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The Unity of Scripture

Robert D. Preus

Few theological concepts have been more confused, unclear, and undeveloped throughout the course of the church's history than the concept of the unity of Scripture. The term was not used in the early church, nor by the reformers, nor even in the post-Reformation era. The terms most closely approximating the idea to be found during that vast span of church history were kanon pisteos and regula fidei, he pistis (a common term for creeds in the early church), and analogia pisteos, or analogia fidei, terms with different meanings derived from Romans 12:7 and sometimes 2 Timothy 1:13. Whether the idea expressed by these terms constitutes simply a summation of Scripture or a hermeneutical norm as well is not always clear, but it usually includes both. And the actual meaning of these terms as to what they affirm about the nature of Scripture is not uniform and not even always clear. What do these phrases say in reference to the nature of biblical unity? Usually they simply assume an organic doctrinal unity within the entire Scriptures and offer a summation of that body of doctrine. The authority and truthfulness of the Bible and its doctrine are clearly presupposed, since such divine properties underlie the divine doctrinal content of Scripture. Also the unity between the two testaments in simple terms of prophecy and fulfillment is explicitly affirmed, and emphatically so, by the church fathers, although not explicitly always by the aforementioned terms.1

During the Reformation and during the period of orthodoxy almost to the eighteenth century the idea of the unity of Scripture was expressed in many ways. And the aforementioned terms prevalent in the early and medieval church suggestive of the unity of Scripture were used freely in contexts much the same as in the early church. Thus, commentaries on the earlier creeds and new creeds and symbols were written as summaries of the biblical corpus doctrinae and adhered to, often with avidity by subscription to such documents. That the theology (doctrine) of Scripture was an organic unity (so Luther; the following terms connoting an organic unity of biblical theology were commonly used: corpus doctrinae, articuli fidei, caput, pars, locus, etc.) or a coherent system (so perhaps Calvinism) of doctrine was assumed and affirmed in the dogmatic and exegetical writers of the day. Furthermore, all the reformers believed and asserted in their writings a unity

of the Old and New Testaments in terms of prophecy and fulfillment; that is to say, verbal and cognitive predictive assertions of the Old Testament had a corresponding fulfillment in the words and deeds of Christ and other events recorded accurately in the New Testament. Coupled with this basic idea of unity was the conviction, held by all the reformers (and even Socinians and Roman Catholics with certain modifications) in one form or another that all of Scripture, both Old and New Testaments, was Christocentric; that is, the main theme running through all of Scripture and cognitively set forth there is the person *and work* of Christ.

Thus, in the Reformation and post-Reformation era, as in the early church, there are many complementary ideas and convictions, all or any of which might give rise to a total integrated concept of the unity of Scripture. And yet the term "unity of Scripture" was not yet in vogue, nor was there any attempt to bring together the various convictions and ideas into a coordinated synthesis expressing the concept of biblical unity. Nor, I might add, was it always clear whether these firmly held views concerning (a) the divine origin and authority of all Scripture (the one God is the autor primarius), (b) the agreement between the testaments in terms of prophecy and fulfillment, (c) the Christocentricity of all of Scripture, and (d) the total doctrinal agreement of all Scripture were considered to be simply conclusions drawn from Scripture and thus part of the corpus doctrinae, or in addition heremeneutical principles drawn from Scripture and necessary for the correct and evangelical explication and application of Scripture. Of course, all the four principles mentioned above were held by the reformers and to varying degrees became underlying working principles of hermeneutics as they plied their exegetical trade, as it were. Luther might have employed the principle of Christocentricity with more consistency and vigor, Calvin the principle of doctrinal unity, although I am not sure about this.² We must remember, of course, that in the early years of the Reformation no thorough studies on hermeneutics were written until the Clavis Scripturae of Matthias Flacius in 1567, although Andrew Hyperius as early as 1556, after Luther's death, had taken up many hermeneutical concerns (spiritual, academic and theological) in his De Theolgo, seu de Ratione Studii Theologici Libri IIII. Even so, a full-blown and conscious treatment of the unity of Scripture incorporating the

four basic principles enunciated above just did not appear, and it is only in recent times that the term "unity of Scripture" has been employed and that one or more of the above principles have been included in the definition of the term.³

It is my contention that the concept of unity adumbrated clearly by Luther and the reformers and structured on the four pillars of (a) divine authorship of Scripture, (b) agreement between prophecy in the Old Testament and fulfillment in the New, (c) Christocentricity, and (d) doctrinal agreement throughout Scripture is biblical; that is, each pillar of the construct is based squarely upon the exegesis of Scripture. Since the time of the Enlightment and the advent of the historical-critical method initiated by Semler, this Reformation view of the unity of Scripture has not been considered viable as a doctrine or hermeneutical principle. However, the theologians of the Enlightment, the higher critics, the Romantics, the mythophiles, the classical Liberals, and even the Deists all conjectured some principle of unity pertaining to Scripture. Ironically, what seemed to be a much greater conscious interest in the notion of the unity of Scripture becomes apparent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and in our own day among just those theologians who abandoned every one of the four pillars of the Reformation doctrine, except in some cases a vague notion of biblical Christocentricity. Ironic too although understandable is the fact that throughout the course of church history those theologians who believed in (and took for granted) an intrinsic unity of Scripture never bothered to articulate the notion of the unity of Scripture as a unified principle of interpretation, whereas those theologians arriving later on the scene who could find no essential and objective unity in Scripture struggled with great effort and conviction to find some spiritual truth or religious principle which would give meaning to Scripture in spite of the fact that its historical references and factual claims could not be accepted and its theology was contradictory and often inane or irrelevant.

A tracing of the history of the concept of the unity of Scripture since the time of the Enlightenment yields some interesting conclusions. Having abandoned the four pillars underlying the Reformation concept, but persuaded that there was abiding spiritual truth or value in the Scriptures, the theological progeny of the Enlightenment, using the historicalcritical method, and with the all the developing historical scholarship and shifting philosophical insight of their day at their disposal, worked out a veritable welter of theories of biblical unity. Usually the unity was found to apply to the res referred to by the Scriptures rather than the verba, or Scripture itself: and this seemed consistent enough, since Scripture itself was not God's Word or revelation, but only a human and primitive account of revelation (Semler), if that. And the unity of Scripture, its principle of coordination, was its meaningfulness which consisted usually in a coordinating motif or spiritual truth. To Semler this principle was the Bible's witness to the growing movement of man's spirit toward God according to universal moral and religious principles. To Zachariä the principle was a unity of concepts or religious ideas (but not explicit doctrine). To von Hofmann it was Heilsgeschichte. To Herder unity was the historical continuity of spirit and "content" between the two testaments. Even Strauss, the mythophile, found in Scripture a unifying theme, unrelated to its historical reference or fact claims; namely, the (philosophical) idea of reconciliation, or the uniting of the finite and infinite in man in his history.

Passing to our day and the theories of unity being propounded of late, we find that our modern theological pundits are not so original as their eighteenth and nineteenth century theological forebears. Roughly speaking, modern liberal exegetes-and for convenience and with no pejorative implication I call everyone who admittedly or latently follows the lead of historical criticism, Romanticism, Heilsgeschichte (Beck, von Hofmann, Neo-orthodoxy), Idealism, or demythologization a liberal exegete—are equally disagreed among themselves as to just what constitutes the unity of Scripture. I shall offer some random, disparate examples. Herman Diam, a Lutheran Existentialist, sees the unity of Scripture to be a "proclamatory unity" (in contrast to a "doctrinal unity") in that in the witness of Scripture Jesus Christ is heard to be proclaiming Himself.⁴ J. Stanley Glen, a Reformed theologian, after stating that there are "many [conflicting?] unities in the Bible," sets forth a thesis similar to Diem's, suggesting that the unity of Scripture is in its kerygma (proclamation) rather than in its didache, although he has his doubts whether there is any unity in the kerygma itself, except for the fact that it

points to Jesus.⁵ Ernst Käsemann,⁶ a Lutheran and post-Bultmannian, who, like his mentor, rejects the facticity of the resurrection and therefore of the atonement of Christ, finds the doctrine of justification the unifying center of Scripture and a "canon within the canon" which is able to test the spirits within the canon itself. Edward Schroeder, a Lutheran who believes in the historicity and the resurrection of Christ and in the atonement, agrees with Käsemann.⁷ Roy L. Honeycutt, Jr., a Baptist, offers us one of the more ingenious and artless theories of unity. Finding theological aberrations and misunderstandings and poor rabbinic exegesis throughout the New Testament, and finding the New Testament notion of God incompatible with the Old, and finding no unitary Christology in the New Testament at all, he opts for a unity within both testaments in that they witness to the "mighty acts of God."8 Honeycutt's theory (which could apply to the Koran) is similar to that of the hard-headed critic, G. Ernest Wright, who, rejecting the doctrine of the incarnation because it is "unbiblical." nevertheless yields to the mystique so common among liberal theologians, that there must be some unifying theme running through the Scriptures, and he offers in a magnificent tour de force the "rule of God" (but not in any ontological or historical sense) as constituting the unity of Scripture.9 H. H. Rowley opts for a number of theological motifs, such as monotheism, election, and the cross, to be the "unity in diversity" of Scripture.¹⁰ Wolfhart Pannenberg, rejecting the orthodox Protestant doctrine of doctrinal unity and moving behind the kerygma, sees in the "Christ-event itself," that is, "the public ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus Himself" the "standard by means of which to judge the Scriptures and their witness to Christ."11 Foster R. McCurley sees the "Gospel" as the nucleus or unity of Scripture, but only in the formal sense (the Old Testament knows nothing of Christ).¹² S. Fernon McCasland, a committed and condescending higher critic, in a desperate testimonium paupertatis concludes that in the experience of faith (formal faith, fides qua creditur) "lies the deepest and most abiding unity of the Scriptures."13

Two comments on what has just been said may be useful. First, among those theologians since the Enlightenment who have rejected the traditional orthodox and classical notion of the unity of Scripture there seems to be no common understanding concerning a formal definition of such unity or to what the term refers. Does the unity of Scripture refer to the "wholeness" of Scripture, to a theme running through the Scripture (e.g., reconciliation, justification), to a historical continuity, to a person, or what?

Second, those who break with the orthodox Reformation doctrine of unity do not in any case derive their notion of the unity of Scripture from the explicative sense of Scripture, but rather from its applicative meaning. Like the Alexandrians (Clement and Origen) they are often unable to find abiding meaning in the literal explication of the biblical text. And yet they believe that there is some kind of unity (spiritual value, theme, insight, historical truth) underlying the Scriptures (although not necessarily exegetically derived from the Scriptures) which is both important in itself and useful and even indispensible for interpreting the biblical text. But whereas for the Alexandrians and medieval allegorists the "rule of faith" pointed to an inherent doctrinal unity of Scripture, as well as a consensus entering into the life of the church, and was employed to shed light and enhance the literal sense of Scripture, for liberal exegetes since the Enlightenment the principle of unity, or central meaning, of Scripture has taken on a more radical and critical function. Subjecting the Scriptures to critical historical scrutiny, these theologians not only saw the intended sense of Scripture to be irrevelant and of no spiritual value, but also concluded it was patently false on historical or religious grounds. In this way they went beyond the Alexandrians and medieval allegorists.

I will devote the remainder of this study to making a number of comments which hopefully will be relevant and even helpful to a discussion of the unity of Scripture.

1. Davis is correct when he agrees that the basis for the unity of Scripture must lie in the fact that it has one single, divine author.¹⁴ This was the basic argument of the reformers and post-Reformation theologians who inferred from the divine authorship of Scripture the truthfulness and inner unity of its doctrinal content. It was a common contention among them that the Holy Spirit as the author of all of Scripture is the best interpreter of it and that since He inspired the Scripture in words the sense can never be separated from the *verba*.¹⁵ In this view the doctrine of the unity of Scripture has the same sedes as the doctrine of the divine origin of Scripture, namely, 2 Timothy 3:16. Here Paul says that on the basis of its divine inspiration every single Scripture is profitable *pros didaskalian* (singular; true doctrine, of which Paul has spoken previously) and is unequivocal and noncontradictory. Paul goes on to say that the Scriptures will render the theologian *artios.*..exērtismenos.

2. The denial that the Old Testament predicts Christ and therefore preaches and promises Him destroys the unity of Scripture, at least in respect to the unity of the two testaments.¹⁶ This view, so common today, finds Christ in the Old Testament, but only virtually or implicitly. Thus, there is no idea that the prophets spoke of Him directly in the sense that their immediate audience could believe in a Savior to come; but Christ can be found only by the utilization of a sensus plenior or extended typology. And so the New Testament merely fills in (Herder's Einfüllung) the Old Testament prophetic word: it in no way cognitively refers to a corresponding fulfillment (Erfüllung) in the person and work of Christ. Meanwhile the Israelites were saved by God's "grace" apart from any faith in Christ. or perhaps by a different covenant, that of works. And so the unity of biblical soteriology is denied. The unity of Scripture is eo ipso undermined if there is no correspondence between prophecy and fulfillment, between type and antitype, between the meaning of a text and its referent. The New Testament writers are correct in their understanding and interpretation of the Old Testament, that is, they actually represent the sensus literalis and intention of the Old Testament, not a distorted interpretation, or ex eventu explanation of typology, or religious insight as they witness to the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. We must distinguish between predictive prophecy and typology at this point. In the case of predictive prophecy we have a rectilinear correspondence between an Old Testament descriptive and cognitive prediction and a thing, person, or event described in the New Testament. In typology there is also a straight correspondence, but between a thing or person or event in the Old Testament and a person, thing, or event in the New Testament. In the case of predictive prophecy the words of the Old Testament predict; in the case of typology the reference of the words predict. The correspondence, or unity, between type and antitype in the case of biblical typology is therefore

only a unity of two references, type from the Old and antitype from the New Testament. Except in cases where the New Testament itself clearly marks out an Old Testament type, the practice of typological exegesis can become open-ended and precariously arbitrary as a hermeneutical principle, since it is an application not of the unity of Scripture, but of the unity of the references of Scripture. It is thus no more based on the explicative meaning of the biblical narrative than the application of the unitary principles of Semler and his followers who believed that there was no unity of Scripture except that which was applicatively derived. This is the reason that Hans Frei accuses Johannes Cocceius, a strict Calvinist, with his emphasis upon typology and the difference between the two testaments, of unwittingly helping to cause the dissolution of the traditional unity of literal explicative sense and historical reference.17

3. The terms "Christocentricity" and "Christological unity" need clarification. Theologians as different from each other as Luther and Socinus. Karl Barth and Paul Tillich speak of Christ being the center of the Scriptures. For Socinus the metaphor meant merely that Christ is the subject matter of Scripture, just as Caesar is the subject matter of Caesar's Gallic Wars. To Luther Christocentricity was always affirmed in a doctrinal and realistic soteriological context, in the context of justification through faith propter Christum, that is, on account of His redemptive work, and this is particularly the case when he urges Christology as a hermeneutical aid against legalism.¹⁸ To Karl Barth the principle of Christocentricity is a doctrinal principle, but also a historical thematic continuity.¹⁹ To Tillich all Christological terms are religious symbols without historical or ontological referents having anything to do with Christ. If biblical Christology is restricted to Christ's person (as by the nineteenth century German positive theologians) without reference to His work of atonement, or if biblical Christology is presented as representing mere general spiritual truths, religious ideas, symbolic language, eternal truths, experience, myth, or anthropology, then the very term Christocentricity of Scripture is a piece of deceptive theological blather. The Christological language of Scripture refers to reality, whether it refers to God's grace, forgiveness, and salvation in Christ, or whether it refers to Christ's eternal deity and attributes, His historic virgin birth,

life, miracles, preaching, death, resurrection, ascension, and future return to judgment. And the effects of Christ's life and death and resurrection are real: God has been reconciled, the world has been redeemed, the sinner will be saved forever through faith in Christ—really and truly. All this must be included in the affirmation, "Christ is the unity of Scripture." Otherwise the phrase is deceptive, unbiblical, and without meaning.

