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## Ministry: Rethinking the Term Diakonia

#### Karl Paul Donfried

#### I. The Problem of Ministry Today

William Lazareth, Bishop of the Metropolitan New York Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, presented a paper to a gathering of theologians of the ELCA in Chicago in August of 1990 (as well as to the Task Force on Ministry during its autumn meeting) entitled "The Ministry of the Word of God: One Divine Office in Various Human Forms."<sup>1</sup> The essence of his proposal is this: "I favor one ministerial office of the Word of God, subdivided into two ordained expressions: (1.) Word and Sacraments—covering the public ministries of pastors and bishops; and (2.) Word and Service—covering the public ministries of deacons and teachers."<sup>2</sup>

Although Lazareth's paper contains a number of keen and helpful insights, I am concerned about his use of the term "service" and his linkage of that term with the title "deacon" as an expression of the "one ministerial office of the Word of God . . . " The first of my queries is the use of the term "deacon" in this proposal. As is well known, the contemporary reappearance of the category "deacon" emerges largely from the proposal that the church universal consider the practice of a three-fold ministry. This attempted revival of the order of deacon has been fraught with ambiguity. Even in those churches, especially the Roman Catholic and the Episcopal, which actively employ such an office, I have been less than impressed with the specificity of its focus. Thus, to have a person of Lazareth's intellect and ecclesiastical experience tackle the issue is to be warmly welcomed; whether his suggestions assist us in achieving the desired clarity of purpose and specific focus remains to be seen. My basic unease with his proposal is this: even if one is, in principle, willing to make functional distinctions within the one office of the word of God, there does not appear, however, any compelling theological or historical foundation for distinguishing, on the one hand, a ministry of deacons and teachers from that of pastors within that one office of ordained ministry while not distinguishing, on the other hand, between the ministry of bishops and pastors within that one ministry. I should suggest that Lazareth's recommendations involve at least three areas requiring further discussion: (1.) An essential component of ordained ministry involves public "service," a term that is never defined in his essay; for the moment, at least, I have to assume that Lazareth still holds to the definition stated under

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his supervision in *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, namely, that deacons "represent to the Church its calling as servant in the world."<sup>3</sup> (2.) The function of deacon is linked specifically to this public service. (3.) The function of deacon is specifically linked to the word of God.

Since my major concentration will be on the first of these perspectives, a very brief comment with regard to the last is appropriate now.<sup>4</sup> The magnificent new study by John Collins entitled *Diakonia* is based on a meticulous survey of the ancient and early Christian use of *diakonia* and its word-group. Collins has determined that "the preaching of the word has no place in the history of the diaconate as preserved in the earliest documents."<sup>5</sup>

Turning now to the central thesis of Lazareth, it must be argued against him that the office of deacon, while fluid throughout the history of the church, originated in conjunction with the office of bishop. Hippolytus, for example, could describe him as the "mind and soul" of the bishop<sup>6</sup> and say that the deacon is ordained "in the service of the bishop (in ministerio episcopi) to do what is ordered by him."<sup>7</sup> Even when the focus of the bishop's ministry was enlarged, deacons served as assistants of the bishops. To suggest now a separate order of deacons without a separate order of bishops would be a bizarre theological innovation rather reminiscent of the "deacons' court" in Calvinism. Whether the office of bishop is a ministry of unity which all churches require is a matter under intense consideration in the various ecumenical dialogues today. Without attempting to decide that issue here, I should ask, however, whether such a episcopal office is not even more required when one adds a specific order of deacons? Once one begins to specify the different functions of the one ministry of Christ, then one must surely first assert the great significance of the office of oversight and unity before one adds a diaconal function to it. Lutherans have always recognized some form of episcope which is, at least geographically, different from that of the local pastor. I should hold that not to specify the importance of this episcopal role of leadership in teaching, discipline, and unity is to do a disservice to the office of bishop and pastor, to continue the confusion between the two, and to insure that the office of bishop will continue in its paralyzing

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ambiguity. To specify, therefore, within the one office of ordained ministry *only* the order of deacon is both theologically unwarranted and ecclesiologically enigmatic.

Why does Lazareth propose the category of deacon as a subdivision of ordained ministry? It is because this expression of the office of the word has something to do with a public ministry of service in distinction to an expression of the office of the word in the sacraments. Here Lazareth reveals a presupposition about ministry as service that is widespread in contemporary Christianity, although as a Lutheran he is somewhat guarded from the more radical forms of diaconal distortions which abound today. To what extent should the diakonia, as a term specifically related to the work of the church, be interpreted as service? Did not the early Christians "have more in mind when they adopted the title 'deacon' than a fellow Christian engaged in the kinds of service to which they were all in fact obligated"?8 For many today, diakonia means service to the world and that definition, in turn, either consciously or unconsciously, then defines the mission of the church. Referring to the ministry of the ordained, Max Thurian, for example, suggests that "these people represent the Servant Christ in the servant church so that all the faithful may become servants of one another and servants of their sisters and brothers in the entire human family."9 Although speaking in quite another context, Arthur Darby Nock, almost as if he were reacting against this modernist trend, correctly commented that Jesus is "a saviour rather than a pattern."<sup>10</sup> When the primary purpose of the church is *diakonia* understood as service to the world and when Jesus becomes the pattern of that service, then the Predigtamt (to use the unambiguous German term used in Augustana 5) is derived from and delegated by the community itself, and the ministry of the laity and the clergy are collapsed to such an extent that a New Testament scholar of the stature of Eduard Schweizer can insist that the idea of "office" is inappropriate for the modern church.<sup>11</sup> When, as in the case of Thurian, the ministry of the ordained is oriented toward service rather than the word, just how is the service of the church to be distinguished from the various humanitarian projects alive in the world? Unless we answer this question with theological integrity, the possible consequence of our negligence will be the prostitution of the church to the world. When we talk about

diakonia just what are we, in fact, intending to say? Are we talking about a ministry controlled by the agenda of Jesus Christ or one by the ideologies current in our society? Josephus tells the illuminating story of Paulina, a chaste woman committed to the cult of Anubis. Knowing that she was to spend a night in the temple as part of her religious devotion, Decius Mundus, being in love with Paulina, waited for her. Thinking that he was the god Anubis, Josephus reports that Paulina participated in sexual intercourse with him and that "all night she ministered to him [auto diakonesato]."<sup>12</sup> Such is the description of one form of ministry! Yes, just what ministry are we talking about when we speak so ambiguously about the ministry of the church? The Greek term diakonia is quite analogous to the term hoplon ("weapon," "tool," "instrument") that Paul uses in Romans 6:13; we can use our bodies either as instruments of sin or as instruments of righteousness. *Diakonia*, like hoplon, is a neutral term waiting to be placed in a context. Therefore, we must urgently ask what kind of ministry is meant and what purpose is it to serve.

#### II. The Use of the Term Diakonia in the New Testament

#### A. The Definition of the Problem

Several key passages in the New Testament can be used to illustrate the problem of defining *diakonia*. Mark 10:42-45 and Luke 22:25-30 have been selected from the gospels. Ephesians 4:11-12 provides an epistolary illustration of the problem.

#### 1. Mark 10:42-45 and Luke 22:25-30

Two key verses in the gospels are Mark 10:45, "For the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give His life as a ransom for many," and Luke 22:27, "For which is the greater, one who sits at table, or one who serves? Is it not the one who sits at table? But I am among you as one who serves." Everyone must admit that Mark 10:45 has a clear soteriological intent, but Luke 22:27, according to many, has no such intent. This view has significantly shaped the understanding of *diakoneō* well beyond this verse. Perhaps the most influential contribution to the modern understanding of *diakonia* as service is the monograph of Wilhelm Brandt<sup>13</sup> in which he inserted, with virtually no textual justification,

the categories of care, concern, and love into the interpretation of the *diakonia* word-group. With regard to this gospel text he would urge that "service is the expression of messiahship; the Christ serves."<sup>14</sup> Is this what the term *diakoneō* means in Mark or Luke? Again, what is the basis for such a meaning for the *diakonia* word-group? How do such interpretations relate to the radically different meanings of the term found in Romans 13:4, where the Roman ruler is described as a *diakonos*, and Galatians 2:17, where it is asked if Christ is a *diakonos* "of sin"?

#### 2. Ephesians 4:11-12

A key passage in Ephesians is 4:11-12, "And His gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints, for the work of diakonia, for building up the body of Christ . . ." This text raises two important and interrelated questions: (1.) What is the meaning of diakonia? Does diakonia refer to the distinctive role of the pastorteacher or to the role of the community at large? (2.) Should there be a comma after "saints"? Along with older translations, the first edition of the Revised Standard Version agreed that there should be a comma following "saints," thus supporting the interpretation that diakonia pertains to the teachers. Subsequent editions of the Revised Standard Version eliminated the comma, thus revealing a substantial shift in interpretation. The result of this shift is well articulated by Markus Barth. By removing the comma after "saints" and so no longer relating this clause to the teachers, Barth can claim that "the aristocratic-clerical and the triumphalistic-ecclesiastical exposition" of the text has been removed. The "traditional distinction between clergy and laity does not belong in the church. Rather, the whole church, the community of saints together, is the clergy appointed by God for a ministry to and for the world."<sup>15</sup> How can one explain why this text, also cited by Lazareth in support of his proposal in its anti-clericalist form,<sup>16</sup> has undergone such a substantial change in interpretation from one edition of the Revised Standard Version to the next? It is undoubtedly related to a subtle, but fundamental distortion of the meaning of the diakonia wordgroup.

There have been two major challenges to the primary understanding of *diakonia* as service to the world, of *diakonia* as carrying out works of mercy. The first was made by Dieter Georgi in which he forthrightly asserted that the New Testament term *diakonia* "almost never involves an act of charity."<sup>17</sup> He stated, furthermore, that a *diakonos* would better be understood as "God's plenipotentiary envoy" along the lines of the wandering Cynic preachers. Georgi's challenge has remained largely unheeded, perhaps because the focus of his book, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians*, did not permit exposure of his thesis to a wide audience. It might also be that, while some agreed with his criticism of the mistranslation of *diakonia* and *diakonos*, they took issue with his idea of Cynic parallels and his overall interpretation of the background of 2 Corinthians.

A significant new voice has been added to the debate by John N. Collins in Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources, a superb volume just published by Oxford University Press.<sup>18</sup> He vastly expands, deepens, corrects, and modifies Georgi's essentially correct insight. He is particularly critical of the work by Brandt (Dienst und Dienen im Neuen Testament)<sup>19</sup> and Beyer in the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,<sup>20</sup> which Collins argues is dependent on the incorrect interpretations of the nineteenth-century German Evangelical diaconates, who used the titles "deacon" and "deaconess" with "the mistaken understanding that the apostolic diaconate was essentially for works of mercy."<sup>21</sup> Collins, even in such passages as Acts 11:29 and Acts 12:25, convincingly demonstrates that the notion of "mission" is more correct than "assistance." If such is in fact the case, then "few places would remain in the NT where the words might unequivocally express the idea of service of the needy."22 As a result of an extensive analysis of the word-field of diakonia and its relatives in the Greek sources, Collins concludes that, when "the Greek words supposedly underlying this concept [of diakonia as service] are traced through Christian works of the time, they introduce us not to works of service but to worlds of angels, revelation, prophecy, and to some of the stranger corners of cosmology."23 Furthermore, "the modern conceptualization of 'diakonia' exemplifies also what Barr calls elsewhere 'premature theological evaluations of biblical linguistic data . . . "24

#### B. The Use of the Term Diakonia in the Non-Christian Sources

Collins' analysis of the non-Christian sources reveals the following key meanings of the group of words which includes *diakonia*:

(1.) The word-group includes reference to the work of a courier or go-between.<sup>25</sup> There is an interesting relationship here between *diakonos* and the verb  $di\bar{o}k\bar{o}$ , from which one can more clearly understand the work of a "runner" as an essential component of *diakonos*. There is a sense of delivering something from God. The church, from this viewpoint, is seen as God's delivery-service, a people on a godly mission.<sup>26</sup>

(2.) There is also an emphasis on deed in the word group. The reference is to carrying out a task or effecting things for others, without any connotation of acting slavishly. A good example of this usage is found in Romans 15:25, where Paul is going to Jerusalem "on an errand to the saints" rather than with aid [*diakonōn*] for the saints." Frequently this "acting for someone" or "effecting things for others" is done as the agent of a deity. Josephus, for example, defines the *diakonos* as the "duly sanctioned representative" of the Jewish God.<sup>27</sup> Collins summarizes this aspect of his study with these words: "The functions that we have seen designated by words of the *diakon*-group are hugely varied, yet none, so far, have been of a menial nature. The words have been designating actions of an in-between kind or people who operate in an in-between capacity, especially people (or spirits) who implement the intentions or desires of another."<sup>28</sup>

(3.) It should be noted that, when the word-group is used in connection with house and table, it generally refers to a public, official, or religious occasion. There are few examples of the application of the word-group to domestic service, and those which do occur most frequently refer to a ceremonial waiter,<sup>29</sup> a fact not unimportant to the understanding of Luke 22:27.

#### C. The Use of the Term Diakonia in the First Christian Writings

The major consequence of Collins' thorough and careful analysis is that Paul, in a wide range of texts (e.g., 1 Cor. 3:5; 2 Cor. 3:6; 6:4; 11:23), is not talking in some imprecise way about "servants" of God or of Christ, but about messengers who are on assignment from God or Christ. The apostle's primary concern is to state something about "the communication of the gospel rather than about service to the Lord or to the brethren."<sup>30</sup> Even as difficult a text as 2 Corinthians 8:4 is seen in a new light. Rather than translating it as "begging us earnestly for the favor of taking part in the relief [*diakonia*] of the saints," Collins would translate it as "begging us earnestly for a share in the fellowship of the mission of God's holy people." The question now arises as to whether the New Testament passages cited earlier are more easily expounded by means of Collins' analysis or whether they remain stubbornly resistant to it.

