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The Linguistic Milieu of the Early Church

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The New Testament is written in Greek, as virtually everyone knows. But what can we say about this language? What was it like? How many spoke it? Where was it spoken? Indeed, the whole matter is a complicated one. The earliest Christians were Jews, yet their canonical religious writings are not in Hebrew or Aramaic. The earliest Christians were from Palestine, yet the authoritative documents of their new testament were not in a language native to their land. How do we understand the language of the New Testament against the background of the early church? We will attempt to find some answers in the paragraphs which follow.

I. The Language of the New Testament Socially Considered

A. *The Mediterranean Milieu*

The New Testament, as previously said, is written in Greek. While that fact may surprise the casual observer, in reality it is not so odd. The key is Alexander the Great. In the fourth century B.C. he conquered the Persian empire, and the aftermath of this conquest unleashed upon the Mediterranean world an influence of things Hellenic—that is, of things Greek—which it is hard to overestimate. Indeed, it is not too much to say that, in an incredibly short period of time (not centuries but decades), a new civilization spanning nations and even continents was created—a new civilization which was simultaneously promoted and enforced by the conquerors, on the one hand, and eagerly embraced by the conquered, on the other. Now Greek law codes were enforced; Greek cities were established; and Greek education was made available. Inhabitants throughout the land of Greece flocked to new lands, ready to take advantage of new opportunities and eager to travel and to explore places until then unknown. On their own part, the conquered nations adopted eagerly Greek styles and habits of life, including Greek dress, Greek names, and Greek architecture, as vibrant and full of life.[1]

One element of this new civilization was the Greek language. Indeed, we should say the chief element! For, not only did Alexander and the rulers use Greek as the official language of diplomacy,[2] but the subjected, anxious to fit in and to acclimatize themselves to their new situation, both because they desired survival

and because they were attracted to things Greek, adopted Greek as an important means of communication. In the words of the noted historian Moses Hadas:

> In the beginning natives may have learned [Greek] out of necessity for the uses of commerce or government, or by the compulsion of snobbery, but they continued to use it out of choice, and it soon became at least a second vernacular among a considerable proportion of the population. Upper-class natives . . . spoke to each other in Greek and were literate only in Greek . . . even books written by natives as propaganda for native values and intended mainly for a native audience were written in Greek, and . . . even books written in native languages were affected, in form and content, by Greek models.[3]

Perhaps the greatest testimony to the power of Hellenism in the ancient world in general, and of the Greek language in particular, is the Septuagint, involving the translation of the Old Testament into Greek.

B. The Palestinian Milieu

The situation was no different in Palestine. There, too, Greek culture, including the Greek language, was promoted and absorbed. To be sure, all was not received with open arms. Enforced Helleni-zation by the Seleucid successors to Alexander in Syria, especially the efforts of Antiochus IV, engendered stiff resistance, most notably the Maccabean revolt—the revolt really of the Hasidim, the holy ones, the cultural and religious conservatives of the time, in the second century B.C. The march of things Greek continued nonethe-less. Especially as far as language was concerned, Greek was alive and well in Palestine in the first century of the Christian era (and for many years before). For Greek had supplanted Aramaic as the *lingua franca* of the eastern Mediterranean, the Levant—which meant that Greek was the language of trade and commerce also for Palestine (which was within that geographical sphere), even as Aramaic had been for so many centuries before. Indeed, it was more than the language of commerce and trade. Research, especially by Liebermann,[4] Fitzmyer,[5] Lapide,[6] Gundry,[7] and Sevenster,[8] has

shown that Greek was in common use throughout Palestine in our Lord's time. Not only is this conclusion confirmed by rabbinic sources, but archaeology has brought to light wide use of Greek for inscriptions on monuments, on pottery, and on tombstones, as well as in letters and in official documents. If C. F. D. Moule is correct in his exegesis of Acts 6:1,[9] the *Hellenistai* of this important verse were Jews in Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside who habitually spoke Greek, to the virtual exclusion of Hebrew or Aramaic.

This spread and use of Greek made the language situation in Palestine much more complex than is normally supposed. The common approach, common since the 1890's, is to assume quite simply that Aramaic was the dominant language of the land, and that Jesus spoke in Aramaic when He taught. Julius Wellhausen, for example, said:

> Jesus selber sprach aramäisch, und seine Worte sowie die Erzählungen über ihn liefen in der jerusalemischen Gemeinde um, die gleichfalls aramäischer Zunge war. Die mündliche Überlieferung des Evangeliums war also von Haus aus aramäisch, und wenn sie uns nur in griechischer Niederschrift erhalten ist, so hat sie einen Sprachwechsel durchgemacht. Das steht historisch fest . . .[10]

Similarly, the sainted Martin Scharlemann often said in class: "The New Testament is in Greek; Jesus spoke Aramaic." But, not only was Greek a living language for the early believers in our Lord (Aramaic was also a living language, of course, having been so in Palestine for some six hundred years), but Hebrew was a living language as well. Research, again, has shown that Hebrew was a flourishing language in Palestine in the first century A.D. From the evidence presented by Birkeland,[11] Grintz,[12] Segal,[13] Lapide,[14] Fitzmyer,[15] Milik,[16] and Emerton,[17] we can see that Hebrew was both written and spoken extensively at the time of Christ. These are the words of J. T. Milik:

> The copper rolls and the documents from the Second Revolt prove beyond reasonable doubt that Mishnaic Hebrew was the normal language of the Judaean population in the

Roman period. Some Jewish scholars . . . had already suggested this on the basis of Talmudic anecdotes; additional evidence can be found in the inscriptions on contemporary ossuaries. The presence of Hebrew, beside Greek and Aramaic, on the ossuaries (which represent the use of the middle classes) surely attests that this was a natural language in that milieu. . . .[18]

It is probable that many, if not most, of the inhabitants of the land of Israel were trilingual. More precisely, to follow the analysis of Pinchas Lapide in his outstanding study, "Insights from Qumran into the Language of Jesus,"[19] it is probable that the inhabitants of the land of Israel were triglossic. That is to say, they spoke three languages, not interchangeably, but for discrete purposes—using Greek for political purposes and for converse, either with Gentiles or with Jews of the Diaspora; Hebrew for "religion, education, and other aspects of high culture"; and Aramaic, for "hearth, home, and livelihood."

These thoughts are interesting and important in themselves. But they are of special importance when one proceeds to a linguistic analysis of the language of the New Testament as we have it, for the complicated social juxtaposition and interrelationship of three languages, as we have described it (in this case, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek) complicate an analysis of a single language (in this case, Greek), since many cross-cultural influences occur. Indeed, the history of the discussion of the language of the New Testament is bedeviled by the problem of the influence or lack thereof of the two Semitic languages (Hebrew and Aramaic) on the focus language (Greek).[20] Yet such an analysis must be done, and to this analysis we now turn.

II. The Language of the New Testament Linguistically Considered

Given our historical-social survey, what is the language of the New Testament like? That is to say, what can we say about it linguistically? The answer to this inquiry is in some ways "simple"; it has Hellenic (that is, Greek) characteristics and it has Semitic (in this case, Hebrew, Aramaic, or both) characteristics. But things are

really not as simple as they seem. Two problems exist. First, what are these characteristics exactly—these Hellenic and Semitic characteristics? Secondly, how do these characteristics relate one to another? It may be noted that these are problems which have haunted scholarship, at least since the time of the Reformation[21] (and even, in a tangentially related way, before[22]), and no easy answers exist. Scholars differ, and this difference is often extreme—as is proper for me to admit at the outset of this section, before my own views are made known. But I will hazard an analysis of my own, giving my own personal viewpoint on the matter, always recognizing that new evidence and, therefore, new formulations may lie just around the corner.[23]

A. Hellenic (Greek) Characteristics

The language of the New Testament is Greek. But what sort of Greek is it? It is perhaps a truism, but it is worth saying, nonetheless, that it is not Attic Greek—what is usually called Classical Greek—the Greek of Athens in the fifth century B.C., the Greek of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripedes, Lysias, and Thucydides. Rather, the Greek of the New Testament is Koine Greek, the Greek of Hellenistic times. That is to say, it is the Greek of the time coinciding with and following after the rise of Philip of Macedon and especially of his son, Alexander the Great—the Greek of the late fourth century B.C. and beyond, the Greek spread by the great conqueror and his soldiers drawn from every quarter of the Greek-speaking world. For this insight we are indebted principally to Adolf Deissmann.[24] How may this Greek be described? In some ways, its nature is quite surprising. One might expect, given the historical circumstances, that it would be a ragged thing, a motley collection of various dialects (e.g., Ionian, Aeolic, Doric, and Arcadian), with no unifying characteristics at all. But such is not the case. One surprisingly unified language was in widespread use, called by the Greeks themselves the *koine dialectos*—and it is generally seen as a development of Attic (the Athenian sub-dialect of Ionian),[25] flavored in large measure by broader Ionian influence.[26] The spoken version of the Koine, a development, not of the language of the great literature of Athens but of the spoken Greek of that city, which itself had absorbed many foreign words and adopted many

constructions found in the later Koine,[27] exhibited the following characteristics, when compared to Classical Greek:[28] (1.) There are a multiplicity of new words, with new meanings attached to many old words. (2.) There is a tendency toward explicit expression. Lexically (as far as vocabulary is concerned), this tendency meant the preference for "fuller" and phonetically stronger forms. Syntactically it is seen chiefly in the increased frequency of prepositions (both proper and improper) and pronouns, and in the preference for direct, as opposed to indirect, discourse. (3.) There is a strong tendency toward simplicity. This tendency manifested itself in two ways. On the one hand, a firm movement toward uniformity is evident. Morphologically, this tendency meant elimination or modification of unusual forms of all parts of speech and the assimilation of potentially ambiguous forms to those more easily recognizable. On the other hand, the loss of fine distinctions is also apparent. Lexically, this tendency is seen in the free use of compound and diminutive vocables with no specifically compounded or diminutive meaning. Syntactically—and syntax is really more important (in fact, in many ways it is the most important item to discuss)—it is seen in the decline of the optative mood, the decline in the use of the present tense in moods other than the indicative, the decline in the number and rich combinations of particles, the increasing restriction of the middle voice to deponent usage, the expansion of the use of *hina*, and the frequency of parataxis[29] (i.e., linked coordinate clauses) in place of hypotaxis (subordinate clauses dependent upon another). Examples from the New Testament would include the following:

(1.)   With regard to vocabulary changes:

(a.)   *grēgoreō*, meaning "keep watch," in Mark 13:35, and *romphaia*, meaning "sword," in Revelation 1:16, which are new, Koine Greek, words.

(b.)   *phthanō*, meaning "arrive" instead of "anticipate," in 1 Thessalonians 2:16, and *egkoptō*, meaning "hinder" instead of "cut," in Galatians 5:7, which are old words with new, Koine Greek, meanings attached.

(2.)   With regard to the move toward explicit expression:

    (a.)   *probaton*, meaning "sheep," in place of *oïs* (the Classical Greek word), in John 21:16, and *akoloutheō*, meaning "follow," in place of *hepomai*, in Matthew 8:1, both of which are phonetically "stronger" forms.

    (b.)   *pros auton*, indicating indirect object ("to him"), in place of the dative form *autō(i)*, in John 3:4, which illustrates the increased use of prepositional constructions.

(3.)   With regard to the striving for simplicity:

    (a.)   *deiknuō*, meaning "show," in place of *deiknumi* (the Classical Greek form) in John 2:18, which changes an unusual form, assimilating it to what is more recognizable.

    (b.)   *ananggellō* instead of *anggellō*, meaning "announce," in John 4:25, and *paidion*, instead of *pais*, meaning "child," in Matthew 14:21, which illustrate the use of compounds and diminutives with the loss of specifically compound or diminutive meaning.

    (c.)   *hina* clauses instead of infinitives in 1 John 1:9 and 1 Corinthians 1:10, and of *kai* and *de* linking coordinate clauses (parataxis) instead of participles subordinating one clause to another (hypotaxis), as in Mark's account of the crucifixion of our Lord in 15:23-26, all of which illustrate the streamlining and simplifying of syntactical structure.

We may say that the Gospel of Mark and the Gospel and Epistles of John are composed in vernacular Koine Greek, as well as major portions of most other New Testament books.

As far as the *written* Koine is concerned, it too was a development of the Greek dialect of Athens, but while it was always heavily

indebted to classical Attic, it often deviated quite markedly from it. In vocabulary especially it was influenced by the vernacular. Indeed, later Koine authors, notably Polybius, Epictetus, and Josephus, made considerable concessions to vernacular usage[30]—though their writings, taken together, exhibit great variety, since usage was not entirely standardized. Hence it may be said:

> . . . die verschiedenen Formen der hellenistischen Literatursprache . . . sind schliesslich nichts anders als fortwährende Compromisse zwischen der gesprochenen Sprache und älterer schriftlicher Überlieferung, zwischen Leben und Schule.[31]

And the degree of this compromise depended upon "the education, the purpose, and the nature of the work of each individual writer."[32] Examples from the New Testament would include the following:

(1.)   The Classical Greek form *kreittōn*, meaning "better," appears in place of *kreissōn*, which is Koine Greek, in Hebrews 1:4.

(2.)   A hypotactic sentence structure, with complex subordination of phrases and clauses appears in place of simpler parataxis in Hebrews 6:4-6.

(3.)   The optative mood replaces the indicative in indirect discourse in a secondary sequence—a very classical usage—in Luke 1:29, *dielogizeto potapos eiē ho aspasmos houtos.*

In the New Testament Hebrews, 1 Peter, James, and, at times, the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul may be said to employ literary Koine Greek to a greater or lesser extent.

Thus, the Greek of the New Testament exhibits the full range of linguistic possibilities available to the writers of the first century A.D. Indeed, a useful diagram has been devised by W. L. Wonderly to portray the full range of speech in a society at large:[33]

Upper Level
(educated speech)

Lower Level
(uneducated speech)

Erudite vocabulary, literary elaboration,
etc.: not accessible to uneducated

Overlap area: common language
acceptable to educated, accessible
to uneducated

Slang, vulgar speech, "incorrect"
usages: not acceptable to educated
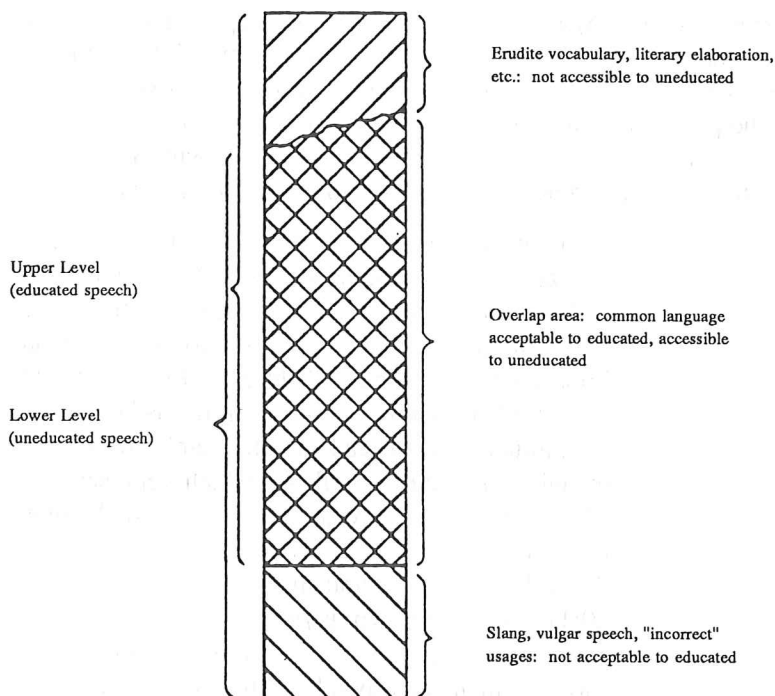
In society at large some linguistic usages are inaccessible to the uneducated (top of diagram), even as others are unacceptable to the educated (bottom of diagram), while the large middle portion is acceptable to all and accessible to all. As far as the New Testament is concerned, the vast majority of its writers employ language in such a way that it falls into the large, common, overlap area—most notably St. Matthew and St. Paul—which is appropriate for writers who wish to proclaim the message of salvation to all sorts and conditions of men.

B. Semitic Characteristics

As we noted at the beginning of this major section, the Greek of the New Testament, in addition to its Hellenic characteristics, possesses Semitic characteristics—almost inevitably, given the social and historical matrix of the early church. But what are these

characteristics? Again, as we have said, little agreement exists on these matters, but it is reasonable to assume Semitic interference in New Testament Koine in two substantial ways: (1.) lexically, both by the presence of foreign words and especially by the ascription of non-Greek meanings to Greek words and, (2.) syntactically, by constructions which are not congenial to basic forms of Greek.

(1.)   First, then, there is lexical interference. We find *pascha*, meaning "passover," in 1 Corinthians 5:7, and *rabbi* in John 1:38, which represent the importation of foreign words directly into Greek. More importantly, *doxa* means "glory" in Romans 15:27, instead of "opinion," and *eidōlon* means "idol" in 1 Corinthians 8:4, instead of "phantom" (the normal meaning in Koine), both of which represent the filling of Greek words with Hebrew-Aramaic meanings.

(2.)   Secondly, there is syntactical interference. Luke 20:11 contains the words *prosetheto heteron pempsai doulon*, meaning, "and *again* he sent another slave," which corresponds to the Hebrew construction using *hōsīph*. Mark 8:12 contains the words *ei dothēsetai tē genea tautē semeion*, meaning "*surely* a sign will *not* be given to this generation," which corresponds to the Hebrew construction using *'im*. John 16:17 contains the words *ek tōn mathētōn autou*, meaning "*some* of His disciples," which corresponds to a Hebrew usage of *min*. All of these constructions are more Semitic than they are true Greek.

It is important to note, however, that the problem is much more subtle than is generally supposed—especially with regard to syntactical matters. For it is necessary to distinguish between what James Hope Moulton called "primary Semitisms," on the one hand, and "secondary Semitisms," on the other.[34] A primary Semitism is a construction which is unnatural Greek, something a native Greek speaker would never say. It is what we have described so far. A secondary Semitism is a construction which is not bad Greek *per se*,

but which corresponds to a construction in Hebrew or Aramaic and, therefore, makes one suspect that Semitic influence is at work. Here frequency is key. A frequent usage of such a construction is often uncommon with native speakers of Greek but common with those working with a Semitic tongue. Examples would be the following:

(1.) The use of *en tō* with the infinitive in a temporal sense corresponds to the Hebrew *bēth*, as in Luke 5:1, *egeneto de in tō ton ochlon epikeisthai autō*.

(2.) The order of attributive adjectives and nouns sometimes corresponds to the normal Hebrew pattern, namely, article, noun, article, adjective, as in Matthew 6:11, *ton arton hēmōn ton epiousion dos hēmin sēmeron*.