The importance of maintaining the reality of biblical referents cannot be overemphasized, especially in our day of radical historicism. Of course, we must read the biblical text in its historical context, but that context must be determined by the biblical text, not vice versa. And the actuality of the historical references of the text must be maintained. Otherwise the religious truth of Scripture and of its Gospel center and Christology is severed from its roots in history and fact, and the meaning of the biblical text is reduced to mere application (Strauss, Bultmann, Priebe²⁰). Hans Frei in his very helpful and informative book, The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative,²¹ mentions that the English Latitudinarians and the Neologists (Semler and others) in Germany also believed that "the religious [emphasis his; note that he does not say "theological"] content of the Bible [was] dependent on the historical factuality of the occurrences narrated in it" -but only "in muffled and ambiguous tones." This is a charitable and gratuitous comment; for after the anti-supernaturalist or liberal critic has finished his surgery very little real history remains as a basis of biblical religion or theology, to say nothing of Christology. Thus, the historical or theologicoontological matrix (e.g., divine revelation, theophanies, miracles) of cognitive and meaningful biblical theology-and every text of the Bible is cognitive and meaningful theologyis reduced to almost zero, so that real referents in effect do not underlie biblical assertions at all.

What is to be done in such a situation, if any hermeneutical principle of Christological or biblical unity is to obtain? Some religious idea or motif, not explicatively, but only applicatively "derived" from Scripture, must be brought to bear as a unifying principle of hermeneutics, if Scripture or its content is to make any religious sense. But surely no mere applicatively derived principle of hermeneutics is valid, any more than a principle

utterly foisted upon Scripture from the outside, especially since every such applicatively derived principle of biblical unity conjured up since the Enlightenment has been in opposition to clear teachings explicatively derived from Scripture. And surely a valid principle of interpretation cannot be in conflict with the explicative meaning, or intention, of Scripture. In other words, because modern liberal theologians since the Enlightenment cannot accept the historical or in many cases the theologico-ontological (incarnation, Trinity, etc.) referents of biblical assertions-and it seems always for this reasonthey impose upon Scripture an alien interpretative principle of unity which amounts to little more than an uncertain cipher which conflicts with Scripture and renders a theology or ideology which must be heretical, sub-Christian or even anti-Christian, but which ironically is the goal at which the exegete probably intended to arrive all the time. And all this expense of labor and life occurs because the exegete has abandoned a first principle of hermeneutics, namely, that when a biblical assertion in its intended sense has a referent, it is a real referent, whether the referent is a historical occurrence (Christ's resurrection), a state of being (the personal union), an act of God in history (personal justification through faith in Christ), or whatever.²² There can be no Christological unity of Scripture or biblical and Christian Christology at all where the historicity and reality of biblical referents are not accepted with utmost seriousness as part of the intention of the biblical text. The same must be said if the biblical witness to Christ (the center of Scripture) is erroneous, truncated, or contradictory.23

4. If the phrase "Christ is the unity of Scripture" is not a satisfactory description of the unity of Scripture, neither is the theory that the Christ event is the unity of Scripture. To Pannenberg²⁴ the "Christ event" within the nexus of historical events and having "its meaning in itself" and divorced from any Christological dogma gives unity to the Bible. In this view the unity of Scripture is not Christological, but the unity of history is imposed upon Scripture, giving meaning to it.

5. The idea of the unity of Scripture which was adumbrated in the early church and by the reformers always involved doctrinal unity. If there is not doctrinal unity throughout

Scripture, the other three pillars on which the orthodox view rests collapse, and there is no unity at all. For instance, to say that Christ is the unity of Scripture but to maintain that there are conflicting or erroneous Christologies within or between the testaments is only possible if one makes the principle of Christocentricity purely ontological. But such a view is nonsense, a metabasis eis allo genos, like using the category of color to measure density. Scripture, like other writings, is cognitive discourse; it is our principium cognoscendi, the source of our knowledge of God. Thus, its unity must be cognitive (theological) in nature, or it has no unity appropriate to its nature. In fact, the other three aspects to the orthodox doctrine of the unity of Scripture involve doctrinal unity, and all the pillars of the doctrine are implicatively and inextricably related; if one pillar falls, they all fall. And when the unity. the doctrinal unity, of Scripture is abandoned, so is the entire structure of biblical bibliology-the entire structure! The history of hermeneutics since the Enlightenment has illustrated this point with clarity and even pathos.

6. There can be no cleavage between the doctrinal unity of Scripture and the unity of the Gospel. Paul makes it very clear that there is only one Gospel (Galatians 1:7-8). And this Gospel is doctrine (what Melanchthon felicitously called the doctrina evangelii); it renders information; it is a cognitive kerygma to Paul, a message with a specific material content. This fact is made clear throughout his entire epistle to the Galatians. And Paul sees his teaching of the Gospel as identical to the epaggeliai of the Old Testament (Galatians 4:18; Romans 1:2; 4:14). And his one Gospel entails the total framework of the entire Old Testament doctrine. Thus, the singleness and unity of Paul's Gospel is consistent with the doctrinal unity of all Scripture. It is interesting that the New Testament uses the term "doctrine" in the singular, except when speaking of doctrines of devils. And so it was in general among the reformers and post-Reformation theologians; in this way they indicated their belief in the singleness and unity of biblical doctrine, just as of the biblical Gospel.²⁵ In what I have just said I am opposing all modern theologians who would find some kind of unity in the Gospel which is not found in the Scriptures and then substitute this so-called (unity of the) Gospel or kerygma (which they may think in some way drawn from Scripture) for the unity of Scripture.²⁶

7. A word about the biblical basis for the unity of Scripture. Any concept of biblical unity which is to operate as a presupposition or principle of hermeneutics lies (like the doctrine of the divine origin of Scripture, the divine authority. internal clarity, and inerrancy of Scripture, prayer, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit) within the discipline of hermeneutica sacra, which is peculiar to the interpretation of the Bible (in contrast to hermeneutica profana, which employs canons of interpretation common to any and all writings) and must be drawn from Scripture itself. A solid principle of profane hermeneutics (and also surely of *hermeneutica sacra*) is that the application of a given text or piece of literature cannot contradict, correct, mitigate, or take precedence over the explication of the text, lest the seriousness of the text and the explication of the sensus literalis, which is the basic goal of both sacred and profane hermeneutics, be undermined and all exegesis erode to the level of fanciful and arbitrary interpretation based upon some abstract principle of biblical unity without any connection to the biblical text and its intended meaning. In such a case there would be no need for the text itself.

8. In the history of the church through the time of the Reformation the unity of Scripture was employed by the application of the *analogia fidei* or *regula fidei* to the explication of biblical texts. What was this analogy of faith? On what biblical basis was it founded? How did it work? The answer to these questions is quite vague, if attainable at all, in the early church and even in the Reformation era. So I shall repair to some post-Reformation Lutherans for answers, again not always very complete, to our questions.

The notion of the analogy of faith, or Scripture, was discussed only in sections of dogmatics books dealing with the interpretation of Scripture or in treatises on hermeneutics. I do not recall reference every being made to it as a principle in any exegetical work of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. A clear and typical definition of the analogy of faith is offered by John Adam Osiander: "The analogy of faith is the harmony of Bible passages, or the pattern of doctrine (*typus doctrinae*), structured according to clear and perspicuous statements of Scripture."²⁷ We notice that there are two aspects to this hermeneutical principle. First, it is a harmony of what is

taught throughout Scripture, a harmony between the two testaments and between Christ and the Old Testament,²⁸ a beautiful congruence, like a symphony.²⁹ Secondly, the analogy of faith is a pattern (hupotuposis, 2 Timothy 1:13) of doctrine, a summation of the doctrine of Scripture. Olearius does not shrink from calling the ecumenical creeds or the Augsburg Confession such a summation or analogy of faith. Abraham Calov defines the analogy of faith as follows: "The analogy of faith is the inner conformity (conformitas) of the doctrine of faith, set forth clearly in the Sacred Scripture, but especially in those passages where each doctrine has its own sedes."30 John Conrad Dannhower calls it a "harmony of the truth."31 Commenting on these words of Calov, Hollaz states, "Now if, therefore, the doctrine of faith is drawn and extracted from clear passages of Scripture, certainly every interpretation, consistent with the faith, ought to rest on the foundation of Sacred Scripture." Hollaz believes that the interpreter of Scripture does his work according to the analogy of faith when his interpretation agrees with the fundamental articles of faith drawn, as they are, from Scripture. At just this point the principle of the unity of Scripture takes on a hermeneutical force. But only in a ministerial sense, in the sense that Scripture interprets Scripture. The very question to which Hollaz is addressing himself in this discussion is "whether Scripture must be explained through Scripture." The analogy of faith helps the exegete in a twofold sense: First, as a harmonious pattern (Hollaz uses the words complexio [summary], consensus[agreement], and concentus[harmony]) of sound words it enables him to arrange and coordinate the great loci, or themes, of Scripture with the doctrine of Christ as the center and to see them in their organic relationship (proportio) with each other. Second, as a summation of the articles of faith, it assists the exegete in applying the principle that Scripture interprets Scripture, that is, the clear passages dealing with a given article of faith will throw light on less clear and obscure passages dealing with the same article. As far as I can discern, this is all the freight that Hollaz or any of the orthodox Lutheran theologians ever put on the analogy of faith as a hermeneutical principle. He avers that the principle is no different from a principle of analogy used in interpreting any human piece of literature which has inner connection and coherence. In the case of human writings we

may well discover incoherence and incongruity. "But God is always the same, never inconsistent, and totally without change and free from error." Thus, the unity of Scripture, hermeneutically operative by employing the principle of the analogy of faith, is a part of *hermeneutica sacra*, based upon the unity and trustworthiness and truthfulness of God. And so Hollaz concludes confidently, reverently, and almost doxologically, "Therefore it can never happen that the true meaning of even one divine passage will not beautifully agree with the chief parts of the divinely revealed doctrine."

The unity of Scripture presupposes, in contrast to post-Enlightenment exegesis, especially the New Hermeneutic, that there is an inextricable union between the meaning (sensus internus) of Scripture and the words (externa littera): the meaning, or intention, of Scripture is always expressed by the words. It was not the Enlightenment with its sophisticated contempt of orthodoxy which first rejected this identification of meaning with the sensus literalis of the biblical text, but Roman Catholic theologians, especially the Jesuits, who insisted that unwritten tradition was the Word of God along with Scripture and could authenticate and illicit the meaning from the external word of Scripture. Robert Bellarmine³² distinguished between the literal, or historical, sense of Scripture, the obvious meaning of the words (which was often unclear), and the spiritual, or mystical, meaning, "which refers to something other than what the words immediately signify." The plain words of Scripture he likened to a sheath, and the meaning (sensus) of Scripture-bear in mind, not the sensus literalis-to the sword of the Spirit; the meaning can only be provided by tradition. Thus, the meaning of the text was wrenched from the intention of the words, from the text itself.³³ The unity of Scripture was destroyed as something intrinsic, as it came under the dogmatic domination of unwritten tradition.³⁴ But really the same thing takes place today when modern theologians, finding no meaning in the sensus literalis of Scripture in its original setting, or unable to believe the text, seek and find a sensus plenior or existential meaning or whatever different from the clear explicative meaning of the text under consideration!

How does the exegete use the analogy of faith as he carries out his work? John Gerhard offers five important steps to be

applied in the proper use of the principle.³⁵ (1.) The interpretation of a given text of Scripture ought to consist of the search for the intended sensus literalis which is appropriate to the given text. (2.) The exegete must not depart from the plain, literal sense of the text, especially when it pertains to the articles of faith, unless Scripture itself elsewhere ostensively compels us to depart from that seeming literal sense. (3.) Nothing should be affirmed as dogma or an article of faith which is not clearly based upon Scripture. (4.) The rule of faith is consistent (integra) in all its parts; everything having to do with the rule of faith is from the Spirit of God and cannot contradict itself. This means that one article of faith cannot militate against another article of faith which is clearly taught in Scripture. For instance, passages teaching the unity of God cannot be used to mitigate the intention of passages which clearly teach the plurality of persons in the deity; rather the two biblical truths must be held in tension, even though they seem to conflict with each other. To Gerhard the unwillingness of human reason to allow the articles of faith to remain unimpaired according to the integrity of the rule of faith, insisting on seeming contradictions between them, is "the source of all heresy." (5.) We must never depart from the rule of faith when interpreting passages which are not clear because of context, reference, or grammar.