#### 1. Mark 10:45

As one would expect, Collins rejects the understanding of the active infinitive diakonēsai as "the idea of service to the brethren in the course of daily life, a Christian philanthropy . . . " because it is "unparalleled in other Christian sources and unprecedented in non-Christian sources . . . "<sup>31</sup> Collins returns to his basic thesis that "the verb designates specific types of undertaking in the areas of message, agency, and attendance ... "32 Included among the various interpretations of which he is skeptical is the eucharistic interpretation of the Marcan logion, since the connotation of service at table is wholly unnatural in Mark 10:45. The infinitive, the title "the Son of man," and the verb "came" (with its prophetic background) "speak of a particular personal commission under God, and from this point of view the statement is at once more theological than ethical."<sup>33</sup> Collins, along with Fitzmyer,<sup>34</sup> argues for the original unity of 45a and 45b, since 45b "defines the sacred role as one of ransom for many through the death of the office-bearer."35 Verse 45 "establishes that the Son of man's diakonēsai leads to the opposite of all that is powerful and glorious so that he becomes the absolute standard for disciples who would belong to the kingdom." Collins sees the ethical lesson as being indicated "not by the infinitive as itself a term designating this kind of humiliation, but by the death that the commission to effect the ransom entails for the Son of man."<sup>36</sup>

How do these points relate to the use of the unusual passive

infinitive "to be served"? Remembering that the verb is primarily concerned with the activity rather than the status of persons, who in this case are "attendants," and who might best be described as "those who come and go at the behest of another,"<sup>37</sup> Collins summarizes his understanding of the verse in this way: "The situation envisaged by the statement is that the Son of man is not one who holds such a position in the world as to have attendants—the *diakonoi* of the rich and powerful—coming up to him and being dispatched by him about various tasks of his own choosing; he has his own task to go to, and it is for the purpose of setting the profane grandeur of one way of life against the prophetic dedication of the other that Mark has brought these oddly fitting infinitives together."<sup>38</sup>

#### 2. Luke 22:27

For Collins, Luke is dependent upon Mark and shifts the Marcan context into a supper setting. He portrays Jesus here as a "waiter,"39 not as one who serves but as "the one attending." Verse 26 also has the parallel meaning of "the one attending," for "from Homeric times," adds Collins, "it was the Greek ideal that youths should honour their betters in age by waiting on them."40 The advice of Jesus is that the disciples should be like young men who wait on older dignitaries, a role which Jesus Himself adopts in verse 27. Collins cautions a too general understanding of the Greek participle ho diakonon (in the sense of service), since the image of waiter would be "an unnatural figure by which to allude beyond the supper to situations like Jesus' care for the disciples or for the sick."<sup>41</sup> It should be added that Collins also sees, especially in light of the verses that follow, Luke 22:28-30 (as well as Luke 12:37) as a statement about Jesus' redemptive act but one which, for the sake of His more Hellenistic audience, is described in terms much different from those in Mark 10:45.

#### 3. Ephesians 4:11-12

Collins concludes that *diakonia* in verse 12 can only be a reference to the specific work of "teachers-pastors." Thus, the *ergon diakonias* of 4:12 "can only be understood as part of this teaching process within the church so that it signifies here, against the

background of the heavenly Christ dispensing his word through teachers, the work done by the kind of 'minister' who dispenses heavenly knowledge (Eph. 3:7; Col. 1:7, 23, 25) . . . .<sup>42</sup> In Ephesians 3:7 Paul is the example of precisely this kind of *diakonia*, a *diakonia* that coheres well with the exhortations in 4:14 not to be "tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine . . ."

Collins clearly opts for the translation "for the equipment of saints, for the work of ministry" (using a comma), which expresses two separate objectives and naturally accommodates diakonia as the work of the teachers.<sup>43</sup> He rejects the translation which renders only one objective, namely, "to equip the saints for the work of ministry." From the nineteenth century on this view has been championed by many. Eadie, dependent on Meyer,<sup>44</sup> specifies his exegesis in this way: "He has given teachers—eis—'for the work of the ministry and-eis-for the edifying of His body-pros-in order to [accomplish] the perfecting of His saints."<sup>45</sup> Collins concludes that those "who find this scheme makes for an inadequate or too passive life for 'saints' in the church are underestimating the role attributed by the author to sound doctrine; it assimilates the whole church into the mystery where growth into the fulness of Christ occurs. No one is left out. No one has more experience of the mystery than anyone else."46

#### **III.** The Lutheran Confessions

In light of this use of the word-group which includes *diakonia*, it is interesting to look at Article 5 of the Confessio Augustana. In the Latin text the article is entitled *De Ministerio Ecclesiastico* and the opening sentence reads: Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta."<sup>47</sup> The noun *ministerium* is not left undefined; Augustana 5 never speaks of an unspecified ministry. *Ministerium* is either modified by *ecclesiasticum*, or it is specified as a ministry "to teach the gospel and to administer the sacraments." Whether one accepts the definition of *ministerium* in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* as a "function exercised on behalf of a superior . . .; a particular task, service, commission or aim" or whether one defines it as an "agency, instrumentality in an action,"<sup>48</sup> the Latin text of the Augustana makes clear what it means

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by *ministerium*. It does not refer to some vague notion of "ministry" as service in the way so common today.

The German text of Article 5 reveals a similar precision in terminology when it uses the term *Predigtamt* for the Latin *ministerium*: "Solchen Glauben zu erlangen, hat Gott das Predigtamt eingesetzt, Evangelium und Sakrament geben, dadurch er als durch Mittel den heiligen Geist gibt, welcher den Glauben, wo und wenn er will, in denen, so da Evangelium hören, wirket, welches da lehret, dass wir durch Christus Verdienst, nicht durch unser Verdienst, ein gnädigen Gott haben, so wir solchs glauben."<sup>49</sup>

In Tappert's translation of the Latin this specificity carries over into English, both in the title, "The Ministry of the Church" (although I would prefer either "Concerning an Ecclesiastical Ministry" or "Concerning a Churchly Ministry") and in the translation of the article itself: "In order that we may obtain this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments was instituted."<sup>50</sup> Such, however, is not the case with the translation of the German: *Predigtamt* becomes simply "The Office of Ministry"—the ministry of what is never specified—and the translation of the text of Article 5 also shares somewhat in this same ambiguity: "To obtain such faith God instituted the office of the ministry, that is, provided the Gospel and the sacraments." The explicit linkage in the Latin text between "ministry" with the gospel and sacraments is here weakened.

Our exegesis of Ephesians 4:12 has demonstrated the unique and critical role of teaching involved in the *diakonia* of the teacherpastor. Augustana 5 understood this role well when it spoke about a *ministerium <u>docendi</u> evangelii*. Pastors of the word must be teachers and caretakers of doctrine. There is a remarkable coherence between the definition of the *Predigtamt* in Augustana 5 and the ancient use of the word-group embracing *diakonia*. Augustana 5 emphasizes that those engaged in a *ministerium docendi evangelii* are "a channel for the insistent words of Another's prompting."<sup>51</sup> They are envoys; they speak not by their own authority but by the authority of the one who has commissioned and sent them. Thus, these *diakonoi* are neither social workers nor social activists but, in the first and primary place, teachers of the word.

#### Conclusion

Although, to be sure, I welcome Bishop Lazareth's recommendation that the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America institute the category of "deacon" as a dimension of the one holy ministry of word and sacrament, I must disagree with the logic and the details of his proposal. As I have noted, "deacon" in early Christianity is a sacral title, not one indicating service; the deacon functioned primarily as a representative and envoy of the bishop. Thus, I should urge the Task Force on Ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America either to retain the one office of ministry without making formal distinctions or to adopt the historic three-fold specification of that one ministry, namely, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. It is only in the fullness of this latter structure, however, that the order of deacons has its proper location and logical The description of these responsibilities in Baptism, articulation. Eucharist and Ministry,<sup>52</sup> as modified and corrected in this paper, is still convincingly relevant. Lutherans and others would do well to adopt this structure in this generation, not because we have been influenced positively or negatively by current ecumenical recommendations but, rather, because we as Lutherans, guided by Scripture and the confessions, believe that such a view of ordained ministry can effectively serve the word and the upbuilding of the church as we enter the twenty-first century as a Christian minority in an increasingly non-Christian and fragmented world. To develop such an evangelical three-fold structure of the one ministry of the word would be faithful to our tradition and timely for our contextual situation and provide leadership for the one, holy catholic and apostolic church.

#### ENDNOTES

- 1. I quote in the following note from his unpublished typescript.
- 2. Lazareth, p. 29.
- 3. *Eucharist, Baptism and Ministry* (Faith and Order Paper 11; Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982), p. 27.

- 4. This essay was originally presented to the Fourteenth Annual Symposium on the Lutheran Confessions on January 23, 1991, at Concordia Theological Seminary.
- 5. John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 244. As will be obvious in this essay, I am enormously indebted to this very provocative and creative monograph and I am frequently in dialogue with it.
- 6. Apostolic Constitutions, 3.19.
- 7. Apostolic Traditions, 8.
- 8. Collins, p. 45.
- 9. Collins, p. 35.
- 10. Conversion (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 210.
- 11. Church Order in the New Testament (London: SCM, 1961), pp. 171-180.
- 12. Antiquities, 18.74-75.
- 13. Dienst und Dienen im Neuen Testament (Gütersloh, 1931).
- 14. Brandt, p. 80.
- 15. Markus Barth, *Ephesians 4-6* (AB 34A; Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1974), p. 479.
- 16. Lazareth, p. 30.
- 17. Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p. 29.
- 18. John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 19. See note 13 above.
- H. W. Beyer, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*,
  2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964),
  pp. 81-93.
- 21. Collins, p. 255.

- Collins, p. 64. 22.
- Collins, p. 66. 23.
- Collins, p. 94. 24.
- 25. Collins, p. 85.
- Collins, p. 107. 26.
- Collins, p. 113. 27.
- Collins, p. 148. 28.
- Collins, pp. 76, 151, and 166. 29.
- Collins, p. 206. 30.
- Collins, pp. 250-251. 31.
- 32. Collins, p. 251.
- Collins, p. 251. 33.
- Joseph A. Fitzmyer, The Gospel of Luke X-XXIV (AB 28A; 34. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1982), p. 1414.
- 35. Collins, p. 251.
- 36. Collins, p. 252.
- 37. Collins, p. 252.
- Collins, p. 252. 38.
- 39. Collins, p. 246.
- 40. Collins, p. 246.
- 41. Collins, p. 247.
- 42. Collins, p. 233.
- For similar interpretations see Rudolf Schnackenburg, Der 43. Brief an die Epheser (EKK 10; Zürich: Benziger, 1982), pp. 172-187; Heinrich Schlier, Der Brief an die Epheser (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1958), pp. 190-199.
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### **Eternal Bringer of Breath**

James Winsor

O Christ, Eternal Bringer of the Breath of Life, Always having been, Always coming to be from the Father, Thou breathy buoyant burst of penetrating light, Always breaking forth in brightness.

All the weighty mass of stars and planets, All the tons of treasure, crushing backs and heavy hooves, And the burden-beast himself, beast and bail that he eats, earthbound weighty wheat, All this hast Thou spoken into being And the earth to which the seed is bound.

To the selfsame earth Thou, Seed, wast bound. Bound to earth in Sarah's bosom, Abram's Seed, Satan's Weed, Good amidst his garden of rebellion. Bound to earth while bound to Mary's breast, Thou Bread who atest bread of heavy wheat, And Thou Burden-Beast

Who bore the weighty treasure up the mount, Whose laden feet the steps did count. Then steel bound Thy flesh to wood, and Gravity hath mixed Thy blood with soil. Thou didst endure the darkness And raise Thy tattered trunk To draw yet one more heavy breath of life.

O Christ, Eternal Bringer of the Breath of Life, Always having been, Always coming to be from the Father, Thou breathy buoyant burst of penetrating light, Always breaking forth in brightness. Thou art forever joined to man.

## Philosophical Presuppositions in the Lutheran-Reformed Debate on John 6

#### Lowell C. Green

The Lutheran and Reformed branches of the Reformation came to a division in their debate over the Lord's Supper. This paper will investigate a small segment of the debate—their use of John 6, with special attention to verse 63: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." In his controversy with Luther, Zwingli tended to rest his case upon those words as he interpreted them. The Lutheran party reacted by insisting that John 6 did not refer to the Supper at all.<sup>1</sup>

The approach to John 6 on the part of Zwingli and his supporters came from Neo-Platonism and a world-view characterized by the duality of the material and the spiritual. We shall therefore have to look into the philosophical roots of the sacramental controversy in due course. First, however, I want to point out how drastically this view separated the Reformed from the Lutheran position. As much as possible, I want to avoid the term "real presence," because even Zwingli used that term occasionally. The three shibboleths for the Lutheran position are the unio sacramentalis or sacramental union, the communio oralis or reception with the mouth, and the communicatio indignorum or the fact that also those who lack faith receive the body and blood of Christ. At each of these three points, the Reformed and Lutheran positions came to a stalemate which even twentieth-century rhetoric has not resolved. In each case it was the Platonic assumptions of Zwingli which marked the dividing line. The sacramental union of the visible earthly elements with the very body and blood of Christ was unacceptable to Zwingli because a natural body could not be in two places at once, and Christ had ascended into heaven; the finite could not contain the infinite, Zwingli insisted. The concept of oral communion was rejected because Zwingli thought that an earthly substance could not convey a spiritual gift; eating the body of Christ could only be done spiritually, that is, by faith.

The third sore point was the Lutheran teaching that the body and blood of Christ were so surely present under the bread and wine that also unbelievers partook of Christ's body, but unto judgment. Zwingli did not believe that the body was objectively present in the bread, and he thought that communion could only take place by faith. By faith the believer rose to heaven and communed with the risen and ascended Christ. Thus, in the debate with Martin Chemnitz, that sturdy Lutheran was accused of abandoning the *sola fide*; his Reformed opponents insisted that salvation could be received by faith alone, and not through the mouth.<sup>2</sup>

Zwingli cherished Neo-Platonic thinking long before he came to reject the doctrine of the sacramental union. But after he reached the latter point, it seemed as though John 6:63 had all the answers when it said: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." We cannot take the time to show how notions of the distinction between the universal and the individual gave rise to the idea of a convenant, the social contract, popular sovereignty, theocratic separatism, millenialism, and neo-pentecostalism, or typological hermeneutics in biblical interpretation.<sup>3</sup> Instead, the thrust of this essay will be to concentrate upon the use of John 6:63: "It is the spirit which quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Other statements of John 6 will be handled from time to time.

#### I. A Reformed Position: John 6:63 as the Key to Understanding the Holy Supper

#### A. Philosophical Roots of Reformed Thought

The great Greek philosopher Plato (427-347 B.C.) placed spirit above matter. The things which we can see are only shadows of unseen realities. One cannot learn the truth from things which the eye can see or the hand can grasp. Only when one lays aside all knowledge gained from the senses and proceeds by intuition or reason can one penetrate to those ideas, types, or universals which represent the nature of true knowledge.