(3.) Adjectival genitives correspond to the Hebrew and Aramaic tendency to use a noun in the genitive in place of an adjective to modify another noun, as in 2 Thessalonians 2:3, *ho anthrōpos tēs anomias, ho uios tēs apōleias*.

(4.) The instrumental use of *en* corresponds to the Hebrew *bēth*, as in Revelation 2:16, *polemēsō met' autōn en tē romphaia tou stomatos mou*.

In each of these cases, Greek examples may be found, but not in anything like the frequency which the New Testament enjoys. How extensive, then, is Semitic interference in New Testament Greek? The answer is not at all apparent. The issue, it should be quite clear, revolves around the matter of *secondary* Semitisms—which constructions may be so classified—and this is really an argument regarding frequency. How frequent is frequent for the sake of linguistic comparison? The evidence changes day by day. Stanley Watson, in a recent publication, has argued quite convincingly that several constructions thought to be rare in Greek and frequent in Hebrew and Aramaic—and, therefore, by virtue of frequent usage secondary Semitisms (e.g., the use of the future indicative in place of a tense of the subjunctive after *hina* [Luke 20:10] and the imperatival participle [1 Peter 1:18])[35]—are, in fact, frequent in the Koine Greek of Hellenistic times and, therefore, cannot be classified as Semitisms in any real sense at all.[36]

Finally, it is right to ask what the *cause* of the Semitisms which do exist is, for it is a question which has importance for our understanding of the life of the early church. Again, there is little consensus on this matter, but the following may be noted. Some Semitisms seem to be directly attributable to *external* factors, to factors outside the mental world of the individual author himself. Aside from the obvious, a transliteration—taking over directly what a principal speaks in Hebrew or Aramaic (e.g., *ēli, ēli, lema sabach-thani*, in Matthew 27:46)—some Semitic interference may represent translations from other texts. On the one hand, we may think of written texts. Quotations from the Septuagint are obvious examples of such Semitic interference, for the Septuagint itself is a translation of a Hebrew text. But this point does raise the question of *written* Semitic texts, *Vorlagen* (whether in the form of *logia* collections or some other format),[37] for certain portions of New Testament texts, such as sayings of our Lord, which contain Semitisms at every turn. On the other hand, *unwritten* texts may be translational sources for the same portions of the New Testament text—Semitic oral traditions which have now been rendered into Greek, such as those hypothesized for almost eighty years by form-critical studies.

Other Semitisms are attributable to internal factors, to factors within the mental world of the individual author himself. And here two items may be noted. The first is the Old Testament translated into Greek in the Septuagint—meaning not quotations of the Septuagint (which were mentioned above) but, rather, the linguistic influence of the Septuagint on early Christian speech. The Septuagint was surely widely known—quotations from New Testament authors of every type and stripe are proof of that—which means that the words and the structures of this work—itself heavily Semitic as translational Greek—impressed themselves upon the thought of early Christian writers, in the same way in which the King James Version has affected the speech of English-speaking Christians throughout the entire world.[38] Indeed, Septuagintisms, both real (e.g., *en tō* with the infinitive [Luke 5:1]) and imitational (e.g., *anatolē ex hupsous*, "dayspring from on high" [Luke 1:78]), have been detected by Max Wilcox[39] and several others.[40] It is difficult to overestimate the influence of the Septuagint on the New Testament writers as a whole.

The second internal source of interference is Semitic linguistic competence on the part of those whose native language was the Hebrew or Aramaic tongue. A man grows up speaking and thinking Hebrew or Aramaic. Later, he also acquires Greek. But his Semitic patterns of expression never leave him altogether, although he becomes fluent in his second tongue—even as those born in Germany or France never speak English totally as a native, with total idiomatic command, exhibiting especially native language interference of the "secondary" kind. Such interference need not be harsh or frequent, but it is present nonetheless, being more or less in evidence in each individual case. In this observer's opinion, however, there is no clear and strong evidence for a special "Jewish-Greek" dialect spoken by Semitic people, a Jewish-Greek *patois* (which type of special dialect has been conjectured by many since Edwin Hatch,[41] most strongly by Nigel Turner[42] and most recently by Steven Thompson in his new study on the Book of Revelation).[43] Indeed, sociolinguistic study itself would suggest that such would not be the case, for Greek was the "prestige" language of the Mediterranean world; and, in such a multilingual setting, linguistic transfer normally occurs in the direction *from,* not toward, the dominant language of the time.[44]

C. The Relationship between Hellenic and Semitic Features

What is the relationship between the two sets of characteristics of New Testament Greek as we have noted them, the Hellenic and the Semitic? Each student must decide for himself on this matter but, as this observer reads the evidence, the Hellenic factors are dominant in the end. Yes, Semitic constructions do appear. Yes, Semitic vocabulary does abound. But the Greek of the New Testament is still Greek—true Hellenistic Greek—not basically Hebrew disguised as Greek nor Aramaic in Greek dress. It is truly Greek, Koine Greek with a Semitic tinge, a tinge which may be traced in large measure to the Septuagint, as has been said. And this phenomenon should not surprise us in the least. For our God is a God who works with tools, tools He has at hand, but tools appropriate to the task. And the language of the New Testament as we have it in our books is appropriate to this task. For it is truly Greek—the *lingua franca* of its time—able to reach many peoples and nations throughout the

ancient world, with no language barrier at all. Yet salvation is "of the Jews." The Old Testament is still true. And the incarnational roots—the heritage from the Semitic past—are still present, not only in the thought, the doctrine, and the truths, but also in something of the very form by which that truth is told.

Endnotes

1.   Moses Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; reprint, 1972), pp. 21-42.

2.   Procope S. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and the Subsequent Periods* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1936; reprint, 1979), p. 42.

3.   Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture*, p. 34.

4.   Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II-IV C.E.* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942), and *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E.-IV Century C.E.* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962).

5.   Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 32 (1970), pp. 507-518.

6.   Pinchas Lapide, "Insights from Qumran into the Language of Jesus," *Revue de Qumran*, 8 (1972-75), pp. 498-501.

7.   Robert Gundry, "The Language Milieu of First Century Palestine: Its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 83 (1964), pp. 404-408.

8.   Jan N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).

9.   C. F. D. Moule, "Once More, Who Were the Hellenists?" *Expository Times*, 70 (1959), pp. 100-102.

10.   Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die Drei Ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 1905), p. 14 (cf. also p. 34).

11.   Harris Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus* (Oslo, 1954).

12.   Jehoshua M. Grintz, "Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 79 (1960), pp. 32-47.

13.   Moses H. Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

14.   Lapide, "Insights from Qumran into the Language of Jesus," pp. 483-501.

15.   Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," pp. 528-531.

16.   Joszef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, trans. J. Strugnell (Naperville, Illinois: A. R. Allenson, 1959).

17.   J. A. Emerton, "The Problem of Vernacular Hebrew in the First Century A.D. and the Language of Jesus," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 24 (1973), pp. 1-23.

18.   Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, pp. 130-131.

19.   Lapide, "Insights from Qumran into the Language of Jesus," pp. 485-501.

20.   Cf. James W. Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 25:2, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984), 894-930.

21.   See especially Matthias Flacius, *Clavis Scripturae S. seu de Sermone Sacrarum Literarum*, 1 (Basel: P. Quecum, 1567).

22.   Early church fathers, such as Isidor of Pelusium (4, Epistle 67, in Migne, *Patrologia Graece*, 78, 1124-1125), felt constrained to defend the ingenuous nature of New Testament Greek.

23.   A new study of no small significance has just been published: Stanley E. Porter, "The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent

Discussion," *New Testament Studies*, 35 (1989), pp. 582-603. Porter also treats the historical and social milieu of New Testament Greek.

24. See especially G. Adolf Deissmann, *Biblical Studies: Contributions Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity*, trans. A. Grieve (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1909), *The Philology of the Greek Bible: Its Present and Future*, trans. L. R. M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), and *Licht vom Osten: Das Neue Testament and die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, fourth ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923).

25. Cf. Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," 932-933, note 232.

26. Cf. Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," 933, note 233.

27. Cf. Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," 934, note 240.

28. Cf. Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," 933.

29. The latest treatment is contained in Porter, "The Language of the Apocalypse," p. 590.

30. Costas, *Greek Language Outline*, p. 47.

31. Albert Thumb, *Die Griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der Koine* (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1901; photocopy ed., Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), p. 8.

32. Costas, *Greek Language Outline*, p. 47.

33. William L. Wonderly, "Some Principles of 'Common Language' Translation," *Bible Translator*, 21 (1970), p. 127.

34. James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 2: Accidence and Word-Formation, ed. W. F. Howard (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1929), pp. 15-16.

35. Porter, "The Language of the Apocalypse," pp. 590-592.

36.   There is, further, the question of the Greek evidence *per se*. Has it—the secular Greek which is used as a standard for comparison in matters of Semitic influence in texts—been infected, so to speak, by Semitic influence itself? Evidence has been presented which would answer "yes" to such a question, especially for documents from the Egyptian desert, but again all the evidence is not in. See Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," 919-920, note 157.

37.   Compare the comments of Papias regarding Matthew writing *ta logia* in *hebraïdi dialektō* (Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, III, 39, 16).

38.   This idea has been growing in popularity. See Bruce M. Metzger, "The Language of the New Testament," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, 7 (New York: Abingdon Press), p. 46, and J. C. Doudna, "The Greek of the Gospel of Mark," *Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series*, 12 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961), p. 136, who speaks of Mark's mind being "stored with the expressions of the Septuagint," a description which surely describes St. Luke. Deissmann, the great pioneer of linguistic investigation of the New Testament, propounded a similar position in *Biblical Studies*, p. 76.

39.   Max Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 57.

40.   Cf. Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," 927, note 200.

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Catechesis: The Quiet Crisis

William E. Thompson

Like many young pastors upon their ordination and installation, I had a firm confessional resolve and a definite direction for ministry which were mandated by my ordination vows. Because of this confessional resolve, I chose to begin my Sunday-morning Bible class with a study of the Augsburg Confession. I felt that it would offer an opportunity to deepen the understanding of the faith which was known through Luther's Small Catechism as well as expose the congregation to another of our church's confessions. It did not take long for me to realize that the faithful members of this study-group did not have Luther's Catechism as a basis on which to stand. They had either forgotten through disuse what they had learned of the Catechism or they had simply never been taught the Catechism in the first place. I then asked for a show of hands by those members of the class who had learned the Catechism before confirmation. To my shock, only two out of a group of about twenty-five had been catechized with the Small Catechism. The common reference-point which I naively assumed would be there in any congregation to which I was called was not there.

Since that time I have struggled to answer why this state of catechesis exists in our church. At the outset I must acknowledge the insights of many brothers in the ministry who have helped me in this struggle.[1] A Lutheran laity unfamiliar with the Small Catechism seems odd, especially in the LCMS, which historically has prided herself on the purity of her confession. In Lutheranism worldwide there are currently many questions concerning the church and ministry which are being discussed. Two aspects of the church and ministry which have always served as unifying forces in our church are her hymnbooks-agendas and her catechisms. There is currently much diversity and a great deal of discussion about hymnbooks-agendas. However, while there is great diversity in catechetical approach, there is little discussion of it. The situation is puzzling, since there are many parishes with a catechetical history similar to mine. I submit that we are in a catechetical crisis, a crisis which is being silently ignored. This essay attempts to define and address this crisis in the context of pastoral practice. We shall address the place and shape of catechesis in the life of the church both now and, in a general way, historically in evangelical Lutheranism.

I. The Nature of the Crisis

A. *The Church Today versus the Church Catholic*

Luther's Small Catechism is no longer the basis of catechesis in our church. Where it is in use, it is usually in either a manner which was never intended or in a form which makes it unrecognizable. Thus, not only is the Christian understanding of the church lost to the priests of God but so also is the Christian world-view. We have a vocational crisis.

It is a characteristic of our age to believe that we can constantly create something which is new and improved. Eugene Peterson has noted that one of the prominent ways in which our generation displays its sinfulness is that it is adolescent and a-historical.[2] The two are complementary. Adolescence is characterized by unrealistic and misdirected expectations, impatience, a high degree of self-centeredness, a fragile ego, and the firm conviction that anything historical could not possibly be of any use today. When this thinking comes into the church, there are disastrous consequences. The church is by definition and essence historical, that is, catholic and apostolic. Wilhelm Loehe, writing in the middle of the last century, comments: "Perhaps you say, 'That is nothing new.' But I have not said that it is something new. Great thoughts are not born in the last hour of the world; the Lord grants them to His Church from the beginning. Novelty and falsehood are synonymous when they apply to things which one cannot really comprehend. Every novelty in religious matters deserves suspicion . . . One may know things all one's life without understanding them."[3] Yet, the church today is highly influenced by our adolescent, a-historical culture. We are not good at heeding the admonition of the writer to the Hebrews to "honor our fathers in the faith." We do not take the care of St. Paul, who handed over only that which he received from the Lord. Each pastor does what he wishes. The adolescence of our culture has filled the church. If the current program is not working, we latch on to the next one. Each one promises success, which, of course, is measured by the twentieth-century marks of the church—numbers, money, emotion, and the social satisfaction of the customers. We have arrived when we can begin to create our own

fads to attract and keep the "crowds."

Addressing catechesis in a churchly way involves honoring our fathers in the faith. Significant portions of the Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments, are catechetical in nature. Catechesis is the subject of some of the earliest extent documents that we have of the life of the early church. Most believe that *The Didache*, one of the earliest such documents (usually dated between 80 and 120 A.D.), is a catechetical document perhaps used in the churches planted by Paul. In addition, there is a rich body of catechetical work to be studied in the church fathers, both of the East and West, perhaps the most thorough being Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Lectures*. A study of this literature is beyond the scope of this essay. However, for evangelical Lutherans, the author of our Catechism must have the main voice in the discussion here.

B. Luther's Catechesis versus Catechesis Today

One of the first questions which I asked myself when I taught catechism for the first time (both adult and junior) was why Luther did not write a catechism like the ones which are produced *ad infinitum* today. The approach today is to have a set number of lessons in a book with each lesson covering a different topic or doctrine. In this way we can be sure we will cover all that needs to be covered and at the same time know how long the classes will take from start to finish. Some curricula include worksheets and tests for use in the class for evaluation of progress and reinforcement of the lesson. Examples on the junior level from Concordia Publishing House are *The Concordia Catechism Series*, *The Living Word*, and *Growing*. For adults there are Abdon's *Living Discipleship*, Ginkel's *I Have Good News for You!*, Riess' *What Does the Bible Say?*, Thiess' *Life with God*, and others. Luther certainly was capable of producing such a thing, yet he did not. At first I thought it was due to the primitive printing conditions. Yet research has led me to conclude that Luther could have produced charts and books of the twentieth-century form with the technology available to him if he had wanted to do so. The answer, interestingly, comes from Luther himself in the Prefaces to the Large and Small Catechisms.

1. Catechesis and the Christian Life in General

For Luther, the Catechism is a prayer-book, not merely a book of doctrine. The Catechism is an enchiridion, a handbook, for living the baptismal life. Catechesis is a training in living as a baptized child of God, not just an accumulation of facts. The central error that we have made in catechesis is to treat it as an academic process rather than as a patterning of living in our baptism. We have treated the Catechism as a textbook rather than a prayer-book. Consequently, many adults, including pastors, view the Catechism as a book for children and not for us, as if it were a book like other school-books —something to be tolerated until graduation and then discarded. This problem is further compounded when pastors who do seek to use the Catechism concentrate on explanations of the Catechism rather than on the Catechism itself. If we speak of the "catechism" to parishioners who have actually studied the Catechism, most have in mind the synodical explanation, not the Catechism itself (i.e., the last 180 pages of the "Blue Catechism," not the first 35). Neglect of the Catechism was a problem already at Luther's time. He writes in the Preface to the Large Catechism:

> To our regret we see that even many pastors are neglectful of the Catechism, despising both their office and the Catechism itself . . . As for myself, let me say this: I, too, am a doctor and pastor. In fact, I am as educated and experienced as any of those who have all that nerve and brazen self-confidence. Yet I continue to do as a child does that is being taught the Catechism. Mornings and whenever I have time I recite word for word and *pray* the ten commandments, the creed, etc. I must still study and *pray* the catechism daily, yet I cannot master it as I would like, but must remain a child and student of the catechism. This I do gladly. But those who think they have mastered it in one reading need not anticipate failing; they have already failed. What they do need is to become children again and start learning their abc's, which they falsely imagine they long ago had under their belts.[4]

Luther stresses three aspects of catechesis: doctrinal content, specificity of words, and the shape of the baptismal life, that is, the

practice of the faith. Modern catechetical material sometimes retains the emphasis on doctrinal content while all but ignoring Luther's choice of words and displacing the baptismal life to a mere chapter among many. This approach results in a confusion of the Christian vocation. It disjoints the doctrine confessed from the life lived.

The genius of Luther in writing the Catechism is the integration of the three aspects of catechesis around the hub of justification by grace through faith (the *Hauptartikel*). This approach is seen in the overall structure as well as the structure within each part of the Catechism. The six chief parts form the shape of living the baptismal life—all centered in the promises of Christ. Part One, the Ten Commandments, diagnoses the disease—our sin (law). Part Two, the Creed, proclaims the cure—the work of Christ (gospel). Part Three, the Lord's Prayer, is the response of the faithful heart to this salvation. These three parts Luther considered the absolute minimum for the training of a Christian. These three parts teach the shape of the baptismal life of repentance. The final three parts, dealing with absolution and the sacraments, teach how this life is created and nurtured by God. The baptized live by daily contrition and repentance as shaped by Parts I-III, always making use of the gifts described in Parts IV-VI. This connection is tied together in Part V and in the Christian Questions and Answers, where we are directed to examine ourselves according to the Ten Commandments and so confess our sins before we receive the absolution and the blessed body and blood of Christ. The connection is made explicit in Part IV where we answer that baptizing with water signifies a life of daily contrition and repentance. This life of the baptized is a life which is actually practiced and lived. It forms, not only our understanding of the church, but also our world-view. This shape of the life of the baptized is what Luther says in the Preface to the Large Catechism that he never learns as he ought.

The true shape of the baptismal life is a distinctively Lutheran and scriptural one. In the structure of the Catechism we see law and gospel rightly ordered and distinguished, the response of faith (prayer) rightly taught (that is, based in God's word), and the sacraments in their central actuality in the life of the baptized. The doctrine of the gospel is presented in its completeness with the chief

article, justification, at the center. The life of the baptized shaped by the Catechism is one which extols the gifts of the Lord rather than the works of man.