The regula fidei actually aids the exegete in solving apparent contradictions and other difficulties in Scripture-never. however, by denying or mitigating the sensus literalis of a text, but by getting at the given text's intention and referents (time. situation, person, etc.) and thus, in the optimistic conviction that Scripture is in harmony with itself, solving some of the difficulties which arise between passages and loci, rather than just giving up on the undertaking. Never is the regula fidei imposed upon a text to deny its sensus literalis. Obviously the enterprise of harmonization will not always succeed. Above all the integrity of the text must be upheld. If Gerhard's position is correct, the theologian can summarize in a regula fidei a piece of cognitive discourse which transcends reason at various points and presents paradoxes; but one cannot summarize into any analogia fidei a piece of literature which is incoherent and self-contradictory.³⁶

The analogy of Scripture as understood and applied by orthodoxy, based as it is on the divine origin and authority of Scripture, means that Scripture is analogous with itself (*scriptura scripturam interpretatur*). It is not an analogy of Scripture with science (*scientia*), or philosophy (Thomas Aquinas), or mathematics (Descartes), or reason (Ritzschl), or an existentialist anthropology (Bultmann), or the "Gospel" (Schlink), or historical coherence, facts, and reality (Troeltsch, historical-critical method). Biblical unity cannot be forced to correspond in analogy to some extra-biblical subject-matter, norm, criterion, motif, or interpretation of reality.

9. The unity of Scripture, or regula fidei, as a principle of hermeneutics is never, as in Romanism, above the text of Scripture. The serious and devout search for the intended sense of the biblical text must remain inviolate and unimpaired as the first principle of interpretation, in the sphere of sacred and profane hermeneutics. No concept of biblical unity, no doctrinal synthesis, regula fidei, or ecclesiastical symbol can fault, mitigate, or falsify the intention of the biblical text in any case whatsoever. Neither can the unity of Scripture be used as a cipher to transcend or cut through the serious, fundamental search of the exegete for the sensus literalis, so that the exegete need not abide by that sensus literalis in every case. Nor can the unity of Scripture or a regula fidei impose a forced meaning on any passage of Scripture. It can only be used to correct false or hasty exegesis, to amplify the meaning of passages, and to complete the pattern (hupotuposis) of biblical loci and articles of faith. Essentially the hermeneutical use of the principle of the unity of Scripture is summed up in the principle, scriptura scripturam interpretatur, that is, the clear passages of Scripture clarify the less clear passages which deal with the same article of faith or subject-matter of the biblical text by a principle of unity. If two passages or pericopes of Scripture seem to conflict with each other, the exegete, believing in the unity of Scripture and believing that Scripture does not contradict itself, will make every legitimate attempt to reconcile the seeming conflict. But any attempt at such harmonization which mitigates the sensus literalis of the biblical text or imposes a forced meaning on the text violates the integrity of the text and denies the divine authority of Scripture (sola scriptura). This means that seeming contradictions between passages of Scripture which cannot be reconciled without doing violence to the biblical text must be allowed to stand; and the exegete, as Luther said, must simply tip his

hat to the Holy Spirit and concede that the difficulty may never be solved in this life.

10. If the unity of scripture, or analogy of faith, cannot force or mitigate the meaning of the intended sense of any Scripture passage, then the same principle is true a fortiori in the case of the articles of faith which are based upon clear sedes doctrinae. Some articles of faith, based upon solid sedes, seem prima facie to be at odds with other clearly derived articles of faith or clear biblical data. For instance, Christ's vicarious atonement, in which He endures the punitive wrath of God against the sins of the world, seems to be in conflict with God's love toward all sinners (Ritzschl). So also the doctrine of hell seems to conflict with God's universal love. Particular election and predestination seem quite out of harmony with a doctrine of universal grace. Law ("This do and thou shalt live," Luke 10:28) and Gospel ("Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Acts 16:31) seem to teach different ways of salvation. In no case may the exegete, using a Cartesian mathematical model or a Lockian rational model of coherence. discount or attempt to mitigate the seeming paradox to be found between the articles of faith. In other words, in such cases the unity of Scripture, which is an organic unity, can only be held in (sometimes paradoxical) tension with such seeming conflict between articles of faith.

Even more vexing for the exegete is the fact that there seem to be inconsistencies or conflicts within certain articles, or mysteries, of faith. The personal union, or incarnation, is an article of faith clearly taught in the Scriptures (John 1:14; Luke 1:32,35; Galatians 4:4; 1 Timothy 3:16), but it is a union of disparates, something quite beyond human understanding. So too with the article of the Trinity, based as it is on a large number of passages and pericopes which directly or in passing refer to the unity of the Godhead and to the plurality and deity of the persons of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Such articles, or mysteries, which transcend our comprehension and are revealed in Scripture to be believed by us can be clarified as we apply the analogy of faith in the sense of accumulating all the biblical data pertaining to the article of faith. But no principle of unity or analogy can be used to mitigate the plain meaning of texts and sedes or to force biblical data in order to make one aspect or element of the doctrine compatible with

another. The disastrous results of employing such a principle can be seen in the welter of ancient and modern heresies concerning the doctrines of Christ and the Trinity.

Neither can the doctrinal unity of Scripture be used hermeneutically to discount what have lately been called the phenomena of Scripture. The fact clearly taught in Scripture that Jesus became tired, that He learned things, that He became very angry cannot be used to discount His deity. The fact that Scripture affirms things which seem to conflict with each other or with generally accepted scientific, historical, or geographical data and that we cannot harmonize these seeming discrepancies ought not be used to discount the divine origin and utter truthfulness of Scripture.

If passages are left according to their ostensive meaning and then seem to contradict each other, or if the articles of faith, based solidly upon clear sedes doctrinae, are left to conflict seemingly with each other, this in no way undermines the inerrancy of Scripture. Rather, it is an instance of upholding in faith the unity of Scripture and its utter inerrancy, even though one cannot demonstrate in every case Scripture's agreement with itself or the total (logical) coherence of all Scripture. To force reconciliation between Bible texts which seem to conflict or to force agreement between articles of faith which transcend reason by ever so subtle a violation of the sensus literalis of clear texts and pericopes from Scripture is rather an inappropriate, if not arrogant, admission that Scripture according to ostensive meanings of clear texts contradicts itself. To read something into another's words which is contrary to what that person says constitutes a criticism of that person's words or content. This is the case even if we are graciously and reverently attempting to harmonize what that person says. When we cease to read something into another's words, even if these words seem absurd or contradictory to what he has said elsewhere, but simply accept the clear words and ostensive meaning of that person in every case, then we consciously or unconsciously concede that that person's thinking and expression is higher than our understanding or critical judgment. This simply is our posture toward Scripture, and toward Scripture alone. because Scripture differs from all other books in that it is the Word of God.37

ENDNOTES

- 1. See J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), pp. 64-69.
- 2. Luther's Christological principle, "was Christum treibet," is based upon the conviction that Scripture agrees doctrinally with itself. James must agree with Paul if the book is to be considered apostolic, i.e., Scripture.
- 3. In his fine discussion of the "Unity of the Bible" John J. Davis lists four "kinds," or apsects, of biblical unity which correspond to the four principles mentioned above: thematic unity (doctrinal unity), historical unity, prophecy and fulfillment, and Christocentricity. He assumes throughout his study the divine origin of Scripture. The best definition of the traditional doctrine of the unity of Scripture I have found is by Ralph Bohlmann, "Confessional Biblical Interpretation: Some Basic Principles," in Studies in Lutheran Hermeneutics, ed. John Reumann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 205: "Because the same God speaks the same message of Christ and his salvation throughout the Scriptures present an organic unity of doctrine both within and between the Old and New Testaments. The unity of authorship, content, and purpose is reflected in the principle that Scripture interprets Scripture, whether applied to individual passages or articles of faith."
- 4. Hermann Diem, *Dogmatics*, translated by Harold Knight (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), p. 234, *passim*.
- 5. "Jesus Christ and the Unity of the Bible," *Interpretation*, V:1 (1951), pp. 260ff.
- 6. "Is the Gospel Objective?" in Essays on New Testament Themes, tr. W. J. Montague (London: SCM Press, 1969), p. 58, passim.
- Edward Schroeder, "Law-Gospel Reductionism in the History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod," *Concordia Theological Monthly*, XLIII:4 (April 1972), pp. 232-251. See also Paul Bretscher, *After the Purifying* (River Forest, Illinois: Lutheran Education Association, 1975).
- 8. "The Unity and Witness of Scripture," Foundations, VIII:4 (1965), pp. 292ff., 298, passim.
- 9. "The Unity of Scripture," Scottish Journal of Theology, VIII:4 (1955), pp. 341, 348, 350.

- 10. The Unity of the Bible (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, 1953).
- 11. Basic Questions in Theology, translated by George H. Kehm (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), p. 197, passim.
- 12. "Confessional Propria as Hermeneutic-Old Testament," in Studies in Lutheran Hermeneutics, pp. 249-250.
- 13. "The Unity of the Scripture," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIII (1954), p. 10.
- 14. Ibid., p. 6.
- 15. See John Gerhard, *Loci Theologici* (Tübingen: John Georg Cotta, 1763), I, pp. 43, 45. See also Horace Hummel, "The Influence of Confessional Themes on Biblical Exegesis," in *Studies in Lutheran Hermeneutics*, p. 220. Hummel understands the unity of Scripture to mean that it contains "one theology because it has only one author."
- 16. See Foster R. McCurley, ibid., pp. 233-235. McCurley, like many others, particularly Lutherans, maintains that there is Gospel in the Old Testament, but not predictions of Christ. Thus there is only a purely formal gospel in the Old Testament.
- 17. See Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 46ff.
- 18. WA 2, 73; 2, 334; 3, 63, 1; 3, 620; 4, 153, 27; 9, 560, 1; 14, 97, 2; 18, 606, 29; 40 III, 652, 15; 52, 509; 54, 29, 3; 54, 414, 13; 56, 59.
- 19. Church Dogmatics (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1958), IV: 2, p. 193, passim; cf. also IV: 3: 1, pp. 53-55.
- 20. Duane A. Priebe, "Theology and Hermeneutics," in *Studies in Lutheran Hermeneutics*, pp. 295-311. As an eager and enthusiastic devotee of the New Hermeneutic Priebe really is more radical than Strauss or Bultmann, for he sees no constant or abiding meaning even in the application of the biblical text. Priebe is an advocate of what E. D. Hirsch, Jr., in his excellent book, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), calls "semantic autonomy," the notion advanced by Heidegger and a host of modern literary critics that the text's meaning is not dependent upon the author's intention, a notion which to Hirsch leaves no principle for the judging of the validity of any interpretation.
- 21. Frei, The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative, p. 118.

- 22. For an excellent discussion of the necessary relationship between the historicity of the biblical narrative and Christology see Kurt Marquart, "The Incompatibility between Historical-Critical Theology and the Confessions," in *Studies in Lutheran Hermeneutics*, pp. 323-330.
- 23. Honeycutt, p. 298.
- 24. Pannenberg, pp. 196-198.
- 25. See Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration, IX, 31.
- 26. Warren Quanbeck believes in the truth and centrality of the Gospel and its unity, but maintains that Scripture presents a number of contradictory theologies concerning God's work in Christ. "The Confessions and Their Influence upon Biblical Interpretation," in *Studies in Lutheran Hermeneutics*, pp. 174-187. See also J. Stanley Glen (footnote above), who substitutes the unity of the *kerygma* for the unity of Scripture.
- 27. See David Hollaz, Examen Theologicum Acroamaticum (Leipzig, 1750), Prol. III, q. 48, obs. 4, prob. a3, p. 161.
- 28. Hollaz, Prol. III, q. 30, prob. d, p. 112.
- 29. John Olearius, *Theologia Exegetica* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1674).
- 30. Biblia Novi Testamenti Illustrata (Frankfurt, 1676), II, p. 207. We find the same understanding of what the analogy of faith is in the Reformed theologians of the era. See John Henry Heidegger, *Corpus Theologiae* (Zürich, 1700). For a brief, very useful summation of the Reformed position on the analogy of faith see Milton S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, n.d.), pp. 579-581.
- 31. Hermeneutica Sacra (Strassbourg, 1669), p. 366.
- 32. Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei (Milan, 1721), De Verbo Dei, III, III, col. 141.
- 33. Bellarmine, IV, IV, col. 178.
- 34. Bellarmine said (*De Verbo Dei*, Lib. III, c. 9), "Scripture cannot tell us what its true sense is." The result of such an opinion according to Gerhard (I, p. 50) is that the church must give us the sensus (meaning), which does not come from the words of Scripture. Gerhard claims that this is against the very nature of knowledge. For knowledge is a relationship (*adaequatio*, correspondence) "between the thing to be known and the knowing intellect." "Knowing something in the intellect (*intellectio*) is a receiving in the intellect a kind of abstract

picture of the object to be known." The Roman view would impose a view whereby knowledge of something would not necessarily have any relation to the thing to be known, but would be provided by something else (church, pope, authority, etc.).

- 35. Gerhard, I, p. 72ff. Gerhard speaks of the *regula fidei*, but he means by the term the same as the *analogia fidei*. He defines the rule of faith as follows: "We understand the rule of faith to be the clear passages (*loci*) in which the articles of faith are set forth in clear and distinct words."
- See John Andrew Quenstedt, Theologia Didactico-Polemica, sive Systema Theologicum (Leipzig, 1715), C. IV, S. II, q. 6, ekth. 3-5, I, 119-120.
- 37. The finest treatment of the pitfalls of applying the analogy of faith, or unity of Scripture, illegitimately is provided by John P. Koehler in "The Analogy of Faith" first appearing in *Theologische Quartalschrift* and later translated in *Faith-Life*, XXIV:10 (October 1951) XXV:5 (May 1952). I do not think I shall burden the reader if I quote him at length on the point just mentioned above (emphasis his):

If it is obvious that the Holy Ghost has expressed a *definite* line of thought or a *definite* thought, is it permissible to change [*umgestalten*] this according to *other* lines of thought so that it is deprived of its characteristic content for the reason that we think it contradicts what the Holy Spirit has said elsewhere in Scripture?

I believe every one will agree with me when I say that every *reasonable* conception of interpretation will *deny* that because we are dealing with *infallible* statements of God.

