the fallacies and weaknesses of those philosophies that are antithetical to Christianity. He has produced an excellent work which shows the superiority of Biblical Christianity to all would-be Christian theologians who have espoused erroneous world views. *God's Hammer* is a good contribution to the field of Christian apologetics.

Raymond F. Surburg

WOMEN AND THE PRIESTHOOD. Edited by Thomas Hopko. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1983. Paper. 190 pages.

The question of women and the priesthood is but one important instance of what I see to be the most critical issue of our time: the issue of the meaning and purpose of the fact that human nature exists in two consubstantial forms: male and female. This is a new issue for Christians; it has not been treated fully or properly in the past. But it cannot be avoided today. How we respond to it, I believe, clearly demonstrates what we believe about everything: God and man, Christ and the Church, life and death. It is, in a manner of speaking, our particular issue for controversy: our gnosticism or Arianism, our Origenism or iconoclasm. It is the issue of our time, the issue that inevitably comes to every age and generation [p. 190].

With this 'call to arms' Thomas Hopko concludes this book, which contains contributions by six scholars from the Eastern tradition. In my opinion, Hopko has struck the right note of urgency and significance. While most often the issue of "Women in the Church" is couched in terms of "equality," the more one reads in the literature coming from the feminist movement, the more one is aware that the extent of women's participation in the church is not the real issue, nor the understanding of particular Biblical passages, nor even loyalty to the Scriptures. What is finally under attack is the Faith itself, the analogy of faith by which the Scriptures themselves are to be understood. The issue of women in the church, as it is being raised in the present context, demands nothing less than a reassertion of a Christian worldview, of a Christian vision, if you will.

With our own cultural tendency to privatize and to individualize and with the Prot-

estant tendency to make the "person of faith" the center of theological reflection, the Eastern approach to this issue, with its attempt to ground all in the doctrine of the Trinity and in the universal humanity of the Incarnate Word, comes as something of a *novum*—but, I would hope, also as a spur to broaden our own approach to the subject. The interest of the articles by Thomas Hopko and Deborah Belonick lies precisely in their attempt (however cursory) to understand Man as male and female in the light of God's universal creative intent and final purposes, that is as revelatory of God as personal being who in Christ is in relation with His creation. In this regard, the article by Hopko, which argues that the relationship between the Son and the Holy Spirit within the divine being is reflected in the relationship between male and female is especially provocative (pp. 97-134).

A strength of this book is that in its appeal to the history of the Eastern tradition it reveals the breadth of participation in the church's life which has in the past been open to women. Here the articles by Bishop Kallistos Ware and Kyriaki FitzGerald are of importance for us. FitzGerald gives a good discussion of the nature of the female diaconate, while Ware presents examples of broad scope of female service in the church's past (from the role of the priest's wife to the idea of "spiritual motherhood"). Articles by Georges Barrois (on the Old Testament) and by Nicholas Afanasiev (on the much-disputed Canon II of the Council of Laodicea) round out the volume.

It will behoove all of us to discern as quickly as possible the fundamentally theological character of the issues raised by the feminist movement. Only then will we begin to ask questions of sufficient depth and breadth to deal adequately with the present theological context. This book is not a set of answers, but it reflects the catholic nature of the problem and challenges us to new and creative reflection.

William C. Weinrich

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

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 evangelical scholars who are incorporating the most recent critical techniques into their studies. He teaches at Northern Baptist Seminary in Chicago and previously at Bethel Seminary 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 process is quite valuable. The chapters are organized according to the verses with each concluding with several theological discussions of prominent issues, e.g., righteousness, ethics, and the 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 life time. 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 traditional 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

FAITH AND PRACTICE IN THE EARLY CHURCH: FOUNDATIONS FOR CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGY. By Carl A. Volz. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 223 pages. Paper.

Carl Volz, presently professor of Early Church History in Luther-Northwestern Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, is not unknown to readers of the Missouri Synod. For some years he was professor of Church History at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and in my view authored one of the better volumes in the "Church History Series" published by Concordia Publishing House, namely, *The Church of the Middle Ages: Growth and Change from 600 to 1400* (1970). That volume demonstrated the fact that Volz can compile and arrange historical materials with discernment and sound judgment for the purpose of telling the story of the church's history with simplicity but yet with clarity. That earlier book was primarily for the student and interested layman. The present volume is in the same mold.

The author intends to describe early Christian views concerning major doctrines and early Christian practices and to illuminate their interdependence; he further wishes to reveal "the role of worship in shaping the thought of the church and giving expression to the instincts [?] of the believer" (p. 10). To carry out this intention Volz discusses early Christian belief and practice in six major areas: doctrine of God, doctrine of humanity, doctrine of salvation, worship and the sacraments, authority in the church, and church and society. At the end of the first three sections, he presents a short "Reflection" which apparently is intended to make clear the present relevance of the doctrinal views just discussed. Why a "Reflection" does not follow the chapters on the church's practice is not clear.

As one would expect from Professor Volz, the strength of the book lies in his broad knowledge of the sources and in his ability to select information and patristic quotations which illustrate his narrative. There is to be sure much interesting information in this book. Yet, I do not believe this volume matches the standards of Volz's earlier book. There are frankly too many inexactitudes and anachronisms for this to be adjudged a really good book. I give but a couple of examples. To say that the view of salvation as deification looks forward to "human potential" is simply wrong (p. 78). I suspect that the author meant by this that this concept of salvation was future oriented, which is correct if a bit simplistically put. But "human potential" conjures up ideas which have nothing to do with deification, which remains rigidly theocentric. Secondly, to say in an early church context that the gospel of Christ was the "canon within the canon" (p. 142) is anachronistically to skew the early church view which always associated that which was canonical with apostolicity. To be sure, content was all important but so too was origin. Indeed, the second-century struggle against the Gnostics was to determine just what the "gospel of Christ" was and this the early church did by establishing the apostolicity of origin for certain writings and teachings. This early Christian insistence on (what we might call) the "formal" principle may not be palatable in certain exegetical circles today, but one cannot

cease being a historian for that.