The structure of the Catechism also serves to pronounce the *damnamus* on false confessions. Both the Roman and the Reformed confusions of law and gospel can be addressed on the basis of their action in the life of the believer. Attaching the role of the sacraments to the law, rather than the gospel, causes the obscuring of the gospel in the life of the church. Finally, these changes strip the merits of Christ and the righteousness of faith from the center of the life of the church and substitute works of the law in various forms. The specific details of each heterodox teaching is addressed within each part.

The life of the baptized is also seen within each part of the Catechism. The basic structure is simple. God speaks and we speak back to Him what He has spoken to us. This pattern is not present merely because it provides a good didactic structure. It is present to shape our lives of prayer. Prayer is always an answer. God has the first word and we speak back to Him in the words which He has given us. Luther and others before and after him in the evangelical tradition never divorced the baptismal life of repentance and prayer from the word of God and the article of justification.[5] God must always have the first say in our relationship with Him and we respond in the words which He has given us.

2. Catechesis and Worship

Luther connected this relationship to the pattern of the Divine Service in his writings on it and on the Lord's Supper. That is, the service is *Gottesdienst* understood as a subjective genitive, God's service to us. Delivery of His gifts of forgiveness, life, and salvation are primary in worship. Luther wrote hymns for each part of the Catechism to reinforce this connection to the Divine Service.[6] In addition, the music which he chose and wrote for the Divine Service, as well as for the Offices of Matins and Vespers, was intended to continue the catechetical process. This unified approach was carried forward in the period of orthodoxy. Gunther Stiller has shown this fact in his penetrating work on the rich liturgical life in

Bach's Leipzig. Part of catechism for the young boys was to sing in one of the four *Kantoreien* on Sundays and festivals in the four city churches. The choirs all functioned *liturgically*, that is, they led the congregation in the singing of the liturgy and chorales as well as singing the cantata for the day. All participation was to proclaim God's word according to the confessional pattern of the Catechism.[7]

Luther himself in his treatise *The German Mass and Order of Service* clearly demonstrates the necessity of catechesis being one with worship. The integration of the two in a unified whole around the hub of justification by grace through faith is apparent. Also apparent is Luther's agreement with the ancient dictum, "lex orandi, lex credendi"—in effect, as one prays, so he believes, and as one believes, so he prays. After introducing the topic of the German Service, Luther writes:

> First, the German service needs a plain and simple, fair and square catechism. Catechism means the instruction in which the heathen who want to be Christians are taught and what they should believe, know, do, and leave undone, according to the Christian faith. This is why the candidates who had been admitted for such instruction and learned the Creed before Baptism used to be called catechumens. This instruction or catechization I cannot put better or more plainly than has been done from the beginning of Christendom and retained till now, i.e., in these three parts, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Our Father. These three plainly and briefly contain exactly everything that a Christian needs to know . . . And let no one think himself too wise for such child's play. Christ, to train men, had to become man himself . . . Otherwise, people can go to church daily and come away the same as they went. For they think they need only listen at the time, without any thought of learning or remembering anything.[8]

Note that Luther writes these words in a treatise on the Divine Service. He sees catechesis centered in and looking forward to the Divine Service. He also includes instruction to the parents on catechizing their children at home to be ready for the Divine Service. Luther sees here the life of the baptized in a totality. We

daily live lives of contrition and repentance in our baptism, always looking forward to the Divine Service.

Thus, the baptismal life has its center in the Divine Service, and its daily pattern is centered in the word of God as patterned in the Catechism. Each part of the Catechism is grounded in the word of God in this living pattern. The meaning and application of these words of God are never static but apply to us differently every day. It is the shape of the baptismal life lived daily. It breathes in us with God's words of law and gospel. Thus, Luther could say that we have no need to demand that the baptized receive Christ's body and blood or go to confession, since they will demand it by reason of their need.[9] The baptismal life shaped by the Catechism is centered in the gifts of forgiveness, life, and salvation given in the sacraments. Thus, our lives are grounded in the article of justification, lived through the external means mandated by Christ, and protected from every form of enthusiasm.

This baptismal shape describes our Christian life. It describes our Christian world-view. It gives vocational certainty. Luther was deeply concerned with this vocational grounding. He expounds its shape in the Table of Duties, in his explanation of how one examines himself according to the Ten Commandments, as well as in the explanations in the Large Catechism, especially of the Fourth Commandment. It provides the scriptural directives for living our lives as the priests of God in the place and office where God has placed us. In today's confused world—where children are parents and parents children, where women are men and men women, where husbands are wives and wives husbands, and where everyone is a minister and ministers are organizers, entertainers, cheerleaders, and fundraisers—this vocational grounding is sorely needed.

II. Causes of the Crisis

Neither space nor time allows opportunity to describe further the richness of Luther's Catechism. We must ask ourselves how we have come to ignore, avoid, and neglect the Catechism today. It was not always so. There have been many who understood Luther's genius in writing the Catechism. Wilhelm Loehe, in the middle of the nineteenth century wrote, "The Small Catechism of Luther is a

confession of the church, and of all the confessions it is the one most congenial and familiar to the people. It is the only catechism in the world that one can *pray*. But it is less known than true that it can be called a veritable miracle in respect of the extraordinary fullness and great wealth of knowledge which is here expressed in so few words."[10] Loehe wrote an explanation of the Catechism which was narrative in form and which focused on developing a life of prayer based on the text of the Catechism. The narrative explanations explained the Catechism word for word. Scriptural citations were also included in narrative rather than proof-texting form. This tradition was brought to America in the Franconian colonies of Michigan. Following the break with Missouri, the Iowa Synod theologian Johann Michael Reu carried this tradition forward.[11] Augsburg Publishing House still publishes an explanation of the Catechism by Reu which follows this pattern.[12] We in Missouri, at least in recent times, have lost this rich catechetical tradition. Our synodical explanation of the Catechism, in its dogmatically styled outline-form with scriptural proof-texts, can produce good systematicians who are then prepared to tackle Francis Pieper's *Dogmatics*. Such a pattern is appropriate and, indeed, necessary to good dogmatics, but inappropriate to catechesis. A catechism with such a construction lacks the baptismal realism of Luther, Loehe, and Reu, who prepare those catechized to "take up the Large Catechism."[13]

A. A Disrespectful Attitude

One reason already mentioned for our neglect of the Catechism is our unwillingness to honor our fathers in the faith. We believe that we know more than all those who have gone before us. Consequently, pastors use whatever seems right to them at any moment in time. However, I believe there are also other reasons.

B. A Lack of Faith in the Means of Grace

The second and perhaps the most important reason is that we simply fail in the struggle to believe that our Lord is going to do what He says He is going to do through the means which He has mandated. A quick overview of much of the adult catechetical

material available reveals rich insights into this unbelief. For instance, most materials to greater or lesser degrees spend a good deal of time speaking *about* the word of God rather than *from* it. They do not speak law which reveals sin and gospel which forgives it, but they speak about God and His word in a variety of ways. Most materials begin in lesson one with the word of God. They spend the first lesson defining and defending the word rather than speaking from it. Some take great pains to convince the student that the Bible is inerrant without speaking a word of law or gospel from the Scripture. Hence, they begin with the article of the Scripture, in a fundamentalistic way, rather than the article of justification. It can legitimately be concluded that Luther recognized that conviction that the Bible is God's word comes from speaking from the Scripture, not from speaking about it with rational arguments. Hence, he began with God's alien work, asking the crushing question, "Who is your God?" This question is present for the sake of speaking of the work of Christ in the second article and its application in the absolution. Luther believed that Scripture is self-authenticating, because it is a two-edged sword which cuts to the heart. We struggle to believe this truth and therefore begin by defending the Bible. (A procedure, again, which is appropriate and, indeed, necessary to good dogmatics—beginning with prolegomena and bibliology—is inappropriate to catechesis.)

A second observation corroborating the fact that we fail to believe that our Lord works through the means He has appointed is that the sacraments and the forgiveness delivered through them are rarely at the center of attention in modern catechetical materials but instead receive chapters embedded among others. The table of contents might read: "Scripture," "God," "Man," "Baptism," "The Lord's Supper," "Stewardship," "Evangelism," and so forth. The centrality of God's forgiving action as seen in the Catechism is missing. We simply fail in the struggle to believe that God does what He says He does through His means.

This unbelief in the efficacy of the means of grace has resulted in the aforementioned divorce of doctrine and practice which are inextricably bound together in the Catechism as well as in the rest of the confessions. In recent decades the delusion that one can

confess a body of doctrine without practicing it has resulted in a proliferation of heterodox practices in the church such as the use of worship and music forms of the Reformed tradition, open communion, abandonment of individual confession and absolution, unionistic services, lay ministry, and women serving in areas given only to men. In his recent book, *Evangelical Style and Lutheran Substance*, David Luecke writes, "Congregations or church bodies have as their substance the part of their identity that has to remain unchanged. Style can be identified as how a church expresses that substance. Style can and does change over the years."[14] In making this statement Luecke does not mean as style true adiaphora as described in the confessions (especially Article X of the Formula of Concord) but distinctively Lutheran church practices such as the practice of the Lord's Supper, the practice of the ministry within the congregation, the practice of worship, and the practice of evangelism. Thus, the distinction which he makes between "substance" and "style" is really a distinction between doctrine in the abstract and practice. This distinction is condemned in the Lutheran Confessions.[15] The point is simply to state that doctrine, practice, and worship are a unity. There is no such thing as baptism, confession and absolution, the Lord's Supper, prayer, the life of good works, or any article of faith *extra usum*. These articles are not and cannot be abstractions. When their practice is changed, so also is that article of faith and the doctrine of the gospel. It is the gospel which is at stake.

C. *The Adoption of Legalistic Goals*

A third reason that we are in a catechetical crisis is that the goals of catechesis are different in current materials than in Luther. The title of one popular adult course, *Living Discipleship*, would not necessarily imply a different goal. However, upon closer observation of the material we find that there has been a significant shift in the shape of this life of discipleship away from Luther's. Like many other adult materials, the law of God is taken up *after* a discussion of the sacraments. The implication and practical result is that the primary use of the law is not to accuse the sinner, but to direct his life. A disciple is "living," not so much by confessing sin and believing the absolution, but rather by accomplishing God's will through the commandments. The commandments are present in this

schema to chide us to do the program outlined. Unlike Luther and Scripture, the gospel is now present for the sake of the law, rather than the law for the sake of the gospel. There is thus a shift away from christological sanctification to anthropological sanctification (which is no sanctification at all). The goal of this catechetical pattern is to produce certain verifiable results in the life of the individual, rather than to train the baptized to live in their baptism with the promises of God at the center of their lives. The works of man become the center of the Christian life rather than the gifts of God. Once again, the attack is on the article of justification and the entire doctrine of the gospel.

D. A Search for Shortcuts

A fourth reason that we are in catechetical crisis is that we look for easy formulae for instruction rather than patiently instructing in the meaning of simple words. A case in point is catechetical material dealing with the Lord's Supper. In the Catechism Luther goes to great pains to make clear the meaning of the simple words of Christ and the gifts which they deliver. This procedure gives opportunity to evaluate the Reformed and Roman views on the basis of the words and the understanding of these words. The heterodox teaching in each is the emphasis on human participation and action in the Supper which attacks the merits of Christ and the righteousness of faith. Modern catechetical material typically takes neither the words nor the gifts of Christ seriously. For instance, most of these materials describe the differences between the Reformed, Roman, and Lutheran churches on the Supper in a chart describing which elements are present. This description is done on the basis of 1 Corinthians 10:16 and is intended to teach the Lutheran position of the real presence over against Roman transubstantiation and Reformed "real absence." Totally ignored, however, is the central thing at issue with Rome, the sacrifice of the mass and, with the Reformed, the purely spiritual eating which makes the Supper dependent on the one receiving rather than the one giving. These are the central issues between Lutherans, Romanists, and Reformed, and they center on the merits of Christ and the gifts which He gives. Once again, the issue is the article of justification. Faith which trusts the word of God is born and nurtured through patient

exposition of that word, not through easy formulae and categories which explain peripheral distinctions.

I believe that this quest for easy formulae for catechesis is in part the result of a vocational crisis among pastors. Catechesis, preaching, the liturgy, the sacraments, and personal confession and absolution are no longer believed to be the primary means of pastoral care. The life of the church outlined in the Catechism has been supplanted by marketing schemes, programs, methods of persuasion, and "leadership" which all promise success. The church and the ministry are being viewed increasingly as social or, even more disturbingly, as political phenomena which change as society changes.[16] The result is that, when the "felt needs" of the congregation are slick marketing, positive reinforcement, non-directive counselling, fundraising, or whatever, the world and the old man impose a shape of pastoral care which conforms to these "needs." The result is that pastors run from meeting to meeting, always trying to keep up with the latest fads, and are left without sufficient time to pray, study, hear confession (or confess themselves), or prepare sermons. This vocational confusion is nothing new. Wilhelm Loehe wrote of it in the middle of the last century:

> The Lutheran Church knows that the Lord imparts His Holy Spirit only through His Word and Sacraments, and therefore she acknowledges no other means of operation. She knows that in the work of salvation man is able to do nothing more than lend his ear to the divine truth just as he would lend it to any other word; therefore before anything else, she tries to move men and admonish them to hear and to heed the Word . . . She does not consider it an insult if it is said: This pastor thinks it enough to preach, catechize, administer the Sacraments, hear the confessions of penitents, and comfort the sick. She knows that even the most faithful pastors do not enough of this. She does not care for a multiplication of pastoral offices, but she does care for a right use of those enjoined in the Scriptures and handed down from old time. To many it is a new discovery that one ought not be a master of many trades but a master of the few and noble means; but the Church never knew any

other wisdom—in one word, she does much with few means
. . . The poverty of our fathers is richer than the riches of
their critics . . . Therefore it does not have any sympathy
with the new highly-praised means of furthering good
works. She desires to carry on good works, but not in the
manner of an association or a stock company . . . The
preacher of the Church is therefore no friend of "new
measures," as the Methodists call them, but he stands by the
old measures of patient, faithful loyalty to the Word and
true doctrine.[17]

Loehe points out that the primary means of pastoral care and
practice can be quickly forced to the periphery in order to address
changing and urgent demands of the changing winds. The result of
this process is a breakdown in catechesis where it becomes program-
matized and segmented away from its unity with the Divine Service
and the daily baptismal life. To avoid this vocational confusion it
would be wise for each pastor to read and study his ordination vows
on a consistent basis. The vocational clarity of the Catechism and
the rest of the confessions is affirmed in them.

E. A Confusion in Ecclesiology

This observation leads us to a fifth reason for the current cateche-
tical situation. We have changed the church from an article of faith
to something in the visual sensorium. Luther follows Scripture in
making catechesis primarily an oral-aural exercise rather than a
visual exercise. God always works through speaking. He spoke
creation into existence. The virgin conceived through the word of
the angel. Faith is given through hearing. St. Paul says that, if we
live by sight, we are no longer living by faith. The church is always
believed to be where God's word is taught in its truth and purity and
where the sacraments are administered according to Christ's
institution.[18] For Luther the words of the Catechism are to be
memorized so that they can be heard rather than being seen.[19] In
this way God does His work in us. This truth does not deny the
reality of the church in the world but anchors it in the oral sensori-
um of faith, not the visual sensorium of proof. Luther expounds this
position in a sermon on the Palm Sunday gospel taken from

Matthew 21:

> Thirdly he says: "Behold." With this word he arouses us at once from sleep and unbelief as though he had something great, strange or remarkable to offer, something we have long wished for and now would receive with joy. Such waking up is necessary for the reason that everything that concerns faith is against reason and nature; for example, how can nature and reason comprehend that such a one should be king of Jerusalem who enters in such poverty and humility as to ride upon a borrowed ass? But faith is of the nature that it does not judge nor reason by what it sees or feels but by what it hears. It depends upon the Word alone and not on vision or sight.[20]

> This agrees with the word "Bethphage," which means, as some say, mouth-house, for St. Paul says in Romans 1,2 that the Gospel was promised afore in the Holy Scriptures, but it was not preached orally and publically until Christ came and sent out His apostles. Therefore the church is a mouth-house, not a pen-house, for since Christ's advent that Gospel is preached orally which before was hidden in written books. It is the way of the Gospel and the New Testament that it is to be preached and discussed orally with a living voice. Christ Himself wrote nothing, nor did He give the command to write, but to preach orally. Thus the apostles were not sent out until Christ came to his mouth-house, that is, until the time had come to preach orally and to bring the Gospel from dead writing and pen-work to the living voice and mouth. From this time the church is rightly called Bethphage, since she has and hears the living voice of the Gospel.[21]

The church proper, which can never be seen, is believed to be where the word is preached in its truth and purity and the sacraments are administered according to the gospel. Luther so structured the Catechism that the church and its life might be focused and bound to her true marks and thus to the gifts of her Lord.

A common ground of modern catechetical material is an emphasis

on the textual word rather than the spoken word.[22]   The typical material is set out in a "course" with lessons that are intended to be covered and passed with the assumption that the material has then been learned. Often worksheets and tests are used to corroborate satisfactory performance. Thus, "confessing with the lips" has been supplanted with visually verifiable standards of performance. The visual is further emphasized in that these courses typically conclude with lessons on stewardship, evangelism, and other topics which emphasize the quantifiable, anthropological dimensions of the church. These topics are certainly significant to the life of the church, but they would be much better taught at appropriate points in the Catechism. For instance, stewardship can be especially emphasized in teaching the First Commandment and the First Article. However, when these topics are taken up on their own as the climax of a course, it is easy to assume that the marks of the church are such quantifiable, visual human activity. We have been so conditioned by this procedure that most congregational members look to these visual criteria as the marks that the church is healthy. This approach is reinforced by constant synodical and district concern over such quantifiable, visual criteria, while concern over what is preached and taught and over how the sacraments are administered is rarely discussed. The church, practically speaking, is no longer an article of faith, but is now something measurable and visible. One becomes a part of it through completion of a course centered in the visual sensorium and one is directed to quantifiable human activity to judge its health. The result is an ecclesiastical life focused on the works of men rather than the gifts of the Lord. Once again, the article of justification and the entire doctrine of the gospel are at stake.

A result of this shift in the article of the church is a shift in vocational understanding. Luther is clear in the Catechism that the works of a Christian which are pleasing to God are those done according to God's law in the station in which God has placed the person. Thus, Luther could say that the faithful mother changing the soiled diapers of her baby was a greater work than all the works of the Carthusians. The law of God applied to each one's station is the clear measuring rod for both good works and, of course, evil works. Interestingly, the shift in the article of the church to emphasize

human activity has created a new form of monkery. Truly "living disciples" are those who take part in the self-chosen works of the congregation. The congregational member who is faithful in his work, to his family, and to his Lord is not quite as good a Christian as the member who attends church business meetings, social events, and (the greatest mark of a number-one Christian) makes evangelism calls each night of the week. As Charles Evanson has pointed out, in this form of ecclesial life sins are no longer against the law but are now against the gospel: "Freed from the old lower law, we now serve the new higher law of the Great Commission. A typical result of this kind of thinking is the appearance of worship orders in which the central confession has to do with supposed sins against the Gospel; sins of ingratitude, lack of appreciation and vision, failure of nerve, and the horror of ineffectiveness replace the confession of sins against the First and Second Tables of the Law. One pastor has remarked that we will need to teach our people the Gospel so that they may examine themselves and confess their sins. Here the parameters of the Christian faith and life are severely narrowed."[23] In this schema the Christian no longer looks to his baptism as the shape for his daily life but now seeks to become a living or, better yet, effective disciple.