The thought that the words of the Holy Spirit form a harmonious whole cannot alter this judgment. By the way, this is a later objection which we do not meet with in the youthful, fresh days of theology. The harmony of Scriptures is not the starting-point of our understanding; we arrive at it when we cease learning piecemeal.

Nevertheless I admit at the outset: the Scriptures are a harmonious whole. But suppose that is not evident to me in a certain case? Then I effect [*vermitteln*] a harmony by means of the analogy of faith. But who vouches for this harmonizing if it is not contained in Scripture in the very same form? All *reliability* of exegesis would collapse by this method. A *criticism* of the connections of thought of the Holy Ghost would be granted to the interpreter. He would be permitted to find on the basis of *his own judgment* a reconciliation with the other statements of Scripture. In spite of his holding fast to other statements of the Bible this method would bring at least so many *purely human elements* into the results of the exegesis that anything which God has revealed would be omitted or given a different turn.

This sort of exegesis cannot be accepted by sound reason, for our human faculty of conception self-evidently cannot cast light upon the background of apparent contradictions of the Holy Ghost unless this explanation is given by God himself. Why, then, such attempts?

We shall, therefore, always find in the history of exegesis along these lines all sorts of *attempts* which do not wish to *exclude* one another mutually. Even the proponents of the analogy of faith often say this.

But why is it done? It only disturbs our *trust* in the reliability of the divine word. In such a case it is always the correct procedure simply to register our *inability* which is not capable of following the line of thought of our great God in all its ramifications and then to be satisfied with what is clearly stated.

See also my discussion of the same topic in "The Hermeneutics of the Formula of Concord," in *No Other Gospel*, ed. Arnold J. Koelpin (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1980), pp. 309-336.

Sixteenth-Century Lutheran-Calvinist Conflict on the *Protevangelium*

Ken Schurb

Since the second half of the sixteenth century Lutheranism has taken a dimmer view of Calvinism than Calvinism has taken of it, largely due to the different perspectives each has on the concept of "evangelical church." In the Calvinist mind, there is one reformed (evangelical) church over against Rome, and within it one can find various "tendencies." To classic Lutheranism, the Church of the Augsburg Confession teaches the Gospel in truth, while Calvinism does not. Hence, while confessional Lutheranism acknowledges that there are Christians among the Reformed, it nonetheless insists that the theological issues which set Calvinism apart from it cut to the very heart of the Christian faith and are divisive of fellowship.

This difference in perspective can be traced to the first half of the sixteenth century. Lutherans flatly refused to let "sacramentarians" sign the Augsburg Confession. At Marburg Luther had taken a hard line on the theological matters which impinged on the Gospel, and he saw all doctrine as related to the Gospel. Though Luther made one or two favorable remarks about Calvin, there is evidence that he eventually wondered whether the eloquent Frenchman harbored sacramentarian views — and therefore presumably would have been subject to all the standard strictures.¹

If data on Luther's views on Calvin are in short supply, we do not lack places to turn for Calvin's assessment of Luther. He expressed it on several occasions and thereby provided much of the paradigm for his spiritual heirs. "Luther, for him, was not an oracle but a pathfinder: a pioneer, in whose footsteps we follow and whose trail has to be pushed on further. We hurry on, still today, in the path he opened up." Calvin taught that Protestants all stood beneath an overarching unity of thought (that consensus existed among the anti-Roman reformers "in tota pietatis summa") and that this umbrella encompassed sufficient space for legitimate development. The sacraments made for an obvious area of divergence, but even there Calvin was convinced that he had maintained Luther's fundamental concern. Thus, Calvin and his followers were amazed and miffed at the criticisms they drew from Lutherans in the second half of the century, to say nothing of refusals of church fellowship.²

If there had been any place where Lutheranism may have taken a more relaxed view of Calvinism, it easily could have been the field of biblical exegesis. For neither Luther nor Calvin insisted that interpreters must agree with each other concerning every detail of a text. Both allowed a certain freedom in exegesis. But how much? Calvin said his Lutheran opponents were overly restrictive; they thought not.³

This paper contrasts classic Lutheranism's exegesis of a noteworthy Scripture passage with that of classic Calvinism. It will conclude that the two traditions indeed used divergent exegetical approaches, that the differences over which they clashed at the end of the century were essentially the same as those which already existed between Luther and Calvin, and that the differences had hermeneutical and doctrinal import. Thus, the conflict between the positions was basic and unavoidable. The passage in question is the protevangelium. Genesis 3:15:

(15a) I will put enmity between you and the woman.

(15b) and between your seed and her seed;

(15c) he shall bruise your head.

(15d) and you shall bruise his heel.⁴

The main issue which came to the fore in Lutheran-Calvinist debate was this: who or what was the "seed" of the woman?

I. The Conflict in Germ: Luther and Calvin

A. Luther

By the time Luther began lecturing on the protevangelium in 1536, he had already told his students that the curse upon the serpent "contains whatever is excellent in all Scripture." Yet, he noted, this text "was not expounded by anyone carefully and accurately, so far as I know." Even among the venerable ancient bishops, sound of doctrine and life, "there is no one who adequately expounded this passage." As for "more recent" interpreters, he criticized their Vulgate-inspired changes of the masculine pronoun ipse to the feminine ipsa, which set up Mariological understandings of the verse ("she will bruise your head"). He also complained about the allegories by which even Augustine and Gregory had explained the passage.⁵

To Luther, the comfort of Genesis 3:15 first consisted in that God did not proclaim the same punishment on Adam and Eve as He had on the serpent. Rather, He established a conflict between them and their great enemy. "Moreover, the main point of the comfort is this: Although this enemy fights with cunnings and treacheries, the seed will be born who will crush the head of the serpent." Luther maintained that Adam and Eve viewed this text as a Messianic promise pointing to a Man by whom the devil's head would be crushed, his tyranny broken. This Messianic figure would be God, as Luther went on to emphasize against the Mariolatrous Vulgate rendering. He remarked, "They say that by giving birth to Christ, Mary has destroyed all the power of Satan. If this is true, does not the same honor belong to all other women who preceded Mary in the same line?" Luther wanted nothing to take the "glory of our redemption and deliverance" away from Christ.6

So he was adamant about the Seed's identity. He paraphrased the curse on the devil: "You have corrupted the flesh through sin and have made it subject to death, but from that very flesh I shall bring forth a Man who will crush and prostrate you and all your powers." Yet, he observed, the curse remained vague enough that its very form vexed the devil: due to it "he suspects all mothers of giving birth to this Seed, although only one woman was to be the mother of this blessed Seed." Eve had thought her first-born son was the God-Man who would crush the devil's head.⁷

Luther also noted that God referred to the Seed of the woman. Countless women gave birth in Old Testament times, but "their seed could not in truth be called the Seed of the woman, but rather the seed of a man. But what is born from Mary was conceived by the Holy Spirit and is the true Seed of Mary. ...This meaning Isaiah is the first to point out when he says that a virgin will give birth." Thus, the *protevangelium* implied that the Messiah would be conceived without the involvement of a man.⁸ The most striking aspect of Luther's exposition is his insistence that the woman's Seed could be none other than the Christ.

Luther's position on Genesis 3:15 should further be clarified along two lines. First, he has been misunderstood as contra-

dicting himself when he admits that "seed" could refer to "all individuals in general." In so speaking, however, Luther was merely observing how God mocked the devil by promising a "Seed" who, as far as could be known from the promise, might be born to any woman. The reformer pronounced this expression "an amazing instance of synecdoche." He repeated that "God wanted to make all women suspect to Satan." As Luther explained the promise, all women would come under demonic suspicion, not because each of them or each of their offspring was somehow messianic, but rather because any woman could perhaps be the one who would bear the one Seed, the Christ. Similarly, God wanted His people "to expect this salvation from all who gave birth, until the real one came." The word "Seed" pointed to only one person, the Messiah, and Luther held that the first recipients of the first gospel understood it in just this way.9

Secondly, Luther occasionally and in passing depicted Christians attacked by Satan with phaseology from Genesis 3:15. As far as I have been able to determine, he did not directly call Christians the woman's seed, even when he did predicate of them the kind of enmity with the devil and his seed which the *protevangelium* attributed to the Seed of the woman (and, after all, to the woman herself as well). For example, after quoting Genesis 3:15 in his sermons on John, he went on to sav. "This is the very enmity Christ is speaking about here [in the sermon text] when He says that His Christians will be excommunicated and put to death." Moreover, Luther did not cast Christians themselves in the role of defeating the devil: Christ did that as the Seed who "has crushed and still crushes the serpent's head, although we must run the risk that he, in turn, will bite us in the heel."10 When Luther spoke of Christians as subject to the same hatred as the woman's Seed, he did so to underscore the sufferings which they had to endure in this life. And he made such suggestions not when the protevangelium formed the chief subject at hand, but rather when it came up incidentally in other discussions. In these cases, the reformer was trying not to interpret the text but to apply it.

In his major expositions of the verse, as in most of his passing references to it, Luther clearly identified the Seed as Christ alone. Even the few exceptional statements just noted contain nothing which directly conflicts with this identification. It is significant that, in the Lutheran-Calvinist conflict between Hunnius and Pareus later in the sixteenth century, both sides took Luther's words in his lectures on chapter 3 of Genesis as representative of his position—as, in fact, they were.

B. Calvin

When Calvin reached the *protevangelium* in his Genesis commentary, he declared, "I regard this simply to mean that there should always be the hostile strife between the human race and serpents, which is now apparent...man abhors them." Calvin saw this as the meaning of 15b, and he also detected the idea in 15c. "They shall be troublesome to each other," he summarized. Yet humans retained the upper hand in this struggle since they could inflict the more serious injury.¹¹

But Genesis 3:15 described more than strife between two species of physical creatures. "We must now make a transition from the serpent to the author of this mischief himself; and that not only in the way of comparison, for there truly is a literal *anagogy*...[est enim vere literalis anagoge]." God's final object was to punish the true culprit, the devil. Calvin further noted that this curse-saying would have brought but small consolation to people if it involved serpents but not Satan. Thus, "God here chiefly assails Satan under the name of the serpent" so that people would be wary of Satan and struggle against him with confidence.

Satan loomed as the enemy of all men. Genesis 3:15 showed that enmity between the devil and humans would reach beyond the first generation. Calvin took the expression concerning the woman's seed to mean that hatred would extend "as widely, indeed, as the human race shall be propagated." God singled out the woman for mention because she succumbed to deception first.¹² Like Luther, Calvin criticized Rome's feminine rendering of the pronoun in the next clause, calling it a token of the "ignorance, dullness, and carelessness" which prevailed under the papacy, even among scholars. Continuing with his own exegesis, Calvin said:

There is, indeed, no ambiguity in the *words* here used by Moses; but I do not agree with others respecting their *meaning*; for other interpreters take the seed for *Christ*, without controversy; as if it were said that some one would arise from the seed of the woman who should wound the serpent's head. Gladly would I give my suffrage in support of their opinion, but that I regard the word *seed* as too violently distorted by them; for who will concede that a *collective* noun is to be understood of one man *only*?

Calvin saw "the woman's seed" as a general reference to Eve's offspring, adding that his explanation reflected the perpetual nature of the conflict described in verse 15.

But there remained one more phase in his exposition. Since "experience teaches that not all the sons of Adam by far arise as conquerors of the devil, we must necessarily come to one head, that we may find to whom the victory belongs," Christ. Hence, St. Paul could rightly direct his readers to Christ by writing about the seed of Abraham (Galatians 3:16). In the Messiah "the human race, which Satan was endeavoring to oppress, would at length be victorious." Calvin concluded that the church would especially share in the power of its Head to overcome the devil (Romans 16:20).¹³

In sum, Calvin identified the woman's seed, in the several parts of his interpretation, as (1.) all men (as against snakes), (2.) all men (as against the devil), and (3.) Christ as the Champion of all men (and, by extension from Christ, the church). He arrived at Christ because "experience teaches" that all do not conquer Satan; yet, inasmuch as the passage did promise victory over the devil, there had to be "one Head" in whom the race would conquer. Having introduced the "headship" concept, which comes not from Genesis 3:15 but from New Testament passages on Christ and His church, Calvin went on to say that Christ shared with His people the power to overcome the devil.

Luther, as indicated earlier, at times spoke of Christians as subject to the enmity which the Seed of the woman should expect from the devil and his seed. Luther's focus in such contexts, however, was on the sufferings of Christians, not on their victory. In these incidental statements he offered no theological rationale, such as "headship," to include Christians among the woman's seed, as Calvin did. At any rate, Luther's great thrust remained that there was but one Seed of the woman. In this emphasis he differed from Calvin. The contrast between Calvin's view and Luther's, as set forth in their respective commentaries, becomes most apparent when one considers intentionality. Luther thought God intended in Genesis 3:15 to predict the coming of one person, the Seed. Calvin could say that God wanted to predict victory, but the details of the report were sketchy. It stood to reason that God Himself would have to intervene; hence, the verse had an indirect Messianic character. But Calvin arrived at this Messianic significance in part because of a lesson learned from the experience of generations who failed in the struggle with Satan. Calvin gave no indication that Adam and Eve, who lacked such experience as they stood naked before God, could have come to the Messianic meaning.