The book is generally attractively done. There are very few spelling errors (Trajan, p. 194, 195, should be Trajan; Cadous, p. 205, should be Cadoux). Unfortunately, there is no bibliography. A good, select bibliography is really required for a book like this, which is pitched not to the scholar, who would be familiar with major literature, but to the non-professional and student, who most likely does not know the literature.

William C. Weinrich

THE HOLY GREYHOUND: GUINEFORT, HEALER OF CHILDREN SINCE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By Jean-Claude Schmitt. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1983. \$34.50.

A holy greyhound? A sainted dog? Yes, indeed—at least, according to the peasants of Dombé in the diocese of Lyons, who confessed their superstitious reverence of an animal, St. Guinefort by name, and pointed out its shrine to a Dominican preacher, Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261), who thereupon ordered the shrine destroyed and the cult terminated. But lo and behold, more than six centuries later, when folklorist A. Vayssière heard about Stephen's account and so asked peasants in the same general area whether Guinefort were man or dog, back came the answer, "Why, dog, of course!" It is this phenomenon which Jean-Claude Schmitt sets out to explain in *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*.

In his introduction, Schmitt indicates that his work presupposes two types of European culture stretching from the early Middle Ages until relatively modern times—(1) a literate, urban, Catholic "higher" culture and (2) an oral, peasant, superstitious "lower" culture—which coexisted uneasily, unwillingly, and sometimes unwittingly; and which evolved together through time until at last dissolving into the mists of secular modernity. Since by definition written records even of the lower culture belong to the higher one, Schmitt readily employs a wide variety of techniques to explore the contents of popular culture, going well beyond a simple reading of Stephen's text. Among the techniques which he uses are structuralism to compare and contrast Stephen's account of the cult's origin with similar stories occurring elsewhere in Indo-European cultures, iconography to explore pictorial accounts as well as written ones, etymology to trace the diffusion of the cult and to suggest reasons for confusing a dog with a man and vice versa, geography and archeology to determine where the cult spread and how people observed it, and anthropology to provide explanations for cultic observances and symbolism. The result is a thorough and fascinating account of a hitherto obscure medieval "cult" which persisted, apparently, until the end of the nineteenth century.

But are there any problems with Schmitt's analysis? Unfortunately, yes—most of them having to do with Schmitt's determination to make up for a lack of documentary evidence and his insistence upon offering an explanation where perhaps none will do. The first six chapters are excellent. Schmitt here considers Stephen's account and supplies considerable background regarding Stephen's office and milieu to account for the document as we have it. Furthermore, Schmitt also places the legend into its context of Indo-European folklore and offers an explanation for the accompanying rite so that one can see the cult as a whole for what it reveals of the

peasants' *mentalite*, particularly their attitude toward children and sickness. Schmitt provides a wealth of background information and poses alternative explanations without forcing the evidence to confirm with any one possibility.

Chapter seven is also well done but of questionable significance, for in discussing the cult of Saint Guinefort—its origin and diffusion in medieval Europe—Schmitt first of all demonstrates the existence of three distinct cults involving three distinct persons and one of them a dog. Instead of stopping at this point, however, Schmitt insists upon analyzing them according to cultural content—regardless of “personality” differences. He comes up with three types: official cults (clerical), popular cults (folkloric), and intermediate forms. Admittedly, the cults of each type have some characteristics in common; but one wonders if there are not many other cults which share these same characteristics but which Schmitt does not include for lack of the “Guinefort” name.

What then does this cultural analysis prove about Saint Guinefort the dog? Not much, for in none of the folkloric cults of St. Guinefort is there a legend of a dog or even of a saint who died similarly to the hero of Stephen's story. Furthermore, the rites associated with these folkloric cults, though sometimes involving children, bear little resemblance to that described by the Dominican friar. In fact, were it not for Vayssiere's evidence, one would need a leap of imagination to connect the nineteenth century cult with that of the thirteenth.

What, then, about Vayssiere's account? Can we accept it? Is it methodologically sound? Here Schmitt lets us down. He does not tell us why Vayssiere is reliable. This omission is especially significant since Vayssiere knew about Stephen's story in advance of his search: and, as Schmitt suggests, he had an ideological bias toward corroborating a story which would discredit Catholic piety. Furthermore, an account of the same cult from fifty years before by a *cure* did not uncover the saint's canine identity. Why not? Schmitt offers an entire chapter regarding dogs and saints, especially those whose days fall in the “dog-days” of summer to explain this failure. His explanation would be more persuasive, however, if he had first demonstrated its necessity by convincing us of Vayssiere's reliability.

However, even if Schmitt has not demonstrated his thesis completely, readers will still find this book fascinating for its wealth of detail regarding the cult of the saints, which was at the heart of medieval religion. Whether dog or no, Guinefort and his fellow “saints” played a central role in the beliefs and piety of ordinary people. Schmitt's *Holy Greyhound* helps us to see what that role was.

Cameron A. MacKenzie

POPULAR RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Rosalind and Christopher Brooke. Thames and Hudson, London, 1984.

In the prologue to their book Rosalind and Christopher Brooke define their purpose as penetrating “the religious aspirations, hopes and fears, and doctrines of ordinary lay people in western Christendom” between the years 1000 and 1300. The emphasis here surely is upon the word *ordinary* so that the Brookes eschew any discussion of the extraordinary, whether it be the liturgical practices of the monastic orders or the doctrinal subtleties of the schoolmen, except insofar as such observances and teachings impinge upon the piety of the people. Accordingly, this book is *not* the place to go for the official position of the medieval church, but it is precisely the place to look for what the members of that church believed and for what motivated them in their religious observances.

Therefore, the Brookes begin with what lay at the heart of medieval piety, the cult of the saints, and go on to discuss those matters most central to the devotional lives of ordinary people: church buildings and furnishings; the practice of piety, particularly the sacraments; the use of the Scriptures in art, drama, and preaching; and the doctrine of the last things, a dominant motif in lay religion. The important thing to note, however, about the topics discussed is that they emerge from the sources themselves instead of being imposed by the Brookes upon those sources. The authors describe the interest of people then even if the concerns of the modern believer are far different so that, for example, the charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit receive no mention whereas the emerging belief in purgatory is discussed at length.