David Luecke makes Christian vocation more confusing by arguing for a changing vocational grounding with respect to the office of the ministry and the priesthood of all believers, depending on the "needs" of the church. He describes this vocational jellyfish as follows: "An overview of Lutheran traditions of ministry, like Pragman's, makes apparent that there were different emphases, and these emphases emerged in response to the condition of the church as it faced changing needs."[24] In other words, vocational understanding changes depending on what we perceive our needs to be based on the results we wish to see. This heterodox view of vocation is also promoted actively within our synod through the continuing-education materials offered "parish professionals." In a recent such publication we are told:

> In the sixteenth century Reformation, the church gave the *scriptures* to the laity; in the present-day renewal, the church is giving the *ministry* to the laity. Our job as parish

professionals is to equip Christians so that they too become part of ministry and thereby part of the disciple-making process. Christ Himself and the apostle Paul provide a staff-development model for us in the disciple-making process. Both of their ministries followed a progression. Once a person or group of people was brought to faith they were shown how to do a task, they shared in doing the task, and finally responsibility for the task was given over to the new Christian.[25]

The clear vocational understanding of the Catechism given especially in the Table of Duties is here confused by a heterodox understanding of the ministry and its relationship to the priesthood of all believers. The ministry in the Lutheran Confessions is that distinctive office created by Christ so that the keys might be administered publicly in the church—so that the gospel might be preached purely and the sacraments administered according to the gospel (Augustana V and Small Catechism V). The office is understood here evangelically. It is that office through which Christ gives His gifts of forgiveness, life, and salvation. Functionally, its task is to dispense these gifts. In the document quoted above the ministry is understood as a legal office wherein its primary task is to equip rather than dispense. Using this logic, no one would ever carry out the "ministry," since all should logically become facilitators. If the ministry is facilitation rather than dispensation of the gifts of God, then all of the "little ministers" ought also be involved in "facilitation." The result is that the roles of the universal priesthood and the office of the ministry have been reversed. The pastor does not equip the congregation for the "ministry," but rather the congregation equips the pastor through the call of Christ extended through it!

This heterodox vocational understanding comes full circle as it is used along with a false understanding of the great *satis est* of Augustana VII as the basis for changing the nature of the Sunday Divine Service. Rather than structuring our service around the reception of the gifts of Christ as the historic liturgies do (the inverse of which is the pastoral office), we now structure them around a celebration of our common spirituality. The reception of gifts requires ministers to dispense the gifts. The celebration of our

common spirtuality does not.[26] The former is the theocentric, evangelical, Lutheran expression of the scriptural relationship between the office and the priesthood. The latter is the anthropocentric, legal expression of the heterodox relationship between the office and priesthood. Once again, at stake is the article of justification and the entire doctrine of the gospel.

Luther's catechetical genius is seen not only in the Catechism itself, but also in his specific direction on how to use it. This instruction we find in the Preface to the Small Catechism.

> In the first place, the preacher should take utmost care to avoid changes or variations in the text and wording of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the sacraments, etc. On the contrary he should adopt one form, adhere to it, and use it repeatedly year after year. Young and inexperienced people must be instructed on the basis of a uniform, fixed text and form. They are easily confused if a teacher employs one form now and another form—perhaps with the intention of making improvements—later on. In this way all the time and labor will be lost. This was well understood by our good fathers, who were accustomed to use the same form in teaching the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments . . . Begin by teaching them the text word for word so that the young may repeat these things after you and retain them in their memory. In the second place, after the people have become familiar with the text teach them what it means. For this purpose, take the explanations in this booklet, or choose any other brief and fixed explanations which you prefer, and adhere to them without changing a single syllable, as stated above with reference to the text . . . In the third place, after you have thus taught this brief catechism, take up a large catechism so that people may have a richer and fuller understanding.[27]

Luther's method is simple. Teach them each part word for word. Teach the explanation word for word and expound the meaning of the words. Finally, take up the Large Catechism for a fuller understanding. Notice also that Luther consciously honors the fathers in the faith by adopting their method. He does not ignore

them and do his own thing. As cited above Luther examined the content of their materials as well as their method. Because the Preface to the Catechism was omitted from the synodical catechism of 1943, these words are not taken to heart as they ought. We must remember, however, that this preface is a part of the *corpus confesionis* to which we subscribed at ordination.

Luther's method has tremendous practical advantages. The uniform text forces us to take the words and their meaning seriously. It brings continuity between generations and enables parents to fulfill their vocational catechetical duty. His method is primarily an oral one which centers in the shape of the baptismal life presented in the entire catechism as well as in each individual part. The words which become a part of the person form the basis for meditation, prayer, preparation for confession and absolution, preparation for eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ, and guidance for daily doing one's duty in the place where God has put him. It serves to teach the baptized how to hear the word of God and participate in the Divine Service in a salutary way. The method promotes a life of the church centered in the word and action of Christ rather than the word and works of men. It also fosters a confessional consciousness and provides a confessional base for the baptized. This confessional base provides the baptized with the hermeneutical tools necessary to study the Scriptures in further depth. Finally, this method gives the pastor a solid ground on which to deal with the erring and withering. Application of law and gospel can be made with the specific words of the Catechism.

Conclusion

It was wise for our synod to include the Catechism in *Lutheran Worship*. Unfortunately, the Preface and the Table of Duties were omitted. However, it is my conviction that the same forces which currently seek to change Lutheran liturgical forms and hymnody also seek to change catechesis and, indeed, have done so already. In each case the action of God in bestowing His gifts is exchanged for the works of men. The marks of the church shift from God's means of grace rightly administered to visual and quantifiable criteria. Promises of the gospel are turned into requirements of the law. The

unifying forces of hymnbook-agenda and catechism are different sides of the same coin. They provide the shape of church practice for churches of the Evangelical Lutheran Confession. There is currently an open attack on the one and simultaneously a quiet attack on the other. Only God can grant us the wisdom to discern the spirits and cling to "that which we have known from childhood."

Endnotes

1. Especially helpful have been the Rev. Charles Evanson, the Rev. Dr. Kenneth Korby, the Rev. John Pless, and the Rev. Adolph M. Bickel.

2. Eugene Peterson, *The Contemplative Pastor* (Dallas: Word Publishing House, 1989), pp. 128ff.

3. Wilhelm Loehe, *Three Books about the Church*, trans. James Schaaf (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), pp. 52-53.

4. *The Book of Concord*, trans. Theodore Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), pp. 358-361.

5. See Martin Luther, "A Simple Way to Pray" (*LW* 43); Wilhelm Loehe, *Seed-Grains of Prayer*; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Psalms: The Prayer Book of the Bible*, et alii.

6. For a further discussion see John Pless, *How Does Catechesis Relate to Worship?*, an unpublished paper presented at the Liturgy and Outreach Consultation, St. Peter, Missouri, May 1989.

7. Gunther Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, ed. Robin Leaver and trans. H. J. A. Bouman, D. F. Poellot, and H. C. Oswald (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984), pp. 75-80.

8. Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," *Luther's Works*, 53 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 64-67.

9. Tappert, p. 341, pp. 459-460.

10.   Wilhelm Loehe, *Three Books about the Church*, trans. E. T. Horn (Reading, Pennsylvania: Pilger Publishing House, 1908), p. 186.

11.   Kenneth Korby in a course, "The Loehe Tradition," taught at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, in the summer of 1989.

12.   Michael Reu, *An Explanation of Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947).

13.   Tappert, p. 340.

14.   David Luecke, *Evangelical Style and Lutheran Substance* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1988), p. 21.

15.   For instance, the Anabaptists are condemned for the practice of seeking the Holy Spirit through our own preparations rather than through the means of grace (AC V). They are also condemned for rejecting the practice of infant baptism (AC IX). The Papists are condemned for their practices of penance (AC XI, XII, XXV), the medieval mass (AC XIII, XXII, XXIV), and others. For a thorough confessional discussion of this point see Robert Preus, "Confessional Lutheranism in Today's World," *CTQ*, 54 (1990), pp. 99-116. The same distinction is made in the essay by Kurt Marquart, "Article X of the Formula of Concord, Confession and Ceremonies," *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978).

16.   For an interesting discussion of the politicizing of institutions in America which formerly stood on objective foundations see Robert Bork, *The Tempting of America: The Political Seduction of the Law*.

17.   Loehe, pp. 177-183.

18.   Tappert, p. 32.

19.   Tappert, pp. 338-339.

20.   Martin Luther, "First Sunday in Advent," *Sermons of Martin Luther*, ed. and trans. John Nicholas Lenker (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989), pp. 22-23.

21.   Ibid., pp. 44-45.

22. For a thorough discussion of the oral versus written word in the church see Walter Ong, *The Presence of the Word* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

23. Charles Evanson, *Evangelicalism and the Liturgical Movement and Their Effects on Lutheran Worship* (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1989), p. 8.

24. Luecke, p. 141.

25. Paul Schoepp, *The Parish Professional as Volunteer Staff Developer* (River Forest, Illinois: LEA-TEAM, 1990), p. 5.

26. I am indebted here to the Rev. James C. Strawn.

27. Tappert, pp. 339-340.

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The Chorale:
Transcending Time and Culture

Robin A. Leaver

The chorale is not the inheritance of the Lutheran church alone. It has become so inextricably interwoven within the hymnody of other confessions throughout the world that it is now a common heritage. In many of these other confessions, however, the people within the congregations who sing these chorales do not always think of them as "chorales." They embrace them as the hymns they know and love, the hymns with which they have grown up, the hymns that continue to inspire and challenge them.[1]

One notable example comes to mind, "Now Thank We All Our God." This "German Te Deum," as it has been called, has become the classic hymn of thanksgiving that transcends all national, linguistic, and denominational boundaries. For example, it had become so familiar in English that no one in Britain in 1944 questioned the protocol of celebrating victory over Hitler's Germany by singing this *German* hymn. It had been sung for so long in English and had entered into the common memory so deeply that it was regarded as a well-loved "English" hymn. Its origins were forgotten as the sturdy text with its equally substantial melody, beloved by many generations of singers, expressed all that needed to be said, in gratitude and in faith, at that moment in time. Similarly, if one examines the contents of the substantial new hymnals that have been appearing in the United States—such as the Episcopal *Hymnal 1982* (1985), *The United Methodist Hymnal* (1989), *The Presbyterian Hymnal* (1990), and even recent Roman Catholic hymnals such as *Worship III* (1985)—one will see that these self-consciously English-language hymnals make substantial use of the Lutheran chorale and often do so in, what is for them, new and exciting ways.

We need to stop and think about the significance of this use. How has this situation come about? How is it that the chorale has crossed all these confessional, linguistic, cultural, and geographic barriers? It has happened not through any program of propaganda and promotion on the part of Lutherans. There has not been any kind of "Chorale Growth Movement" to have these hymns accepted and sung throughout contemporary Christendom. It is not that Lutherans have imposed the chorale on the worshipping Christians

in other confessions. It is rather that those Christians have chosen —and continue to choose—to sing the chorale within their different confessions and traditions. Lutherans have not consciously exported the chorale. The truth is that other confessions have voluntarily and enthusiastically imported it. This fact alone has important implications and ramifications.

I. Defining the Chorale

A. Contemporary Concepts

Before we proceed we need to ask a basic question: What is the chorale? The most common definition of "chorale" is this: "the German Protestant congregational hymn," with emphasis on "German" and "Protestant." In other words, in many people's thinking the chorale is not so much too "Waspish" (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) as too "Gaspish" (German, Aryan-Saxon, Protestant) for the multi-cultural situation of the United States of America in these latter days of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the term "chorale" also carries with it the connotation of being antique (and therefore out-of-date) and ponderous (and therefore musically out-of-touch with the spirit of the age).

B. Historical Considerations

Temporarily deferring a direct discussion of the multi-cultural issue, a discussion of the second charge may well begin with a historical example of such criticism. That the German chorale was somewhat outdated and dull was the argument of the English music historian Charles Burney in his account of a visit which he made to Germany in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In mid-October of 1772, after spending a remarkable day in Hamburg with Johann Sebastian Bach's son, Karl Philipp Emanuel, Burney set out to return to England. On his journey across North Germany he made a short stop in Bremen. He reports his visit thus:

> In my way from Hamburg to Amsterdam, I stopt only a few hours in this city, as it contained no musical incitements sufficiently powerful to encourage a longer residence. However, I visited the *Domkirche* or cathedral, belonging to

the Lutherans, where I found the congregation singing a dismal melody, without the organ. When this was ended, the organist gave out a hymn tune, in the true dragging style of Sternhold and Hopkins. The instrument is large, and has a noble and well-tuned chorus, but the playing was more old-fashioned, I believe, than anything that could have been heard in our country towns, during the last century. The interludes between the lines of the hymn were always the same . . . After hearing this tune, and these interludes, repeated ten or twelve times, I went to see the town and, returning to the cathedral, two hours after, I still found the people singing all in unison, and as loud as they could, the same tune, to the same accompaniment. I went to the post-office, to make dispositions for my departure; and, rather from curiosity than the love of such music, I returned once more to this church, and, to my great astonishment, still found them, vocally and organically performing the same ditty, the duration of which seems to have exceeded that of a Scots Hymn in the time of Charles I.[2]

Burney could hardly believe his ears—that these North German, hymn-singing Lutherans could be worse than Scottish psalm-singing Presbyterians at the high-point of British Puritanism; it hardly seemed possible. But Burney was not so much an objective historian as a musician-observer who could not help expressing himself in a highly opinionated manner. A significant term in Burney's account is "old-fashioned," because it betrays his specific agenda with regard to congregational music. He, like others in the Rationalist age of the latter part of the eighteenth century, believed that hymn tunes in the acceptable style of the day should not simply augment these chorales and hymn-tunes of the past, but totally eclipse and replace them. In other words, only contemporary music was legitimate in the worship of the church. For a time this view of Burney and others (it was a view that was equally as alive in Germany as in England) succeeded. But it is ironic to note that today very little of the hymnody of this period survives in modern hymnals. For instance, none of the original tunes composed by Charles Burney are sung any more—although an adaptation by Burney of a fourteenth-century tune can be found in the current

Episcopal *Hymnal*—whereas the tunes of the type which Burney criticized in Bremen, suitably restored to more original forms, continue to be included in hymnals and are persistently sung by contemporary congregations of a wide confessional spectrum.

This persistence is due in large measure to the proper noun that is frequently prefixed to the term "chorale," namely, "Bach." For many, the Bach-chorale epitomizes the whole German Lutheran chorale tradition. To speak correctly, one must qualify this idea considerably; the Bach-chorale epitomizes only the German Lutheran chorale of the eighteenth century, since the chorale in general embraces within itself various traditions and a long period of development. Nevertheless, Bach's harmonizations of the traditional chorale melodies, in their later isometric forms, were basic to the restoration of the chorale tradition that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. Felix Mendelssohn and others now rediscovered the music of Bach, especially the cantatas, oratorios, and passions which made significant use of the old chorales. Little by little the remaining years of the nineteenth century saw these works of Bach published and performed, and composers like Mendelssohn emulated Bach's use of the chorale in their own compositions. Simultaneously, other musicians were digging into the pre-Bach and post-Luther period and began to discover that the familiar isometric melodies had much more interesting rhythmic forms in their original states, so much so that by the middle of the nineteenth century congregations in Germany had begun to sing these energetic chorale melodies as sixteenth-century people had sung them. A reform movement had begun, and congregational singing in Germany was revitalized. The movement spread across the Atlantic, brought by the immigrants from Saxony and elsewhere, a good many of whom became the founders of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. The vitality of the worship of the Missouri Synod was in no small measure due to the fact that C. F. W. Walther promoted the original rhythmic forms of chorale melodies, rather than the later and weaker isometric forms, for use with the official German hymnal of the new synod, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, founded in Chicago in 1847. The hymnal of the new church appeared in the same year that the synod was founded: *Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-*

Lutherische Gemeinden (St. Louis, 1847). The hymnal itself did not include the melodies, but appropriate chorale melodies were listed according to their associated first-lines. The collections of chorale melodies, in their original rhythmic forms, edited by Friedrich Layritz and published in Erlangen, Germany, were promoted in *Der Lutheraner* in the early 1850s. Eventually, in 1857, the Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag in St. Louis published a selection of melodies from Layritz's German collections under the title *233 Melodien deutscher Kirchengesänge nach Dr. Friedrich Layritz*, thus reinforcing the use of the original rhythmic forms of chorale melodies. Thus, among Lutheran congregations across North America in the mid-nineteenth century, "chorale" meant different things to different synods. To Lutherans of the Missouri Synod "chorale" meant the original rhythmic versions; to other German-speaking Lutherans "chorale" was understood to refer to the later isometric forms; and to Nordic congregations the term implied something else again.

C. Specific Characteristics

The historical data, then, clearly show that the definition of the chorale as "the German Protestant congregational hymn" is too simple and that an adequate definition must also deal with function and form, history and content. The following, therefore, is herewith proposed as a working definition of the term "chorale": a congregational song that originated in Germany but subsequently expanded into a variety of forms and traditions, and is historically and contemporaneously confessional, catechetical, liturgical, multicultural, and musically diverse. The characteristics of the chorale enumerated in this definition will provide the outline for the remaining pages of this study.

II. Describing the Chorale

A. The Chorale Is Confessional

The chorale is confessional in two senses. Firstly, there is the way in which the Lutheran confessional documents refer to it. Secondly, there is the textual content of the individual chorales.

1. The Chorale in the Lutheran Confessions

In the process of writing and compiling the document that was eventually known as the Augsburg Confession, Philipp Melanchthon worked from a number of drafts which were subsequently revised and expanded. At the request of the Elector of Saxony, Wittenburg theologians took part in a consultation in Torgau in March of 1530 that produced a nine-point document concerning various matters in dispute at the time. Since the document did not deal with as many points as he desired, the Elector requested further elaboration. A revision of the Torgau Articles was undertaken by Melanchthon as early, probably, as the following month, April of 1530.[3] Significantly, at this time Melanchthon added a new section headed "Of German Singing." After stating that the issue is to be related to what had been said earlier in the Torgau Articles concerning "indifferent ceremonies," Melanchthon continues:

> Since now ceremonies ought to be of service for doctrine, some have adopted German singing, that by this practice men might learn something, as St. Paul also teaches, 1 Cor. 14, that in the Church nothing unintelligible should be spoken or sung. Yet no command to that effect is made [in our churches], and Latin also is always sung for the practice of the young.[4]

Although Melanchthon is here making a number of points, among them the use of the vernacular and the need to teach young people, his principal concern is that the chorale has a primary doctrinal, and therefore confessional, purpose.