II. The Conflict Joined: Hunnius versus Pareus

In 1593 Aegidius Hunnius (1550-1603) published a polemical work called *Calvinus Judaizans* ("Calvin the Judaizer"), in which he criticized Calvin for having assumed weak positions in his exegetical writings on prooftexts commonly cited to support the doctrines of the Trinity and the deity of Christ. Calvin's explanations of the passages so weakened the Biblical basis for these two crucial Christian teachings, Hunnius contended, that they came uncomfortably close to expositions which one might expect from people who were not Christians at all, like Jews or Arians. Hunnius carefully indicated that he did not accuse Calvin of completely rejecting Christianity, but he urgently contended that Calvin opened the window and prepared the way for the basic convictions of Arianism, for example, to enter the picture.¹⁴

Calvinist Old Testament scholar David Pareus (1548-1622) quickly replied to Hunnius in an occasional piece. Later, in 1609, he set forth an interpretation of Genesis 3:15 in his *Commentary on Genesis*.¹⁵ Pareus affirmed that the passage "undoubtedly contains the first Gospel concerning the overthrow of the Satanic kingdom. . .through Christ the Mediator." However, he continued, the brevity and obscurity of its figurative speech have rendered it a difficult verse, not only among those who are hostile to the Gospel (e.g., Jews), but also among Christians.¹⁶

Hunnius in turn attacked Pareus in a 1594 book aptly called Antipareus and again in 1599 with Antipareus Alter. Though much longer than Calvinus Judaizans, this new two-part

assault had the same basic arrangement as the earlier work. It dealt with Pareus' (and Calvin's) expositions of passages on the Trinity and the deity of Christ. As in Calvinus Judaizans. Hunnius cited Calvin often, and now he added lengthy quotations from Pareus as well. In the preface to Antipareus Hunnius complained about the manner in which his Calvinist opponents, while inveighing against the Arians, had in their own way compromised the teaching that Jesus is God. They always seemed to say that the plain sense of Messianic prophecy did not pertain to Christ, or not to Him alone. The exposition of Genesis 3:15 provided Hunnius his first detailed example. If Calvin had not totally overthrown the passage, he had weakened it as a sedes doctrinae by taking "seed" as collective. Further, Hunnius accused Pareus of missing the point when he defended Calvin against charges of Judaizing by attempting to show that Calvin did not Judaize either in his life or in his faith. Pareus had noted that Calvin in fact criticized the Jews. But Hunnius insisted that the issue at hand was Calvin's exposition of prophecy, which stood out as more Jewish than Christian by way of its concessions.¹⁷

Hunnius' criticism of Calvin's exegesis had a twofold thrust. The Lutheran scored Calvin for saying the simple sense of the text denoted a battle between men and snakes, and he further objected to Calvin's reading of "seed" as collective. His twopronged attack set the stage for the ensuing debate, which can be summarized under these two headings:

A. Men and Snakes

Hunnius began his chapter in *Calvinus Judaizans* on texts concerned with the deity of Christ with Genesis 3:15, "the first promise of the Gospel of them all." Originally spoken by the preincarnate Christ Himself in Eden, subsequently expounded more fully by the prophets, these words served the church of all ages ("omnium seculorum & aetatum ecclesia") as a brief reminder of the Messiah's human nature and of His suffering to carry out His redemptive work. Hunnius said, "By this Gospel our first parents and their pious and faithful posterity sustained themselves and by faith in that sweetest promise the fallen were saved."¹⁸

It would amount to a concession to the devil himself, Hunnius continued, if one would think God only aimed his curse at Adam and Eve or at the natural serpent. Moreover, "if the Gospel promise concerning the coming Messiah is not set forth by the dominical discourse, it further follows that neither the first people nor the fathers of the primaeval world had any clear Gospel; that would be inharmonious with everything a Christian...understands."¹⁹ Hunnius quoted Calvin's Genesis commentary and observed that it depicted verse 15 as a reference to the natural serpent and to hatred between men and serpents. He warned that such a view opened a crack to the Jews, who said the passage meant only that and no more.²⁰

For his part, Pareus insisted that the literal sense of Genesis 3:15 involved no obscurity. It indicated there would be a "perpetual variance" between the serpent and Eve and also between their respective offspring, serpents and men. Men would win this fight because God has arranged matters so serpents cannot reach any higher than to attack their feet. Pareus thought that "we neither ought to repudiate this literal sense, nor are we able to do so," especially since God directed other curses against the serpent, and humans have in fact experienced enmity with snakes.

However, Pareus said the word "He" later in the verse denoted a single seed and formed a clue that the straightforward sense would not exhaust the passage's meaning. To recognize only the simple sense, he went on, would in effect have been to have taken a stand with the Jews: dwelling on the serpent as the enemy and ignoring man's more serious plight. "Therefore a mystical sense must be reached and seen, by which God promises men victory over the devil himself."²¹

Like Calvin, then, Pareus began with a "literal" interpretation which said that Genesis 3:15 predicted a conflict between people and snakes. He moved on rather quickly, however, to a Messianic exposition of the "mystical sense," impelled not only by the need to have a champion of mankind who could successfully do battle with the devil (as Calvin said), but also by two reasons which reflected Hunnius' concerns: (1.) the necessity of avoiding a Jewish (a non-Messianic, even non-Satanic) interpretation, and (2.) grammar, namely, that the word "He" referred to an individual.

In Antipareus Alter, Hunnius was not satisfied, however, with this kind of exegesis. He continued to complain that Calvin reduced the struggle of Genesis 3:15 to humans versus snakes, and he criticized Pareus' willingness to defend Calvin's "impious gloss."²²

B. The Number of "Seed"

Here lay the heart of the conflict. In *Calvinus Judaizans*, Hunnius drew particular attention to "how audaciously" Calvin claimed that the word "seed" should not be interpreted individually, and thus that he could not join with those who saw in it a direct prophecy of Christ. "Listen, apostle Paul," Hunnius wrote sarcastically, "after so many years one has been found in the midst of the assembly of the Christian Church who might drive a note of absurdity against your exposition, in which you most clearly explain the collective noun 'seed' concerning the one man Jesus Christ." Then Hunnius quoted Galatians 3:16, the Pauline text which he had in mind: "Now the promises were made to Abraham and his offspring. It does not say, 'and to offsprings [*seminibus*],' referring to many; but to one, 'and to your offspring [*semine*],' which is Christ."²³

Hunnius said that Calvin was wasting effort when he finally arrived at his analogical interpretation of the *protevangelium*. By that time he had blunted the passage and overturned the *fundamentum* of the evangelical promise. And regardless of Calvin's exposition, which included mere people among the seed, Hunnius maintained that it was the work of the Son of God alone to grind the devil's head (1 John 3:8). Hunnius therefore complained that Calvin had distorted Romans 16:20 when he claimed that the power to crush the devil had been granted to believers. Besides, Hunnius added, if Calvin thought the whole church possessed such power, why did he object so strenuously to the Vulgate rendering of verse 15? After all, Mary was "an exceedingly noble member of the church." Should not she have been able to crush the devil?²⁴

In his analysis Pareus fastened on 15b as an indicator that hostility between the woman and the serpent would not come to an end with Eve's death; it would instead be passed along to her offspring. Frequently, he asserted, the Hebrews used the term "seed" collectively, as in God's promises to Abraham to be his God and that of his seed, or to give the land to his seed, or to multiply his seed. In other places the word referred to an individual, as in Genesis 4:25, 22:18, 15:3, and 21:13. In the case
at hand, Pareus continued, the "seed of the serpent" constituted a collective name for all families of devils. It also meant reprobate people, whose leader is the devil (John 8:44; 1 John 3:8,10). Against this group God opposed "the seed of the woman, that is, the posterity of Eve, as many as are not of the seed of the serpent that is, the entire church of elect men in the world." Pareus maintained that here "the seed of the serpent [is taken] collectively; I do not know whether any reason permits the seed of the woman to be taken individually." Furthermore, God said enmity against Satan would be transferred from the woman to her seed; and indeed we know it did reach all Eve's pious sons, the elect of the Old and New Testaments.²⁵

Pareus' last argument is formally invalid, for Genesis 3:15 did not say that the seed *alone* would hate the devil. Otherwise, it is noteworthy that Pareus reasoned chiefly from the context: If the serpent's seed was collective, the seed of the woman should also be collective. So while he differed with Calvin on the precise nature of the collectivity (Calvin said it was the human race while Pareus said it was the elect²⁶), Pareus insisted that the "seed" in 15b was collective, not individual.

Pareus disagreed with Calvin again when he came to 15c, for he thought that the word "He" was a definite reference to Christ. There would be no final victory, Pareus said, until the action of 15c took place, namely, that Christ Himself would come and defeat the devil. He observed that there was an athnach under the word zar'ah, just before 15c, and concluded that God placed it there so readers would not confuse this portion with what preceded it.²⁷ But then he added, surprisingly, that "'He' should certainly be read as the seed; or 'He' as Christ." Was Pareus now recognizing that the "Seed" of 15b denoted Christ alone? Not really; a few lines later he clarified his thought by stating that the "He" of 15c denoted "the Seed of the woman, that is, a certain one from among this seed, as if he goes forth from the midst for battle, an athlete and hero more robust and strong than the devil, certainly Christ."28 Thus, while Pareus favored a distinction between 15b and 15c and maintained that "the woman's seed" in 15b remained collective while "He" in 15c was singular, he tacitly admitted this much overlap between the two expressions: "He" was the Seed (singular) in that He was the great champion from among the seed (collective).

In his commentary Pareus listed reasons why, in 15c, "the Seed of the woman is not to be understood collectively as before, but individually. . .concerning Christ":

1. The word "He" was used instead of a repetition of the noun "his seed." Thus, God separated this portion of the verse from what preceded it. Pareus conceded the weakness of this argument by itself, but he urged that it be considered together with the others.

2. The Septuagint rendered "He" with the word autos.

3. Opposed to the Seed in 15c stood not another seed, as in 15b, but the serpent himself, an individual.

4. The word *conterere* or, more generally, the idea of the fight and the mode of victory suggested a single entity.

5. It took divine strength to crush Satan's reign (Zechariah 3:2, Romans 16:20). But the one prophesied would be both the Seed of the woman and God.

6. God sometimes spoke individually of Christ as "seed" (Galatians 3:16,²⁹ 1 Chronicles 17:11 [in which the seed was Christ; Solomon was not involved]; see also Isaiah 9:6).

7. Genesis 3:15 attributed to this seed the proper office of the Christ, namely, to break the power of Satan (Psalm 68:19, Psalm 110:6). David, Joshua, and Samson were only types; Christ was victor over Satan directly.

8. The New Testament showed the fulfillment of this promise in Christ alone (1 John 3:8, John 14:30, Luke 10:18, John 12:31, 1 Corinthians 15:54-55, Hebrews 2:14, Revelation 20:2).

Pareus claimed that he personally held to "the received interpretation" of the individual Seed of the woman. To his mind, the pronoun "He" designated this individual seed; on this point, he disagreed with Calvin. Yet he maintained that Calvin's adversaries had maliciously twisted the Frenchman's opinion and that Calvin's interpretation was not new, since it had the support of old authorities.³⁰ Furthermore, Pareus said Calvin did not overturn the foundation of the promise, for its certainty rested not in the subject (presumably "He" in the last part of the verse) but in the predicate ("will crush your head"). The Jews cannot deny this point, Pareus averred, for no one but Christ could do that work. So Calvin did lead to Christ, he concluded, albeit by a somewhat different approach than others used. Moreover, Pareus pointed to a difference between the collective interpretation which Calvin adopted and that of the Jews. "Calvin so refers to the human race that he nevertheless teaches that necessarily it would have to come to one head, which is Christ." And he was preceded in his view by Chrysostom, Eucherius, Procopius, and Augustine. No one is without error. If Calvin had made a mistake here, he was in good company.³¹

Pareus cited the work of some of the expositors, ancient and recent, who had taken the woman's seed as collective. Chrysostom and Procopius both used Luke 10:19 as a parallel passage to Genesis 3:15, though in different ways: Chrysostom to allude to the victory promised in Genesis 3 without giving any details on how the victory would be won; Procopius to urge divine discipline upon Christians so they would live as the seed of the woman.³²

Among more recent exegetes, Pareus named Brenz and Marbach and even quoted Luther's Genesis 3 lectures: "The seed of the woman sounds in general concerning all individuals and nevertheless concerning only one individual."³³ In reality, of course, Luther's words did not support the collective interpretation, as was shown above. When he referred to all individuals, he was affirming that there was only one Seed, but the devil had no advance knowledge from Genesis 3:15 about when and where He would appear. Interestingly, Pareus made no appeal to the exceptional statements of Luther which we examined earlier. A work like On the Councils and the Church, in which one of these assertions occurred, was hardly obscure. The point is that, even in these exceptional statements, Luther did not directly designate Christians as the "seed."

Pareus was convinced he had to do precisely that, on the basis of 15b. He also, in a way similar to Calvin's, wanted to draw Christians in with Christ as part of the "He" of 15c: "Because it is said concerning the head, it pertains by participation to the whole body." Pareus argued from analogy. Satan bit Christ on the heel, but since Christ was the Head, His death pertained to the whole body. So Christians suffer and die with Him, and by virtue of His victory they would daily fight sin, death, and Satan, and win. "Therefore under this Seed, which is Christ, all the faithful are also contained." Pareus listed several reasons for this view: (1) The head and the members are all from one (Hebrews 2:11); (2.) Christ has seed (Isaiah 53:10); (3.) Satan bites the heel not only of Christ but also of all the faithful; (4.) victory over Satan is distributed from the head to all the members according to Romans 16:20.³⁴

Hunnius began his lengthy treatment of Genesis 3:15 in Antipareus Alter with general arguments for his interpretation. If the protevangelium were not about the overthrow of Satan's kingdom, the great seducer would have gone unpunished. If it had not included a promise of the Messiah, Adam and Eve would have been left in terrors of conscience with no promise; they needed the consolation which could come only from the Gospel, not from the Law or from the ability to step on snakes. Given the enormity of the redemptive task, the "Seed" who would accomplish it could only be Christ, even if the fruit of His work pertained to great numbers of people.³⁵

Hunnius called attention to Pareus' two basic reasons for his collective interpretation of "seed." First, Pareus said it was a collective noun which could be used of individuals, but in Genesis 3:15 it was set in opposition to the (collective) seed of the serpent. Second, Pareus noted that enmity against Satan pertains to all men; thus, he went on, the promise of victory pertained to all.³⁶

In response to the first reason, Hunnius pointed out that even Pareus could cite instances of an individual use of "seed" (e.g., Genesis 4:25, Genesis 21:13). He added that it appeared to be a rule in the Scriptures that wherever "seed" clearly meant the Messiah it should be taken individually instead of collectively. He cited Genesis 22:18 (the promise contained there, he said, was repeated in Genesis 26 and 28), 2 Samuel 7:12-14, Galatians 3:16, 19, and Hebrews 2:16. Later in his treatment Hunnius defended the application of Galatians 3:16 to Genesis 3:15 at some length. The same Seed which had been the subject of the promise in the garden became the subject of the promise to Abraham. Both prophecies referred to great blessings which only God can provide. Against Pareus' initial suggestion that Galatians 3:16 did not deny that the seed was collective, Hunnius rhetorically asked why Paul should concede the collective meaning just when he was opposing the one to the many. And Paul was not talking about external blessings when he urged the unity of the Seed; rather, he was dealing with the promises of redemption, which was solely God's work.37

Against the idea that the "seed" of the serpent encompassed a group and therefore that the woman's seed should also have been collective, Hunnius again responded that the work of the latter (crushing the devil's head) could only be God's work. Since there is but one God, the Seed in question was the Seed of the woman, not the man. Yet if "seed" had been collective, males would necessarily have been involved.