But what are the sources that the Brookes investigate? How do we find out about the religion of ordinary people, particularly in an age when "ordinary" meant illiterate and far removed from the culture of cloister and court, concerning which we have extensive written records? To answer such questions the Brookes do use written sources—carefully—especially literature aimed at ordinary people, e.g., vernacular stories and sermons. Their chief sources, however, are the churches and their artifacts, things the people themselves used in their approach to the divine. For this reason, the authors include thirty-five photographs ranging from a aerial view of Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire to a ceiling panel from the nave of St. Martin's in Graubunden, Switzerland. Their arguments, unfortunately, refer often to artifacts unpictured, and therefore the reader must in those cases simply trust their descriptions.

Throughout their work, the authors are conscious of the limits, the sources or lack thereof place upon our knowledge. Within those limits, however, the Brookes do offer some interesting analysis. They emphasize the importance of the saints in the religion of ordinary people—how relics or apparitions sanctified certain locations to which people then would travel for prayers and offerings as they implored help both here and hereafter. Even though the doctrine of the church was that the saints were intercessors only, the practice of the faithful was to treat them as demigods, usually helpful but also vindictive if their shrines and feast days were not attended to properly.

To discern the laymen's relationship to the church, the Brookes consider the baptisteries, fonts, rood screens, and cemeteries as well as stories that were told with religious themes. They note that these centuries saw the development of the sacramental system, e.g., the institutionalization of priestly confession and the regularization of the mass as priestly and mysterious sacrifice which the laity viewed frequently—though with difficulty—but partook of rarely.

With respect to marriage, the Brookes point out that lay people increasingly accepted the sacred character of an institution which the church had labored long to bring into her exclusive purview, in spite of the church's insistence upon celibacy as more virtuous. Furthermore, the Brookes do an excellent job of analyzing what the people knew and did not know about the Bible from the sermons, liturgical drama, and religious art of the day. One interesting finding is that the stories of the kings of Israel were referred to infrequently; but probably more significant is the fact that this epoch was one in which the humanity of Christ, especially in His passion, was emphasized.

Popular Religion in the Middle Ages is not a large book, but it is a significant one, for it puts the reader into the religious milieu of ordinary people who, after all, are the ones the church presumably wants to influence. Getting into this milieu is difficult after so many centuries, but the Brookes know how to go about it and have opened our understanding to what the "age of faith" meant to the people who actually lived that faith.

Cameron A. MacKenzie

MIRACLES AND PROPHECIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By Thomas A. Kselman. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1983. \$27.50.

In the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the Roman Catholic Church in France had to deal with social forces such as urbanization which radically altered the social structure in which the church had prospered for centuries and intellectual currents such as liberalism and later positivism which actively challenged and attacked the traditional piety and beliefs of the church. How extraordinary, therefore, that the same period and place should also see a renewed interest—indeed, a revitalized belief—in divine and supernatural intervention in the affairs of men. It is, however, the contention of Thomas Kselman in his *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* that such a coincidence is not, after all, so extraordinary; instead he contends that the rise of miracle cults and the popularity of prophetic literature as the response, first of all, of ordinary people seeking help and healing and, secondly, of the institutional church, defending itself from its critics and pursuing its pastoral goals.

With respect to the miracle cults, Kselman refrains from passing judgement on the authenticity of miraculous cures. He does take pains, however, to provide an explanation for the eagerness with which people sought supernatural healings throughout the century. Two factors stand out: (1) the inadequacies of secular medicine and (2) the social utility of miracle rites by which those estranged from the community by mishap or illness were united again to their fellow believers. To explain this latter point, Kselman relies heavily upon the social sciences to show how religion satisfied the social, psychological, and perhaps even physical needs of those who sought cures. One problem with his analysis, however, is that he fails to integrate into his explanation any account of those who sought cures and were *not* healed. Certainly such people must have existed in large numbers; and yet the miracle cults continue to prosper. Why? Unfortunately, this is one aspect of his subject which Kselman does not really address.

On the other hand, he does consider failures in his other great category of the ostensibly supernatural, viz., prophecies—direct pronouncements of God through chosen individuals of His will for the present and the future. Kselman points out that such prophecies were not new to France in the nineteenth century. What was new, however, was the degree to which such prophecies were applied to the social and political circumstances which threatened the French church and her members. Sometimes the prophetic word explained present miseries by failures of faith and piety, e.g., the first and public message of the Virgin Mary to the shepherd children at La Salette; and sometimes it provided a vision of hope for the future after turmoil and tribulation, e.g., the plethora of pamphlets and speeches predicting a Catholic and royal France triumphant after the collapse of the Second Empire. Unfortunately for the visionaries, the Third Republic emerged instead.

The heart of Kselman's work is his analysis of the ways in which the Roman Catholic Church used the new manifestations of the miraculous to foster its own goals in France. Unlike previous epochs, the nineteenth century saw the French clergy, including and especially the hierarchy, not only tolerate but actively embrace the miraculous. The establishment of regional and national shrines staffed by additional clergy, the growth of the accompanying confraternities, and the promotion of national pilgrimages to such shrines are the phenomena Kselman seeks to explain. Lourdes is the outstanding example, but it is not by any means the only instance of such developments in nineteenth-century France. What purpose, then, did the church have in acknowledging and promoting the miracle cults?

Kselman's answer is both compelling and fascinating, as he describes, for instance, the way in which the church used the new devotions to promote its doctrines, especially the Immaculate Conception, and the skill with which the church and her apologists used prophecies and miracles to defend her faith and practice against the critics and to maintain for the faithful a framework of traditional religiosity in the face of social change. Thus, the church used miracles and prophecies to promote both its institutional and pastoral goals, i.e., to bolster and to enhance its own position within the life of the French nation and to strengthen, confirm, and affirm its members when troubled by personal or national concerns.