It was not genuine Platonism but a later revision known as Neo-Platonism which was widely known in the Middle Ages and which exerted its strong influence upon the humanists and reformers, including Reuchlin, Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin. Whereas the pure idealism of Plato had made an unbridgeable gap between the celestial and the terrestrial, and between the spiritual and the bodily, much Neo-Platonism tried to work in Christian ideas and to discover means of bridging the gap

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between heaven and earth, and between God and man. Chief of all the Christian Neo-Platonists was the great church father, Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), whose writings were of crucial importance to Luther and Zwingli alike. It is no accident that one of the chief representatives of Augustinianism at Wittenberg had been Carlstadt, who later left the Lutheran camp and taught a strongly spiritualized view of the Holy Supper.<sup>4</sup>

Next to Augustine, the most influential Neo-Platonist was likely the unknown Greek philosopher of the fifth century who published his works under the pseudonym of "Dionysius the Areopagite."<sup>5</sup> His thought might have remained obscure except for a quirk of history. Abut the middle of the ninth century, when western Europe was deeply ensconced in the "Dark Ages" and when Irish scholars were the only ones in the West who could read Greek, Emperor Charles the Bald called the Irishman John Scotus Erigena to teach at his palace school in Paris. At about the same time, during a lull in the usual hatred between the Eastern and Western emperors of Christendom, Emperor Michael Balbus sent Charles a copy of the Areopagite, written, of course, in Greek. Undaunted, Charles the Bald sent the book to John Scotus to have it translated. John Scotus supplied the requested translation, which became a medieval classic. Partially under the influence of the Areopagite, Scotus developed his own system of thought. At first, the papacy was unhappy; Pope Nicholas I complained to the emperor that the book had not been submitted to him for prior censorship and that it contained heretical materials. As a matter of fact, there was some pantheism in the thought of (Pantheism is a common pitfall of Neo-Platonists.) But Scotus. Scotus became the most important philosopher between Augustine and Anselm, and his thinking left its imprint on such later thinkers as Zwingli and Calvin.

The beautiful cathedral city of Chartres was home to a group of Neo-Platonic scholars known as the "School of Chartres." Out of their number came another thinker who influenced Reformed theology. He was an apocalyptic writer, mystic, and purveyor of political enthusiasm called Joachim of Floris.<sup>6</sup> Joachim of Floris (d. 1202) taught a kind of dispensationalism which was, in turn, rooted in his doctrine of the Trinity. Since his view of the Holy Trinity as

well as his philosophy of history influenced the Reformed, we need a brief glance at them. He spoke of the Trinity as a collective unity of the three persons (*collectio trium personarum*), a statement which won him the charge of teaching tritheism rather than trinitarianism.<sup>7</sup> Joachim developed an interpretation of history as an ascent through three successive ages.<sup>8</sup> Each of these was presided over by one of the persons of the Trinity, and each marked an upward movement, in which the Age of the Spirit rose above the Age of the Son as the Age of the Son arose above the Age of the Father. The Age of the Father was the Old Testament period, and the Age of the Son was the New Testament period, but the Age of the Spirit would rise above its predecessors as summer compared with winter and spring. In the Age of the Spirit, which would begin in the thirteenth century, the teachings of the New Testament would be replaced with the "Everlasting Gospel" heralded in Revelation 14:6. Whereas the first age had been characterized by the law, fear, and servitude, and the second age had been one of faith and filial submission, the new dispensation would be one of love, joy, and freedom. The knowledge of God would no longer be mediated but would come in direct revelations from God to the hearts of men.<sup>9</sup>

Like Joachim of Floris, the followers of Zwingli and Calvin tended to see the Holy Trinity as a collective rather than a unity; however, they began the third period at Pentecost, rather than in the thirteenth century. For example, the Reformed theologians based their case for the "real absence" of Christ in the Holy Supper on the notion that the work of Christ had ended at the ascension, and that they were living under the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. As one Lutheran polemicist put it rather ironically, the Reformed cherished the thought that Christ, following the rigors of the earthly ministry and the pains of the passion, entered in His exaltation "a welldeserved retirement." As the tired football player is relieved by a fresh substitute, God had withdrawn Christ, who was now quite literally "out of it"; while He sits in a locally circumscribed place in heaven, the Holy Spirit replaces Him. Zwingli cited several Scripture passages to prove that Jesus was now absent from His followers according to His humanity: "I shall be no more in the world" (John 17:11). "For ye have the poor always with you: but Me ye have not always" (Matthew 16:11). But most often Zwingli

came back to John 6:63: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." He understood *pneuma* as referring to the Holy Spirit, and *sarx* as referring to the "real presence" of the body and blood of Christ under the bread and wine.<sup>10</sup>

"The flesh profiteth nothing." Zwingli understood these words as a man who came from Augustine and the Areopagite. There was a strong dualism between the body and the soul, with the flesh as the source of sin and the soul as good.<sup>11</sup> In terms of Plato, God is the Supreme Mind, Intelligence,<sup>12</sup> the First Principle.<sup>13</sup> In the system of dualism held by Zwingli<sup>14</sup> and later by Calvin, the body and soul seemed almost divorced from each other rather than working together in harmony. Man should rise from the visible to the invisible by a Neo-Platonic technique.<sup>15</sup> As in Pythagoras or Plato, the body was only the prison-house of the soul, so that death was the release of the soul from the body. Zwingli and Calvin alike followed a sharp Platonic distinction of body and soul. Calvin unfortunately used this distinction as an analogy of the distinction between the divine and human natures in Christ.<sup>16</sup> He called the body the prison-house of the soul, from which only death released it, and he described the incarnation as divinity "hiding itself in the prison-house of the body."

It was small wonder, then, that Calvin rebuked the Lutherans for their doctrine of the Holy Supper in these words: "They place Christ in the bread, while we do not think it lawful for us to drag Him down from Heaven."<sup>17</sup> (A Lutheran might counter that in a sense, then, heaven had become the prison-house of the body of Christ.) Since Christ in His humanity could not be present in the bread and wine, the believer, using the technique of Plato and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, could and should rise to heaven to commune with the humanity of Christ there. For Calvin, even the incarnation was only partial. Calvin felt that it would be unseemly for the Second Person to vacate heaven completely, for that would leave the Trinity incomplete; therefore, when Jesus was born of Mary, part of the divinity remained in heaven (*extra calvinisticum*). Accordingly, the Logos was both united with the man Jesus and was also independent of Him.<sup>18</sup>

Since "the flesh profiteth nothing," Zwingli and his followers

could have no real doctrine of the means of grace. In his *Commentary on True and False Religion* (1525) Zwingli held that the material and the spiritual were of two different realms; hence, the spirit could not be helped by the body or the flesh. In the *Ratio Fidei*, which Zwingli prepared as a confession to the Diet of Augsburg of 1530, he stated it even more clearly: "As the body cannot be nourished by a spiritual substance, so the soul cannot be nourished by a corporeal substance."<sup>19</sup> Zwingli evidently had no place for the words of Paul in 2 Corinthians 4:7: "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us."

Zwingli rejected the concept of the means of grace and held that the Holy Spirit worked directly—without means.<sup>20</sup> Thereby, Zwingli was teaching a view which is called *Schwärmerei* or Enthusiasm by Lutherans. ("Enthusiasm" comes from two Greek roots and depicts the deity breathing into the believer directly, without any outward means.) This view placed him in an historical line with Joachim of Floris, Amaury (Amalrich of Bena, d. 1206), the "Free Spirit" or "Spiritual Liberty" movement of the Middle Ages, and the views of the Anabaptists, some of whom were his own disciples. It was not surprising that Calvin followed Zwingli in this regard by teaching the inward voice of the Holy Spirit; he held that the Spirit speaks to the heart of the believer without the external work (testimonium spiritus sancti internum). It was only surprising that Lutheran dogmaticians, who came from the tradition that the Holy Ghost comes only through means of grace, should have taken over this teaching from Calvin and incorporated it into their systems.<sup>21</sup> This development is unfortunate, because it was only one more step to the position of modern Neo-Pentecostalism, with its notions of special revelations and direct prophecies, speaking in tongues, picking up snakes, drinking poison, "faith healing," and so on.

#### B. The Spiritualistic Understanding of the Holy Supper in Reformed Thinking

Elsewhere I have devoted much attention to the reformational concept of grace. I have shown that, before Melanchthon and Luther, grace was a medicinal substance that was infused into the Christian by the Holy Ghost. Melanchthon and Luther rejected this concept and went back to the scriptural teaching that grace means the *favor Dei*, the good will or favor of God. Zwingli rejected the medieval concept of the sacraments as channels for infusing grace, but it is unclear whether he rejected the medieval understanding of grace as a substance, as Melanchthon and Luther did. In Zwingli grace preceded baptism or the eucharist, which were signs of the covenant.<sup>22</sup> This relationship makes it clear that the sacraments were not *media salutis*, "means of grace," or better, "means of salvation." In his *Ratio Fidei*, prepared as his own Augsburg Confession in 1530, he wrote:

I believe, therefore, O Emperor, that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing, that is, of grace already accomplished [*factae gratiae*]. I believe that it is a visible figure or form of invisible grace which has been accomplished and given by the generosity of God, that is, a visible sample which is exactly a certain analogy of the original thing done previously through the Spirit.<sup>23</sup>

Zwingli added: "Receiving the Holy Ghost is not the work of baptism, but baptism is the work of having received the Holy Ghost."<sup>24</sup>

We have just seen that Zwingli understood baptism not as the cause of faith but as its result; in other words, baptism, as well as the Holy Supper and preaching, belonged to good works as the response of faith, rather than to means by which the Holy Ghost carried out His divine service to us. Accordingly, the Holy Supper, which Zwingli liked to call the "eucharist" (a giving of thanks), was not so much the gift of God as an act of the believing congregation commemorating the sacrifice of Jesus:

In sacraments two factors in general must be considered, the thing [*res*] and the sacrament or sign of the thing [*signum rei*]. The thing is that for the sake of which the sign is instituted, which we call a sacrament . . . In the eucharist the thing is the giving of thanks out of faith for Christ given to us by God and crucified for our sins; however, the sacrament is the giving of bread and wine with the sacred words

#### of the Lord.25

Modern ecumenical liturgics stands remarkably close to many of Zwingli's ideas: the attitude is a giving of thanks (eucharist) rather than a receiving of something; the direction is from man to God rather than God to man; in accord with Zwingli's biblicism or primitivism the attempt is made to reconstruct a family meal with the breaking of bread; and the *epiclesis* invokes the Holy Spirit to mediate the missing Christ. Terms such as the "re-presentation," "re-enactment," and "celebration" of Christ's passion, fashionable in the modern liturgical movement, accord well with the sacramentology of Zwingli.

It is obvious how this view differs from the position of Luther, with his distinctions of the work of God and the work of man and of law and gospel. In Lutheran thinking it is God who works, with the pastor serving as the tool of God; the word of God, in the recitation of the words of institution, effects the real presence of Christ. Every communicant receives the very body and blood of Christ, whether he has faith and is worthy or not. But in Reformed thinking much attention is given to human responsibility; without faith there is no communion. The believer becomes certain of his predestination in the growth of his sanctification, virtue, and good works. In the vow and declaration of the believer as he approaches the Lord's table and in his faith lie the forces which give the sacrament existential meaning and validity.<sup>26</sup> Faith is not given by the sacraments, as by means, but by the Holy Spirit, directly and without means. In the Holy Supper there is faith first; one gives thanks for the kindness, deliverance, and pledge of eternal blessedness, while one partakes of the bread and wine as symbols of the body and blood of Christ. This action Zwingli called "sacramental eating."27 The noted Swiss Zwingli researcher, Fritz Blanke, summed up Zwingli's view as follows: "Das ist Zwinglis revolutionäre Umdeuting der Sacramente: Aufgabe, nicht Gabe." "That was Zwingli's revolutionary interpretation of the sacraments: a task, not a gift."28

Accordingly, it was to be expected that the term *diatheke* ("testament") in the words of institution would be translated as "covenant." For a testament is a gift, whereas a covenant is a two-

way agreement involving obligation on both sides. A legal concept, the idea of covenant was drawn from the Old Testament. harmonized with the Reformed understanding of the equality of the Old Covenant and the New Testament and provided the basis for developing the doctrine of the Holy Supper from the Old Testament passover. The Old Testament was said to have a twofold covenant—a *foedus legale*, a covenant of law, and a *foedus gratiae*, a covenant of grace. The concept of covenant became increasingly central in Reformed doctrine in the seventeenth century as theologians tried to counteract the quietistic effects of the doctrine of double predestination by increasing the sphere of human responsibility.<sup>29</sup> It was said that God had established His covenant with the individual in baptism; this implied that the baptized person had a responsibility to fulfill, a task to accomplish. Likewise, the Holy Supper, as the "antitype" of the passover, which had been the sign of the Old Covenant, took a corresponding position in relation to the "New Covenant."30

Thus, it was natural to understand the words of institution as referring to a "covenant" rather than a "testament." The Vulgate had translated the words of Christ thus: "This cup is the new testament in My blood" ("Hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine"); Luther followed suit when he rendered them as follows: "Dieser Kelch ist das neue Testament in meinen Blut" (1 Corinthians 11:25). The Authorized Version of 1611 continued this interpretation with these words: "This cup is the new testament in My blood." But in recent translations the Reformed tradition has taken over. Thus, the interdenominational Revised Standard Version and the strongly Calvinistic New International Version prefer "covenant" to "testament."

It is surprising that both the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod have approved the use of the New International Version (NIV), published in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The Missouri Synod commission producing a new edition of Luther's Small Catechism has inserted NIV verses which differ sharply from Luther's biblical quotations and has approved NIV renditions for memorization by children. Meanwhile, the Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church adopted a Statement on Communion Practices in 1978 which opined that the theme of the covenant was "central" to the biblical understanding of the people of God and offered this definition: "Holy Communion is the covenant meal of the new people of God who are called to be the body of Christ in the world." Perhaps the readiness of these Lutherans to recognize the Reformed sacrament and practice fellowship with the Reformed comes because they have forgotten the teaching of the Lutheran Confessions. At any rate, Reformed thinking has also made inroads into both Missouri and Wisconsin.<sup>31</sup>

#### II. A Lutheran Position: The Denial of the Presence of the Sacrament in John 6 from Luther to the Present

It is commonly held that a good Lutheran will instantly agree that John 6 cannot be used in reference to the doctrine of the Holy Supper. The arguments that are used to support this interpretation were thoroughly enunciated long ago.<sup>32</sup> Notwithstanding my own opinion of these arguments, this is not the place to evaluate them. They were attempts to counter what the Lutherans considered false teachings on the part of their opponents. Yet the Lutheran Church cannot afford to reduce its interpretation of John 6 to a consideration of issues raised by Reformed thinkers. Accordingly, we turn to Luther to seek a more balanced understanding of his position.

It is commonly agreed by Lutherans that the disagreement on the sacraments was only secondary and that the real issue which divided the Lutherans and the Reformed was the doctrine of christology. This assessment is correct. But Lutherans have not always understood what was at stake for Luther. Later Lutheran dogmaticians sometimes became so involved in niceties that they temporarily lost sight of the distinction of law and gospel, that is, of God hidden in majesty and revealed in the humiliation of His Son.

Accordingly, let us start with the assertion that God remains hidden, *Deus absconditus*, in any kind of self-disclosure other than the child of Bethlehem and the man of Calvary, where God is fully revealed, *Deus revelatus*. This God, who became flesh for our sake, was fully present in the God-Man, Jesus Christ. No part of Him remained behind in heaven (*extra calvinisticum*) or remained aloof when "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself" (2 Corinthians 5). In becoming flesh the infinite God became finite man. After the ascension the humanity of Christ shared in the ubiquity of the divine nature, so that Christ, the God-Man, could declare: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matthew 28). And this Christ chose to be present and accessible to His people in the form of "earthen vessels" (2 Corinthians 4:7). In contrast to Zwingli's dualism Luther insisted that the heart of the gospel is that God became fully present in the incarnate Son and that this presence has continued in the means of grace, better called the instruments of salvation—the preached word and the sacraments.