In the final form of the *Confessio Augustana*, submitted on 25 June 1530, the chorale (although it is not so named) is given a substantial reference in Article XXIV, which deals with the mass. The Latin version has been translated as follows:

> We are unjustly accused of having abolished the Mass. Without boasting, it is manifest that the Mass is observed among us with greater devotion and earnestness than among our opponents. Moreover, the people are instructed often and with great diligence regarding the holy sacrament . . . The people are also given instruction about other false

teachings concerning the sacrament. Meanwhile no conspic-
uous changes have been made in the public ceremonies of
the Mass, except that in certain places German hymns are
sung in addition to the Latin responses for the instruction
and exercise of the people. After all, the chief purpose of
all ceremonies is to teach the people what they need to
know about Christ.[5]

The German version is a little different and speaks of the chorale in
the vernacular with a reference to 1 Corinthians 14, following
Melanchthon's revision of the Torgau Articles.

In addition, moreover, to this status in the Augustana, there are
similar references to the chorale in the subsequent confessions of the
Lutheran church (certainly in both of Luther's catechisms, the
Apology, and the Formula of Concord). Within Lutheranism,
therefore, the chorale cannot be dismissed as a musical-poetic aid to
worship that is to be regarded simply as adiaphorous, as something
which one can take or leave at will. The chorale, as congregational
song, was a striking feature of the reformed mass of Wittenberg and
elsewhere. Its primary importance is the doctrine that is embraced
by its poetry and music, and doctrine cannot be regarded as
adiaphorous.

The chorale as doctrine in music and poetry is the point that is
made by the unnamed author—almost certainly C.F.W. Walther—in
an article commending the new *Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-
Lutherische Gemeinden* (St. Louis, 1847). The article appeared in
Der Lutheraner in June of 1847:[6]

> In the selection of the adopted hymns the chief consider-
> ation was that they be pure in doctrine; that they have found
> almost general acceptance within the orthodox German
> Lutheran Church and have thus received the almost unani-
> mous testimony that they had come forth from the true spirit
> [of Lutheranism]; that they express not so much the chang-
> ing circumstances of individual persons but rather contain
> the language of the whole church, because the book is to be
> used primarily in public worship; and finally that they,
> though bearing the imprint of Christian simplicity, be not

merely rhymed prose, but the products of a truly Christian poetry.[7]

If therefore the chorale is doctrine, it must also be confessional *per se*.

2. *The Chorale as a Confession of Faith*

A chorale that immediately comes to mind as a confession of faith is Luther's credal hymn "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," with its strong statement of trinitarian belief. There are other chorales that are similarly direct confessions of faith. The framers of the Formula of Concord, however, had a much more comprehensive understanding of the confessional nature of the chorale. In Article 1 of the Solid Declaration (on original sin), there is a remarkable statement (paragraph 23) in connection with a particular chorale:

> Likewise, we also reject and condemn those who teach that, though man's nature has been weakened and corrupted through the Fall, it has nevertheless not entirely lost all the goodness that belongs to spiritual and divine matters, or the situation is not the way the hymn which we sing in our churches describes it, "Through Adam's fall man's nature and being are wholly corrupted" ["Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt menschlich Natur und Wesen"].[8]

The citation here is the opening couplet of the classic chorale on original sin by Lazarus Spengler of Nuremberg, probably written at the request of Luther sometime towards the end of 1523. It first appeared in print in Johann Walter's part-books, the so-called *Chorgesangbuch*, published in Wittenberg in 1524. Two generations or so later it was included here in the Formula of Concord as a classic statement and summary of biblical doctrine. That reference was made at this point to a chorale, and not a theological treatise, underscores the confessional status of the classic Lutheran chorale.

Some would want to restrict this understanding to the texts of the chorales and exclude therefrom the music. But chorales do not consist in texts alone. Certainly the textual content is primary, but the musical treatment of the text is also fundamental. The content of the text demands a tune that reinforces and intensifies its

meaning, rather than one that undermines and diminishes it. Speaking of the chorales of Bach in particular, Walter Buszin makes this general observation:

> Those who undervalue the melodies of these hymns also underrate their text. If the melodies lack immediate appeal, it is better that one learn first to comprehend the more profound theological content of the text in order to appreciate their full value as hymns. We see here that a hymn text and its tune must match if they are to be successful. An inferior text will cause a good melody to decline while an inferior melody will quickly push a good text into the shade.[9]

The music and poetry of the chorale, through which the community of faith at worship proclaims the fundamental doctrines of the faith, are thus in themselves confessions of faith.

B. The Chorale Is Catechetical

Here the first requisite is a brief consideration of the term "catechetical," as opposed, for example, to "educational" or "evangelistic." The term "educational" is too broad a term to use here; the concern here is not with a comprehensive education but specifically with the teaching of the faith. Nor is the term "evangelistic" appropriate; most evangelistic hymnody is designed to evoke a response from the singing participants, whereas the classic Lutheran chorale is designed to expound the content of the Christian belief on which the response of faith must be based. Thus, "catechetical" is the more appropriate term. The chorale is catechetical in that it teaches the faith, while it must itself be taught in order to fulfill this function.

1. The Chorale Teaches the Faith

From the outset when Luther and his colleagues began writing chorales towards the end of 1523, they were regarded as the word of God in song. Sometime during the last months of 1523 Luther wrote letters to a number of his friends—presumably including Lazarus Spengler as noted above—encouraging them to write hymns or metrical versions of the psalms. In his letter to Georg Spalatin

Luther declared: "I intend to make vernacular psalms for the people, that is, spiritual songs so that the Word of God even by means of song may live among the people."[10]   The earliest Wittenberg chorales, written in 1523 and 1524, originally circulated as printed broadsides.   In 1524 a Nuremberg printer brought out a small collection of eight of these hymns—four of them by Luther—under this title: *Etlich Christlich lider Lobgesang und Psalm dem rainen wort Gottes gemess auss der heyligen schrifft . . .* ("Some Christian Hymns, Canticles, and Psalms, Made according to the Pure Word of God, from Holy Scripture" [Nuremberg, 1524]). The three hymns of Paul Speratus each had an extensive appendix in which the scriptural source of every line of every stanza was cited. These early Lutheran hymns were thus considered to be the word of God in song—in the form of songs that would teach the people as they sang.

Two years after the appearance of these early Wittenberg hymns, Luther linked the chorale with the need for a catechism.   In the *Deutsche Messe* (Wittenberg, 1526) he introduced a significant development in the Lutheran chorale (see C. 2. below) and called for a catechism. Luther wrote: "We Germans are a rough, rude, and reckless people, with whom it is hard to do anything, except in cases of dire need . . . First, the German service needs a plain and simple, fair and square catechism."[11] Luther met this need himself in the Large Catechism and Small Catechism of 1529. In both catechisms the chorale is given prominence. In the Small Catechism, in the section on morning and evening prayers in the home, Luther suggests that the morning devotion should conclude with the singing of a hymn, "possibly a hymn on the Ten Commandments," that is, a hymn on one of the principal parts of the catechism.[12] Toward the end of the preface to the Large Catechism Luther makes the following summary:

> Thus we have, in all, five parts covering the whole of Christian doctrine, which we should constantly teach and require young people to recite word for word.   Do not assume that they will learn and retain this teaching from sermons alone. When these parts have been well learned, you may assign them also some psalms or hymns based on

these subjects, to supplement and confirm their knowledge. Thus our youth will be led into the Scriptures so that they make progress daily.[13]

This catechetical purpose of the chorale was made explicit in the Wittenberg hymnal issued the same year as the catechisms: *Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittemberg D. Mart. Luther* (Wittenberg, 1529). Following the first section of hymns on the principal festivals of the church year was a second section of specifically catechism-hymns dealing with the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Supper. In the 1543 edition of the Wittenberg hymnbook the section devoted to the catechism was completed by the addition of two hymns.[14] The sequence of Luther's hymns on the five principal parts of the catechism is as follows:

I. The Commandments: "Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot"
II. The Creed: "Wir glauben all an einen Gott"
III. The Lord's Prayer: "Vater unser im Himmelreich"
IV. Baptism: "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam"
V. The Lord's Supper: "Jesus Christus unser Heiland"

At a later date the explanation of confession appended to the section on baptism was regarded as one of the principal parts of the catechism, bringing the total to six. Luther's metrical version of Psalm 130, "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu Dir," then became the chorale associated with this separate section on confession.

The six principal catechism-chorales by Luther became a fundamental part of Lutheran worship, especially at Sunday vespers, in which the catechism was customarily rehearsed and expounded in suitable sermons. This catechizing and preaching on the catechism, often called *Catechismusübung* ("catechism-practice"), encouraged the singing of these catechism-chorales and the composition of specific choral and organ music based on their melodies. In 1739, for example, Johann Sebastian Bach published Part III of his *Clavierübung*. A major part of the collection is made up of organ preludes based on the melodies of the catechism-chorales of Luther; indeed, the title-page of the collection specifically refers to them

("Third Part of the Keyboard Practice Consisting in Various Preludes on the Catechism and Other Hymns for the Organ"). These catechism preludes are exactly divided into two halves: one set is meant for a small (manual-only) organ and the other for a larger instrument with at least two manuals and pedals. These musical expositions of the catechism-chorale melodies, therefore, correspond to Luther's two treatments of basic doctrine in his Small Catechism and Large Catechism. When the music of other Lutheran composers is investigated, it will be found that Bach was not alone in recognizing that catechetical significance of the chorale.

2. The Chorale Must Itself Be Taught

The chorale, however, must itself be catechized in order to teach the faith or, to put it another way, the chorale has to be taught to people before it can teach them. A fundamental understanding of the chorale, as the sung word of God and a confession of faith in music and poetry, can only exist in the realm of theory unless the people are encouraged to learn and sing them in practice. When congregational singing was introduced in Wittenberg, two immediate questions were how to teach the people to sing the chorale and how to encourage them to continue to sing week by week. The first Wittenberg hymnal, Johann Walter's *Chorgesangbuch*, issued in 1524, was not, as one might suppose, a congregational hymnbook; it was a set of part-books for choral use. In his preface to the collection Luther explained that these choral settings were intended for young people, "who should . . . be trained in music."[15] The strategy of Luther and Walter was that the chorale melodies should first be learnt by the boys in the school. When they had mastered these melodies, they would then learn the part-settings in Walter's *Chorgesangbuch*. When these had been mastered, the school choir was then ready to lead the congregation in church. Here an alternation was practiced. After an improvised organ prelude on the melody, ending on the leading-note, the choir led the congregation in singing the chorale in unaccompanied unison. The second stanza was then sung by the choir alone, perhaps with instruments doubling the voice-parts, in one of the *cantus firmus* settings of the chorale melody by Johann Walter, with the congregational melody in the tenor voice-part. The third stanza would follow with choir and

congregation singing in unaccompanied unison. Then would come a choral setting—and so on to the end of the hymn.[16] The strategy was to use the young people, who were being trained in music day by day in the school, to teach the people the chorale melodies by leading the singing in church.

The doctrinal, confessional, and liturgical functions of the chorale could not succeed without the leadership of trained musicians and singers. Therefore, Luther and his Wittenberg colleagues knew that the teaching of music had to be promoted in the schools. Between 1528 and 1548 the Wittenberg musician-printer Georg Rhau (who had been for a short time the *Thomascantor* in Leipzig) produced sixty collections of music to be used in Lutheran schools for teaching and in Lutheran churches for worship.[17]

A principal reason why the Lutheran chorale tradition has been so strong and has developed in a variety of ways is that there has been an incredible succession of gifted composers and creative musicians who have been ready to teach their own generation to sing the chorale. And it has always been the musicians, rather than the theologians, who have been the first to recognize that, unless the chorale itself is taught, it cannot do what it is intended to do, that is, teach the faith. This teaching of the faith has, however, a particular context.

C. The Chorale Is Liturgical

The chorale has two primary functions that are closely related to the ordinary and the propers of liturgical celebration. On the one hand, the chorale can operate in the same way as the propers of the day by interpreting, in its musical and poetic way, the principal teaching of the day, which is primarily found in the gospel. On the other hand, the chorale actually becomes the liturgy when it is used to paraphrase the ordinary of the service.

1. The Chorale Has a Liturgical Function

A true understanding of the nature of the chorale requires that it be regarded, not simply as a hymnic form, but rather as a *liturgical* hymnic form. The chorale does not exist in a vacuum; it has a

specific context. To make this assertion is not to say that chorales were sung only within the liturgical assembly. It is clear that these hymns were sung in homes and other non-ecclesiastical settings, but Luther intended that their primary function would be congregational and liturgical. In his *Formula Missae* of 1523 Luther develops at length the need for such congregational song in the public worship of the church:

> I also wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during [the substantially Latin] mass, immediately after the gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. For who doubts that originally all the people sang these, which now only the choir sings . . .? But poets are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them [Col. 3:16], worthy to be used in the church of God. In the meantime, one may sing after communion: "Gott sei gelobet" . . . Another good [hymn] is "Nun bitten wir den Heilgen Geist" and also "Ein Kindelein so lobelich . . ."[18]

Taking the evidence found in the *Formula Missae* of 1523, the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, the Visitation Articles of 1528 and 1533, the eye-witness report of Wolfgang Musculus (who was in Wittenberg in 1536), and Bugenhagen's Wittenberg church-order of 1533, it is possible to delineate the substantial liturgical use of the chorale in the principal Sunday service of the Wittenberg churches.[19]   A chorale was frequently sung in place of the introit. A chorale was invariably sung after the gradual and Alleluia as the principal hymn of the day, effectively preparing for the gospel which was to follow. On festivals this *Graduallied* was sung in alternation with a suitable Latin sequence. After the Latin *Credo*, Luther's credal hymn, "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," was normally sung; and following the sermon, after the Latin *Da Pacem*, Luther's German version of the same text was sung, "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich." Then, too, chorales were sung at the end of the Ministry of the Word, at the beginning of the Ministry of the Sacrament, and *sub communione* (that is, during the distribution of communion), especially the hymns "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns den Gotteszorn wandt"

and "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet." Finally, at the conclusion of the distribution, the German Agnus Dei, "Christe, du Lamm Gottes," was sung.

In Wittenberg, therefore, the chorale was employed, not imprecisely as general Christian song, but rather as a vital and integral part of the liturgy. The singing of hymns presented a unique opportunity for the whole congregation to join together in the praise of God and at the same time provided the means for the worshippers to encourage each other in the faith and actualize the doctrine of the royal priesthood of all believers.[20]

2. *The Chorale Functions as Liturgy*

Sometime either towards the end of 1525 or at the beginning of 1526, Luther published his directions for vernacular worship in the Wittenberg churches, his *Deudsche Messe und Ordnung Gottis Diensts*. There Luther writes that "after the Gospel the whole church sings the creed in German, "Wir glauben all an einen Gott."[21] Later he allows that during communion "the German Sanctus [that is, "Jesaja, dem Propheten"] . . . could be sung . . . or the German Agnus Dei [that is, "Christe, du Lamm Gottes"]."[22] "Jesaja, dem Propheten" was included in the *Deutsche Messe* but "Christe, du Lamm Gottes" did not appear in print until 1528, although it probably existed in Wittenberg at the time Luther was writing the *Deutsche Messe* or soon thereafter.

The Kyrie, in a three-fold form, is retained in its original language and sung to simple plainchant in the *Deutsche Messe*. The Gloria in Excelsis Deo is strangely absent; this omission was presumably an oversight, since the Gloria is known to have continued in use in Wittenberg and elsewhere.

Both the Kyrie and Gloria were eventually given chorale forms. The troped Latin "Kyrie Fons Bonitatis" became "Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit" and was first published in Naumberg in 1537. At least two versifications of the Gloria in Excelsis Deo appeared. A rhymed antiphonal chant version, probably by Luther himself, had some currency and was included in later Wittenberg hymnals, "All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes sein." The more popular version was "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," written by Nikolaus Decius in

1522. These chorale versions of the Kyrie and Gloria, like the liturgical models on which they are based, are strong statements of trinitarian belief.

As with the catechism-chorales, these "ordinary" chorales were the focus of an enduring tradition of musical composition; much organ and choral music was written on the basis of the associated melodies. One prominent example is again Bach's *Clavierübung III* of 1739. The liturgy begins with the trinitarian affirmation, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Significantly, the first section of Bach's *Clavierübung III* comprises three groups of three preludes based on two trinitarian chorale melodies: "Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit" and "Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehre," the chorale equivalents of the Kyrie and Gloria.[23] Again, when the music of other Lutheran composers is investigated, it will be found that Bach was not alone in recognizing the liturgical significance of the chorale.

D. The Chorale Is Multi-Cultural

The chorale is frequently considered to be a mono-cultural and narrowly-defined phenomenon. In fact, however, it is quite multi-cultural in its origin. It is even more multi-cultural in its subsequent development.

1. The Chorale Is Multi-Cultural in Origin

The chorale did not burst onto the scene in 1523 as a radically new phenomenon, totally unrelated to all that had gone before. Certainly, the idea of congregational singing seemed novel in general to Western Christians of the time, but as Luther pointed out, such singing was a vital part of the worship of the early church. What appeared novel in the sixteenth century was, in fact, the restoration, to some considerable degree, of the practice of the early church. In reintroducing congregational song, however, Luther was neither antiquarian nor faddish. He did not seek the earliest form of ecclesiastical chant and then impose it on his Wittenberg congregations, nor did he create an entirely new form of corporate song. Instead, he and his colleagues formed the chorale from various elements which had histories reaching back through many genera-

tions as well as contemporary significance. There were, specifically, four primary cultural sources of the chorale of the sixteenth century.

First, there was the ecclesiastical culture expressed in the Latin chants and hymns of the church, which the people had heard often enough but had not actually sung for some time. The educated and refined culture of the church had its roots in the Middle-Eastern culture of the early centuries of the Christian era. Latin texts were translated into the vernacular, and their plainsong melodies were adapted to the new German texts. One notable example is Luther's translation of the Ambrosian "Veni Redemptor Gentium," which became "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland." But there were also less obvious adaptations of plainsong. For example, the chorale melodies of the two vernacular versions of the Gloria in Excelsis Deo—Luther's "All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes sein" and Decius' "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr"—are both adaptations of the plainsong "Gloria Tempore Paschali," with the major difference being that Luther begins with the *incipit* of the Latin chant, whereas Decius adapts the melody from "Et in Terra Pax."