Kselman's approach is not at all theological; but readers of this journal will still find his book valuable reading, for it is a fine example of historical narrative and analysis. His decision not to argue with reports of the miraculous and supernatural but rather just to accept them at face value as evidence of what people believed permits him to make a significant contribution to our understanding of how and why the Roman Catholic Church encouraged its members in devotions to national miracle shrines.

Cameron MacKenzie

TABLE AND TRADITION: Toward an Ecumenical Understanding of the Eucharist. By Alasdair I.C. Heron. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. Paper. 192 pages.

The occupant of the chair of Reformed theology at the University of Erlangen surveys the doctrine of the Lord's Supper from the institution narratives through Calvin and concludes with some of his own personal observations and suggestions for the modern era. On the negative side, Heron throughout remains true to his Reformed heritage. On the positive side, he brings together in an easily digestible form recent scholarly thought on the sacrament. Whether Luther deserves only six pages and Calvin over forty, as a kind of mediator between Zwingli and Luther, is a question which the reader will have to consider. This seems out of proportion, as the Sacrament played a central part in Luther's theology and not in Calvin's.

Heron's contribution comes in analyzing the New Testament data, where he relies heavily on the contemporary Roman Catholic scholar, J. Betz, whose major work has been in the early Greek fathers. For Betz, as well as for Heron, the institution narratives must be recognized as liturgical texts and the differences among the four must be understood as reflecting specific emphases. Matthew and Mark reflect the Servant Songs of Isaiah and stress the redemptive significance of the Supper. Paul and Luke place the emphasis on the identification of the bread and cup with the body and blood of Christ. Equally valuable is the structural parallelism between John 6:35-47 and verses 48-58 with the stress of the first on Jesus as the bread from heaven and the second on Jesus as the bread to be eaten. Regretfully Heron goes against his own evidence when he leaves open the question of *how* the bread is to be eaten. Clearly Heron is working towards some kind of rapprochement among Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed, but he is honest enough to point out that such a recent attempt as the Leuenberg Concord can be read either in a Lutheran or a Calvinistic way.

Since Heron makes no attempt to cover up his Reformed orientation and hence also purposes, *Table and Tradition* provides a very valuable service in a readable form of current discussions on the Sacrament. Not only is this useful for the scholar who is looking for an overview of the current discussion, but also for the pastor who would like different homiletical approaches on sacramental preaching.

David P. Scaer

THE PRESENT-DAY CHRISTOLOGICAL DEBATE. By Klaas Runia. Issues in Contemporary Theology. Edited by I. H. Marshall. Intervarsity Press, Downers Grove, Illinois, 1984. Paper. 120 pages. \$5.95.

The introduction of the historical-critical method into exegetical theology, which views the person of Jesus from the historical perspective, challenges the orthodox dogmatical procedure, canonized by Chalcedon, which begins Christology with His divinity. In other words, should we move from the humanity to the divinity (modern approach) or should we reverse the procedure and move from the divinity to the humanity (Chalcedonian approach)? Runia presents the Christology of Nicea and Chalcedon, to which he adheres, and then examines the Christology of prominent theologians in twentieth century: Barth, Pannenberg, Moltmann, Schoonenberg, Schillebeeckx, Kung, Flesselman, J.A.T. Robinson, the process theologians, and those involved in the myth of God debate. The theologians who approached Christology "from below" have not been able to reach an ontological Christology which understands Christ as God as having a real preexistence. At best they can go little beyond a revelational Christology; i.e., in some sense we can know God in Jesus, though this is not an exclusive revelation. Runia has written what may be considered one of the best overviews of the subject and is not at all antagonistic toward those of whom he writes. In fact, he sees a positive contribution in their work. He has simplified (if this is really possible) a very complex and wide area and carefully analyzed the motivations of each theologian. Runia does not fail to let his own views come in. For example, if the term "Son of God" had no ontological meaning for the Jews, how can it be explained that the gospels are agreed in seeing that the Jews put him to death because of this claim (p. 93)? How does one explain the early church's worship of Jesus? Runia has a keen mind and is well versed in his subject.

Runia raises certain issues that have a definite effect on Christology including our tradition. For example, Luther like the modern critics did operate with a Christology "from below." The humanity of Jesus was key to finding the divinity. Modern critics have a difficulty making this bridge. Lutheran dogmatics may, in fact, not do Christology as Luther did; maybe it should. It would have been helpful if Runia had developed Luther's view for the readers, if only briefly, since it is frequently cited by him. The treatment given Barth may be a little too kind. One wonders if Barthian Christology is more a revelational rather than an ontological one. This is not an easy question to answer. In fact, it may be unanswerable. Barth understands the Triune God as the Revealer, the Revelation, and the Revealedness. But does he or even can he go behind this? Another question: Does the Old Testament stress the unbridgeable gulf between the transcendent God and the creature man (p. 94)? Working with this hypothesis the incarnation is for Runia unexpected. I think that the Old Testament evidence lies entirely in the other direction, beginning with the image of God and God's walking in the garden (Genesis 2 and 3). This hypothesis I would like to attribute to Runia's Reformed commitment, though his Christology finally seems throughout to be closer to Luther than Calvin. These final remarks are not added as strictures, but only as avenues of discussion. Runia has made a needed and remarkable contribution to the current Christological discussion which is unhesitatingly recommended.

David P. Scaer

FOUR OTHER GOSPELS. By John Dominic Crossan. Winston Press, Minneapolis, 1985. Cloth. 208 pages.

What if there were other Gospels not included in our New Testament? This question has intrigued the church wherever such "gospel" documents have surfaced. Crossan, editor of *Semeia*, "an experimental journal for Biblical criticism sponsored by the Society of Biblical Literature," determines through critical procedures the interrelation of the four canonical gospels with four excluded gospels. Perhaps his conclusions should be presented first. The *Gospel of Thomas* has no bearing on the canonical four. It is simply a discourse gospel with no narrative. Canonical Mark was dependent on Egerton Papyrus 2. It was operative before the distinction between the Synoptic and Johannine traditions. Canonical Mark is dependent on the *Secret Gospel of Mark* which he dismembered. The *Gospel of Peter* is both dependent and independent of the canonical four.