Hunnius turned to Pareus's second reason and declared that confusion of questions leads to fallacies. "For it is not asked whether the promise of victory over Satan ought to be extended to all...but it is asked: Who is it who is about to give this victory?... This one truly is Christ alone..." Hunnius was pleading for a distinction between the work of redemption and its fruit. He reiterated this plea later, in response to Pareus' rhetorical question, "Does not the church crush Satan in Christ?" Since the predicate in Genesis 3:15 was limited crushing the devil's head belonged exclusively to someone with divine power—the subject must likewise have been so limited, and the Seed of the woman must be Christ, not Christians.³⁸

After answering Pareus' claims, Hunnius resumed his attack. According to Pareus, the Jews said the seed of the woman signified the human race, but not Christ. "The Jews do not draw this conclusion," Hunnius corrected. "The conclusion of their argument is that it [the seed] is not therefore only Christ. For the Jews do not doubt that the Christ ought to be of the human race."³⁹ He also chided Pareus for his willingness to appeal to Galatians 3:16 against the Jews without simultaneously realizing that this passage dismantled his and Calvin's interpretation of "seed" in Genesis 3:15.⁴⁰

Hunnius added that he was unimpressed with Calvin's partners in exegetical error, even if they included Chrysostom and Procopius. However, he said neither of them bore the same guilt as Calvin; they had not formally set forth Calvin's rule that "seed" *must be* collective, "nor do they accuse the Christian interpreters who take the 'seed' without controversy as Christ of 'violent distortion."⁴¹

Hunnius recognized that Pareus had his disagreements with Calvin, but they gave him little cause for celebration. In fact, he pressed his case against Pareus in much the same way as he had criticized Calvin in the first place. Again, the burden of his argument for the singular "Seed" rested on Galatians 3:16 and on the analogy of faith, namely, that only God can defeat the devil.⁴² Two, if not three, underlying premises informed Hunnius' position: (1.) that it was inconceivable to proclaim the Gospel of victory over Satan without identifying the Victor over Satan; (2.) that this Gospel was the only message capable of uplifting people defeated by sin and the devil; and (3.) that to interpret verse 15 as a prophecy of the battle which people wage against the devil would have cast it as Law, not Gospel. Hunnius seems to have had the last consideration in mind when he objected to Calvin's (and Pareus') concluding claim that the church, too, crushed the devil's head.

III. The Conflict Assessed: Lutheran-Calvinist Differences

A. The Number of Senses

Calvin and Hunnius agreed that the *protevangelium* would have offered no real comfort to Adam and Eve if it had merely indicated that they would be able to step on snakes, but the inferences which the two sides drew from this realization differed vastly. To Calvin it suggested the existence of a second sense in which he should explain the passage; his champion Pareus even spoke explicitly of a mystical sense besides the literal sense. But Hunnius concluded that the genuine sense of the verse had to involve something other than men versus snakes. His presupposition, so obvious to him that it went unexpressed, was *sensus literalis unus est*. For a Lutheran like Hunnius, the Messianic sense of this passage *was* the "literal" sense, the one sense God intended in the *protevangelium*.⁴³

B. The Context

Pareus established the number of "seed" from the context as he compared the seed of the woman with the seed of the serpent. He apparently found it difficult to believe that the passage meant the collective seed of the serpent should oppose a single Seed of the woman. Yet that was exactly what Hunnius (like Luther) said. While there would be symmetry in a prophecy about a battle between the collective seeds of the serpent and of the woman, the Lutherans felt no compulsion to preserve such symmetry for its own sake. They did not advocate an interpretation that "fit the context" at the expense of other considerations.

C. Experience and Reason

A related subject is the role of appeals to experience in Calvinistic exegesis. As they interpreted Genesis 3:15 both Calvin and Pareus explicitly reasoned on the basis of experience—the former to reach the "one Head," since all men obviously do not conquer Satan; and the latter to identify "all Eve's pious sons" as her seed, because it is apparent that hatred for the devil has spread to them all. Calvin and Pareus might have tried to establish these premises on the basis of Bible passages, but they did not.

Even if they had, however, it is still important to note the ways in which they employed these items of information in their arguments. Calvin took the failure of the seed (all men) to defeat the devil as an opportunity to draw the New Testament concept of Christ's headship into his discussion of Genesis 3:15. Pareus, as noted previously, constructed a faulty syllogism from his insight. But in neither case was it clear, from the Lutheran viewpoint, that such reasoning was at all appropriate. Calvin mixed distinct biblical themes with the result that one mitigated the other. Pareus attempted to reason from effect to cause (namely, that since the elect of all ages have hated the devil, therefore they must be the seed described in Genesis 3:15) without a clear word that God willed that and only that effect. In this respect Lutheran-Calvinist exegetical differences on Genesis 3:15 parallel more celebrated controversies between the two groups, as in the case of Lutheran objections to the Calvinist use of experience and reason in discussions of predestination.

D. The Use of the New Testament

If Hunnius appeared rather satisfied with his case concerning "seed," this was largely due to the authority on which he rested it. Important as all other factors might have been, the testimony of Galatians 3:16 settled the matter for him. Lutherans routinely regarded New Testament interpretations of Old Testament texts as correct and binding.⁴⁴ Hunnius simply assumed this principle; he took pains to show that Galatians 3:16 genuinely applied to the woman's Seed as well as to the Seed of Abraham, but beyond that he maintained that the text spoke for itself. He did not dismiss Calvin's reference to Romans 16:20 because he objected to explaining Old Testament passages on the basis of the New Testament. Rather, he observed that the verse said God would subdue Satan, not that the church would (as Calvin claimed).

Since Lutherans recognized only one sense of the text, they held that the same meaning obtained in Old Testament times as in New Testament times. Luther and Hunnius were confident that Adam and Eve and their offspring, no less than they themselves, understood Genesis 3:15 as a description of the Messiah's person and work.

On the Calvinist side nothing quite compares with this attitude. Certainly, Calvin and Pareus were aware of Galatians 3:16, but they regarded it as, at most, one factor among many to be considered in expounding Genesis 3:15. In any case, it is *not* clear that Calvin thought the New Testament interpretation of an Old Testament passage was necessarily the only correct one.⁴⁵

E. The Approach to the Old Testament

Heinrich Bornkamm characterized Luther's approach to the Old Testament by saying that, while the reformer recognized the presence of many christological prophecies there, he also recognized the import of Old Testament history as such: "Thus even the events of Israelite history attained a significance for the believer; they were not just transparencies for a higher future event."⁴⁶ To be sure. Luther regarded Genesis 3:15 as a direct Messianic prophecy. The point which can be made here, however, is that his exposition did not turn subsequent history into a "transparency," as the Calvinist approach was wont to do. For Luther, the protevangelium did not point to a general human fight with the devil as a picture of what Christ would eventually do, or even what He would do preeminently well. Rather, the passage foretold the decisive battle which God alone could win over Satan and which He would win in the Messiah.

F. Doctrinal Implications

The previous portions of this summary of Lutheran-Calvinist differences have been devoted mostly to hermeneutical issues. In this last part, however, we focus on a point with direct doctrinal significance: though Hunnius insisted that the battle against Satan in Genesis 3:15 could only be fought by the Messiah, Calvin and Pareus each held in his own way that the battle was also that of men against the devil. Thus, the Calvinists included the Law as part of the "first Gospel." Perhaps Pareus' disagreements with Calvin struck Hunnius as something of an improvement, but in the overall soteriology of Genesis 3:15 Hunnius held that the basic difficulty remained, even with Pareus. For Pareus still viewed the *protevangelium* as a mixture of Law and Gospel, while for the Lutherans it was pure Gospel. Here too we encounter a classic and characteristic difference between the two traditions: "Both acknowledge that the chief article of the Christian faith is the forgiveness of sins: the Lutherans consider it the *whole* content of the Gospel, while the Reformed consider it the *principal* content of the Gospel."⁴⁷

Conclusion

It comes as no surprise that Lutherans and Calvinists tried to repristinate the views of the magisterial reformers also in exegesis. Though Pareus did not adhere to Calvin's view in the strict way that Hunnius repeated Luther, he refused to concede that there was anything doctrinally objectionable about Calvin's exposition. He reasserted the two aspects of it which Hunnius had singled out for attack. His willingness to defend Calvin while disagreeing with him over the "He" of 15c illustrates the Calvinistic opinion that there were many ways to walk the path.

Given the polemic between Hunnius and Pareus, their allegiance to Luther and Calvin points further, to a less common conclusion: that the fundamental differences between these two conflicting schools of thought were rooted in their very beginnings. There never had been a unified Protestant approach to biblical interpretation. Historically, this observation forms evidence against the idea of a great, originally or essentially united evangelical church. Dogmatically, it can help to explain how theologians with deep commitments to Scripture as the source of theology could set forth such disparate versions of the biblical message.

ENDNOTES

 See Brian A. Gerrish, "The Pathfinder: John Calvin's Image of Martin Luther," *The Old Protestantism and the New* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 31-32; 286-287, n. 53. Luther made these statements at table: "Sic Calvinus de re sacramenta occultat suam sententiam. Sic sein irr und konnens nicht reden. Quia veritatis oratio simplex est," WATr 5, 51 (#5303); "Calvinus est vir doctus, sed valde suspectus de errore sacramentariorum," WATr 5, 461 (#6050).

- See Gerrish, pp. 39, 41, 46, et passim. 2.
- 3. Gerrish, p. 41.
- 4. This is the RSV translation.
- 5. LW1, 183, 184 (WA 42, 137, 138).
- 6. LW1, 190-92 (translation somewhat revised; WA 42, 142-44). As late as 1520, in the Babylonian Captivity, Luther was willing to speak of the protevangelium as a prophecy of a woman who would crush the devil's head. See WA 6, 514 (LW 36, 39).
- 7. LW1, 193 (WA 42, 144). See LW1, 241-42 (WA 42, 179) and LW 15, 319-23 (WA 54, 71-75).
- 8. LW1, 194 (WA 42,145).
- LW 1, 195-96 (WA 42, 146). The American Edition footnote 9. referring to Luther's use of the word "synecdoche" says, "in this case, the species is used for the genus" (LW1, 195, note 42). But this is the opposite of Luther's point; the editor assumed that the intended sense of "seed" in verse 15 is collective, and the figurative aspect therefore consists in that the word can also denote an individual. Instead, Luther said the intended sense in this passage was individual. Note that Luther's position was reasserted in FC-SD, V:23.
- WA 46, 19-20 (LW 24, 319), WA 50, 653 (LW 41, 178); also see WA 10. 43, 468 (LW5, 58).
- 11. Corpus Reformatorum 51, 69-70; translated in John Calvin. Commentaries on the First Book of Moses called Genesis, volume 1, tr. by John King (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), pp. 167-68.
- 12.King translation, pp. 168-70; CR 51, 70-71.
- 13. King translation, pp. 170-71; CR 51, 71. Regarding the church's victory over the devil, Calvin quoted Romans 16:20.
- 14. See Aegidius Hunnius, Calvinus Judaizans, Opera Latina, Tomus Secundus (Frankfurt-am-Main: Impensis Iohan. Iacobi Porsij Bibliopolae, 1608), col. 636f.
- It is hard to determine which was the work where Pareus first 15.tried to defend Calvin from Hunnius' Calvinus Judaizans. According to one source, it was Clypeus Veritatis Catholicae de Sacrosancta Trinitate (Realencyklopädie für protestantische

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Theologie und Kirche, s.v. "Pareus, David"), but it also could have been Calvinus Orthodoxus de Sacrosancta Trinitate: & de Aeterna Christi Divinitate. In neither case have I been able personally to consult the work in question; I have had to rely (with results quite sufficient for present purposes) on key Pareus quotations in Hunnius' later writings or on Pareus' Commentarius in Genesin, which includes a less polemically-charged summary of arguments against Hunnius and even mentions him by name. The commentary is in Pareus' Opera Theologica Exegetica, Pars Secunda, compiled by John Philip Pareus (Frankfurt: John Rose, 1647).

- 16. Pareus, Commentarius, p. 101.
- 17. Aegidius Hunnius, Antipareus, Opera Latina, pp. 697, 701.
- 18. Hunnius, Calvinus Judaizans, col. 654.
- 19. Ibid.
- 20. Ibid., col. 655.
- 21. Pareus, Commentarius, p. 102.
- 22. Hunnius, Antipareus Alter, Opera Latina, col. 932.
- 23. Hunnius, Calvinus Judaizans, col. 655.
- 24. Ibid., col. 656.
- 25. Pareus, Commentarius, p. 102.
- 26. In *Antipareus Alter* Hunnius chided Pareus for being unable to make up his mind, since at one point he said the woman's seed was the human race; col. 937.
- 27. Pareus, Commentarius, pp. 102-103.
- 28. Ibid., p. 103.
- 29. Again, Pareus was inconsistent. In his first response to Hunnius he ventured to say that Galatians 3:16 did not deny the collective nature of the "seed"; it simply meant that while many offspring might follow to Abraham according to the flesh, the promises were attached to only one, to Christ; see *Antipareus Alter*, col. 941.
- 30. Pareus, Commentarius, p.104.
- 31. Ibid. Unlike the Jews, Pareus contended, (1.) Calvin took the enmity of which verse 15 spoke to include that which exists between Satan and us; (2.) Calvin would indeed say more about Christ than he would say about a mere man; and (3.) Calvin affirmed that crushing the serpent's head was the victory of Christ over the devil.