Again and again Luther objected to those who sought to learn about God by what later theologians called "natural theology." In his beautiful *Wochenpredigten* (weekday sermons) on John 6 he brought out his thoughts on the matter. God could never be found by man searching Him out. No one can see God and live (Exodus 33:20). Luther came out very strongly against "natural theology" (even though it later became very strong in Lutheran dogmatics). God remained hidden and unknown in the law and in His majesty (*Deus absconditus*) until He made Himself known in His incarnate Son. Luther declared: "One must not search after God nor find Him, outside the person who was born of Mary and had true flesh and blood, and was crucified. For one must grasp God alone through faith and receive Him in His flesh and blood..."<sup>33</sup>

For Luther, John 6 was not a "proof passage" of the Holy Supper, but it was a central source of christology. He continues: "The chief article of our Christian faith stands upon this, that this flesh, which He calls *His* flesh [emphasis Luther's], must be enshrined by every Christian in his heart. For it is not ordinary meat such as veal or beef, which could do nothing, but it is His flesh. There human flesh is bound up with the Godhead and is made divine . . .<sup>134</sup> Luther points out that, because of our sinful nature and the temptation of the devil, we see Christ as a majestic being or an angry judge, so that we are tempted to turn to good works or to the invocation of the saints.<sup>35</sup>

Christ calls us to Himself and promises: "He that cometh unto Me, I will in no wise cast out" (John 6:37). "See that you only come to Me and that you have grace. See to it that you have and hold in your heart, that you are certain and believe, that I was sent into the world for your sake, that I carried out My Father's will, that I gave Myself for your atonement, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and that I have taken on Myself all punishment for your sake. When you believe this, fear not. I will not be your judge or hangman or stockmaster. But I am your Saviour, your Mediator, yes, your brother and your friend. Leave all your work-righteousness and abide with Me in a strong faith."<sup>36</sup> But the poor sinner might say in his heart, "I am not afraid of Christ, but how about the Heavenly Father, the judge of heaven and earth?" Luther replies: "If you see the Son, you see the Father Himself. And if you have My will (as He would say), you have the Father's will also and shall not fear before the Father. Your heart must not say: Yes, Lord Christ, I believe your words, that you will not cast me out, but how is it if the Father is ungracious to me and would cast me out? No. He answers. There is no more wrath in heaven, when you become united with Me. For the Father brought Me to you and taught you to know Me and to believe in Me, and the Father has exactly the same will as I have."37

Luther called his teaching "practical," because it was focused on the needs of lost sinners. He felt that the sacramentarians failed to address this need. Instead, they were lost in philosophical questions, such as whether Christ was confined to heaven. Luther called their approach "speculative." This differentiation must be understood in the light of his total view of law and gospel. To deduce God by means of reason is to come upon the hidden God, *Deus absconditus*, God not made known in Jesus Christ, God disclosed in the law. The law can only kill. "Speculation" misses the sacrament. Over and over Luther called people away from God hidden in the law to God revealed in the gospel. "Flee all speculation, all power of reason, all human opinion! Rush to the babe of Bethlehem and the man of Calvary! There and there alone you will find forgiveness, help, and comfort, and strengthening of your faith."<sup>38</sup>

What is it that the Reformed are missing? They separate the divine working from the human agent in the means of grace in two related ways: Firstly, the Reformed teach that faith is given by the Spirit without any outward means or human instrumentality and that

faith precedes the sacrament or the preached word. Secondly, the Reformed teach that without faith the sacramental bread is not Christ's body; nor is preaching God's word, but only human words.

Luther commented: "We are not willing to give them room or to yield to this metaphysical and philosophical distinction and differentiation, as it was spun out of reason—as though man preaches, threatens, punishes, gives fear and comforts, but the Holy Ghost does the work; or a man baptizes, absolves, and hands out the Supper of the Lord Christ, but God purifies the heart and forgives the sin. Oh no, absolutely not! But we conclude thus: God preaches, threatens, punishes, gives fear, comforts, baptizes, hands out the Sacrament of the Altar, and absolves Himself."<sup>39</sup>

Luther heard "the flesh profiteth nothing" being used to deny the real presence, not only from Oecolampadius and Zwingli, but also from his former colleague Carlstadt. In a letter of January 29, 1528, Luther objected: "I am sufficiently acquainted with John 6, and I know that it teaches that the body of Christ or rather the flesh of Christ is food for souls. Over and over you do that which should not be done and you fail to do that which should be done. You carry in the exclusive out of the particular . . . "<sup>40</sup> Luther criticized Carlstadt for wrongly inferring that there is only a spiritual manducation. Although he made a distinction between eating the flesh of Christ and eating His body (*carnaliter seu corporaliter*), Luther left room for the notion of a dual manducation, spiritual and bodily (*spiritualiter seu corporaliter*), which was to emerge later among his disciples as the distinction between a spiritual and a sacramental manducation (*manducatio sacramentaliter seu spiritualiter*).

Jesus said: "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (John 6:54). Is this eating and drinking a spiritual or a sacramental kind of manducation? Ever since Augustine the prevailing interpretation has been that it refers to spiritual eating, to faith. Both Zwingli and Luther followed this interpretation. Zwingli interpreted John 6 as saying that the body and blood of Christ are not given in the sacrament except to faith. Luther followed the spiritual interpretation too—saying that John 6 dealt with spiritual eating through faith, but not with receiving the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament. Writing in the Swabian-Saxon Concord, David Chytraeus composed the lines which ultimately became Solid Declaration VII:61, where it is stated: "Thus there are two kinds of eating of the flesh of Christ: the one spiritual, which Christ discussed in John 6, which is nothing other than what takes place when the preaching and meditation upon the gospel is done with the Spirit and faith, as it also takes place in the Holy Supper, and in itself is useful and wholesome and needful unto salvation for all Christians at all times. Without this spiritual manducation, the sacrament or oral eating in the Supper is not only unwholesome, but also harmful and damnable."<sup>41</sup>

Unfortunately, Zwingli himself used a similar argument to support his own teaching. He wrote in his *Exposition of the Faith* (1531): "So then, when you come to the Lord's Supper to feed spiritually upon Christ, and when you thank the Lord for His great favor, for the redemption whereby you are delivered from despair, and for the pledge whereby you are assured of eternal salvation, when you join with your brethren in partaking of the bread and wine which are the tokens of the body and blood of Christ, then in the true sense of the word you eat them sacramentally. You do inwardly that which you represent outwardly, your soul being strengthened by the faith which you attest in the tokens. But of those who publicly partake of the visible sacraments or signs, yet without faith, it cannot properly be said that they eat sacramentally. By partaking they call down judgment upon themselves, that is, divine punishment . . ...<sup>142</sup>

The teaching of the *communicatio indignorum* is a concept which clearly shows whether or not one is dealing with a "real" presence in the sacrament. It asserts that the very body and blood of Christ are not merely subjectively present to faith alone (Calvin), but are truly present whether faith is there or not. If the Lutheran position is correct, then it naturally follows that, since those who come to the sacrament unprepared will eat and drink judgment to themselves (1 Corinthians 11:29), the Lutheran church has been justified in her historic position of close communion. But is the case strengthened by the dialectic of a twofold eating and drinking, spiritual and sacramental? Zwingli employed this argument like Chytraeus, but Zwingli wanted to show that only faith effected the presence of

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Christ in the Holy Supper. Those who do not believe were not guilty of eating and drinking the body and blood of the Lord unworthily. They did not receive the body at all. "They do not honor the body of Christ, that is, the whole mystery of the incarnation and passion and indeed the church of Christ..."<sup>43</sup>

Since the "real presence" of Christ in the sacrament is not carnaliter or capernaliter<sup>44</sup> but spiritualiter,<sup>45</sup> it could be confusing to speak of a "real presence" that is not spiritual, or to hear that the faith of the believer elevates the "merely sacramental" to a "spiritual level," whereas the unbelief of the non-believer fails to accomplish this result. The problem is, however, effectively addressed in the Solid Declaration (VII:105): "When Dr. Luther or we use the word 'spiritual' in this discussion, we understand thereby the spiritual, supernatural, heavenly manner, after which Christ, who is present in the Holy Supper, works not only comfort and life in the believers, but also works judgment in the unbelievers. Thereby we reject the capernaitic thoughts of a coarse, fleshly presence, which are attributed and forced upon our churches by the sacramentarians contrary to all our public and manifold testimonies. Also in that understanding we say that the body and blood of Christ are received. eaten and drunk spiritually in the Holy Supper; although such eating takes place with the mouth, the manner is spiritual."46

#### **ENDNOTES**

1.

- This article is a revision of the lecture under the same title delivered at the Ninth Annual Symposium on the Lutheran Confessions at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, on January 23, 1986. The writer apologizes for the fact that, due to limited availability of the Zwingli sources, some works have been cited in English translations. A word of thanks is due to the librarians at the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library for their helpfulness in placing their set of the Weimar Edition of Luther's works at the writer's disposal.
- 2. See Martin Chemnitz, Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae, de Vera et Substantiali Praesentia, Exhibitione, et Sumptione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Coena (Frankfurt am Main and Wittenberg:

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Heirs of D. Tobias and Elerd Schumacher, 1683), p. 81, column a.

- 3. A theological pathway leads from Plato and Augustine, via Zwingli and Calvin, to American Enthusiasm.
- 4. There is an immense literature dealing with the relationship of the humanists and reformers to Neo-Platonism, which can be located through the standard bibliographies. Neo-Platonism in the young Luther was traced in a largely-forgotten work of great significance. See August Wilhelm Hunzinger, *Lutherstudien*. Erstes Heft: *Luthers Neuplatonismus in der Psalmenvorlesung von 1513-1516* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1906). An excellent study of the relationships between Melanchthon and the Neo-Platonists is available in Wilhelm Maurer, *Der junge Melanchthon zwischen Humanismus und Reformation*, Volume 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1967).
- A useful description of Neo-Platonism in the early church, 5. including Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius, is available in Bernhard Geyer, Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie, Part 2 of Friedrich Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philisophie, thirteenth edition (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche The Neo-Platonic hierarchism of Buchgesellschaft, 1958). Pseudo-Dionysius, which influenced both Roman Catholic church polity and doctrine is conveniently summarized in the hymn, "Ye Watchers and Ye Holy Ones" (Lutheran Book of Worship, 175; Lutheran Worship, 308; The Lutheran Hymnal, 475). This catalogue of "seraphs, cherubim, thrones," of "dominions, princedoms, powers," and of "archangels, virtues, angel choirs" represented the nine steps between earth and heaven. They were useful for three reasons: they explained "mystical contemplations," the steps taken when the soul, by its own reason and strength, ascended to heaven to bring itself into touch with the Universal Mind of God; secondly, they provided the pattern for the hierarchical structure of the medieval Western church; thirdly, they provided a model for solving such theological problems as the relationship of heaven and earth in the sacraments.
- 6. A convenient description of Joachim and the movements which followed in his wake is given in Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961). Many Franciscans of the thirteenth century followed his teachings, and

no less a theologian than Bonaventure attempted to build on the philosophy of history of Joachim. See Herbert Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974), p. 74.

- 7. Geyer, op. cit., p. 249.
- 8. Cohn, op. cit., p. 100.
- 9. The connecting lines between Joachism and such recent theological currents as convenant theology, dispensationalism, tritheism, Reformed christology and the eucharistic *epiclesis*, enthusiasm in American political theory, and the like can easily be traced.
- 10. See Zwingli, An Exposition of the Faith (1531), printed in On Providence and other Essays, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson and William John Hinke (Durham: Labyrinth Press, 1983), p. 285. Zwingli later eliminated this section, but Bullinger restored it in an appendix.
- 11. Ibid., p. 165.
- 12. Ibid., p. 158.
- 13. Ibid., p. 225.
- 14. It is significant that Zwingli quoted with approval this description of Plato's thought by Seneca: "God has within Himself these patterns of all things and comprehends in His mind all the numbers and measurements of the universe as they must be carried out. He is filled with these forms which Plato called ideas-immortal, immutable, indefatigable. Therefore, men indeed perish, but this same humanity from which an individual man is copied is imperishable, and although individual men labor and die, the universe does not suffer anything" (Schuler, 4:93-94; Jackson, p. 151). Here we see that Zwingli in his doctrine of God was so strongly philosophical that he could identify with the position of the pagan philosophers Plato and Seneca, as he understood them. Luther, on the other hand, saw God as Deus absconditus and unknown prior to His self-disclosure in His Son. Jesus, Deus revelatus. The extent of Zwingli's Platonism came out in the manner in which he dissociated God from anything visible, material, or palpable. In his discussion of Hebrews 11:1 he asserted: "'Things visible' is a periphrase for God": res invisibiles periphrasis [not peraphrasis] est Dei (Schuler, 4:121;

Jackson, p. 196).

- It is a quality of the human mind that it partakes in the Supreme 15. Mind or Intelligence, which is God. "Whatever is true, holy, and infallible is truly divine. Certainly, God alone is truthful. He therefore who speaks the truth speaks from God. And he who by this system ascends with his intellect from the things which are sensed to the contemplation of the invisible God does-as Paul testified-a thing worthy of God and himself, profitable and not without the light of the Deity" (Schuler, 4:95; Jackson, p. 154). This statement is found in De Providentia Dei. A similar statement is found in the Fidei Christianae Expositio (1531): "The visible things in the world have been constituted by God in such an order that the human mind is able to ascend from these to the knowledge of the invisible" (Schuler, 4:64; Jackson, p. 270). The material in notes 14 and 15 gives us an idea of the characteristically Neo-Platonic world-view dominating Zwingli's theology-the doctrine of universals, the dualism of visible and invisible, earthly and divine, together with the technique of the human mind ascending from the visible or material world to the spiritual or divine. The latter paradigm, of course, is synergistic, in spite of double predestination or determinism elsewhere in Reformed thinking.
- 16. Institutes of the Christian Religion, II, xiv, 1.
- 17. "... dum circumferemus carcerem corporis nostri," *Institutes*, II, vii, 13. This expression is also used in the following places in the *Institutes*: III, vi, 5; III, ix, 4; IV, xv, 11. Compare the synonymous formula "... quamdiu carnis ergastulo sumus inclusi ...": III, xxv, 1; also in IV, xvi, 19, and IV, xvii, 30. In the latter passage it is significant that Christ's incarnation is described as "... in ergastulo corporis se abderet ...," "that He might hide in the debtor's prison of the body." The context of this passage is a searing attack on the Lutheran doctrine of the Holy Supper, with the famous comment regarding the Lutherans: "They locate Christ in the bread, whereas we do not think it divinely lawful to drag Him down from heaven," IV, xvii, 31.
- 18. The *extra* of the *extra calvinisticum* referred to a Logos or divine nature which was not bound to the human nature of the Son but had another existence aside from Christ. See the presentation by Hans Emil Weber, *Reformation, Orthodoxie und Rationalismus*,

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Erster Teil: Von der Reformation zur Orthodoxie, Zweiter Halbband (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1940). I:2: 131-135. It is disturbing that Calvin and his followers leave us with a Son who was not fully involved in the incarnation and atonement and with the question whether Christ's expiation was sufficient. "In a marvelous way the Son of God descended indeed, but in such a way that He did not relinquish heaven. In a marvelous way He willed to be carried about in the virgin's womb, to stay on the earth, and to hang on the cross. Yet He at all times filled the world even as from the beginning." *Institutes*, II, xiii, 4.