To come to these conclusions Crossan takes case studies from each of the "four other gospels." He intends only to introduce the reader to his solution and not to provide an exhaustive, encyclopedic defense of his conclusions. Since the *Secret Gospel of Mark* is seen as the most influential of these gospels, the example of the resurrected youth may suffice. Put briefly, the youth is raised by Jesus, after he has rolled away a stone from the door of the tomb. The youth is said to love Jesus and to be very rich. After six days he comes to Jesus wearing a linen cloth over his naked body. The claim is made that Mark dismembered this story in the *Secret Gospel of Mark* and included it in his own.

Before seriously considering any of Crossan's proposals, huge hurdles must be jumped. For example, if the *Secret Gospel of Mark* were prior to our canonical gospel, it would mean: (1) that its form of a deedless, wisdom-teaching Christianity preceded in time the cross-centered Christianity of Mark; (2) that Mark and subsequently Luke and Matthew have to be very late, though the author never gives any approximate dates to these connections; and (3) that Jesus was closer to Gnostic Christianity, even as a cause, than He was to the kind embodied in the canonical gospels. The big problem is why Christianity should ever substitute the uncomfortable martyrological form for the Gnostic.

In the book's last paragraph, Crossan comes close to confessing himself to be a Gnostic himself as he refers to "the fictional realism with which Jesus spoke in parables and with which they spoke about him as parable itself." Though capable of tracing the relationships between the four other gospels with the canonical four, he finds it marvelously coincidental that Matthew and Luke use Mark in almost the same way. We sometimes can be oblivious to the most obvious.

David P. Scaer

C. S. LEWIS AND THE SEARCH FOR THE RATIONAL RELIGION. By John Beversluis. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Paper. 182 pages. \$9.95.

C. S. Lewis died in 1963, long enough ago to be canonized. The chairman of the philosophy department at Butler University (Indianapolis) writes against the supposedly uncritical cult that has grown up around his works and memory. The title could have been just as easily called *The Debunking of C.S. Lewis*. Beversluis does not indicate where his interest in Lewis developed, but his intimate knowledge shows

that he may have once been enamoured with him. As in cases of infatuation, the object of devotion becomes one of loathing. This is only my historical reconstruction of the author's motive, but I would endeavor to say this assessment is close to the facts in the case.

In the first four chapters Beversliu's tackles Lewis' arguments for God: apologetics, desire, morality, and reason. For example, in the chapter on morality, Lewis is scored for not being aware that principles of ethics have been developed apart from religion and even by atheists, e.g., Bertrand Russell. But was Lewis really saying that without God morality was impossible or that atheists were necessarily immoral? Or was he rather saying that the existence of God provides the best possible explanation for morality or an ethical code, which in some sense must be objective, if society is going to exist at all? At another point Lewis is chastised for offering false alternatives: either Jesus was God as He claimed or He was a madman. After all, other messianic contenders were not considered mad. True-but others did not claim to be God. Those who understood this claim thought He was in league with Satan and had the devil within Himself. Beverluis does concede that Lewis does have something to offer, but it would be hard to find what that would be. A final broadside must be taken as an attempt to discredit Lewis once and for all. "Taken as a whole, then, Lewis' apologetic writings do not embody a religion that satisfied his own definition of rationality. His arguments for the existence of God fail." (In a sense all such arguments never succeed in creating faith, but they are never totally unhelpful) Why was J. B. Phillipps' claim that Lewis visited him from beyond the grave mentioned? Was this Lewis' fault?

One wonders if this book should have ever been written at all. Lewis was *sui generis* in a pilgrimage that took him from unbelief to a general sort of belief in God and then finally to Christianity. He was not a systematic thinker and did not intend to be. Lewis was a popularist who intended to show that the arguments being raised against Christianity should be examined on their own merits. His borrowing from differing and opposing systems to further the cause of Christianity should not be scored for their inconsistency and sometimes mutual incompatibility, but should be seen as a skillful lawyer using whatever weapons were at his disposal. Since when have the opponents of Christianity ever been consistent or logical? Lewis may have succeeded more with those who already accepted the faith than he did with unbelievers. Only God knows this. I have not been a fan of Lewis, and it may be that the adulation of him is somewhat promiscuous. Only the most intoxicated admirer would fail to see some flaws in him, even at the first reading. Still he raised issues and made connections which no one in our time was raising. Others developed and adjusted them. This is what happens with all great thinkers. Their followers are often the conquerors of Canaan. Books debunking logical inconsistencies in Jesus abound. C. S. Lewis is in good company. (*Sensus literalis duplex est*)

This book will find a market only with concerned admirers. This is making a profit off another's memory for the wrong reason. Those who are not convinced by Lewis could scarcely care less.

David P. Scaer

EGYPT AND BIBLE HISTORY FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO 1000 B.C. By Charles F. Aling. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1982. 144 pages. \$5.95.

The role of the Egyptians in Biblical history is the subject of this volume, written by Charles Aling, the Academic Dean and Professor of Biblical Backgrounds and Old Testament in Valley Baptist Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Aling has dealt especially with that segment of Egyptian history which is related to Bible times. The period covered reaches from earliest times to 1000 B.C. The eight chapters of this study are organized as follows. Chapter 1 gives an overview of Egyptian history from earliest times to the time of Abraham. Chapters 2 and 3 concern Joseph and his activities. Chapters 4 to 6 treat of Israel's Egyptian sojourn and the Exodus. Chapter 7 details what the Bible has to say about Israel and later Egyptian history. Chapter 8 describes the contacts between Egypt and Israel.