- 32. Chrysostom's Homily 17 on Genesis is translated in Thomas P. Halton, et al., gen. eds., The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, 74 vols. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1986), volume 74: St. John Chrysostom: Homilies on Genesis 1-17, tr. by Robert C. Hill, pp. 237-38. Procopius of Gaza's Commentarii in Genesin is quoted in Tibertius Gallus, Interpretatio Mariologica Protoevangelii (Genesis 3:15) Tempore post Patristico usque ad Concilium Tridentinum (Rome, 1949), pp. 7-8.
- 33. Pareus, *Commentarius*, p. 102; on Luther, see the text at note 14 above.
- 34. Pareus, Commentarius, p. 104.
- 35. Hunnius, Antipareus Alter, cols. 930-31.
- 36. Ibid., col. 933.
- 37. Hunnius, *Antipareus Alter*, cols. 933-34, 941-42 (compare the text at note 35 above).
- 38. Ibid., cols. 934, 944, 935.
- 39. Ibid., cols. 935.
- 40. Ibid., col. 936.
- 41. Ibid., cols. 939-40.
- 42. Hunnius found support for the claim that only God could defeat Satan in 1 John 3:8. Again he echoed Luther, who in 1527 commented thus on that passage: "Here you have the fulfillment of the first sermon of the gospel. The seed of the woman had to be born to destroy the works of the devil"; *LW* 30, 272 (*WA* 20, 705).
- Karl Holl said Luther broke new hermeneutical ground by not 43. equating spiritual understanding of a text with an allegorical explanation of its meaning; "Luthers Bedeutung für den Fortschritt der Auslegungskunst," Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, sixth ed., 3 vols. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1932), volume 1: Luther, p. 556-58. The Lutheran Confessions and the period of orthodoxy followed Luther's idea that the "literal" sense of a text was the native sense intended by the author, not necessarily a non-figurative sense. See Ralph A. Bohlmann, Principles of Biblical Interpretation in the Lutheran Confessions, second ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), pp. 86-87, and Robert D. Preus, The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), pp. 321-22, 326. This study of Genesis 3:15 shows that it is only partially correct to conclude, "In consonsance with

the principle of the one sense of Scripture Calvin, like Luther, flatly denied the Catholic doctrine of multiple senses," as does Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 119.

- 44. See Preus, pp. 333-35.
- 45. For example, Calvin indicated that the evangelists did not understand a figure in Psalm 22 and departed from the native sense as they applied it to the events surrounding the passion of Christ. See CR 75, 416.
- 46. Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther and the Old Testament*, tr. by Eric W. and Ruth C. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), p. 259.
- 47. Herman Sasse, *Here We Stand*, tr. and rev. by Theodore G. Tappert (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 121 (emphasis original). The Law and Gospel issue should be raised whenever Calvinist hermeneutics are discussed, including Calvin's typology. To Calvin, a type was like a charcoal sketch while its antitype resembled a finished painting; he said the Law revealed the former while the Gospel revealed the latter. In this scheme, type and antitype can become a vehicle by which to confuse Law and Gospel, which according to Calvin only differ from one another in the clarity of their manifestation. See Lewalski, p. 119. Her entire fourth chapter is quite informative, but unfortunately it treats Luther only in his earlier exegesis.

The Rev. Ken Schurb is pastor of Peace Lutheran Church, Berne, Indiana. He alone is responsible for all faults above, but he wishes to thank for their advice Profs. Jeremy Cohen and James Kittelson of The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, and Profs. Robert Preus and Dean Wenthe of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, as well as the editors of the *CTQ*. This study was supported in part by the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies of The Ohio State University.



Homiletical Studies

Epistle Series A

THE EIGHTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST

October 7, 1990

Philippians 1:1-6,11, 19-27

The letter to the Philippians was in all likelihood written during Paul's last imprisonment in Rome and from this setting presents one of the most uplifting and strength-giving testimonies of faith. If a single word theme were to be given to this letter and to this specific text, it would be "rejoice."

It appears that this letter was written to all of the congregations in Philippi (all the saints in Christ Jesus at Philippi, together with the overseers and deacons) and therefore was meant to be shared among them. The purpose of the letter was not primarily to thank these saints for their help, though expression of thanks is present, but rather to assure them of the strength of God's love in Christ Jesus and encourage them to hold fast in the face of the trials ahead.

Verses 1-6,11: Following the epistolary opening (vv. 1-3) Paul speaks of the joy of the relationship in Christ that he shares with the Philippians (vv. 5-11).

Verses 12-18a: While these verses are not part of this text, they provide an insight into Paul's focus. In these verses Paul points out the conflict among the saints in Rome regarding his imprisonment. Paul points to two groups, one preaching the Gospel out of love and one preaching the Gospel out of envy, hoping to stir up trouble for Paul. It is at the end of this explanation that Paul gives his focus: "But what does it matter? The important thing is that in every way, whether from false motives or true, Christ is preached" (v. 18a).

Verses 18b-27: Here is meat for thought. The conflict that Paul struggles with as to whether it would be better to die and be with the Lord or to live and assist the saints is one that every pastor and every Christian must struggle with at some point. Paul's resolution (v. 24) sets up the focus of the rest of this letter—rejoice and stand firm in faith.

Introduction: A young parish pastor was making visits to the members of the congregation during his first year. One of his visits was to an elderly lady, well into her eighties. This visit was, unlike many he had made, one to which he truly looked forward because this lady was so lively and happy and encouraging all the time. In the course of the visit the young pastor asked her to share some of the events of her life. In the course of the next hour the young pastor heard how this woman had lost two husbands in war and four children (one murdered, one killed in an automobile accident, one killed by drug overdose, and one killed in a boating accident). The pastor heard how she had been ostracized by a congregation during a period when she was extremely poor and could give nothing.

As the litany continued the young pastor began to wonder how this woman could be so happy all the time. True, the woman also shared many of the joys of her life, but they were few and far between compared to the tragedies. Finally, the young pastor could not stifle the question any longer and interrupted: "With all you've been through, how can you be so happy all the time?" The old lady looked at the young pastor and with a smile on her face said, "Pastor, you're young yet; but I pray that, when you get to be my age, you will know that faith means being a Christian no matter what happens." It is this conviction of faith to which Paul encourages the Christians at Philippi and that I would share with you today.

A CHRISTIAN—NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENS!

- I. Paul's witness of steadfast faith.
 - A. Paul—a prisoner in Rome near the end of a ministry (v. 7) which included many beatings and imprisonments.
 - B. Paul-a victim of slanderous and envious preachers (v. 17).
 - C. Paul—a Christian happy for the Gospel (vv. 3,18a).
 - D. Paul-concerned about the quality of his witness to the Gospel (v. 20).
- II. The alternatives to steadfast faith.
 - A. From history.
 - 1. The first century saw many periods of persecution which caused many to forsake Christ in order to preserve their lives and property.
 - 2. The action of forsaking persecution and then returning to claim full rights in the church created controversy in the early chuch.
 - 3. The Spanish Inquisition represents a period when the external church supplanted Christ.
 - B. From our own lives.
 - 1. "One does not talk religion in the work place."
 - 2. Church and Bible study are treated as options.
 - 3. "God is always picking on Christians," or "God does not love us; look at all the problems."
- III. The expectation: a Christian-no matter what happens!
 - A. Faith is God's work and is continued by Him (v. 6).
 - 1. We need not fear our inadequacies, but may rely on God.
 - 2. As God's work, faith is victorious.

- B. Faith yearns to be with Christ and lives to witness.
 - 1. The greatest expectation of faith is "to live is Christ to die is gain" (vv. 21-24).
 - 2. Faith is witnessing in whatever situation—standing firm (vv. 27-28a).

Conclusion: Throughout our lives we will have our faith constantly challenged and find ourselves beset by problems. It is during these times that Paul's joyous assertion of the power of the Gospel truly comes home to us. You have been given faith by God, and He continues to work in you. Martin Luther described faith in this way: "Faith is a living, resolute, total confidence in God's grace, a trust so certain that it is willing to die a thousand deaths for its belief. And such a trust in God's grace and knowledge of God's grace make a man joyous, resolute and robustly cheerful over against God and all God's creatures." So, go ahead, be a Christian—no matter what happens!

G. Travis Downs Hayward, California

THE NINETEENTH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST

October 14, 1990

Philippians 2:1-5 (6-11)

This sermon study is based on all of the first eleven verses of Philippians chapter 2. The optional portion, verses 6 through 11, also happens to be the appointed reading for Passion Sunday, but when included here with verses 1 through 5, they become not only an affirmation of the humanity and divinity of Christ, but also the kerygmatic basis for a Christ-like lifestyle. Thus, orthodoxy and orthopraxis are brought together, as is so typical throughout the New Testament writings.

The New International Version (NIV) is quoted here because of its growing usage within the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. While the Revised Standard Version (RSV) refers to "being of the same mind" (v. 2), the NIV speaks of "being like-minded." The RSV's more familiar "have this mind among yourselves" (v. 5) is rendered "your attitude should be the same." Paul's appeal for a change of mind, attitude, and behavior is very much in keeping with the theme of repentance in the Old Testament lesson and gospel assigned to this day (Ezekiel 18:1-4, 25-32; and Matthew 21:28-32). Thus, the suggested title of this sermon outline is "Opting for a Christ-like Lifestyle," pointing toward a change that is both internal and external, made possible by God's cross-shaped love, revealed and bestowed in Jesus Christ. The central thought is that, in the midst of many conflicting choices, God enables us to opt for a Christ-like lifestyle—united in His love, practising His humility, and confessing His lordship.

Introduction: "What would John Wayne do?" That, someone jokingly claims, is what a former U.S. president would ask when making a tough decision. But before we laugh too loudly, we must confess that our own values are shaped in part by a bombardment of television images of greed, violence, and promiscuity which we are apt to receive subliminally as models of virtue. In a pluralistic world far removed from the like-minded Lutherans of Lake Woebegone, every ethical and theological choice appears to be up for grabs. St. Paul, in today's epistle, brings our Christian commitment into focus.

OPTING FOR A CHRIST-LIKE LIFESTYLE

- I. A Christ-like lifestyle means being united in His love (vv. 1-2).
 - A. In a very threatening world it is easy for us to become apathetic toward others and think primarily of our own survival.
 - 1. It is not necessarily that we are hateful or vicious, just indifferent.
 - 2. Rather than fostering a sense of community in our church or our family, we are tempted to go it alone (even though a "loner Christian" is a contradiction in terms).
 - B. But to be united with Christ is to be united also with one another in Christ-like love.
 - 1. This is that distinctive, cross-shaped *agape* love described in today's text (vv. 1-2) and received again this morning through the means of grace—God's proclaimed and sacramental word of love.
 - 2. This is the love that can change us from "loner Christians" into "lover Christians," united in spirit and purpose, reaching out to one another with compassion (vv. 1-2).
- II. A Christ-like lifestyle means practising His humility (vv. 3-8).
 - A. In a world of fierce competition we are caught up in the proud desire to get ahead of everyone else.
 - 1. St. Paul cautions us against "selfish ambition" and "vain conceit" (v. 3).
 - 2. Martin Luther went so far as to define sin as "the self curved in upon itself."
 - B. Christ-like humility can turn our self-centeredness inside out.
 - 1. Practising Christ's humility enables us to consider others better than ourselves (v. 3).

- 2. Applying His humility makes it possible for us to look not only to our own interests, "but also to the interests of others" (v. 4).
- 3. The extreme extent of Christ's humility is demonstrated in His willingness to come down to our human level as a servant and to die a criminal's death (vv. 6-8).
 - a. Through His redemptive humility our selfcenteredness is forgiven.
 - b. At the cross we discover a resource for changing our selfish ambition into an attitude that is more Christ-like (v. 5).
- III. A Christ-like lifestyle means confessing His lordship (vv. 9-11).
 - A. In a religiously pluralistic world, there are many "lords" inviting our allegiance.
 - 1. Young people especially can be vulnerable to the "New Age" movement, a variety of cults, and Eastern religions.
 - 2. We must also be alert to the distortions of doctrine and practice within the church itself.
 - 3. We may face personal idolatries that come to us in the guise of "addictions."
 - B. But St. Paul points to our ultimate allegiance by inviting us to confess that the crucified and risen Christ "is Lord to the glory of God the Father" (v. 11).
 - 1. Christ's lordship is unique; His name is "above every name" (v. 9), even above the names of contemporary gurus.
 - 2. Christ's lordship is universal, evoking the pl-inclusive response of "every knee" and "every tongue" (vv. 10-11).
 - 3. Confessing Jesus Christ as Lord with our lips and lives is an act of giving praise to God (v. 11b).

Conclusion: Surrounded by conficting moral and theological choices, we cannot turn to our favorite popular hero or heroine for answers. Nor can we simply ask: What would Jesus do? Rather, we ask: What has Jesus done? At the cross he opted for us, enabling us to opt for a Christ-like lifestyle—united in His love, practising His humility, and confessing His lordship.

John George Huber La Jolla, California

THE TWENTIETH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST

October 21, 1990

Philippians 3:12-21

In verse 19 there is no completely satisfactory way to translate where the KJV uses "belly," the NIV "stomach," and the GWN "feelings." A common problem among modern Christians is that we undervalue our heavenly citizenship. The goal of the sermon outlined here is to reinforce the joy of that citizenship. The method is to show the superiority of heavenly citizenship to earthly.

Introduction: Patriotism brings amazing results. Marine Lt. Col. William Higgins volunteered to serve his country in Lebanon knowing full well the risks. An unnamed, but well-known, Chinese student loved his country enough to defy a line of tanks. Your eternal citizenship is in heaven. How highly do you value your heavenly citizenship? Today Paul reminds us that

HEAVENLY CITIZENSHIP DETERMINES EARTHLY BEHAVIOR

I. Heaven's citizens strive to keep their citizenship.

A. Jesus made you a citizen of heaven already now.

- 1. Jesus signed your heavenly citizenship papers with His own blood on the cross.
- 2. You are a fruit of the resurrection into eternal life of which Jesus is the first fruit.
- 3. You are already a citizen of the perfect world to come.
- B. You can endanger your heavenly citizenship.
 - 1. Attempts to wrap the Christian faith in the American flag can distract us.
 - a. America is a passing kingdom of this world.
 - b. America's imperfections are obvious.
 - c. America is as much as this world has to offer.
 - 2. Sometimes you form a "kingdom" about yourself.
 - a. Self-interest can come ahead of glorifying God.
 - b. Our own feelings determine our behavior.
 - 3. Those who neglect heavenly citizenship are destined for destruction.
- C. The struggle in this world is to "keep our papers in order." Striving to attain final heavenly citizenship means the following:
 - 1. Daily renewal of your baptismal covenant.