- 19. "Ut corpus re spirituali pasci nequit, sic neque anima re corporali," in *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, Band VI:ii, *Corpus Reformatorum* (CR), 93:810. Jackson, p. 53.
- 20. Zwingli therefore rejected church music as a form of the proclamation of the word. Theologians today who downgrade church music and liturgical forms seem to be following in the footsteps of Zwingli rather than Luther.
- 21. On the penetration of this Reformed concept into Lutheran thought, see the study by Martin R. Noland, "The Doctrine of the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti Internum* as a Calvinistic Element in Lutheran Theology" (Master of Divinity thesis, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, 1983).
- 22. Ratio Fidei. CR, 93: 804-805; Jackson, p. 47.
- 23. *CR*, 93: 805; Jackson, p. 48.
- 24. Schuler, 4: 34; Jackson, p. 114.
- 25. Schuler, 4: 30; Jackson, p. 107. Zwingli's position was based on the formula of Augustine: "Sacramentum est sacrae rei signum." One can find a good older presentation in *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition, s.v. "Sakrament," by Ferdinand Kattenbusch (RE, 17: 360).
- 26. Hans Emil Weber 1:2:75.
- 27. Expositio Fidei. Schuler, 4: 54; Jackson, p. 253.
- 28. Blanke is cited in Fritz Schmidt-Clausing, Zwingli, p. 72.
- 29. It is necessary from the Lutheran standpoint to distinguish between the concept of covenant in the Old Testament and the

Reformed "theology of covenant" or federalism developed by Cocceius and others. See Gottlob Schrenk, Gottesreich und Bund im älteren Protestantismus vornehmlich bei Johannes Cocceius. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pietismus und der heilsgeschichtlichen Theologie, first edition, 1923 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967). J. Wayne Baker, Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980).

The Reformed notion of deriving the Holy Supper from the Old 30. Testament passover, often echoed by Lutheran writers, has strong support in the Missouri Synod. "To help increasing numbers of Lutheran congregations experience a Passover meal, the 'root' of the Lord's Supper [sic!], the Synod's Board for Evangelism Services offers two resources, 'A Guide to the Celebration of a Christian Passover,' with a participant's guide . . . The leader's guide explains the elements of the Passover meal and how the Lord's Supper is similar. It gives directions on how to have a Passover meal, including the Lord's Supper if the congregation desires." The Reporter, 13 (No. 10), March 16, 1987, page 4.

- A poorly informed biblicism in some conservative Lutheran 31. circles fails to recognize "covenant theology" in Lutheran thought, but see Martin R. Noland, "The Origins and Significance of the Concept of 'Covenant' in Calvin's Theology," a paper written in a course taught by Heino Kadai at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1983. See also Hans Emil Weber 1:2:49-55, 74-75. Compare Paul Althaus, Die Prinzipien der deutschen reformierten Dogmatik im Zeitalter der aristotelischen Scholastik (Leipzig: Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914; reprinted in Darmstadt, 1967). Althaus sharply profiles the Reformed principles in contrast to those of Lutheran thought.
- 32. WA, 6:502. David Hollatz, Examen Theologicum Acroamaticum (Stargard: Johann Nikolaus Ernst, 1707; reprinted in Darmstadt, 1971), III. II. V. q. 5.3.b.
- WA, 33: 190, 33-39. 33.
- 34. WA, 33: 193, 10-19.
- 35. WA, 33: 87, 23-37.

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- 36. WA, 33: 85, 6-22.
- 37. WA, 33: 91, 14-29.
- 38. WA, TR, 3: 658 (no. 3849; Lauterbach text).
- 39. WA, TR, 3: 673 (no. 3868; Lauterbach text).
- 40. WA, Briefwechsel, 4: 365 (no. 1214).
- 41. Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1930, etc.), p. 993.
- 42. The *Exposition* is cited here from *The Library of Christian Classics*, 24: 259.
- 43. *Exposition*, LCC, 24: 260.
- 44. Solid Declaration, VII: 126.
- 45. Solid Declaration, VII: 104-105.
- 46. This assertion was an addition to the Torgau Book, coming not from Chytraeus but from the followers of the stricter Brenz in Württemberg, Baden, and Henneberg; materials are to be found in Heinrich Heppe, *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555-1581*, Volume 3 (Marburg: N. G. Elnertlicher Druck und Verlag, 1857), p. 367.



SHARING THE EUCHARISTIC BREAD. By Xavier Léon-Dufour. New York: Paulist Press, 1986.

Joachim Jeremias' *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* was described by a British scholar as one of the few theological books of this century that will still be in print one hundred years after being published. It is the standard by which all discussions of the eucharist in the New Testament are measured. But the famous French Jesuit, Xavier Léon-Dufour, may be challenging Jeremias' position as the basic book on the eucharist in the New Testament. For with his *Sharing the Eucharistic Bread* Léon-Dufour breaks some new ground and offers the New Testament scholar some valuable insights from a new hermeneutical perspective.

In his introduction Léon-Dufour describes his hermeneutical method as that of a "biblical theologian" (p. 5) and goes on to explain (p. 6, the emphasis coming from Léon-Dufour):

> In this book, then, my aim is to produce a "biblical theology" of the Eucharist and thereby offer dogmatic theologians a synthesis that will serve them as point of reference for the comprehensive interpretation they must provide on the basis of tradition. That is why I have been anxious to examine here all the texts that speak of the Eucharist. There are indeed not very many of them, but they must be interrelated, and this is not always an easy task.

Our own reflections on the eucharist must be gleaned from the New Testament, as Léon-Dufour attempts to do. He is systematic in his treatment of the New Testament texts and his book is easy to follow. In Part I he begins from the perspective of the church's liturgical traditions. Within this section he gives us an example of literary criticism from the synchronic perspective, that is, "the internal relations that organize the various components of the present text in function of the total end result. This set of relations constitutes what may be called the 'structure' of the account" (p. 46). Léon-Dufour's synchronic reading is the most lucid of any recent effort. But in Part II he shows that he has not given up on diachronic analysis as he exhaustively traces the different "traditions" behind the text. Lutherans will be interested in his careful distinction between the cultic and testamentary traditions. He offers support to Luther's perspective on the Last Supper as a testament and gives the most thorough review of the recent discussions of the Last Supper as "farewell discourse." He also devotes a separate chapter to "The Words of Remembrance," another to "The Words over the Bread," and a third to "The Words over the Cup." By isolating these components of the narrative, the reader sees the differences between the various elements of the *verba*. In Part IV Léon-Dufour looks at the individual "presentations" of the eucharist, beginning with Mark (Matthew) and Paul, concluding with Luke and John. Here Léon-Dufour's reputation as a careful exegete is proven. His individual attention to each evangelist and Paul helps clarify the specific characterization of the eucharist in its relation to the total New Testament evidence. His appendices on "Solemn Jewish Meals" and "the Last Supper and the Jewish Passover Meal" are valuable.

Finally, in his last section, entitled "Overture," Léon-Dufour demonstrates why he is considered a biblical theologian. "Overture" is both summary and conclusion. Aware of the theological lingo that has been associated with the eucharist over the centuries (e.g. "sacrament," "sacrifice," and "real presence"), he offers his own contribution to the theological vocabulary. He prefers the nomenclature of "the sharing of bread," his translation of *klasis tou artou*. He says (p. 299, the last paragraph in the body of his text):

> "Sharing of bread" aptly describes the situation of Christians, whether in their everyday lives when they look upon the goods at their disposal as ordered to the human community, or in their private lives when they symbolically celebrate the mystery of Jesus Christ giving himself for the salvation of the human race, or, finally, when they receive the word of faith or pronounce it in their turn. These are the three areas in which believers must share bread in the joy given them by their Christian convictions ... Liturgical action should therefore be prolonged in the form of sharing bread, that is, promoting justice, fighting against hunger in the world, and delivering the oppressed from every evil. Cult may be at the heart of the life of brotherhood and sisterhood, but it is not therefore a "higher" degree of that life or its "summit"; that is, it is not above the life of charity but within it as its source of inspiration. Once believers realize this, they will approach the mystery of the Eucharist in the right way.

From these citations it would be easy to conclude that Léon-Dufour has succumbed to the theological distractions of the day, such as liberation theology and the social gospel. The reader must judge if he has read too much into the text. In any event, Léon-Dufour challenges us to look at the text with fresh eyes to see if a different perspective illuminates our position. In *Sharing the Eucharistic Bread* the task of testing our own reading of the texts is strenuous, for one must wrestle with an exegete and theologian at work. But at the end of the day it is worthwhile, for in the process there may be new treasures found to enhance our own "biblical theology."

Arthur Just, Jr.

# PARTIAL KNOWLEDGE: PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES IN PAUL. By Paul W. Gooch. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1987.

Our educational system is unparalleled for teaching pastors *what* to think; we fall woefully short in teaching them *how* to think. But in the rapidly changing situation in which we find ourselves, we cannot afford that luxury any more. We must learn again for ourselves, and teach others, how to do theology. Paul Gooch's *Partial Knowledge* is a good exercise in the *how* of doing theology. His philosophical approach to problems raised in 1 Corinthians is a refreshing change of pace, and should be welcomed by pastors who are willing to put in the effort needed to master it.

It is not that Gooch's conclusions are all correct. Indeed, he says a number of things which are inconsistent with traditional Lutheran dogmatics. One of his main arguments claims to show that the resurrection of the dead is not incompatible with a disembodied existence—a troublesome claim, to say the least. Yet even when he is wrong, his work has great merit.

First, he offers an overview of many different answers to a given question. For example, on the question of the resurrected body he offers four options: (1.) A resurrected body is just the same as the body in this life, with no change in properties. (2.) A resurrected body is the same antemortem body, but changed to some degree. (3.) A resurrected body is a body, but radically different from the antemortem body. (4.) In the resurrection we will be disembodied persons. Traditional theology has held to some form of option 2, and rightly so in my opinion, but considering other options helps to sharpen the view we hold.

The second merit of Gooch's work is that he seriously considers arguments for options which he himself does not hold. It is easy to set up and knock down straw men; it is quite another matter to demonstrate an understanding of positions which one later rejects. To consider the arguments of others serves the interests of the truth when we can demonstrate the weaknesses inherent in those arguments. Gooch's work is also useful for the way that it forces us to think more deeply about the implications of the position we hold and to see the challenges which it contains. For example, his discussion of resurrection forces those who hold the traditional view to try to set out more clearly just *how* the antemortem and post-resurrection bodies are related. What, based on Scripture, can be said? Where must our words stop?

There are disputed questions among us today. New challenges will always be around the corner—particularly in an age like ours when information is exploding. This book can have a small role to play in seeing that Lutheran pastors are prepared to answer those challenges, no matter what they might be.

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ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, LETTERS 1-50. Translated by John I. McEnerney. The Fathers of the Church, volume 76. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1987. xvi + 237 pages. \$29.95.

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, LETTERS 51-110. Translated by John I. McEnerney. The Fathers of the Church, volume 77. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1987. xiii + 204 pages. \$29.95.

These two volumes of Cyril's letters are dedicated to Mary, the Mother of God. It is an appropriate, almost necessary, dedication. For against Nestorius' rejection of this liturgical ascription Cyril valiantly (and violently) defended the christology on the basis of which Mary is said to be the "Mother of God" (*theotokos*). That christology, called Alexandrian or Cyrillian, emphasizes the inseparable unity of the divine Logos with His flesh: "The Word by having united to himself hypostatically flesh animated by a rational soul, inexplicably and incomprehensibly became man" (Epist. 4, p. 39). Jesus, therefore, is man as the Word incarnate, the Logos *ensarkos*, and for that reason one must confess that Mary, the mother of Jesus, is the Mother of God the Word: "for if our Lord Jesus Christ is God, how is the Holy Virgin who bore him not the Mother of God?" (Epist. 1, p. 15).

This christology, which became a touchstone of orthodoxy at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon and which is bedrock also for

Lutheran understanding, was argued by Cyril especially before and after the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.). Unhappily, as significant as Cyril was, until now there was no collection in English which made the thought of Cyril accessible to those not trained in the Greek. Making the letters of Cyril available is, of course, the purpose and the great contribution of these two volumes. As the editor himself says, this translation of these letters is the first set of volumes to contain in one place all of Cyril's letters as transmitted to us. This fact alone makes these volumes important and a must for anyone interested in the christological discussions of the fourth and fifth centuries. Unfortunately virtually all of the letters of Cyril which we possess have to do with the Council of Ephesus. This fact, of course, makes this collection immensely important for understanding the doctrinal and church-political questions of that time. Nonetheless, "there are no personal letters on everyday topics at all" (p. 3). We wish it were otherwise, for we gain no real insight into Cyril as the practicing bishop of Alexandria through these letters (he was Patriarch of Alexandria for thirty-two years, 412-444 A.D.). In this respect the letters of Cyril are quite different from the letters of Cyprian, the thirdcentury bishop of Carthage. To be sure, four of the letters are administrative and they show Cyril to be decisive and interested in the good order of the church as laid down by ecclesiastical canons. However, the letters are very short and reveal nothing of the person of Bishop Cyril. One letter, 96, does indicate how intertwined church matters and imperial politics could become and how involved a bishop of a major ecclesiastical center could be (and Cyril never showed any scruples at becoming involved). Letter 96 is a catalogue of treasures sent from Alexandria to Constantinople as bribes to influence the imperial court toward issuing a decree against Nestorius who had just been condemned by the Council of Ephesus.

The translation offered in these volumes is good, generally easy to read, and accurate. There is only one major error that should be noted, almost certainly an oversight of proof-reading rather than an error of translation. In Letter 17 (p. 85) Cyril is quoting Nestorius. The translation given reads: "because of the invisible, I adore the invisible." Obviously, however, the second "invisible" should read "visible": "because of the invisible, I adore the visible." The translator has helpfully listed the letters according to date (pp. 6-7) and has listed the names of the principal persons mentioned in the letters along with their episcopal sees and dates (pp. 7-9). However, overall the introduction is disappointing. A more extensive discussion of the biography of Cyril and of his theological views would have been helpful and would have added materially to the understanding of the letters. Translations of ancient texts by their nature seek out the non-professional and the interested layperson. It is precisely such a person who would have benefited from a good introduction to the person and thought of the writer of these letters.