The "small book" (p. 133) is designed to help and encourage readers of the Bible to learn some of the information which Egyptology has made available to Bible students. The author has obtained his information from a wide range of literature (both secular and theological) produced by the best minds in the field. Aling correctly claims: "It must be stressed that the people and events of Bible times fit into a broader historical picture than given in the pages of the Bible." A knowledge of the broader historical picture is vital to a proper understanding of the details of the biblical narrative. One purpose of this study was to defend the fifteenth century date of the Exodus, the stance of Unger, Wood, Archer, and other conservatives.

Raymond F. Surburg

ESTHER, JUDITH, TOBIT, JONAH, RUTH. By John Craghan. Michael Glazier, Wilmington, Delaware, 1982. 230 pages. \$7.95.

This is volume 16 of *Old Testament Messages*, a commentary series edited by Carroll Stuhlmueller and Martin McNamara. As in the other 22 volumes of this "Biblical Theological Commentary," pages vii and viii describe the characteristics and goals of this Roman Catholic Old Testament commentary series which is aimed at the entire English-speaking world and thus is the collective effort of an international team. The twenty-one contributors are women and men drawn from North America, Ireland, Britain, and Australia. They are scholars who have published in scientific journals. Although the writers are Roman Catholics, the editors believe that "like the Bible itself," the commentary reaches beyond interpretations restricted to an individual church and so enables men and women rooted in biblical faith to unite and so to appreciate their own traditions more fully and more adequately" (p. viii).

Judith, Tobit, and the Septuagintal Additions to Esther are apocryphal works according to the Lutheran understanding of the Old Testament Canon. John Craghan has grouped all these writings together because they are said to be stories. Ruth and Jonah are not treated as factual records of historical events. The historical-critical approach dictated all interpretations found in volume 16 of *Old Testament Messages*.

Craghan, trained at Columbia University and the Pontifical Biblical Institute, is associate editor of the *Biblical Theological Bulletin* and the author of two volumes on Old Testament theology.

Raymond F. Surburg

TYPOS. THE TYPOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW. By Leanhard Goppelt. Translated by D. H. Madvig. William Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1982. 264 pages. Hardcover.

This is an English translation of doctoral dissertation written at Erlangen (1938-39) by Leanhard Goppelt. In 1969 this dissertation was reprinted with an added appendix on apocalypticism and typology in Paul. (chapter 10, pp. 209-237). Goppelt's volume has elicited interest because of its significance for Biblical hermeneutics. The methodology of Biblical interpretation has been the subject of renewed interest in the last decades. Goppelt endeavored to find a normative hermeneutics for dealing with the Bible as a whole.

In answering the crucial question of Christ's relationship to the Old Testament, he found it in the principle of typology. To justify his theory Goppelt devoted a considerable discussion in the opening part of the book to the difference between allegory and typology (pp. 1-19). After his introductory key chapter Goppelt divided his revised edition into three parts: "Typology in Late Judaism," "Typology in the New Testament," and "Apocalypticism and Typology in Israel." Goppelt examined the place of typology in both Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism to determine how it was employed by Jewish writers.

In his discussion of typology's use in the New Testament he examined the portrayal of Christ in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts. In his examination of the latter books he concentrated on Jesus as the Prophet, as the Son of David and Lord, and as Son of Man. Each of these characterizations Goppelt related to the Old Testament typologically. In his study of the church in Acts again he found a typological relationship between God's people in the Old Testament and the church of the New Testament. The Pauline epistles were examined to see how Paul viewed Christ and the church. Jude, 1 and 2 Peter, Hebrews, and Gospel of John were also studied and finally apocalypticism and typology in Paul.

Typology, it should be noted, is not the only way in which the relationship is to be established between the Old and New Testaments. There is also the Scriptural teaching that many facts about Christ and His church were predicted in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New. Rectilinear prophecy and its fulfillment is, indeed, a clearer way of establishing the unity of the two major parts of the Bible. Typology is one of the ways, but only where Scripture itself identifies something as a type of something else. Today there are evangelical scholars who have explained away rectilinear prophecy and substituted for it the concept of typology. Such a procedure does not do total justice to the revealed truths of God's Word.

Raymond F. Surburg

THE SONS OF GOD AND THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN. By Modupe Oduyoye. Orbis Books, New York, and Ibadan, Nigeria, 1984. 132 pages.

This book carries as its subtitle: "An Africo-Asiatic Interpretation of Genesis 1-11." Its author Modupe Oduyoye is said to be a Nigerian exegete and philologist. At present he is the Literature Secretary of the Christian Council and Manager of the Daystar Press in Ibadan, Nigeria. In substance this book reproduces the Bible studies he led at the Clergy School of the Anglican Diocese of Ijebu Odogbolu, Nigeria.

For those readers who take the Biblical text of the Bible as historical and true, the material in this book will appear strange, its statements totally wrong. Here one

finds a mixture of interpretation concocted out of a radical kind of literary criticism, which Oduyoye was taught and adopted, and his personal reinterpretation of Genesis 1-11 in the light of and by the means of African heathen religions and languages. The views that are expressed in this volume, from the viewpoint of sound Biblical hermeneutics, sometimes border on the bizarre. Since in recent Semitic and African linguistics there is a school that holds that Semitic and certain African languages, like Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, and other Chadic languages are related way back in their linguistic history, Oduyoye has built on this theory to interpret and explain the Hebrew text of Genesis chapters 1-11. The African languages which he employs to reinterpret the Hebrew text, however, are languages whose vocabulary and syntax are known only in documents of the recent past. These languages are known only synchronically, not diachronically. How can an exegete responsibly explain the Hebrew text of Genesis (written about 1400 B.C.) by nineteenth and twentieth century meanings of African languages whose relationship to Hebrew is very tenuous?

To read Genesis through the eyes of African creation myths and with the aid Hamitic tongues produces an effect which is truly extraordinary, if not absurd. Here is an example of Oduyoye's exegesis of chapter 2 (p. 7):

The Yahwist writer (J) of Genesis 2 announced a myth of how the sky God and Mother earth gave birth through sexual copulation or insemination but then suppressed that line of thought because myths of creation require two divine parents, a progenitor and progenitrix, and that is polytheism. Rather than introduce polytheism, the Yahwist switched to another imagery.