- 2. Daily use of the Word of God by yourself and with your family.
- 3. Regular reception of the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion.
- 4. Living in imitation of Paul's redeemed life.
- 5. Daily remembrance of your heavenly citizenship.
- II. Heaven's citizens focus on the Lord of heaven.
 - A. You know who has made you a new creature.
 - 1. As a new creature, you no longer worship your own passions.
 - 2. As a new creature, you know where Jesus has gone (John 14:1-4).
 - 3. As a new creature, you know who shall subordinate even this evil world to Himself.
 - B. You rejoice in the victory of glorified life in heaven.
 - 1. The shame of the cross is now your glory.
 - 2. Love of your heavenly home will cost you in this world, but already guarantees the joy of eternal life.
 - 3. The joy of heavenly citizenship is to serve others in this world as Paul and Jesus served.

Conclusion: In most of the world you need citizenship papers in good order to travel between countries. You are a pilgrim and stranger in this world. Strive to keep your heavenly citizenship papers in good order for the time when you cross into the Promised Land.

Warren E. Messmann Fort Wayne, Indiana

THE TWENTY-FIRST SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST

October 28, 1990

Philippians 4:4-13

The solution to fretful anxiety is two-fold for Paul: Christians need to enter into the intimacies of prayer and worship of God, clearly articulating their needs and looking for the promises of God's uplifting deliverance (both internal and external). The other is to reflect upon those incredible things which God has done for us, both in Christ and in the people and things that God has used to bring us to the faith (vv. 8-9). The text affirms the two-part division through a repetition of the peace formula after each section (vv. 7 and 9). The prior section on prayer forms the basis of the outline, but the latter section on the "good things" of the kingdom of God is subsumed in the body of the outline.

Introduction: The Philippian congregation was upset—perhaps not by any one thing in particular, but probably by a composite of many things simply weighing them down. They had faced ridicule and persecution for their faith. They were being seduced by the compromizing Judaizers. The beloved messenger whom they had sent to Paul had almost died in Rome. They had pressing financial needs of their own which were more than likely going unmet, especially when they were being continually asked to provide support for the Apostle Paul. Their spiritual laborers were beginning to fight between themselves. So to the Philippian congregation the Apostle Paul prescribes a remedy: "Rejoice in the Lord." He says, in effect:

REJOICE IN WHAT THE LORD CAN DO FOR US—WHEN WE PRAY

- I. There is much about which to pray.
 - A. We have legitimate fears. There are many bad and fearful things going on about us. (The local newspaper will furnish a quick relevant list.)
 - B. Life does not easily go our way, especially when God's Word get involved. The power of the Word of God can stir up a pot of trouble when it moves against evil. (An example is the story of the exorcism of the fortune-teller and the resulting beating and imprisonment of Paul and Silas in Philippi, Acts 16: 16 ff.).
 - C. We can become so anxious about our human lives. Our worries can be so tormenting, and often they do not have a specific object to which we can point or about which we can do anything. It is anxiety, perhaps more than any other thing, which drives Christians away from Christ and His kingdom (Matthew 6:32-33).
- II. We have reason to rejoice; we look at what the Lord can do for us when we pray.
 - A. Why do we worry? Anxiety stems from these things:
 - 1. A fear of weakness. We put our nose to the grindstone to meet tomorrow's needs. Daily, even routine, matters food, clothing, friends, work—fill up our day. We unwittingly allow ourselves to become the masters of our little world. One day we realize that we are not in control at all, that we are not gods, that we have no power to guarantee tomorrow's bread.
 - 2. Indefiniteness about what is bothering us. We do not even know what it is. We know that something is wrong,

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missing. We have moods and feeling without anything to which we can point as the cause or problem.

- 3. A feeling of abandonment. No one seems to care about us, or at least it seems that no one can break into our world and we feel alone.
- B. Our Lord is able to do so much for us when we pray.
 - 1. When we pray, we remember that He is the one who controls all things.
 - a. We need not fear tomorrow when we have no fear of the one who controls all things. (Here the gospel can be applied very specifically by the preacher: we have no fear because of Christ's redemption and the acceptance which we have been given by God through faith in Him.)
 - b. Certainly His control comes with a cross! Trouble comes, but God gives opportunities in our problems to see Him work for the good and salvation of others. (One could site the Philippian jailor and the eventual conversion that took place when Paul and company sought God's help—in God's way—in their unjust imprisonment.) Can we look back and see how God has worked all things for the spiritual strengthening of ourselves and others?
 - 2. When we pray, there is clarification and action. Anxiety breeds on panic, the inability to clarify problems and act appropriately in response to them.
 - a. Certain of God's control, we can calmly analyze every situation from God's point of view. God's Word leads us to see what we can confidently ask of God, as well as how *we* can respond to those trials.
 - b. We can think of the Christian parents and teachers and pastors that have stood by us in our troubles and worked and labored for our salvation. Have not those clear-thinking and tireless saints also been positive, joyful, praying saints? (Paul expresses joy in Romans 5:1-4.)
 - 3. When we pray, we sing the praise of God, not the lonely blues.
 - a. There are many times that our problems are simply bigger than we are and beyond comprehension. We need peace in our souls just to endure and trust God's inscrutable working.
 - b. God comes to us in His Word and the sacraments of Jesus Christ. His presence communicates God's peace to our souls. In the Sacrament of the Altar, in a special way, God comes to us, forgives us,

communes with us, and gives peace to our troubled souls. We have reason, indeed, to rejoice.

John W. Fiene Norwalk, Connecticut

THE TWENTY-SECOND SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST

November 4, 1990

1 Thessalonians 1:1-5a

1 Thessalonians, probably Paul's earliest canonical epistle, was written to saints suffering direct physical persecution and was meant to comfort and encourage. Thus, it has immediate application and yet is eschatological. Paul's frequent use of "brothers" in the two epistles (28 times) is not based on a "brotherhood of man" as proclaimed by some today. Rather he begins with the fatherhood of God. Through God's choice we have been adopted into the family of God; we are now brothers and sisters in Christ.

In verse 3 the NIV and GWN, with "before God," are more limiting than the Greek. The KJV and, apparently, Paul himself include the whole concept of the verse within the scope of the prepositional phrase. The point is important because of its trinitarian implication. Note that "work," "labor," and "endurance" are epexegetical genitives. One may set the scene with a review of Acts 16 and 17.

Introduction: How could Paul think well of Thessalonica? He went there nursing wounds inflicted at Philippi. He was up against entrenched idols in a pagan port. After only about three weeks the Jews forced him to flee on the "nocturnal express." Yet he shows us how to be thankful:

BE THANKFUL AGAINST ALL ODDS!

- I. Thank God for His gifts.
 - A. You have grace and peace in the Father and Son (v. 1).
 - B. You have the prayers of your pastor (v. 2).
 - C. Your faith is working (v. 3).
 - D. Your love is toiling (v. 3).
 - E. Your hope is enduring (v. 3).
- II. Thank God for the power behind His gifts.
 - A. God's love (v. 4) is powerful.
 - 1. His love sent His Son to the cross for you.
 - 2. His love sent His Word into your life.

- B. God's choice (v. 4) is powerful.
 - 1. He chose you against the odds of these three:
 - a. The devil.
 - b. The world around us.
 - c. Your own hostility toward Him.
 - 2. His choosing you has won you!
- C. God's gifts are more powerful than mere words (v. 5).
 - 1. Preaching the Gospel is powerful (Romans 1:16).
 - a. The Gospel is explosive dynamite.
 - b. The Gospel is a continuing dynamo.
 - 2. Preaching the Gospel is empowered by the Holy Spirit.
 - 3. The Gospel is preached with full conviction.

Conclusion: After abruptly fleeing Thessalonica, Paul was very concerned for the newly planted church. He sent Timothy back when he "could stand it no longer" (3:1). When Timothy brought back the good news of the situation in Thessalonica, Paul's pen exploded with thanks to God for His gifts and the power of His gifts. You have the same gifts from your God and Father and His Son. God's gifts have as much power for you as they did for the Thessalonians. Thank God!

Warren E. Messmann Fort Wayne, Indiana

THE THIRD-LAST SUNDAY IN THE CHURCH YEAR

November 11, 1990

1 Thessalonians 3:11-13

The Third-Last Sunday of the Church Year brings the minds of the faithful to dwell upon the so-called "last things," including the return of Christ. This selection lends itself to the concept of preparing for the return of our Lord.

1 Thessalonians likewise carries a strong eschatological flavor. The passing of time moved St. Paul both to act on his concern for these dear Christians at Thessalonica and to rejoice in the continued faithfulness which Timothy found among them. Thus, his words in the pericope encourage the mindset of preparation, both for the prospects of his arrival among them and for the certainty of the Lord's return. It is Paul's role as representative of Christ to facilitate the growth in their faith by proclamation of the word (3:2) and by his visit (3:10). In chapter 3 Paul employs a typical "commendation and encouragement" format. Verses 6-9 express the commendation; verses 9-13 express the encouragement. As with most of his commendationencouragement sections, Paul points to the incomplete nature of our life in Christ and, therefore, to the ongoing dependence on God's grace in Christ. In the text the fulfilment which awaits us in Christ (v. 13b) is the final goal of the words of both commendation and encouragement.

Verse 11: Paul draws these words of encouragement out of his "theology of the cross" in which he sees God's power revealed in suffering (vv. 3-4). Now Paul prays God's blessings (even those found in sufferings, should God so decide) upon himself and the faithful at Thessolonica in order to bring about a personal reunion. God (*autos*) is both the focus of attention and the cause of Paul's ability to be with them.

Verse 12: While the readers (*hymas*) are the focus of attention in this verse, this same Lord is the cause in them of growth in love, the kind of love that exists not only toward one another (since "love" can be a matter of familiarity) but toward all men, the kind of love which Paul assures them exists in himself toward them (v. 12b).

Verse 13: In such a manner (namely, by the working of God which produces love) God is working to establish the hearts of believers in the pure righteousness of Christ that avails before the throne of God and that makes for the holiness of all who are with Christ at His coming (parousia). The phrase eis to sterixai is an infinitive of purpose (or result; both types of infinitive meanings merge into one where the result is expected). Its source is found in the main verbs in verse 12. The meaning here is that the Lord's work, which causes increasing and abounding love, has the ultimate purpose of the complete perfection of His saints. The cause of this perfection is not found in the love, but in the nature of the saints as those who are covered with the righteousness of Christ. If it were the love produced by the Lord in the faithful which caused the establishment of unblamable holiness, then Paul would have needed to employ an infinitive of cause (dia to). That this conclusion is correct is further supported by Paul's only other use of eis to sterixai, which also is found in this letter (3:2), where clearly an infinitive of purpose is intended.

The text offers excellent fodder for legalists. It can easily be rendered as a prescription for motivating love by exhortations to love, especially if *eis to sterixai* in verse 13 is treated as if it were an infinitive of cause, so that love, even love engendered by the Lord, becomes the cause of establishing hearts in the righteousness of Christ. Such an understanding is simply a reworking of the traditional Roman Catholic view of "faith formed by love" (recalling the discussion of Apology IV). Since there are so many such legalistic

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messages impacting Lutherans today, the text offers the chance to protect one's parishioners from such legalism. The text refers to the return of Christ. Bearing in mind the liturgical calendar, the goal of the sermon outlined here is to prepare for Christ's return. The evangelical declaration of the sermon concerns the certainty of our relationship to Christ and His return for us in the light of our uncertain and fragile spiritual existence.

THE RACE OF LIFE IS RUN BY THE WORKING OF GOD

I. "God, we need help in the race that we are running!"

- A. Christians sense the need for God's help in life.
 - 1. Unlike unbelievers, they know that they cannot run life's race alone! Therefore, they find explanations for how God helps them in life. They turn these explanations on one another, both explaining the help for the race and "motivating" the running of it.
 - 2. Out of this sense of need for help flows the almost constant emphasis on "Christian living" in both organized congregations and the "electronic church." This emphasis is demanded by the Christian hearers because of the sense of need.
- B. But, like all sinners, Christians too think they know the kind of help they need.
 - 1. "Just a little boost, O God, is what we need!" "Just a little complement, O God, is what we need!"
 - 2. Moreover, going back to justification is not the help which the sinful nature treasures. "Oh, not that again; we already know that Jesus died for our sins; tell us what to do, now that we are Christians: 'fill us'; let us 'get fed' today!"
- C. So the very help which God offers through Paul is offensive!
 - 1. Paul stresses the fragile and incomplete nature of our faith in this epistle (3:1-10). That he should worry about the continued faithfulness of those at Thessalonica, and breathe a sigh of relief upon hearing that faith still exists among them, is offensive to the Christian's sense of self-respect. His compliments are not designed to "boost" the Christian in running the race, but rather to serve as a new reminder of the continued need for the grace of God.
 - 2. Even here, where Paul's discussion focuses on the concept of "the Christian life," his words turn his hearers back to the actions of God, who, all by Himself, brings apostles to people, makes them love, and gives them confidence in their holy, justified state. To the sinful nature, this procedure remains offensive, even within the Christian.

II. "God is your victory in the race that you are running!"

A. The great need is to see your needs rightly.

- 1. To see rightly is the effect of St. Paul's chapter 3. The needs which the Thessalonians perceived and the nature of Paul's concern which they experienced are refocused around the fragile and dependent state of faith in which they live. Their existence as Christians is spiritual, as also is their need.
- 2. The Thessalonians needed certainty in the action of God and assurance of His intentions for them. Paul expresses answers to each of these needs both in his words and in the promise of his visit to the Thessalonians.
- B. The victory of justification is the answer to your needs.
 - 1. Justification not only initiates your relationship to God, but it sustains it.
 - 2. Justification has to do with your future, when Christ returns, and therefore your present life, which rests upon the future promise. So justification is an umbrella of the grace of God which covers your entire existence as a Christian and which answers all your needs in daily Christian living.
- C. In the Christian life God's power is at work, causing you to become what you are.
 - 1. Through the means of grace God reveals what you are as His power brings forth the dynamics of your new selves within the context of your present life. Your new selves are secure in the Lord until His return.
 - 2. Thus, you are not running behind your potential; you are not running behind your responsibilities to God; you are running behind yourself. You are already ahead of yourself, and that promise moves us not to sit but to run on with confidence and hope.

Robert W. Schaibley Fort Wayne, Indiana

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