This plainsong origin of many chorale melodies is very significant in that the very name "chorale" is derived from plainsong. The term *choraliter* means, indeed, "sung after the manner of plainsong." In German reference literature, significantly enough, in entries entitled *chorale* one will find, not discussion of the German hymn, but rather discussion of plainsong.

Secondly, there was the popular religious culture expressed in the *Leisen* (folk-hymns) that began to appear from the twelfth century onwards. Some of these were pilgrimage songs, sung by pious Germans as they visited holy places across Europe and the Middle East. Others were celebrations of major festivals in the church year, such as Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. These songs were in the language of the people, even though a good many of them were adaptations of Latin liturgical chant. For example, "Christ ist erstanden," and Luther's re-working of it, "Christ lag in Todesbanden," owe something both musically and textually to the Easter sequence "Victimae Paschali Laudes." Among other *Leisen* that Luther adapted or extended are "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist," "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," and "Gott sei gelobet und gebene-

deiet."

Thirdly, there was the more popular culture expressed in the *contrafacta*, the new religious texts that made use of secular melodies. Luther's "Vom Himmel hoch" was apparently originally sung to a secular melody. The melody which the Wittenberg hymnal of 1533 assigned to Lazarus Spengler's "Durch Adams Fall" is almost certainly of secular origin, as are a number of other melodies in that hymnal.

Fourthly, there was the refined literary culture represented by the new compositions (in both words and music) of Luther and his colleagues. The form in which they chose to write was the *Hofweise* (the court-song), which can be regarded as the art-song of the day. The *Hofweise* was related to the long German song tradition of the *Minnesänger* and *Meistersänger*. It was a developed and skillful poetic tradition and also a distinctive melodic tradition, which employed the so-called "bar-form" stanzaic structure, an AAB form of repeated *stollen* followed by an *abgesang*. A high proportion of chorales were written in this basic bar-form, from Luther's "Aus tiefer Not" and "Ein feste Burg" to Nicolia's "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" and "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern."

In origin, therefore, the chorale incorporated the expressions in word and music of various cultures. The educated culture of the church was highly literary. The religious culture of the people had both oral and literary dimensions. The secular culture of the people was largely transmitted orally. The refined secular culture of court was almost exclusively promoted by literary media.

2. The Chorale Is Multi-Cultural in Development

In the course of the centuries which have followed, the varied cultural expressions on which the chorale drew in the sixteenth century have continued to influence and condition this tradition of congregational song. But as Lutheranism has spread to various countries and language-groups, new cultural settings have made further contributions to the steadily expanding chorale tradition. For example, as Lutheranism expanded northwards into Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland, it took on certain characteristics of

the respective cultures of the countries and languages involved. The same adaptation has occurred in the spread of Lutheranism to North America, Africa, and wherever else the Lutheran church has become indigenous. The chorale tradition is open-ended; it continues today because it is a living tradition. There are, for example, highly literary chorales that could only have been written in the twentieth century. A twelve-tone melody by Sven-Erik Bäck has become a popular eucharistic hymn-tune in Sweden.[24] In South America elements of hispanic folk-song are being incorporated into the basic chorale tradition.

E. The Chorale Is Musically Diverse

Space does not allow separate attention to the musical diversity of the chorale. There have, however, been several intimations along the way (in discussing other aspects of the chorale) of the tremendous musical diversity that, in fact, exists in the chorale tradition. An immense quantity of organ, choral, and other music has grown from the chorale melodies of the congregation.

Conclusion

Two propositions, together with a final comment, will serve to conclude this study. The first proposition is negative and the second positive. They are really two sides of the same coin.

Proposition One: The chorale in its historic and contemporary manifestations will not survive in those churches that have given up confessional Christianity, churches that desire to "evangelize" while seeing no need also to catechize. Nor will the chorale survive in those churches that have become impatient with the liturgy and desire to de-ritualize its ritual. The chorale will wither and die if, on the one hand, it is confined to just one cultural expression or, on the other hand, if different cultural expressions are blended into an amorphous amalgam. Nor can the chorale survive where musical diversity is banished in favor of a banal, uniform, sing-along style.

Proposition Two: The chorale in its historic and contemporary manifestations will thrive and will become the distinctive mark of those churches that are truly confessional, churches that are

concerned not only to commend the faith but also to teach it and live by it. Those churches where the liturgy is taken seriously will be those that value the liturgical function of the chorale and will enthusiastically explore and promote the multi-cultural and musical diversity of this living and lively tradition. When all is said and done, it needs to be recognized that the chorale is important, not for its own sake, but as a vital indicator of the spiritual and theological health of the church and confession which created it.

Endnotes

1.   The substance of this article was presented to the Second Annual Symposium on the Lutheran Liturgy and Hymnody, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, January 25, 1991. An expanded version is being prepared for publication elsewhere.

2.   *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands: Being Dr. Charles Burney's Account of His Musical Experiences*, ed. Percy A. Scholes, 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 222-223.

3.   See Wilhelm Maurer, *Historical Commentary on the Augsburg Confession*, trans. H. George Anderson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 17.

4.   Michael Reu, *The Augsburg Confession: A Collection of Sources with an Historical Introduction* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1930; reprint, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), 90*.

5.   *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert, et. al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 56.

6.   [C. F. W. Walther], "Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch," *Der Lutheraner*, 3 (15 June 1847), 84.

7.   Carl Schalk, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (River Forest, Illinois: Concordia college, 1978), 28.

8.   Tappert, 512.

9.   Walter E. Buszin, "The Chorale in the Baroque Era and J. S.

Bach's Contribution to It," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), 113-114.

10. See *Luther's Works: American Edition*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (56 vols.; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955-1986 [hereafter cited as *LW*]), 53, 221.

11. See *LW*, 53, 64; *WA* 19, 75-76.

12. Tappert, p. 352.

13. Tappert, p. 364.

14. See C. Mahrenholz, "Auswahl und Einordnung der Katechismus-lieder in den Wittenberger Gesangbüchern seit 1529," *Gestalt und Glaube: Festschrift für Vizepräsident Professor D. Dr. Oskar Söhngen zum 60. Geburtstag am 5. Dezember 1960* (Witten and Berlin, 1960), 123-132; P. Viet, *Das Kirchenlied in der Reformation Martin Luthers: Eine Thematische und Semantischen Untersuchung* (Stuttgart, 1986), 68-72.

15. See *LW*, 53, 316.

16. A. Böes, "Die reformatorischen Gottesdienste in der Wittenberger Pfarrkirche von 1523 an die Ordnung der gesenge der Wittenbergischen Kirchen von 1543-44," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 6 (1961), 52-53, demonstrates how the sequence "Victimae Paschali Laudes" was sung in alternation with the hymn "Christ lag in Todesbanden" on Easter Day. It was a threefold alternation: the organ played the plainsong melody for some of the verses of the sequence in alternation with the choir (which sang a polyphonic setting in which the other verses of the Latin text were associated with the German *Leise* "Christ ist erstanden") and with the congregation (which sang the verses of Luther's Easter hymn).

17. Victor H. Mattfeld, *Georg Rhau's Publications for Vespers* (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1966), 351-353.

18. See *LW*, 53, 36-37.

19. A. Böes, "Die reformatorischen Gottesdienste in der Wittenberger Pfarrkirche von 1523 an die Ordnung der gesenge der Wittenber-

gischen Kirchen von 1543-1544," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 4 (1958-1959), 4-11; Walter Blakenburg, "Der gottesdienstliche Liedgesang der Gemeinde," *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes, 4. Die Musik des evangelischen Gottesdienstes* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1961), 613-614.

20.   On the liturgical function of Luther's hymns, see Gerhard Hahn, *Evangelium als literarische Anweisung: Zu Luthers Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen kirchlichen Liedes* (Munich, 1981), 38-60.

21.   See *LW*, 53, 78.

22.   See *LW*, 53, 81-82.

23.   See Robin A. Leaver, "Bach's 'Clavierübung III': Some Historical and Theological Considerations," *The Organ Yearbook*, 6 (1975), 17-32.

24.   The Swedish text by Olav Hartman, as translated by Fred Kaan, is given with Bäck's tune in *Songs and Hymns from Sweden*, ed. Anders Frostenson and trans. Fred Kaan (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976), number 14.

Johann Michael Reu and Inerrancy

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As the Lutheran church in the United States heads into the next century, the issue of biblical inerrancy continues to crop up in lay and pastoral gatherings alike. One of the greatest minds in the history of American Lutheranism wrestled with this question earlier in this century. Johann Michael Reu provides an interesting case study of the doctrine of inerrancy in the Lutheran church. Contrary to what most of his modern interpreters maintain, Reu himself taught and defended the doctrine of inerrancy throughout his life. The goal of this study is to show Reu's own understanding of inerrancy using manuscript evidence from the four most important decades of his career (1900-1940) and so decide how accurately modern writers have assessed Reu's position on scriptural authority and infallibility.

I. Previous Assessments

A. August Pieper

There is a wide divergence among the various assessments which have been made of Reu's attitude toward Scripture in the formulation of the teaching of the church. On the one hand, the Old Testament scholar August Pieper could write these words in 1924 of Reu's concept of Scripture:

> Here is unmistakable clearness in the position of the Confessions, here is true and veracious acknowledgement of the Confessions, here is utterly sound Lutheranism. . . . without any reservation [Reu] acknowledged that doctrine which is today despised by most so-called Lutherans, the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Bible in its entirety.[1]

Pieper's words are typical of contemporaries who shared Reu's belief in the inerrancy of Scripture.

B. Meuser and Liefeld

On the other side, historian Fred W. Meuser portrays Reu as a nascent historical critic with a distinctly liberal stance on Scripture. Meuser writes:

> J. Michael Reu of Wartburg Seminary led the opposition to the proposed wording [of the draft constitution of the American Lutheran Church prepared in 1928], not because

he personally thought Scripture contained error but on the ground that the Bible's own statements about its reliability always referred to matters pertaining to salvation, faith, and Christian living. According to Reu, therefore, the church had no right to make total inerrancy a *doctrine* of the church. . . . Reu . . . considered the infallibility of Scripture limited to its message of salvation.[2]

More recently David R. Liefeld, although he disagrees with Meuser's understanding of Reu's position in its final form, states that there was a point in Reu's career when he did not believe in the inerrancy of the Bible in all matters it treats. Liefeld writes: "One early critic of the Minneapolis Theses [of 1925] was Iowa Synod theologian J. M. Reu, who sought to show that inerrancy was foreign to Luther's understanding of Scripture. What he discovered, however, was exactly the opposite. Reu's change-of-mind was published posthumously in 1944 as *Luther and the Scriptures*."[3] Clearly the various positions attributed to Reu cannot all be predicated of the same individual. Either Reu changed his belief about the basis of Christian teaching over the course of time, or else some scholars have misunderstood Reu's position.[4]

C. E. Clifford Nelson

As E. Clifford Nelson points out, Reu is the one who led the opposition to the proposed wording of the new constitution of the American Lutheran Church before and during its constituting convention in 1930.[5] What he does not mention is that Reu had served as one of the commissioners to the Minneapolis Colloquy which had drafted the Minneapolis Theses and that Reu had voted at that time (1925) to adopt the theses in their totality.[6] As time passed and union negotiations proceeded among the Iowa, Ohio, and Buffalo synods, Reu became wary of predicating the word "inerrancy" of the Scriptures which the church has today for two reasons. Firstly, Reu believed that the word should be reserved to describe the original manuscripts of the biblical books (none of which has come down to modern times) and, secondly, Reu disliked using a word not used by the Scriptures themselves. His hesitation to use the word "inerrancy" has been interpreted by most scholars as an

indication that Reu rejected the traditional Lutheran teaching of the verbal and errorless inspiration of the Bible. In actuality, however, Reu applied the concept of inerrancy to the very words of Holy Scripture, frequently used the term in print, and saw it as extending also to the historical, geographical, and personal statements contained in the Bible.[7] The evidence stands in stark contrast to Nelson's judgment that Reu "considered the infallibility of Scripture limited to its message of salvation."[8]

At a later point Nelson makes this assessment of Reu's epistemological position:

> In the American Lutheran Church the one theologian who had maintained some openness to the historical orientation of the Erlangen School was J. Michael Reu (1869-1943), professor at Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa. In the 20s and early 30s his views were deemed mildly "liberal" because he taught the infallibility of Scripture only in terms of its soteriological message. Before 1934, however, Reu had undergone a change that led him increasingly to sympathize with the viewpoint of the Missouri Synod. When, for example, Ralph H. Long tried to obtain a faculty appointment for Professor Otto Piper, a refugee from Nazi Germany, Reu warned against recommending him because he was not sufficiently Lutheran. Reu's metamorphosis was complete by 1943. His book, *Luther and the Scriptures*, in which he alleged that the Reformer was an advocate of "inerrancy," was the end-point of his theological backtracking.[9]

As evidence of this characterization Nelson refers his readers to a piece written by Reu in 1930 (prior to his alleged "back-tracking") published in an anthology edited by Vergilius Ferm.[10]

A careful reading of this article, however, does not provide the proof which Nelson seeks. It is true that Reu's thesis in this piece is that the distinguishing mark of the Lutheran church is "assurance of salvation, assurance of communion with God," but at the same time he plainly states that "the Lutheran Church which desires to stand on the principles laid down by the Reformation can never give

up the doctrine that the Holy Scriptures alone are and must remain the source and norm for all Christian faith and life."[11] He even says that God has revealed Himself in the Scriptures "and He has fixed this revelation in Holy Scriptures and preserved it for all times."[12] It is true that Reu here contends that the Bible is "not a code of religious and moral laws, but the history of our salvation" (as he frequently does elsewhere), and urges that the Scriptures be interpreted in the light of the gospel of the free and universal grace of God which they contain. It is also true that the article in question does not use the word "inerrant" to describe the Scripture. Yet Reu nowhere sets up any opposition between normative function of the Bible (as the divinely inspired absolute truth by which all teaching in the church is to be judged as right or wrong) and the soteriological function of the Bible (as the means through which God leads people to believe in Christ and through which He imparts to them the forgiveness of sins).[13] The article, to the contrary, shows Reu investing Holy Scripture with attributes of God Himself. The thought expressed here is that, instead of offering a mere human account of God's revelation of Himself, the Bible is intimately bound up with the nature of the deity.[14] Reu here does not, as Nelson claims, teach that the gospel of the forgiveness of sins is the *norma normans* of Christian teaching.

II. Reu's Actual Bibliology

A. Reu's Basis Consistency

Previous citations have already shown how modern writers who charge Reu with "back-tracking" make constant reference to his *Luther and the Scriptures*, a work from the last year of his life, as evidence of a change in his bibliology. In actuality, Reu makes precisely the same claims as to Luther's understanding of the Bible in his *Thirty-five Years of Luther Research*, which was published in 1917, twenty-six years prior to *Luther and the Scriptures*. A few examples will suffice to prove this point:

[1917]

How the attempt has been made to get much capital for a freer position of Luther towards the Scriptures out of his expressions concerning James, Hebrews, the Apocalypse,

etc., is well known. But it is scientific levity to do so. Careful research will ever find, that the books recognized by him as canonical, under all conditions were regarded by him as the authoritative Word of God. . . .

[1943]

And as far as the statement is concerned that James is "a letter of straw," it certainly does not speak well of the scientific trustworthiness of all those Protestant writers who hold this expression up as a proof for Luther's changed attitude toward Scripture. . . . They not only forgot that James was not a canonical writing to Luther; they also overlooked the fact that according to the context the statement is not an absolute statement.

[1917]

What position did Luther take towards the writing recognized by him as canonical, did he merely assert their inerrancy in religious matters or also extend this to historical, physical, etc., matters? Walther in Rostock has shown that Luther's position here, too, was much more conservative than nearly all presentations care to admit."

[1943]

In the preceding study we already began to show that for Luther not only those passages which relate to our salvation are without error but even the secondary matters that have no direct relation to salvation and the faith of salvation.

[1917]

If time and strength permit, the writer will express himself in more detail on Luther and the Scriptures in the near future, in order on his part to preclude the attempt even of theologians of the American Lutheran Church to defend their own lax positions over against the Scriptures by appealing to Luther.

[1943]

Especially since Kahnis in his *Lutherische Dogmatik* (III, 142ff.), under his mighty array of proofs for Luther's freedom concerning Scripture, quoted this statement [of

James being "a letter of straw"], many Lutheran writers thoughtlessly or under the influence of their liberal bias adopted it until it became nearly a household word with them when they characterized Luther's attitude toward the Scripture.[15]

In *Luther's German Bible*, published in 1934, Reu explains from the text itself that Luther's comments about the Epistle of James do not indicate that Luther thought this book either valueless or a fraud. Reu writes: "And here he immediately adds the well known statement, 'Therefore St. James' Epistle is really an epistle of straw.' But, as is so often forgotten, he qualifies this judgment not only through the connection in which it stands, but by the special addition, 'compared to them' [i.e., other canonical books of the New Testament]. He is not passing an absolute judgment but only a relative one."[16] Additional testimony for the correctness of this view comes from an article published in 1921, "Luther und die Freiheit des Denkens," in which Reu provides numerous quotations from Luther's writings to show that Luther believed, not only in an errorless Scripture, but in one with an authority grounded in the divine majesty of God, its giver and author, and not in the degree to which it manifests the gospel of the forgiveness of sins.[17]

B. Meuser's Findings

The most detailed analysis of Reu's doctrine of Scripture prior to 1930 has been provided by Fred W. Meuser in *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, published in 1958.[18] Meuser used the reports produced by the various church committees, examined private letters from Reu to various principals in the union negotiations within and without the Iowa Synod, and even conducted an interview with someone who knew Reu's plans to oppose an appendix to the constitution of the American Lutheran Church which defined inerrancy as a doctrine taught by Scripture itself. Meuser's research reveals that Reu continually changed his mind—first supporting formulations on Scripture worked out by joint committees of the Ohio and Iowa Synods, later backing away from these statements and expressing reservations.[19] Meuser shows beyond reasonable doubt that prior to 1930 Reu did, in fact, believe in an

inerrant Scripture, but that at the same time he did not believe this teaching to be divisive of church fellowship, should another Christian profess the fundamental articles of the Christian faith as he saw them.