The book strangely begins with chapter 6:1-3, where again the reader is given an interpretation of the text which is as far fetched as can be imagined.

Some reviewers of this volume claim that here one is supposed to find an example of the African school, just as others have given the world a Tamil, a Mexican, and a Marxist interpretation of the Bible. The Bible is not however, a Western book but an Oriental one. It is the duty of all readers throughout the world, to endeavor to understand what the Bible says in its Near Eastern setting and not to reinterpret the Bible according to one's own culture. Oduyoye's book can in no wise be taken as a serious interpretation of Genesis 1-11.

Raymond F. Surburg

CREEDS, COUNCILS AND CHRIST. By Gerald Bray. Leicester, England; Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984. 224 pages. Paper, \$6.95.

Gerald Bray of Oak Hill College (London, England) is a new and welcome voice in evangelical scholarship. He is welcome especially because he understands clearly the importance of the Christian past for Christian belief today. Although a lecturer in systematic theology, Bray's book on Tertullian (*Holiness and the Will of God*, 1979) marks him as an excellent student of the early church as well. In this book the question of the significance of the Christian past for the Christian present becomes explicit, for Bray addresses that separation of personal faith and the creedal past of the church which in differing ways characterizes both liberal and evangelical Protestant Christianity. As one might expect, Bray locates the beginning of this false separation in the Enlightenment's disparagement of the metaphysical and in nineteenth century Protestantism's reaction to it, in which commitment to the spiritual freedom of the individual had as its concomitant the disparagement of traditional

norms (pp. 16-20). The resultant dichotomy between personal faith and creedal forms not only infects modern liberal scholarship, however (pp. 21-25); it is also pervasive in conservative circles and it is to these conservative circles that Bray chiefly addresses his book.

Bray correctly perceives that in demanding a Biblically based theology many conservative Christians no longer have a sense of continuity with the orthodox tradition of the church by which and through which the message of the Bible has been transmitted to us. The result is that many conservative Christians have "lost a sense of worship" and also a "sense of doctrine" (p. 9). Hence the title and the ruling thesis of this book: "it is the author's conviction that the creeds and councils of the Early Church remain the unique historical basis for our present understanding of Christian truth" (p. 10).

To counter the modern tendency to divorce Scripture from the dogmatic tradition of the church, Bray contends that the history of the early church demonstrates a consistency between the apostolic writings and the credal formulations of the first four "ecumenical" councils. Furthermore, Bray contends, this movement from the apostolic writings to the creeds was not a deviation from the original intention of Christ nor simply the creedal fallout of ecclesiastical rivalry but rather it was the "logical response to the question which Jesus asked his disciples in Matthew 16:15." Indeed, "the entire achievement of early Christian theology can be explained as the answer to this question" (p. 71).

The chapters in which Bray attempts to substantiate his claim are not of equal value. The chapter on the "The Canon of Scripture and Christian Doctrine" (pp. 39-65) is a largely unconvincing discussion of how and why there developed a canon in view of early Christian "pluralism." The chapter entitled "The City of God" (pp. 119-144) discusses the fusion of church and empire and the split between Eastern and Western Christendom, but exactly what value this discussion has for the major purpose of the book remains unclear. Much better is the chapter, "The Spread of the Gospel" (pp. 66-91), which discusses the beginnings of Christian "academic theology" in Tertullian and Origen. It is here that Bray tries to explain the movement from simple Christian confession and worship language to the intellectual conceptualization of the Faith. Against the view of many scholars that "orthodoxy" is simply the view of the most powerful or winning early church party, Bray argues that "orthodoxy was *felt* before it was articulated" (p. 74) and thus the emerging orthodoxy at the end of the second century was the fruit of the early church's groping towards a rationale for its faith. Given the importance of this issue for present patristic discussion, it is regrettable that Bray does not discuss this point more fully, even in a popular treatment such as this book is.

The chapter entitled "The Rule of Faith" (pp. 92-118) is an excellent survey of the development of creeds and especially of the creeds of Nicaea (325) and of Constantinople (381). But Bray is not just interested in their historical evolution, but rather in their theological assertions. Thus the latter part of the chapter becomes a commentary on the creeds themselves. Especially good is the chapter, "God Was in Christ" (pp. 145-171). Here Bray discusses the Christology of the early councils culminating in Chalcedon (451). There is a good, albeit short, explanation of principal concepts (nature, being, person) and a fair and accurate relating of the Christological controversy between Antioch and Alexandria which found its orthodox conciliar expression at Chalcedon (of course, with the help of the West in the person of Leo I). A final chapter, "The Theological Synthesis" (pp. 172-194), is primarily an extended commentary on the Athanasian Creed with its trinitarian and christological sections. There is good discussion here. Two appendices provide the text of the major creedal statement of the early church and an evaluation of modern trans-

lations of the creeds.

As with any book, one can find details with which to quibble. But that would detract from the largely positive reception this book should receive. When it addresses large and important considerations, it is on target. For example, Bray recognizes that the "Tome" of Leo I and the Chalcedonian Definition of Faith are Alexandrian rather than Antiochene "at the level of fundamental principle" because they make the Person of the Son the cause of the incarnation and not its result. In this view Bray correctly counters much modern scholarly predilection.

But there is one major shortcoming of this book which still cries out for an evangelical, conservative response. Bray began with a problem, the common disjunction between Scripture and orthodox, traditional creedal statements, between personal faith and an intellectual expression of the Faith. How these two actually demand each other is never clearly answered. The *fact* that the early church moved from simple statements of personal faith to sophisticated conceptualizations of the faith does not in itself explain why that was so or why that had to be so. What remains to be argued are these important questions: *Why for the sake of the Gospel* is the trinitarian thought of Nicaea necessary? *Why for the sake of Gospel* is the Christology of Chalcedon necessary? The answers to those questions will carry within themselves the answer to the question about the relationship between personal faith and the conceptualized faith of the councils and the creeds.