Yet, as a source for the christological thinking of Cyril, these letters are indispensable. Letter 4 was approved by the Council of Ephesus as canonical, presenting accurately the teaching of Nicaea. The Councils of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) and the Council of Constantinople (553 A.D.) honored the letter in the same way. Letter 17 was added to the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, although not formally approved. We have here, therefore, christological thinking which the church has recognized as its own and which ought inform our thinking about the Lord Jesus Christ. That fact alone justifies these volumes as welcome additions to our libraries.

William C. Weinrich

ROMANS 1-8. WORD BIBLICAL COMMENTARY. By James D. G. Dunn. Dallas: Word Books, 1988.

Readers familiar with other works in the Word Biblical Commentary will notice a significant departure in this volume from the customary format of the series. Each section is still divided into the by now familiar categories of "Bibliography," "Translation," "Notes," "Form and Structure," "Comment," and "Explanation." However, the author, Professor of Divinity at the University of Durham (England), greatly expands the last division. Whereas the "Explanation" in other volumes is generally nothing more than a superficial summary of the "Comment," Dunn uses this division to consider the broader hermeneutical issues which impact upon the exegesis of the text, devoting the "Comment" to items of a more narrowly philological nature. Consequently, the author is able to grapple with the real issues in the interpretation of Romans rather than (as is the case with all too many commentaries) simply offering a collection of (not necessarily related) insights and comments on various parts of the text. This change in format could well be adopted in other volumes in this series (not to mention by commentators in general).

Unfortunately, such glowing praise of the format of the commentary cannot also be given to its content. The most helpful portion of the commentary is that which deals with the often overlooked section running

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from 1:18-3:20. By emphasizing the structure of this section as a dialogue between the apostle and an imaginary Jewish protagonist, Dunn helps clarify the meaning of a number of troublesome passages. The author's handling of this section has the undersigned eager to see his treatment of Paul's discussion of the *Judenfrage* (Romans 9-11) in the second volume of his commentary.

While here and there one finds some helpful material throughout the rest of the commentary (for example, pp. 60-76, 91, 147, 167-168, 222, 248-252, 341, 349, 382-383, 394, 415, 468-470), it often fails to give a satisfying interpretation of the text. Moreover, the work is laden with objectionable positions with regard to christology (pp. 12, 14, 34, 278, 328, 430-438), law and gospel (pp. 106, 192, 436), baptism (pp. 254, 308, 311, 328, 451), original sin (pp. 273-274, 284, 290-291), soteriology (pp. 216, 320), and other important matters. This will hardly be the first commentary on Romans to which the pastor or other student of the Scriptures will want to turn. At most it will serve to supplement here and there what will have to be a proper understanding of Romans garnered elsewhere.

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THE BOOK OF THE TORAH. By Thomas W. Mann. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1988.

"The Narrative Integrity of the Pentateuch" is the subtitle of this book and describes the author's real aim. Not surprisingly the author did his graduate work at Yale where Hans Frei's *The Eclipse of the Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (Yale, 1974) has cast a long shadow. Emphasis on the narrative nature of many biblical texts (awkwardly termed "narratology"), along with interest in the literary qualities of the Bible, is frequently a fruitful and constructive category in contemporary biblical studies. As a complement to interest in "canonical criticism" (Blenkinsopp, Childs, Saunders), the focus on the final form of the text and upon its narrative structure often highlights features of the text which have been neglected. Most readers of this journal will benefit from this increased attention to the contours and nuances of narrative structure. Its insights are such as can be appropriated for Bible classes and homiletical development.

The Pentateuch (Torah) is a particularly apt text to view from this

perspective. So much criticism has been devoted to distinguishing sources (J, E, D, P, et alii) that the final form of the text is displaced. Mann, while accepting the standard source divisions (there is no interaction with Rendtorff, Whybray, or other recent challenges to traditional divisions), still strives to articulate the narrative "integrity" of the whole of the Pentateuch.

Each of the five divisions of the Pentateuch is introduced with a discussion of its narrative components (e.g., "Numbers as Narrative," pp. 125 ff.) Mann's comments are often suggestive. For example, the importance of characterization in understanding what the text is about is underscored (p. 9):

The abiding mystery of human characterization is a result not simply of a sophisticated literary aesthetic, or even a probing anthropology, but also of the "monotheistic revolution" in ancient Israelite thought. Even when God is not directly involved in a particular story, the way in which the story represents reality is profoundly theological.

If the text is regarded as the one true description of reality, from the divine perspective, then the history of Israel is much more than past narration. It is still that word which indicates who we are as the "children of Abram."

While each reader will differ with Mann on particular inferences, his respect for the text and its specific structure results in a readable and rich text. He is particularly helpful in showing that "law" can never be abstracted from the movement of the Torah's narrative (pp. 78-112). As enticement to the pastor who "delights in Torah," the following taste of Mann's method should suffice (p. 161):

The Pentateuchal narrative renders a new world. But as it was "in the beginning," so it is now; while that world exists as a reality in terms of what God has done, it exists only as a possibility in terms of what Israel will do. The Torah ends very much the way it began. Just as God placed the earth before Adam and Eve and offered it to them as their dominion, so God places the land of Canaan before Israel and offers it to them. Just as God provided for Adam and Eve a commandment, obedience to which would mean continued blessing, but disobedience would entail a curse, so God has blessed Israel as his special people, but warned them of the curse that leads to death. Just as Adam and Eve could be genuinely human only in responsibility to the divine will, so Israel can be God's holy nation only in responsibility to God's Torah.

Dean O. Wenthe

DOGMA AND MYSTICISM IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY: EPIPHAN-IUS OF CYPRUS AND THE LEGACY OF ORIGEN. By John F. Dechow. North American Patristic Society Monograph Series, 13. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University, 1988. 584 pages.

The fine line separating historical inquiry from theological apology has, in Origenian studies, become quite as invisible as Origen's own *asomatos theos*. The present study reminds us that such a line has never been all that clear. Epiphanius operated with no intention of dividing the two; and if Dechow himself slips into defending Origen now and again, he hardly deserves our censure. There is much value in this study even if one does not in the end consider himself a student of the Alexandrian.

Dechow promises the reader a study "designed to illuminate the larger problem of orthodoxy and heresy in early Christianity through examination of perhaps the most significant and far-reaching conflict involved in the problem," namely, the conflict between Epiphanius of Cyprus (c. 315-403) and Origen (c. 185-c. 254), along with, of course, Origen's later followers (p. 10). This particular conflict, however, is quite large in and of itself, and it is little wonder that the author devotes the majority of his work to a detailed analysis of Epiphanius' own conception of Origen(ism) and the sources he used in formulating his charges against his opponent(s).

For the patrologist, Dechow has done a great service in documenting the widespread influence of Origen's teachings, especially among the growing monastic communities. Placing this conflict in the context of the struggle for authority between the "secular" bishops and the monastic sages is a very valuable and necessary complement to the more widely explored arena of the conciliar battles concerning Arianism. Add to this the insights into Epiphanius' own program for the defense of Nicene orthodoxy, and it will become apparent that Dechow has produced a work that will remain a valuable resource for some time to come.

This study, on the other hand, has rewards for the non-specialist as well. For the contemporary theologian, an intricate argument concerning the nature of the resurrection body may actually seem refreshing compared to the issues of public relations, community image, new member assimilation, and projections of growth that seem to deaden our theological synapses. Perhaps of the greatest value, however, is the double warning that this conflict issues to the contemporary church. We too must keep in mind that applying the insights of a theologian of Origen's caliber (or of Luther's) to present issues is a venture fraught with danger. The need for creative theology, as vital as it is, must never be allowed to obscure the need for a clear confessional standard. At the same time, this conflict warns against a confessionalism policed by those whose theological perspicacity is far outstripped by their apologetic fervor. Such confessionalism soon degenerates into a mere adherence to formulae from the past.

The church ultimately benefited from this fourth century conflict, Dechow suggests. And still today, she must give ear both to the needs of popular Christianity and to the insights of the theological academy. Neither a theology that is entirely "down-to-earth" nor one that is too much "in the clouds" can do justice to a revelation whose heart and center remains the incarnation.

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EVANGELIUM IN DER GESCHICHTE. STUDIEN ZU LUTHER UND DER REFORMATION. Zum 60. Geburtstag des Autors. Edited by Leif Grane, Bernd Moeller, and Otto Hermann Pesch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1988. 446 pages.

Bernhard Lohse, the internationally-known Reformation scholar, is the author of these collected essays. He is professor of historical theology at the University of Hamburg (Germany). At the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, he was honored by three friends (Leif Grane of Kopenhagen, Bernd Moeller of Göttingen, and Otto Hermann Pesch of Hamburg), who edited twenty-two of his own essays from a body of almost four hundred smaller or larger publications from a period of more than three decades of scholarly publications. These three friends selected the title for this collection and fittingly called it "The Gospel in History." This is the common denominator of Lohse's contributions that are republished here. Of course, each essay presented here deserves careful review. However, even an extended book review forces the reviewer to be selective. I concentrate on a few contributions of Lohse, a Reformation scholar who has investigated mainly Luther's theology and more specifically Luther in his contemporary context and in the footsteps of St. Augustine.

Thus, quite appropriately, this selection from his works opens with Lohse's essay on Augustine's significance for the young Augustinian Friar Martin Luther (1965), featuring Augustine's book *On the Spirit and the Letter* and its impact on the developing Reformer at Wittenberg. Lohse clearly sees that Luther interpreted Augustine in a certain typical "Lutheran" way, which however amounts to an over-interpretation, as Lohse points out. Lohse also states that Luther did not learn from Augustine the decisive Reformation concept of the righteousness of God and the justification of man. These findings, although published in 1965, seem still in need of dessemination.

Lohse has spent considerable energy on studying Luther's relationship to the monastic life, which resulted in a major book in 1963. One of his essays, originally produced in 1961 and re-edited here, also deals with monasticism, specifically with the comparison of Luther's and his friend Melanchthons's criticism of the monastic vows. It is shown that Luther was rather hesitant with any criticism of vows voluntarily made. Another essay touches indirectly upon the issue of Luther and the religious orders. It is his study of the encounter between the Dominican Cardinal Cajetan and Friar Martin at Augsburg, where the cardinal interrogated Luther about his teachings. Here two theological schools of thought and tradition The years between 1517 and 1521 mark an exceptionally clashed. significant period in the relationship between the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Church, a time shaped by Luther's controversies with Tetzel, Prierias, Eck, and Cajetan. The encounter between Thomism and the Reformation, represented by Cajetan and Luther, is probably the most important attempt in the sixteenth century to overcome the differences between Luther and Rome. Cajetan did not categorically reject Luther's position on the indulgences. The differences came forth in regard to ecclesiology, namely, concerning the understanding of papal authority over Sacred Scripture. Lohse concludes that not genuine Thomism, but the early Neo-Thomism of Cajetan clashed with Luther in 1518.

In these two essays Lohse's first two areas of research within the field of Reformation studies are exemplified, namely, "the young Luther" and "Luther and other Reformers." A third realm is identified as "Luther's understanding of the Bible," represented by three essays: (1.) on the actualization of the Christian message in Luther's translation of the Bible into German (first published in 1980); (2.) on the origins of Luther's Bible and his hermeneutical principles (first published in 1985); and (3.) on the decision of the Lutheran Reformers as to the size of the canon of the Old Testament (written in 1987, first published in the present volume). In the last essay Lohse deals with the decision of the Lutheran Reformation about the canon in view of the late medieval discussion concerning the apocrypha. For a long time Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana, with its hermeneutics and its list of canonical books, was accepted. However, Jerome had largely rejected the apocryphal writings as canonical, and the humanists, favorable to Jerome, took up the issue. Even Cardinal Cajetan largely agreed with Erasmus on many exegetical points. The humanistic controversy in this regard was radicalized through the issues which Luther raised. The climax of this development was reached during the Leipzig Disputation between Eck and Luther in 1519 amd was further nurtured by Karlstadt's book on the canon in 1520. Luther's position developed during his work on the translation of the Old Testament into German, especially with the translation of the Pentateuch in 1523. The apocrypha were translated by Luther's friends, not by himself.

In the essay on Luther's Bible and the issue of hermeneutics Lohse points out that Luther's most significant and important work was his translation of the Bible into German. Despite this fact, the nature of Luther's German Bible is still largely unexplored and uncomprehended. Strangely, Luther rarely quoted his own translations; he translated ever anew. The translation was a team work under Luther's leadership. It is important to note that decisions in Luther's translating process were ultimately motivated by his theology. Lohse agrees with S. Raeder's suggestion that one should speak of Luther's hermeneutics as "gospelcentered" rather than speaking of "christological exegesis." This terminology can help to distinguish Luther's approach from the "christological" interpretations of others.

Lohse twice cites Luther as asserting (in 1521) that the "word of God wants to be grasped with a quiet mind and meditated" (pp. 182, 198). The reviewer regrets, however, that Lohse does not discuss the key terms of this assertion, involving the monastic concept of "meditating" (*betrachten*) on the word of God with a quiet mind. What Luther implicitly expressed here is his wish that the monastic practice of meditation should be transferred to the non-monastic realm of every-day Christian life. The Reformer demanded that all Christians should take up the reading of the Scriptures as the word of God, without any learned interpretations (including Luther's own, as Luther self-critically suggests).

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The fourth area of Lohse's studies deals with Luther's theology and its impact. In this area the editors gathered together nine essays from 1960 to 1985. Only the most recent article will be treated here, not because of its date, but because of the significance of its content, which deals with the "structure of Luther's theology," and because it was presented first to a Roman Catholic audience (the department of theology in the Ruhr-University of Bochum in Germany). Lohse lectured on the criteria for presenting Luther's theology in a systematic way. After reviewing major presentations of Luther's theology during the past one hundred years, he concludes that attempts to systematize Luther's theology were usually the result of reading too much of one's own theology into Luther. A critical discussion of method is needed for a systematic unfolding of Luther's theology. Lohse presents two major aspects that should be taken into consideration in such an enterprise: (1.) faith and the object of faith and (2.) the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity. Then Lohse lists five points to be considered in regard to the structure of Luther's theology: (1.) It is insufficient to trace Luther's theology as expressed in controversies. One must see his theology grounded in the traditional teaching on God and Christ. (2.) After the significance of the old ecclesiastical dogmas is elaborated, one must demonstrate their close connectedness with Luther's soteriology. (3.) The leitmotif is the theme of law and gospel. The subject of theology is the sinful man and the saving God. (4.) Reformational systematic theology always has its starting point with the doctrine of God and the Trinity. (5.) The concept of "gospel" and ecclesiology must come into focus. The originality of Luther's theology simply consists of the Reformer's return to and his maintaining of the prescholastic ecclesial tradition. This latter idea is unfolded by Lohse as a chief concern, that is, of demonstrating Luther's return to the prescholastic fathers such as Augustine and ultimately to the Bible.