The reason why church fellowship should not depend on acceptance of this teaching, according to Reu, is that it is not unequivocally taught in the Scriptures themselves. Meuser provides this summary of his findings relative to Reu's position on the authority of the Scriptures:

> Though [Reu] himself had come to believe that the Scriptures as inspired by God were inerrant, he recognized that this was a subjective conviction on his part which was produced in him by the over-all harmony of the Scriptures, by the confidence in them growing out of their effect upon his own life, and by the subjective conclusion that God probably would not allow His perfect revelation to be combined into a heterogenous mass with erring human records. Yet Reu recognized always that this was a subjective conclusion on his part, and that he had no right to demand that all other Christians had to feel exactly as he did on this matter before he could have full Christian fellowship with them.
>
> To sum up his view: he did not believe that complete infallibility of the Scriptures was revealed so clearly that those who failed to affirm it could be charged with deliberate violation of the authority of the Scriptures. Any church which held to the clearly revealed truth, namely, the complete authority and perfect reliability of the Scriptures regarding things pertaining to salvation, was essentially correct in its view of Scripture.[20]

On the basis of the evidence which Meuser provides in the book cited, as well as evidence gleaned from other sources, the author of these words would agree with the first of the conclusions which Meuser draws in the second paragraph above, but would disagree with his second conclusion.

In actuality, Reu himself believed that the Scriptures were inerrant

even when they spoke of topics not related to matters of faith or of salvation.[21] Green has taken note of Reu's mild confessionalism,[22] but Reu's allegiance to Scripture and to the Lutheran Confessions of the sixteenth century was such that it would have been impossible for him to affirm that holding merely to the "complete authority and perfect reliability of the Scriptures regarding things pertaining to salvation" would be an "essentially correct" understanding of Scripture.[23] Meuser is correct, however, in saying that at this point in his career Reu did not believe that such a position would be divisive of church fellowship.[24]   Here one can observe the old allegiance of the Iowa Synod to the theory of open questions and its idea of a gradual progress in the development of doctrinal formulations based on new exegetical insights through which God continues to be active in His church.[25] A thesis which is never even proposed in *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church* is the idea that Reu limited the infallibility of Scripture to the message of salvation. It is, therefore, puzzling to see the inclusion of this idea in Meuser's assessment of Reu in 1975 (as quoted in the first section of this study).[26]

C. Reu's Testimony in Ecclesiastical Meetings

Some of the most revealing testimony to Reu's view of the Bible in later years is preserved in the transcripts of the meetings of the Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church, which met between 1936 and 1939.[27]   Reu was one of the commissioners of the American Lutheran Church in these sessions. He also prepared the draft statement on the nature of Scripture for the ALC team and was challenged to defend his position by the ULCA commissioners.[28]

1. April of 1936

The joint statement on Scripture which was to have been considered at the second meeting of the commission never materialized. Instead, the commissioners were faced with two statements, one authored by Reu and one by Jacobs.[29] Affirming that God's self-revelation throughout history could and did take forms other than literary proposition, Jacobs was not able to equate Scripture with

"Word of God" independent of the gospel.[30]   It is at this second meeting that Reu spoke of a change in his own thinking regarding biblical inspiration.   Is this change the "metamorphosis" or "back-tracking" on the doctrine of Scripture which contemporary writers ascribe to Reu?[31]   According to the official transcript of the meeting, Reu said the following:

> Did you not mix up these two questions, how does Scripture become subjectively an authority to me?   If that is the question, I am certainly at one with you because Scripture never does subjectively become an authority to me because we have that book we call the Bible.   Subjectively, the Bible becomes an authority to me because here I hear the message of sin and my conscience tells me that is true.   But here I have the message of salvation in Christ, the crucified and risen one, and my conscience again says to me that is true, and so I come subjectively to that conviction, as far as Law and as far as Gospel is in the Scripture.   That is an authority for me and after that has become my conviction, that broadens out and by and by the whole Scripture becomes subjectively an authority for me.   Perhaps there are different parts in Scripture concerning which I do not make the experience, but the whole Church before me has made its experience and supplements my own experience and so as far as subjective authority of Scripture is concerned, I can say subjectively the Bible is the Word of God.   Now, after that has become true in my eyes, then I look into Scripture and the same Scripture that has become authority to me tells me now for instance that the whole of Scripture is divinely inspired, and because of that experience I have made of the truth of the Scripture then I cannot do otherwise than take those statements as a basis for my theological declaration of what Scripture is, and if I would not take the second step, then the first step would not be true.   If the Scripture has really subjectively become to me the authority, the one authority for faith and life, then all those various statements in the Scripture concerning the origin of the Scripture are also the Word of God and authority.[32]

At this same meeting Reu clearly distances himself from any mechanical theory of inspiration, but at the same time he strongly affirms that the "truth" taught by the Scriptures is fixed for all times in propositional form. Reu continues:

> I am not defending the theory of dictation, I really myself don't have that, and I don't think it is expressed here [in Reu's statement on the Scripture], but at the same time if you say prepositions are not given by the Holy Ghost, I could not go along. If that is the case, in so many, many instances you would break out the heart of the meaning of sentences. I wanted to exclude the dictation theory by that phrase "who are living, thinking personalities, etc." By putting these words in I intended to exclude the mechanical theory, the dictation theory. But that is the miracle—those persons, those Holy Writers had their own individuality. Nevertheless, what they wrote is the Word of God. Here I stop and don't ask me myself how that is possible. . . . I cannot give up this clause "by which he supplied to the Holy Writers content and fitting word." Perhaps there can be an amplification but the method itself, as far as I am concerned, I could not change. Here I am bound by conscience. I don't like that in everything the conscience is called upon but here really is a point in which I am conscience-bound.[33]

Such was the witness which Reu bore to the inerrancy of Scripture in April of 1936.

2. March of 1938

In another meeting between representatives of the two churches held two years later, Reu clarifies his notion of the "organic whole" in reference to the authority of Scripture—and it is a notion that includes inerrancy. He speaks in this way of proposed revisions to his statement:

> When I made that proposal I understood "in all its parts" would be an equivalent for "without contradiction and error," a real equivalent, but I thought we would fare a little

easier by using that term "as a whole and in all its parts" instead of "without contradiction and error." Therefore it was left out in the next proposal, the next form. But the longer I thought of that phrase "in all its parts" I said to myself, that can be taken in various forms of sense. It could mean in all its books, it could mean in all its passages, larger passages, sections, etc. Therefore I come back to "without contradiction and error." . . . So that [in light of John 10:35] "without contradiction and error" means in the whole of the Old Testament there is no statement that contradicts another statement. . . . If we really have content and fitting word supplied by the Holy Spirit to the writer, then I believe that there is no error.[34]

The transcript of this meeting in March of 1938 also reveals what Reu's "change" in regard to the inerrancy of Scripture actually entailed:

Years ago I believed that a phrase like this "without contradiction and error" would refer only to those things that have to do with the doctrine. Later on, I was convinced that there is really no contradiction and error in the original writing at all. But I did not deem this an essential point and that was the reason why I took the stand which I took in the negotiations which preceded the formation of the American Lutheran Church and I made a statement according to that fact before the meeting. But since in our own Lutheran Church the tendency became so strong against a phrase like this "without contradiction and error," I said to myself those brethren were right who said that it is an essential point and when I then proposed to Dr. Jacobs to use that phrase "as a whole and in all its parts" I took it in that sense meaning "without contradiction and error."[35]

At one time, then, Reu believed it possible for a Christian theologian to maintain the possibility of errors of fact in Scripture because Reu at that time did not understand the Bible itself to say that it was without error; he came to see matters differently later. Reu does not say that there was ever a time when he himself thought any statement of Scripture as subject to error.[36]

Reu was at one time fearful that inerrancy would be assumed as a *doctrine* of the church on the same level as the doctrine of inspiration. The inspiration of the words of Scripture Reu saw as a clear biblical teaching; the inerrancy of Scripture he did not at that time see as a clear biblical teaching, even though he personally believed it to be true. He had already asserted at the meeting of the Joint Commission in April of 1936 that the inspiration of the Bible had to be propositional as well as verbal.[37] The "change of heart," then, which Reu had after 1930 was not from a position which saw Scripture as authoritative solely because of its saving content (the gospel) to a position which saw Scripture as authoritative because of its plenary verbal inspiration. Nor was it a change from "errancy" to inerrancy. It was a change from a position allowing freedom to contrary views to a position of conviction that the Scriptures themselves teach that they contain no error of any kind.[38] There was no change in Reu as to the *fact* of Scripture's inspiration or as to the *source* of its normative authority, or (as the evidence makes abundantly clear) as to the *reality* of its complete inerrancy. For Reu, the divine inspiration of a book automatically precludes error.[39]

Reu sums up the reason for his "change" in this way (in the meeting previously mentioned as occurring in March of 1938):

> You may be convinced that to me the Christocentric view of Scripture is the primary one. At the same time I find also those passages in the Scripture which I believe express the meaning that also, as far as the words are concerned, there is no error. That is for me not the primary thing. This is for me the secondary, but it is there and because it is there and because I am convinced that those passages express that I try to keep it up. If that would be the case, Dr. Knubel, that in that fundamentalistic way the Scripture would be looked upon in consequence of the standpoint taken by this section here [i.e., that some would predicate inerrancy of the present-day transmitted copies of the original biblical books rather than to the original manu-scripts], then I would be very slow to go with them, but I believe that really both can be kept up at the same time, that Christological view which I never could give up and the

other one, the secondary one, resting upon these Scripture
passages. If it would not be for these passages I would not
care about this secondary view, and would defend only the
other view, the Christological one. These Scripture passages
seem to me sufficient basis for the secondary view. The
change in my own conviction was not a little influenced by
the fear whereto finally the other one without holding fast
to the secondary might lead.[40]

In summary, then, it is true that Reu underwent a "change" after
1930 in his view of the inerrancy of Scripture. He had always
believed, however, that the Bible was divinely inspired and that it
had its authority in the church by virtue of its being the Word of
God. These were always constants in Reu's thinking.[41] The
"change" involved rather his coming to believe that Scripture itself
taught that all its parts were free from error of any kind in the
original manuscripts. Reu never doubted that the Bible was inspired
by God Himself and that it therefore possessed such attributes of the
divine majesty as the impossibility of error. Like Luther before him,
Reu never once questioned the plenary divine inspiration, the unique
normative authority, or the historical truthfulness of Scripture.[42]

D. Reu's Testimony in Writing and Conversation

1. Historical Considerations

There are numerous indications of Reu's epistemology throughout
the first four decades of this century. In 1921, for instance, in his
obituary of Benjamin B. Warfield of Princeton Seminary, Reu wrote
that Warfield's death was a great loss to conservative American
Protestantism.[43] Warfield is widely recognized as one of the last
great conservative Presbyterian theologians to teach at Princeton and
as a champion of the doctrine of the plenary verbal inspiration of
Scripture.[44] It would be strange for Reu to identify himself as
closely as he does here with so well-known an advocate of an
inerrant Bible, if Reu himself held a position on Scripture which was
fundamentally different.

Again, Reu certainly saw an integral connection in Luther's
thinking between the divine inspiration of Scripture and its complete

inerrancy. In regard to the list of the "Books of the New Testament" printed in Luther's Bible Reu states:

> These 23, in spite of a difference in value, when compared with each other, were for him beyond question apostolic and canonical and thus were produced under the influence of the Holy Ghost so that the writers were raised completely above human fallibility. On the other hand, the remaining four were to be marked out as those whose apostolic origin was questionable and so their canonicity was in doubt, with the result that their content could not be regarded, at once, as absolutely inerrant.[45]

Reu, of course, clearly wished to identify himself the position which he attributed to the reformer of the church.

2. Dogmatic Considerations

It is true that Reu held that the doctrine of inspiration could be properly treated solely in the light of its christocentric foundation and goal. Such a view is, however, a far different thing than somehow limiting, as Meuser and Nelson claim, the inerrancy of Scripture to the message of salvation. On the contrary, the evidence is unanimous that Reu at all times accepted and taught the doctrine of the plenary verbal inspiration of Scripture (the divine guidance of the authors in such a way that God Himself is the author of every single word of Holy Scripture). Nor did he base the authority of Holy Scripture on its proclamation of the gospel. For Reu, the Bible had normative authority in the church solely because of it being the word of God.

Reu provided a succinct explanation of his christocentric view of inspiration in an article which appeared in the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* in 1929. There he states:

> Inspiration is also not to be surrendered, but rather to be retained in its entire biblical extent. But we do not begin with it; rather we simply launch into the Scriptures and let them have their effect on the heart, on the perception and will, so that they lead to Christ, the Savior incarnate. If Christ first becomes great to the listener as He "who

redeemed us lost and condemned creatures, purchased and won us," then with this he will also be more and more certain of the Scriptures, whose essence and star He is. Then also the declarations about the Scriptures themselves and their own origin become welcome and valuable. One has experienced the power of God in the Scriptures in one's own heart and now devoutly hears what they say about their own origin, accepts it in faith, and holds fast to it gratefully in its whole extent.[46]

Reu expressed the same conviction in everyday conversation. Herman A. Preus, for instance, long-time professor at Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul and a colleague of Reu's during the 1930s and 1940s, has testified to Reu's assertion, in private too, of verbal inspiration and so also of inerrancy.[47]

It is true that Reu had no patience with any mechanical theory of inspiration whereby the authors to whom God gave His words are stripped of historical reality. He held instead a "dynamic" understanding of verbal inspiration, as the following sentences from one of his study papers make evident:

But what kind of verbal inspiration is taught by Scripture, is it the mechanical or dictation theory of verbal inspiration or the dynamic theory? According to the first, the biblical writers were mere machines writing down what was dictated to them, used by the Holy Ghost as the harp was used by David, or they were willing and knowing instruments, knowing and understanding what they were dictated and what they wrote down, but in no way participating in disposing the material and finding the fitting word. In contradistinction to this, the dynamic theory of verbal inspiration consists just in this that the biblical writers were in constant cooperation with the Holy Ghost and busied themselves to find the correct expression for the divine contents.[48]

Reu, indeed, believed that "for the Lutheran Church the Holy Scriptures are the Word of God" and retain their position of divine authority "even when the question of inspiration remains unsolved."[49]

Reu makes several incidental statements in a teacher-training volume of 1939 which again emphasize the unique nature of Scripture. He speaks of the Bible in this way:

> We must, of course, not forget that what we teach in the Sunday school is the Word of God and that the Word of God does not depend upon the teacher's skill or holy living to make it a power of God unto salvation. It is, and at all times, under all circumstances, remains such a power in itself.[50]

Reu understands the Bible to have an objective truth transcending all merely human testimony, whether historical or contemporary.

3. Exegetical Considerations

Reu published only one article in the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* specifically depicting the state of contemporary exegetical theology and evaluating its trends.[51] One can, however, clearly assess Reu's position on scriptural authority from the comments which he makes there. Observing that Ernst Sellin was one of the more "conservative" of the modern German Old Testament exegetes because of his opposition to those scholars who would assign little or no authority to the Old Testament, Reu nevertheless challenged Sellin's assertion that the Old Testament was merely "human literature which bears witness to a divine revelation which took place in the course of the history of a people."[52] Reu took issue with Sellin's position in these pointed words:

> We thank Sellin for sending Delitzsch and Harnack back into their proper bounds; however, with respect to his own position we only ask: Is 2 Tim. 3:16 with its *pasa grafee theopneustos* really speaking of this, that the *authors* of the Old Testament Scriptures, while they wrote, were *at certain times* filled with the Spirit of God (cf. p. 72), and how does John 10:35 agree with this?[53]

In this same article Reu spoke warmly of research which would, in his opinion, "point to an entirely new return to a strongly traditional view of the Pentateuch."[54]

While allowing some literary analysis of the Book of Genesis,

Reu could not approve the hypothesis by which originally independent accounts were subsequently woven into a unity by an unknown redactor. He wrote of the first of the Scriptures in this way:

> But whoever regards Genesis as a unity and wants to understand it as such will hardly receive his due with this procedure. Whether such dissection does not hinder rather than further the understanding of the religious meaning of this "basic book" is another question. For the Apostle Paul Genesis appears to have been a unity from which he quotes, or which he uses as a point of contact, without asking from which source he borrows his quotation or his point of contact; moreover to him it is history, dependable history to the last detail.[55]

Reu states explicitly that he "frequently rejects [Sellin's] datings, literary articulations, and textual emendations" of the minor prophets and implies a like rejection of Kittel's dating of most of the Psalms as post-exilic.[56] The Old Testament commentaries edited by Sellin were deserving of recognition and use for the "independence and intellectual effort" represented there. Reu had to conclude, however, that the series was "not what the believing congregation, the church, is waiting for in this difficult time, the waters of which wash about the foundation."[57]

Conclusion

Reu maintained that the special intervention of God in the minds of the writers of the Bible served to "lift them above the possibility of human error. . . . That which the writers of the Bible have produced—and that alone—is truly dependable and inerrant."[58] Such must be the case, Reu argued, because the New Testament writers quoted the Old Testament as the Word of God, and because they presupposed "that it was God or the Holy Ghost who used the human writers and spoke through them."[59] Reu explains what he means by verbal inspiration in these words:

> The prepositions used [in the books of Matthew and Hebrews] are *dia* and *en*; they make it evident, the Lord or the Holy Ghost is to be considered as the real author, man

only the instrument used by Him. If, therefore, Church Fathers or some dogmaticians of our own church called the human authors *notarii, calanixi, amanuenses, instrumenta,* this is not [to] be considered wrong in every respect. It is wrong, if by the use of these terms the writers are degraded to merely mechanical instruments or machines that wrote without participation of their soul life. It is correct, however, as long as these terms are used merely to designate human instrumentality without any definition of the latter. The prepositions used give us the right of speaking of a cooperation of the divine and human factors in the formation of the Old Testament Scripture.[60]

Reu believed that in the New Testament "we have direct statements," such as 2 Peter 1:21 and 2 Timothy 3:16, which explicitly teach the doctrine of verbal inspiration.[61] Clearly, Reu viewed this teaching as much more than an historically-conditioned pronouncement of the church. It is scarcely surprising, then, that Reu saw no contradiction between the *doctrina evangelii* and the inerrancy of Scripture.

Endnotes

1.   August Pieper, quoted in Theodore Graebner, "Death of Dr. Michael Reu," *Lutheran Witness,* 26 October 1943, 352.

2.   Fred W. Meuser, "Facing the Twentieth Century 1900-1930," in *The Lutherans in North America,* ed. E. Clifford Nelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 448, 443.

3.   David R. Liefeld, "Inerrancy Is Not Just 'Fundamentalist,'" *Dialog,* 27 (Spring 1988), 145-146. See also his articles "Inerrancy: The Roots Run Deep," *Lutheran Witness,* May 1987, 4-6; and "Inerrancy: It's Not Enough," *Lutheran Witness,* June 1987, 4-5.

4.   The author of this essay has discovered only one place in which Reu talks about a change of mind regarding his epistemological position—in the transcription of a meeting held in March 1938 of the Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church. See note

34 below for the citation of this passage and an account of Reu's position in these negotiations.

5.   E. Clifford Nelson, *Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), 29.

6.   Article I of the Minneapolis Theses states: "The synods signatory to these Articles of Agreement accept without exception all the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments as a whole, and in all their parts, as the divinely inspired, revealed, and inerrant Word of God, and submit to this as the only infallible authority in all matters of faith and life." Richard C. Wolf, *Documents of Lutheran Unity in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 146.