William C. Weinrich

THEOTOKOS. By Michael O'Carroll. Michael Glazier, Wilmington, Delaware, 1982. 278 pages.

The title of this encyclopedic survey of thought on Mary literally means "the one giving birth to God." Its author is an Irish theologian who has devoted some thirty years to Marian studies. While Lutheran theologians have rightly disassociated Mary from the explicitly salvific work of Christ, this volume might correct a minimalistic view of her place in God's plan which has also been associated with Protestantism in general. For example, Luther, even late in his career, could write: "In this work whereby she was made the Mother of God, so many and such great good things were given her that no one can grasp them." Or, "The Blessed Virgin was the most pure worshipper of God, for she glorified God alone above all things." O'Carroll has culled quotations from the earliest church fathers through modern commentators and summarized their postures under each author's name. There are also topical discussions under such headings as "Miracles" (p. 247), "Paganism" (p. 277), etc.

In the current cultural atmosphere where it is often assumed that things "spiritual" are not to be commingled with the "physical" (and hence no *real* presence in the sacrament), it is important that Christians keep the *physical* (real) mother of Christ in view. The incarnation has wed spiritual and physical in a manner which has been contested in every age of the church. By returning Mary to her most "blessed" (Lk. 1:42) position among all women, the specific contours of God's entrance into the flesh will be kept before us. Another accolade might be offered to Mary for her description of Christ's birth with the vocabulary of Israel's history in the Magnificat (Lk. 1:46-55). This hymn is one of the finest texts for uniting the Old and New Testaments into one seamless theological garment.

Dean O. Wenthe

Books Received

CREEDS, COUNCIL AND CHRIST. Gerald Bray. Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984. 224 pages. Paper, \$6.95.

AN INVITATION TO THE ACTION: The Lutheran-Reformed Dialogue Series III, 1981-1983. Burgess Andrews. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. 144 pages. Paper, \$2.00.

THE HOLY SPIRIT. J. Patout Burns and Gerald M. Fagin. Willington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1984. 240 pages. Cloth, \$12.95; paper, \$8.95.

LIFE SCIENCE AND RELIGIONS. Kieran Burns. New York: Philosophical Library, 1984. 209 pages. Cloth, \$25.00.

PREACHING THE WORD: The Power of the Apocalypses. Adela Yarbro Collins. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984. 179 pages. Paper, \$11.95.

CRISIS AND CATHARSIS: The Power of the Apocalypses. Adela Yarbro Collins. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984. 179 pages. Paper, \$11.95.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST. Robert Duncan Culver. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1976. 304 pages. Paper, \$9.95.

PETER FJELLSTEDT: Missionary Mentor to Three Continents. Emmet E. Eklund. Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1983. 198 pages. Cloth, \$20.00.

FROM BABYLON TO BETHLEHEM: The People of God Between the Testaments. H. L. Ellison. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1976. 136 pages. Paper, \$5.95.

A PRINCE OF THE CHURCH: Schleiermacher and the Beginnings of Modern Theology. B. A. Gerrish. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. 79 pages. Paper, n.p.

A PRIMER ON THE ATONEMENT. John H. Gerstner. Phillipsburg, New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1984. 30 pages. Paper, \$1.50.

A PRIMER ON THE DEITY OF CHRIST. John H. Gerstner. Phillipsburg, New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1984. 38 pages. Paper, \$1.75.

THE COSMIC ADVENTURE: Science, Religion and the Quest for Purpose. John F. Haught. New York: Paulist Press, 1984. 184 pages. Paper, \$6.95.

MATURING IN THE CHRISTIAN LIFE: A Pastor's Guide. Neill Q. Hamilton. Philadelphia: the Geneva Press, 1984. 192 pages. Paper, \$10.95.

SIMPLE PRAYER. John Dalrymple. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1984. 118 pages. Paper, \$4.95.

FOUNDATIONS OF EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY. John Jefferson Davis. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1984. 282 pages. Paper, \$9.95.

THE SECOND COMING: What Will Happen When Jesus Returns? David Allan Hubbard. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1984. 121 pages. Paper, \$2.95.

CALLED TO TEACH: Ideas and Encouragement for Teachers in the Church. Kent L. Johnson. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984. 128 pages. Paper, \$4.95.

A DICTIONARY OF THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE. Edited by Leon Klenicki and Geoffrey Wigoder. New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1984. 214 pages. Paper, \$7.95.

THE NATURE OF DOCTRINE: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age. George A. Lindbeck. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984. 144 pages. Cloth, \$16.95; paper, \$9.95.

PRAYER. John White. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1976. 32 pages. Paper, n.p.

BIBLE STUDY. John White. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1976. 32 pages. Paper, n.p.

CAN WE STILL CALL GOD "FATHER"? Celine Mangan. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1984. 110 pages. Paper, \$4.95.

NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS FOR PASTOR AND TEACHER. Ralph P. Martin. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984. 156 pages. Paper, \$8.95.

WHAT ARE THEY SAYING ABOUT THE GRACE OF CHRIST? Brian O. McDermott. New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1984. 70 pages. Paper, \$3.95.

AT PEACE WITH FAILURE: How God Gives Grace to Live Beyond Your Shattered Dreams. Duane Mehl. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984. 112 pages. Paper, \$4.95.

THE SUPREMACY OF JESUS. Stephen Neill. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1984. 174 pages. Paper, \$5.95.

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH. St. John Chrysostom on the Incomprehensible Nature of God. Translated by Paul W. Harkins. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1982. 373 pages. Cloth, \$29.95.

NO RETIREMENT: Devotions on Christian Discipleship for Older People. Lillian Richter Reynolds. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. 96 pages. Paper, \$3.95.

BAD NEWS FOR MODERN MAN. Franky Schaeffer. Westchester, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1984. 183 pages. Paper, \$7.95.

EVANGELICALS AND JEWS IN AN AGE OF PLURALISM. Marc H. Tanenbaum, Marvin R. Wilson, and A. James Rudin, Editors. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1984. 285 pages. Paper, \$9.95.