Reformation scholars will be grateful for this collection of essays by Lohse from the past three decades. The present volume concludes with a complete list of Lohse's publications up to 1988. It also has an elaborate index. The essays presented in this volume distinguish themselves through their detailed, meticulous study of the original sources. Reformation scholars and ecumenists may look forward to further fruitful studies from the pen of this eminent German theologian, who rightly commands international respect and reputation.

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A CHURCH IN CRISIS: ECCLESIOLOGY AND PARAENESIS IN CLEMENT OF ROME. By Barbara Ellen Bowe. Harvard Dissertations in Religion, 23. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988. 158 pages. Paper, \$14.95.

Much discussion of the letter of Clement of Rome to the church at Corinth (known as 1 Clement) centers on questions of ecclesiastical office and of the authority of the Roman church in relation to other churches. First Clement is usually perceived as a clear representative of "early catholicism" in which ecclesiastical order and hierarchy are well advanced, displacing an earlier and more primitive egalitarian, charismatic church. This view—represented by Adolf von Harnack, Walter Bauer, Hans von Campenhausen, and Karlmann Beyschlag—asserts that 1 Clement is essentially intended to uphold the positions of church office-holders who are threatened with dismissal at Corinth. While the exact circumstances at Corinth are unclear, certainly there is strife and contention in Corinth and part of this strife is opposition to the leadership in Corinth and the attempt to remove it. The common view is that Clement's letter expresses a Roman intrusion (Bauer even termed it a Roman "power-play") which is designed to dissuade opposition to the established leadership.

Bowe's book argues that the usual interpretation is off-target and, indeed, skews the evidence by an excessive focus on issues of order and structure. Rather, Bowe contends, the very fact of strife and dissension is the problem addressed by Clement; that there are attendant disruptions of relationships is but an aspect of the more encompassing problem. Hence, the opposition to the leadership, rather than being the central issue, is but an item in the broader communal strife. Clement's interest. therefore, also is different. He is not primarily interested in the status of ecclesiastical leadership or of Rome's position vis-a-vis other churches. He is interested in the need for mutual interdependence both within churches and among churches. Strife and schism lead to serious consequences. Clement's letter is a letter "of fraternal admonition from one church to another" (p. 155); it neither implies nor explicitly asserts Roman primacy in ecclesial matters.

In order to establish her thesis, Bowe analyzes Clement's letter according to its epistolary and rhetorical form. Both its epistolary and rhetorical character, argues Bowe, serve to bind the Roman church and the Corinthian church together. Significant is 1 Clement 7:1: "We write these things, dear friends, not only to admonish you, but also to remind ourselves. For we are in the same arena, and the same contest awaits us." Rather than assuming a position of Roman superiority, therefore, Clement consciously adopts a posture which places him and the Roman church alongside the Corinthian correspondents. This posture of ecclesial equality and mutuality, argues Bowe, is indicated by the very way in which Clement casts his letter (pp. 33-58). For Clement has adopted a self-conscious epistolary strategy by which he uses "many conventional epistolary formulae, common both in the Hellenistic letter tradition and in Paul, but adapts these formulae in a manner designed to promote peace in Corinth and to strengthen the internal cohesion among Christians" (p. 57). This epistolary strategy includes the frequent use of hortatory subjunctives, the use of the vocative (to reinforce "the sense of solidarity"), the appeal to common traditions and Scripture texts, the use of doxologies, allusions to a common enemy, the use of rhetorical questions (forty times in 1 Clement), and the absence of any accusations and condemnations of those causing the strife in Corinth.

While we wish to recognize the helpfulness of studies concerning the epistolary form of early Christian letters (e.g., Wm. Doty's *Letters in Primitive Christianity*), Bowe gives epistolary form too much credit as an aid in interpreting texts ("a proper articulation of form and genre aids a more faithful articulation of meaning," p. 33). Indeed, it would seem that the more conventional the letter form the less directly meaningful form is for meaning. Also I suspect that Clement's letter form is more influenced by Jewish models than by Hellenistic and Pauline models.

Much more helpful and enlightening is Bowe's discussion of Clement's "rhetorical strategy" (pp. 58-73). Taking up an observation of W. C. van Unnik's that 1 Clement was patterned after Hellenistic speeches exhorting to peace and concord (*eirēnē kai homonoia*), Bowe convincingly demonstrates that van Unnik was right. "1 Clement is best interpreted against the rhetorical background of the *symbouleutikos genos*, especially those examples of the subgenre *peri eirēnēs kai homonoias* represented, in particular, in the speeches of [Dio] Chrysostom and Aristides" (p. 73). Indeed, the correspondence between Clement and exhortative speech for peace and concord is remarkable and adequately explains the use which Clement makes of historical example and of illustrations drawn from nature and civic life. It explains too his use of concepts such as "strife" (*stasis*), his understanding of repentance (return to harmonious communal life), and his own designation of his letter as "advice" (*symboulē*, 58:2).

On the basis of her analysis of the epistolary and especially of the rhetorical form of 1 Clement, Bowe discusses the primary images which Clement uses to speak of the church (pp. 75-105): the elect of God, the city-state (*polis*), brotherhood, athletes-soldiers, flock of Christ, and household. Generally Bowe's discussion is fair; however, she has a penchant for imposing on the text the interests of modern egalitarianism. While I think she is largely correct in believing that too much has been made of Clement's interest in church office, Bowe exaggerates in the opposite direction, often reading mutuality and interdependence where Clement certainly had ideas of organic order, but between "unequal" and non-reciprocal partners. For example, Bowe insists that Clement's notion of order promotes peace and harmony and is "cooperative and not hierarchical" (pp. 99-100). Here Bowe's ideology gets in the way of her exegesis, for cooperation and hierarchy are by no means mutually exclusive. In this instance Bowe speaks in the very next sentence of God's sovereignty!

Similar bias against any notion of "vertical" hierarchy and office mars Bowe's discussion of Clement's "ecclesiological paraenesis" (pp. 107-121) and of Clement's view of the unity of the church (pp. 123-153). In this last chapter Bowe discusses 1 Clement 37-38 and 46-48, two contexts where Clement speaks of office. There is much good discussion here, but again one notices the anachronistic intrusion of notions of mutuality and interdependence which are understood as in opposition to "superordered" Bowe is not, however, unaware of the and "subordered" members. tendency of Clement toward structure and order; she sees it, above all, in the uneasy coordination which Clement gives to the exhortations to subordination (hypotasso) and to humility (tapeinophroneo). I doubt, finally, that Clement understands the office-holders to be guarantors and safeguards of the church's unity (p. 152). For those interested in the Apostolic Fathers and in early Christian literature more generally, this is, all in all, a very decent book. It rightly mitigates the excessive preoccupation with the questions of office and structure in 1 Clement, and it clearly places the letter in its (rhetorical) historical context.

William C. Weinrich

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. By J. Alberto Soggin. Third Edition. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1989.

The first edition of this book was published twenty years ago and the volume has since become well-known and widely used. This third edition is the English translation of the thoroughly revised fourth Italian edition.

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In addition to the Old Testament, it also covers the "deutero-canonical" (apocryphal) books and includes appendices on extra-biblical inscriptions and manuscripts. It treats most of the books of the Old Testament in the order in which they appear in the Hebrew canon, though at times Soggin follows the chronological order determined by the historical-critical method. For example, the discussion of "Trito-Isaiah" is placed between those of Zechariah and Obadiah. Soggin disagrees with most American scholars in that he assigns late dates even to archaic poetry. He is conversant with the enormous corpus of relevant secondary literature from Europe and America, and the generally thorough bibliographies make up for the brief discussions of some books.

Soggin employs the methods of source, form, and redaction criticism which are characteristic of historical-critical scholarship. He dissects the text and focuses on the hypothetical literary sources, authors and their schools, and redactors who supposedly shaped the text during long periods of transmission. The author feels that this approach does not negate faith, but provides "scientific objectivity" as a basis for faith (p. 11).

Yet this "scientific objectivity" yields little nourishment for faith. Soggin avoids a christocentric reading of the text. In his discussion of the Isaian Servant Songs, he even goes as far as to warn: "the danger is that Christians allow themselves unconsciously to be influenced by the first christology of the earliest church" (p. 371, referring to New Testament christology). Conservative scholars will also be disappointed that Soggin ignores more recent approaches (canonical, rhetorical, reader-oriented, etc.) which take the extant text seriously. The older critical methodologies which he utilizes are becoming obsolete even in secular American institutions. There is not much in this volume of benefit for the preacher or teacher. It does, however, serve admirably as a reference work of historical-critical thought from the mid-twentieth century.

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MATTHEW AS STORY. By Jack Dean Kingsbury. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988. 181 pages. Paper.

The British novelist, Bernice Rubens, has said: "There are two things in writing, a writer writes, and the reviewer then tells the writer what he or she meant." After reading Kingsbury's book, I wonder whether Matthew might not say the same thing. And whereas to Ms. Rubens the procedure is apparently acceptable, I am not convinced that Matthew would find it so.

In this second (revised and enlarged) edition of his study, Kingsbury analyzes the First Gospel on the basis of literary-critical techniques. He identifies three story-lines, those of Jesus, the disciples, and the leaders. An introduction briefly explains the literary-critical approach.

On the positive side, the approach can focus attention on the structure of the gospel and challenge the reader to more probing thought. Here I am thinking, for instance, of Kingsbury's comments on "Jesus as 'Speaking Past' the Audience" (pp. 107 ff.). Kingsbury contends that there are "sayings of Jesus that appear to address a situation other than the one in the story in which the crowds or the disciples find themselves."

On the negative side, the analysis of Matthew as story involves presuppositions that a conservative finds suspect. Is Matthew creating a story, something analogous to what a novelist does? Or is he reporting what literally happened, albeit arranging his presentation of the facts to give a special contour to his account and emphasis to his witness? Kingsbury's terminology indicates that he views Matthew's gospel as something of a hybrid compounded of these two approaches. Surely he does not describe Matthew's gospel as a fictional account. And yet, in Kingsbury's analysis, Matthew emerges as a kind of literary artist who creatively added to or modified what literally took place.

Consider the implications in terminology such as this: "Matthew, as narrator, announces that he *holds* Jesus to be Christ . . ." (p. 11, emphasis added). What Matthew announces is more than that he "holds" Jesus to be the Christ; he announces that Jesus *is* the Christ. "Within the world of Matthew's story, however, Israel as such will not see God's vindication of Jesus until the parousia and the final judgment" (p. 91). Is it just in Matthew's story or is it objective reality? "The picture the reader gets of the religious leaders in Matthew's story is not historically objective but wholly negative and polemical" (p. 115). This is a familiar line, repeatedly heard from the critical side. "In *his* [Matthew's] eyes, contemporary Judaism was . . ." (p. 155, emphasis added).

In the chapters following on the introductory chapter, Kingsbury treats these topics: The Presentation of Jesus; The Ministry of Jesus to Israel and Israel's Repudiation of Jesus; The Journey of Jesus to Jerusalem and His Suffering, Death, and Resurrection; Jesus' Use of "the Son of Man;" The Great Speeches of Jesus; The Antagonists of Jesus; The Disciples of Jesus; The Community of Matthew. A brief conclusion summarizes the study.

Along the way there is much to be learned. However, as for many of the positive features, I am not clear on precisely how the literary-critical approach has contributed a particular insight. For instance, at His baptism Jesus was not initially endowed with the Spirit, "for He was conceived by the Spirit" (p. 52). At 1:16 the "divine passive" alerts the reader to the fact that Jesus is begotten by an act of God (p. 54). *Therapeuein* "can mean to serve as well as to heal" (p. 68). On the same page there are penetrating remarks on *dynameis, terata*, and *semeion*. *Dynameis* are not predicated of Satan, demons, or opponents of Jesus. False prophets may perform *terata*, but not Jesus and the disciples. There is special significance in the Greek wording of a question. These insights are all interesting and helpful, but I am not clear on how they have been discovered by the literary-critical approach. To me it is all redolent of good old-fashioned Greek word study.

Some of the literary-critical jargon challenges one to some fresh thinking. For instance, Kingsbury speaks of "round" characters, those who possess a variety of traits; "flat" characters, those who tend to possess only a few traits; and "stock" characters, those who possess only one trait. On the other hand, the distinction between "intended readers" and "implied readers" (pp. 147 ff.) seems to issue in nothing more than traditional isagogical analysis.

The section on the "organization" (i.e., of the "Community of Matthew" pp. 156 ff.) is of special interest in view of current concerns about the doctrine of the ministry. Kingsbury's conclusion that those in the "teaching office" were not to assume the title of "teacher" (*didaskalos*) on the basis of 23:8-10 is open to challenge. For one thing, the unembarrassed designation of leaders as *didaskaloi* elsewhere in the New Testament suggests that 23:8-10 refers to an abuse occurring when the title is invested with arrogant excesses.

A stylistic idiosyncracy is the frequent asking of questions before moving on to the answers. To me the questions often seem superfluous (e.g., p. 156). Also, I am still enough of a grammatical traditionalist to be mildly irked by the oft-repeated clumsiness of "he or she," "his or her ..." On the other hand, it is a pleasure to note that Kingsbury still uses A.D. and has not sold out to the C.E. designation of dates.

Anyone who feels he ought to develop some acquaintance with literary-

critical methodology and interpretation should find Kingsbury helpful. The book is worth reading. But if one checks it out of a library or borrows a friend's copy, one can save precious dollars for works of greater value.

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PASTORAL CARE FOR SURVIVORS OF FAMILY ABUSE. By James Leehan. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1989. 151 pages.

James Leehan, a campus pastor and adjunct faculty member at Cleveland State University, has written a book for pastors who encounter family abuse problems in their counseling work. Leehan describes the various types of family abuse: physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, battering, sibling abuse, abuse of elders, neglect, and psychological abuse. He then describes the emotional impact these kinds of abuse have on those who experience them. Much of the balance of the volume contains counseling suggestions for clergymen who encounter survivors of abuse. Both one-on-one and group counseling techniques are discussed. The author also explores biblical views of discipline, marriage, and family; he considers how these may relate to family abuse.

Leehan has provided pastors with an opportunity to explore the topic of family abuse. He also provides helpful suggestions for pastoral counseling of survivors of such abuse. His book helps to sensitize clergy to the presence of survivors of family abuse in the parish. He helps pastors identify such survivors and provides suggestions regarding the therapeutic impact of psychology and spirituality on these people.

This book, including the bibliography, tend to place heavy focus on psychological theory regarding abuse. Indeed, the book was written not only for pastors, but also for social workers and others who treat family abuse. Lutheran pastors may be uncomfortable with Leehan's interpretation of some passages of Scripture, nor will all agree that parish pastors should be primary counselors in working with abuse survivors. Clergy may have more of a role to play in problem-identification and referral. Nevertheless, Leehan provides pastors with a vital book on a neglected area in the literature on pastoral care and counseling.

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MARTIN LUTHER'S BASIC THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS. Edited by Timothy F. Lull. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989. xix + 755 pages.

"The preparation of collections of 'basic' writings of Martin Luther has been going on since Luther's own time," Jaroslav Pelikan observes in the foreword to this new anthology of Luther's thought. Then as now such collections were designed to provide affordable and effective introductions to the reformer's theology. Then as now these collections reflected something of the editor's orientation toward Luther and the issues of the day. Then as now the danger of skewing the reader's picture of Luther through such an abridgement of his massive corpus existed more in what might be omitted than in what was included. Then as now such samplers of Luther's thought provided important access to Luther's message for those who could not or would not take on the larger corpus of his writings.

The most unfortunate aspect of this collection is that it excludes all the material from the first half of the American Edition of *Luther's Works*, the biblical material. Both Pelikan and Lull regret this omission, but the heart of Luther's theology is so well presented in his Galatians commentary of 1535 that it is regrettable that at least portions of it could not have been included here. Nonetheless, the whole tracts and the abridged books which are found in the collection are all-important for giving the reader a grasp of the way in which Luther addressed issues of concern both in his day and ours.

Lull has grouped his material topically, in six parts: "The Task of Theology," "The Power of the Word of God," "The Righteousness of God in Christ," "The Promise of the Sacraments," "The Reform of the Church," and "Living and Dying as a Christian." Under these topics he has included historically significant documents, such as the *Ninety-Five Theses*, and theologically important selections, including parts of *The Bondage of the Will* and the *Confession on Christ's Supper*. Lull's clear intention is to open up the thought of Luther to contemporary readers who have little familiarity with him. In this way he hopes to engage people across confessional lines in conversation with Luther and to permit Luther to address through such readers critical issues in contemporary ecumenical discussion.

All Lutheran pastors and all Lutheran congregations should have all of the American Edition of *Luther's Works* in their libraries. This volume will not serve as a substitute for either pastors or congregations. But for introductory courses and for interested lay people this volume serves well to bring much of Luther's theology into handy range.

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INCARNATION: MYTH OR FACT? By Oskar Skarsaune. Translated by Trygve R. Skarsten. Concordia Scholarship Today. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991.

Oskar Skarsaune presently serves as Professor of Church History at the Free Theological Faculty (Church of Norway) in Oslo. He is known to patristic scholars through his very fine book, *The Proof from Prophecy:* A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof Text Tradition, published by E. J. Brill in 1987. In that book Skarsaune demonstrates careful and judicious scholarship as well as a lively interest in the question of continuity between the biblical basis of early Christianity and the later and more systematic Christian presentation. That same careful, judicious scholarship and the same interest in continuity are amply evinced in the present book as well. This is precisely the kind of book that the Concordia Scholarship Today series should publish and encourage. It is a first-rate example of exceptical and historical investigation, while it eschews the interest in detail and arcana that often burdens such study. Especially helpful for the beginner is the practice of placing brief descriptions of important people, ideas, and writings in boxes.

The text is presented in straight-forward English (the translation from the Norwegian is good) which is accessible to any seminary student. pastor, or interested layperson. The footnotes are for the more stout of mind, including many entries in foreign language sources. Nonetheless, the notes are informative and serve well for the further study of serious student and scholar. More disappointing is the bibliography, which was compiled by the translator. For the audience targeted by a Concordia publication, the bibliography includes an excessive number of Scandinavian language sources. As is warranted by the substance of the book, the bibliography is weighted toward early Christianity's connection with Judaism. Yet the work of Jacob Neusner is not mentioned, even though his book of 1988, The Incarnation of God: The Character of Divinity in Formative Judaism, would have well-served the thesis of Skarsaune. The bibliography is weak on entries concerning major fourth and fifth century christological figures (Nestorius, Cyril, Leo I, Chalcedon). The bibliography is relatively stronger on the christology of the first three centuries.

It includes two major monographs on Irenaeus and three major books on Paul of Samosata.

However, the bibliography corresponds to the emphasis of the book. Skarsaune's "major emphasis" is on the first two centuries of the Christian church because he wishes "to examine the basis on which the confession of Christ rests" (p. 12). The book is not intended to be an examination of christological creedal development, although there is good summary discussion of the christological thought of the third century (pp. 80-97) and of the christological controversies between the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.) and the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) (pp. 98-128). In my judgment this last section is the weakest; perhaps it attempts too much in limited space. Skarsaune seems to me to over-estimate the closeness between Leo I and the Antiochene christology of Nestorius (pp. 119, 121), and his presentation of Theodore of Mopsuestia is confusing (pp. 112-116). Skarsaune appears to accept Grillmeier's assessment of Theodore as a "forerunner" of Chalcedon (p. 116). Yet, in view of Chalcedon's insistence on the oneness of subject in Christ (correctly noted by Skarsaune, p. 125), how Theodore can be a "forerunner" of Chalcedon is unclear. In fact, it is never clear from Skarsaune's discussion whether Theodore thinks in terms of one or two subjects in Christ. It is doubtful whether Theodore thought that "there is just one ego in Christ" (p. 115). Certainly he thought of one prosopon, but is that the same as ego? I doubt it. It is also strange that in the chart on page 119, which outlines the difference between "the Antiochene Tradition" and "the Alexandrian Tradition," Eutyches is listed on the Antiochene side, although he is (correctly) identified as "a radical disciple of Cyril."

Yet the importance of this book is not in the sections which review the christology of the third to fifth centuries. It is in the thesis of Skarsaune that "the building blocks in the doctrine of the incarnation are *Jewish*" and that "belief in the incarnation arose among Jews who considered it from Jewish presuppositions" (p. 131). This thesis, of course, flies in the face of the yet popular opinion that incarnation was largely impossible from Jewish assumptions and that the classic dogma was indebted mainly to Greek philosophical assumptions. In his first chapter (pp. 13-23) Skarsaune nicely shows how foreign to the Greco-Roman world the idea of incarnation was, and for that matter how hostile Jewish thinkers (such as Trypho) were to the idea as well. In the New Testament, however, there are texts of Jesus' pre-existence, and these universally serve to assert that Christ assisted in creation. The Messiah-Savior was the Creator as well. As Skarsaune notes, the Jewish background for thinking of a power

or figure holding creation and salvation together is the wisdom tradition. And it is precisely here that Skarsaune locates the Jewish presuppositions and background for the christology of the New Testament and the basis of the classic, conciliar christology as well. Proverbs 8, Sirach, Baruch, and the Wisdom of Solomon become primary source material for understanding the New Testament view of the person of Christ. Yet it was not early Christian reflection upon Christ which first combined the wisdom sources and Jesus. In what is certainly his most important thesis, Skarsaune maintains that it was Jesus Himself who led the apostles to identify Him with the wisdom of the Jewish tradition: "according to my understanding, there can be no doubt that Jesus conducted Himself in a manner that made it impossible to avoid identifying Him with Wisdom" (p. 37). While such writings as Sirach and Wisdom identified wisdom with the Torah, Jesus speaks directly of Himself as the speaking Lord ("but I say unto you"); while the Jew was willing to die for the Law (e.g., the Maccabees), Jesus exhorts His disciples to be prepared to die for His sake; while the prophets called for the Jew to follow the Law, Jesus tells His disciples to follow Him. Skarsaune sums up his view (p. 37):

> The sovereign authority with which Jesus conducted Himself toward the Law could not be understood and accepted in a Jewish society zealous for the Law unless it was recognized that Jesus belonged within the same theological category as the Law-or, better yet, that He was the one who rightfully belonged there and that the Law had to be understood through Him, not the reverse. But then Jesus would have to be understood as the one who embodied God's whole plan of salvation. In the same manner as Wisdom and Law had previously done, He had to unite creation and redemption, creation and regeneration, in His own person. He who said of Himself what was usually reserved only for Wisdom or Law could not be understood as anything less than the incarnation of Wisdom.

Now that is a bold, but well argued thesis. It makes perfect sense of much of the New Testament, especially John's Gospel, whose prologue functions precisely to identify the incarnate Word with the creative Wisdom. But Skarsaune's thesis enables him also to locate anew the discussion of the incarnate Word. The problem facing the church, at least at the beginning, was not an apparent conflict between holding monotheism and the deity of Christ. Skarsaune notes that nowhere in the New Testament is "monotheism an obstacle to confessing Christ as God" (p. 45). Judaism had often differentiated the attributes of God as though He

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had an inner structure, and Judaism had also often personified attributes of God (such as wisdom). The scandal never lay in the apparent conflict with monotheism. "Rather it lay in the transference of such traditional hypostasis concepts to a crucified Messiah-pretender from Nazareth. Perhaps the scandal existed primarily because it pointed to a concrete individual" (p. 467). Again it is the scandal of particularity and of the cross that is at the center of the church's proclamation.

Skarsaune briefly traces the wisdom christology of the New Testament through the primary writers of the second century in their fight against docetism and ebionitism (Ignatius, Melito, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and the baptismal creeds). In doing so Skarsaune does the immense service of tracing New Testament assertion into the developing The result is an important corollary thesis: in the classic doctrine. classic, creedal, conciliar doctrine of the incarnation we have "a line of tradition that goes back in unbroken succession to the main wisdom christological passages of the New Testament itself" (p. 101). For patristic study that view is of very great significance. For example, it places into a completely different light the modern attempt to understand Arius as basing himself upon primitive, Christian traditions which maintain monotheism in opposition to any understanding of Christ as truly divine. Furthermore, the insistence of the Alexandrian school (especially Cyril) and of the Council of Chalcedon upon the necessity of maintaining only a single subject of will and of act in the person of Christ rests upon a fundamental New Testament assertion, namely, that "Jesus' I is identical with that Wisdom or Logos of God, which is identical with God's own salvific and creative intention through which the world was created" (p. 133).

This book is to be highly recommended for serious reading and study by pastors and students alike. It shall certainly become a standard in my own text lists when christology is concerned. Skarsaune has done a great service in making credible (in the midst of and through the use of modern scholarship) the basic biblical character of the Nicene Creed. For making this fine work accessible to the English-speaking audience, Concordia Publishing House is to be thanked. If this is indicative of the merit of the Concordia Scholarship Today series, we shall be well-served in the future.

William C. Weinrich

# RECOVERING BIBLICAL MANHOOD AND WOMANHOOD: A RESPONSE TO EVANGELICAL FEMINISM. Edited by John Piper and Wayne Grudem. Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books.

The conservative and liberal categories formerly used to divide interpreters of the bible are no longer adequate in addressing the issue of feminism in the church. Evangelicals, successors to early twentiethcentury Fundamentalists, in the defense of biblical inspiration and inerrancy, are found on both sides of the question. The debaters are committed to biblical authority and the traditional positions concerning authorship and the textual authenticity. Thus, the debate must include and then go beyond the recitation of the biblical passages, which is exactly what the contributors to Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood have done to support traditional views. Working from a wholistic approach and a broad theological spectrum, they tackle the ordination of women as one of many other issues. The twenty-six chapters from as many contributors, including the editors, grew out of the consultations of the Council of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, a group convened to respond to fellow Evangelicals sympathetic to theological feminism, who had organized themselves as Christians for Biblical Equality. Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood has as its purpose preserving the scholarly studies delivered at the council's sessions and then providing evangelically-minded people with resource material in addressing feministic theology. A note by the editors on page xv says as much when it provides a guide for using the book. The first two chapters give an overview of the material. Chapters 3-11 summarize the biblical arguments. Specialized matters are handled in chapters 15-19 and practical ones in 20-25. A final chapter responds to a statement from Christians for Biblical Equality. While the issue of women's ordination may be of immediate interest to our readers, this issue is approached within the wider scope of the relationship of each sex to the other. Thus, much of the polemics associated with this question is missing here, as the contributors set down a biblical anthropology for what it means to be man and woman. There are only seven references to women's ordination in the index.

The foreword and the first two chapters provide the core biblical data for a theological anthropology. Throughout the book the contributors go beneath the surface of the biblical prohibitions to provide theological moorings for their positions, a necessary exercise from which many who are engaged in these questions often excuse themselves. The pastor who wants to confront feministic theological issues within congregational discussion groups can, without too much conversion, adapt each chapter. Chapter three touches the issue of male headship, but within the context of male-female equality. "Women in the Life and Teachings of Jesus," chapter four, conveniently pulls together data known to most of us, but points also to the distinctiveness with which Jesus dealt with each sex. Other chapter headings are self-explanatory: "Head Coverings, Prophecies and the Trinity"; "Silent in the Churches"; "Husbands and Wives as Analogues in the Church"; "What Does It Mean Not to Teach or Have Authority Over Men?"; and "Wives Like Sarah, and Husbands Who Honor Them." The chapter titles are sufficiently attractive that those not at home with the authors' views will be seduced into reading them. Thus, this volume may succeed in re-opening a debate, which for some has become a closed and sealed book.

The third section contains miscellania which should increase the book's appeal. The chapters entitled "Biological Basis for Gender-Specific Behavior" and "Rearing Masculine Boys and Feminine Girls" provide the hard-core research data which should widen the book's attraction for parents and educators. Our readers will want to give special attention to William Weinrich's "Women in the History of the Church." The subtitle, "Learned and Holy, But Not Pastors," is a statement of the author's beliefs but, in an equally important way, he provides the historical data that women held important *theological* and *administrative* positions in the church (e.g., Abbess Hildegarde of Bingen and St. Teresa of Avila) without holding the pastoral office. The *catholic* argument is not often heard so eloquently and succinctly.

The claim that "God is sovereign over who gets married and who doesn't" (p. xxv) would have to be set against Augustana XV, which leaves such matters to man's free will. The Evangelical authors (only one is Lutheran and another Eastern Orthodox) have moved this discussion closer to the traditional arguments associated with the catholic tradition. The editors and the contributors have shown that the relationship of the sexes and their roles in the church is not a parochial, sectarian, or denominational issue, but a universal one, where each denomination needs the support of the others in maintaining the biblical doctrine and traditional practice. The Evangelical aversion to the Church of Rome may be the reason for not including at least one voice from that corner. This exclusion offends ordinary etiquette and excludes a tradition which would have made a serious contribution.

Perhaps the controversy over whether women should become pastors or not has become so politicized--"us against them"--that discussing this issue theologically, biblically, historically, and scientifically is impossible, with no hope of a satisfactory resolution for all. For those who want to go back to square one, however, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* will more than accomplish the goal. The emphasis in this title is on the first word "recovering." Its importance can be seen in the fact that *Christianity Today* (April 9, 1991, pp. 49-50) found space for a review almost as soon as it appeared. Its reviewer, Susan Foh, author of *Women* and the Word of God, had to wrestle with it. This book simply cannot and will not be ignored.

David P. Scaer

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