7.   The manuscript of Reu's English address concerning his impressions of the first Lutheran World Convention meeting in 1923 contains the word "infallible." Although it is not ascribed directly by Reu to his own position, yet, in his typical manner of making a modest general statement which is to be understood as applying to himself, Reu means the word to apply to his own position. He notes: "It was of importance against the liberals in theology and church, who scoff at everything that is called confessions and who, especially at Eisenach, the seat of the new government of the liberal Thuringian Church, and at Jena, the seat of the most liberal university of all Germany, [who] just two years ago boastingly declared, that the Lutheran Church should cease to exist in Thuringia; and against the liberals all over the world who speak and act as though only their views and beliefs could find adherents in this modern age. It gave them food for thought when at Eisenach they saw and heard men, men of position and intellect, take their stand for the old confessions, and some of them even for an infallible Bible." J. M. Reu, "The Lutheran World Convent at Eisenach," p. 62, J. M. Reu Collection, Dubuque. Reu very plainly distances himself from those delegates at this convention who believe something else: "To the vast majority of those present at Eisenach, the Scriptures are a literary monument that *contains*—not *is*—the Word of God, and in *so* far only it is to them the only source and infallible norm of all church teaching and practice, but a literary document that likewise contains many statements, the trustworthiness of which is questionable or their incorrectness even proved and undeniable,

and it is an object of scientific investigation to draw the line between both elements; some restrict the latter elements to geographical-historical statements and the like; some even do not stop there, and do not regard even the moral and religious statements of the Bible as infallible.   Still what has been accepted at Eisenach is at least a valuable demarcation line against all those who deny or endanger the strictly supernatural character of the revelation upon which our religion and doctrine rests." Ibid., pp. 55-56. It should be noted that Reu wrote these words in 1923 or 1924—at least a full year before the adoption of the Minneapolis Theses and more than five years prior to his objection to the new constitution adopted by the American Lutheran Church.

8.   Nelson, *Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970*, 31.

9.   Ibid., 86.

10.   J. M. Reu, "What Is Lutheranism?", in *What Is Lutheranism?: A Symposium in Interpretation*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: MacMillan Company, 1930), 102-115. Except for its last three pages which deal with the subject of textual criticism, this chapter in Ferm's book was published a year earlier as "Die Eigenart des Luthertums," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 53 (October 1929), 563-572.

11.   Reu, in *What Is Lutheranism?*, 104, 103.

12.   Ibid., 105. See p. 110, where Reu refers to Scripture as "an absolutely faithful image of the essence of God and His will. . . ."   As Fred Kramer has noted, it was common among the more conservative Lutheran dogmaticians of the first half of the twentieth century to identify divine revelation with Scripture over against an understanding of revelation as divine activity or *Tatwort*.   See his analysis of the respective positions of Adolf Hoenecke and Francis Pieper in Fred Kramer, "The Christian Faith and Revelation," *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 40 (April 1969), 197-198.

13.   The entire article makes repeated reference to what Reu regards as the false sacramental and sacerdotal understanding of the Roman Catholic Church, on the one hand, and the false symbolic and immediate understanding of the character of the means of grace of Reformed theology, on the other hand.

14.   "But the Bible is not only a message from God or information concerning Him; in this word of Scripture as well as in every word that grows out of it, God Himself dwells and works. . . . through the Bible He Himself comes to us; the Bible . . . is the bearer of His own presence." Reu, in *What Is Lutheranism?*, 110.

15.   J. M. Reu, *Thirty-five Years of Luther Research* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1917), 77-78; *Luther and the Scriptures* (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944), 45, 91, 45. Although the latter book appeared posthumously, its preface by Reu bears the date January 1943. See also Reu's comment in his final article in the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*: "There can be no doubt that to them [i.e., Luther and Melanchthon] all the generally recognized canonical books of the Old and New Testament in their totality as well as in their individual parts were the Word of God. They believed that what the prophets and the apostles dictated or wrote down was, in virtue of a unique operation of the Holy Spirit upon them, without contradiction and error. . . . to all theologians of the 16th century the result of inspiration was the same. They were all convinced that what the prophets and the apostles dictated and wrote down and what thus became a part of canonical Scripture was the pure Word of God without contradiction and error. The Augsburg Confession was written with this conviction, and it is this conviction concerning which all should be agreed who intend to establish church fellowship." J. M. Reu, "Minimum Requirements for the Establishing of Church Fellowship," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 67 (December 1943), 595-596.

16.   J. M. Reu, *Luther's German Bible: An Historical Presentation Together with a Collection of Sources* (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1934), 170.

17.   J. M. Reu, "Luther und die Freiheit des Denkens," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 45 (April 1921), 193-211. Here Reu says: "Insonderheit führte die Disputation mit Eck im Jahre 1519 Luther weiter auf dieser Bahn. Als er hier die Unfehlbarkeit der Konzilien bestritt, stieg er von deren Fehlbarkeit auf zu der *unfehlbaren Schrift* als der allein entscheidenden Norm für alles, was als göttliche Wahrheit angesehen werden will, und identifiziert dabei ohne weiteres Schrift und Wort Gottes" (the emphasis is in the

original). Ibid., 200. Reu also quotes Luther as having written: "Ich habe gelernt, diese Ehre allein den Büchern zu geben, welche kanonisch genannt werden, sodass ich aufs Festeste glaube, *dass keiner ihrer Verfasser geirrt hat*, . . . Die Heiligen haben in ihrem Schreiben irren und in ihrem Leben sündigen können; *die Schrift kann nicht irren*" (all emphases are in the original). Ibid., 201, 207. See also his quotation from Luther on p. 208: ". . . *Hie stehe ich, hie trotze ich, hie stolziere ich und sage: Gottes Wort ist mir über alles*, göttliche Majestät stehet bei mir [d. i. in und mit dem Wort]; *darum gebe ich nicht ein Haar drauf, wenn tausend Augustinus*, tausend Heinzen Kirchen dazu *wider mich wären, und bin gewiss, dass die rechte Kirche mit mir hält an Gottes Wort* und lässt Heinzen Kirchen an Menschenworten hängen" (all emphases are in the original). Reu notes: "Da ward ihm [Luther] die Majestät Gottes klar, die in und durch dies Wort mit seiner Seele, seinem Gewissen handelte. Da erkannte er es innerlich, dass Streiten wider die Schrift nichts anders ist als Streiten wider Gott selber. Gewissensfreiheit—er hat selber das Wort 'libertas conscientiae' geprägt—ist ihm von da an identisch mit der Gebundenheit an Gottes Wort." Ibid., 210.

18.   Fred W. Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church: A Case Study in Lutheran Unity* (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958). Meuser devotes an entire chapter to Reu's pivotal role in the union negotiations among the Iowa, Ohio, and Buffalo synods as they struggled to produce a mutually acceptable formulation of the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture during the years 1926-1930.

19.   Meuser notes that Reu voted in favor of adopting the formulation on Scripture which included the word "inerrant" proposed in the Minneapolis Colloquy in 1925—he was even a delegate to the colloquy which produced this statement—but later objected to the concept of inerrancy which he believed this statement implied. Similarly, the statement on Scripture produced by the inter-synodical (Iowa-Ohio-Buffalo) commission and proposed for inclusion in the constitution of the merged church body also included the word "inerrant" when it described the Bible. In subsequent haggling over the wording of this statement, the Iowa Synod Executive Committee adopted an *Erklärung* on Scripture written by Reu which specifically teaches the inerrancy of the

original text of the Scriptures. In a later vote of the Iowa Synod Executive Committee Reu voted to approve the original wording of the proposed constitutional paragraph on Scripture which included the full inerrancy of the Bible, "but Reu's approval was conditioned by the statement that he could vote for the recommendation only if the assertion of the *Erklaerung* that the unexplained difficulties in Scripture do not affect the faith would be applied to the question of church fellowship." Reu later withdrew even this qualified approval of the constitutional paragraph. In 1929 Reu first approved a revised long form of the proposed confessional paragraph of the church constitution, but later rescinded his approval. Meuser, *Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, 209-211, 221-223. In a conference paper presented in 1927, Reu again changed his views on the relation of inerrancy to church fellowship. Meuser writes that Reu "modified somewhat his previous opinion that those who posited errors in the original could be fully recognized as long as they retained the full Scriptural authority in matters of faith. At the conference he stated that it is wrong to say things not pertaining to salvation are subject to error, for this violates the principle that Scripture as a whole is God's Word." Ibid., 213.

20. Ibid., 229.

21. J. M. Reu, letter to C. C. Hein, 13 October 1926, quoted in Meuser, *Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, 202. Reu says strongly in this same letter, however, that in his opinion "Scripture does not with unmistakable clarity claim complete inerrancy . . . [if] this point is elevated to the level of a confession, then it must be taken seriously and church fellowship severed with everyone who does not confess the same thing. I am not ready to do that." Ibid.

22. Lowell C. Green, "J. M. Reu and Reformation Studies," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 42 (November 1969), 154. Reu himself wrote in 1926: "I could wholeheartedly approve the statement: 'The Scripture is the inspired Word of God and the only and inerrant source, guide and norm for Christian faith and life.' This I would defend to my last breath against any opponent in Germany or here, as God would give me grace. For the testimony of the Scriptures would support me. . . . But Scripture itself does not say that it is inerrant in all other things

that neither directly nor indirectly pertain to faith and life;
therefore, I cannot elevate such a claim to an article of faith or
a confessional paragraph. If I did, I would exclude from church
fellowship those who say that this or that historical reference is
incorrect or questionable." Reu, quoted in Meuser, *Formation of
the American Lutheran Church*, 186. Meuser quotes Reu in a
letter written later in the same year when he comments that Reu
"immediately hastened to assure Hein that the great majority of
Iowans, including Reu's pupils and Reu himself, 'personally hold
to the inerrancy of the Scriptures even in matters not pertaining
to faith' and regard any theory that speaks with impunity about
errors in the Scriptures as dangerous. However, Iowa does not
want this personal conviction expressed in a confessional
statement." Ibid., 202. Reu at every time of his career con-
sidered the whole matter of scriptural inerrancy as a non-
fundamental doctrine of the Bible, but later [i.e., after 1930]
changed his mind to believe that it was nevertheless necessary to
insist upon it in church fellowship negotiations. Meuser makes
it clear in his account of Reu's actions at the 1926 convention of
the Iowa Synod that a large part of his apprehension over the
proposed wording of the paragraph on scriptural inerrancy in the
constitution of the new church was his fear of its being under-
stood as endorsing some kind of mechanical theory of verbal
inspiration. See Meuser, *Formation of the American Lutheran
Church*, 193.

23.   Meuser cites Reu's article, "Die Eigenart der Amerikanisch-
lutherischen Kirche," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 50 (August 1926),
690-708, as proof of this statement. Assuming that the third of
the three positions held in American Lutheranism which Reu
chronicles here is in fact his own (the evidence is circumstantial;
Reu never once in these pages specifically tells the reader that
his position is the same as that of the third group), all that Reu
says is that this group's position on scriptural infallibility is wide
enough for it to have church fellowship with those who "in
solchen und ähnlichen Fällen von der Möglichkeit oder Tat-
sächlichkeit eines Irrtums redet" [in such and similar matters
speak of the possibility or reality of an error]. The "matters"
Reu mentions here are such things as chronological discrepancies
in various biblical accounts and differences which appear in
parallel accounts of the same events—not all things in Scripture

unrelated to Christian faith and life. To regard all such matters as subject to error is the position he predicates of the first group in his essay. It is a position that Reu himself does not share, even in 1926, that is, to ascribe inerrancy only to matters pertaining to salvation, and . . . *from the outset [vornherein]* see the possibility or the probability of errors in all other parts of Scripture. ("Da scheinen die einen zu betonen, die Irrtumslosigkeit der Schrift beziehe sich blos auf alles, was zur Heilswahrheit gehört, und darum von vornherein mit der Irrtümlichkeit der Schrift in den anderen Dingen als mit einer Möglichkeit oder gar Wahrscheinlichkeit zu rechnen.") Reu, "Die Eigenart der Amerikanisch-lutherischen Kirche," 705; Meuser, *Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, 189-190. Yet, judging from Meuser's account of an interview which C. C. Hein had with Reu on January 26, 1927, Reu did at one time teach in his seminary classes that "the possibility of errors in secondary matters" treated by Scripture had to be permitted in the church. Ibid., 208-210.

24.   The maddening thing about Reu's position is the consistency of his inconsistency. At the end of his life, after Reu is supposed to have accepted the necessity of agreement even in those articles of faith not dealing directly with matters of salvation in order to enter into church fellowship, Reu urges the practice of "selective fellowship" among those conservative Lutherans who are pledged to different public confessions of faith as concerns the non-fundamental articles of faith but who personally share all fundamental truths. See his comments in the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, both written during the last months of his life: "About a week before his [Dr. Boe's] death I wrote him that selective fellowship might be the common ground for us and the solution of the difficulties lying in the path to a unified Lutheran Church. And I do not see anything in Scripture that makes selective fellowship impossible." See also Reu's opinion of a unionistic communion service held in New York City among pastors of different Lutheran church bodies not in altar and pulpit fellowship with one another: "We must say that all this is outside of the rules and canons of the Church as they were understood during the last century of Lutheran development in our country. Here the official relation from church body to church body was held decisive for the respective pastors and congregations. Five

years ago I would have seriously advised against such a proce-
dure which does not wait until official action from church to
church has been taken. The experiences of the last five years
taught me to judge milder. I am still slow to advise such
procedure because it can be terribly misused and I do not see any
controlling factors in which one can really trust. But such action
as that on this year's Ascension Day in New York should tell
those in authority and in convention assembled no longer to
hinder or stop the movement towards unity with reasons not
based upon the Word of God but upon human traditions. Where
the Word of God separates us, there and only there we are
separated." J. M. Reu, "Dr. Lars Wilhelm Boe," *Kirchliche
Zeitschrift*, 67 (February 1943), 127; id., "Toward Lutheran
Union," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 67 (September 1943), 528; quoted
in Emmanuel Poppen, "Dr. Reu's Work in Behalf of Lutheran
Unity," *Wartburg Seminary Association Quarterly*, 7, 15 Decem-
ber 1943, 11-12. One may contrast what Reu says in his
dogmatics, which was being used in classes at Wartburg Semi-
nary at this same time: "When a Christian learns which [denom-
inational] confession agrees most closely with the Scriptures, he
is in conscience bound to join that church even though leaving
his mother-church may cause him grief. He must, however,
conduct this examination on [the] basis of the commonly
accepted official confessions of the church body and not on the
basis of the teaching of individual members. . . ." J. M. Reu,
"Dogmatics," pp. 190-191, J. M. Reu Collection, Dubuque. In
the last month of his life Reu wrote that "an agreement concer-
ning doctrine is, indeed, necessary before church fellowship is
established, whether this agreement is set forth in a number of
theses or a confession, or brought about by some other doctrinal
negotiations. This is necessary in the interest of the church, in
the interest of truth as well as of love." Reu, "Minimum
Requirements," 601. What would seem to be a recommendation
based on his earlier understanding of the place of inerrancy
theology is, in fact, a product of the time of Reu's most intense
rapprochement with Missouri and its theology. It is probably
safest to say that Reu remained an Iowa Synod theologian in the
stamp of Wilhelm Loehe and the Erlangen school throughout his
life.

25.   Meuser's assessment of the fundamental difference between the

hermeneutical approaches of Iowa and Ohio is an excellent one. He notes: "The point above, that the inerrancy of the Scriptures must be deduced from its inspiration, is not a minor one for Iowa's case. In fact, behind it lies the whole argument of Reu, which is simply the application of Iowa's 'open question' concept. If it is true that inerrancy is only a deduction drawn from Scriptural claims to divinity and not a doctrine clearly revealed by Scripture itself, then according to Iowa's approach to doctrine, inerrancy can never be elevated to the position of a doctrine essential to church fellowship. It seemed to Reu's group that Ohioans were deciding for themselves which doctrines were fundamental and then proceeding to try to find evidence for them in the Scriptures. To the average delegate the difference between inerrancy based upon Scriptural proof and inerrancy deduced from Scripture's divinity was probably so subtle as to appear sophistic. . . . Iowa held that the Scripture's claim to divine inspiration *implied* inerrancy; Ohio believed that Scripture itself *asserted* inerrancy. Since inerrancy, to the followers of Reu, was only a deduction, they held that it could be believed but could not be made an article of faith or a prerequisite for fellowship." Meuser, *Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, 214-215.

26.   Reu himself observes: "We stated advisedly that Scripture is the source and norm of religious doctrine and saving faith; not in order to take back what we said about the inerrancy of Scripture in the preceding, but in order to emphasize the purpose for which Scripture has been given." J. M. Reu, "What Is Scripture and How Can We Become Certain of Its Divine Origin?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 63 (July 1939), 425.

27.   Nelson gives a lengthy examination of these meetings and highlights Reu's position in them in his *Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970*, 97-106. The actual transcripts of these meetings themselves provide much more insight into Reu's position in defense of biblical inerrancy than Nelson attempts in his book. Nelson notes the locations and dates of the meetings of the Joint Commission in the order in which they took place: Pittsburgh, February 6-7, 1936; Columbus, April 2-3, 1936; March 1938; Pittsburgh, February 13, 1939.

28.   It is obvious from his letter to Jacobs of 8 June 1937 that Reu believes the fundamental truth following from the divine

inspiration of Scripture is that it is, in fact, the word of God—not
that it contains the gospel, or that all the books of Scripture form
an organic whole, or that the Bible speaks infallibly concerning
matters having to do with Christian faith and life. See J. M.
Reu, Dubuque, to Rev. Prof. Dr. Ch. Jacobs, Philadelphia, 8 June
1937, J. M. Reu Collection, Dubuque.

29.   "At the next meeting of the Joint Commission . . . it was
explained that, due to illness [Jacobs'] and the brevity of time,
Reu and Jacobs had worked independently. Consequently, the
members of the commission were faced, not with a joint
production on 'The Scriptures and the Word of God' (as
requested by the February meeting), but with two statements.
The one by Reu placed the emphasis on 'The Scriptures'; the one
by Jacobs stressed 'The Word of God.'" Nelson, *Lutheranism in
North America 1914-1970*, 100. The original statements sub-
mitted to the Joint Commission by both Reu and Jacobs as well
as their correspondence and subsequent draft revisions are found
in appendix 40 of this research project. As Nelson points out,
Jacobs' statement was adopted essentially intact by the United
Lutheran Church in 1938 as the Baltimore Declaration, while
Reu's statement was adopted nearly verbatim by the American
Lutheran Church as the Sandusky Declaration. Ibid., 104.

30.   Nelson is correct in observing that, for the ULCA commis-
sioners, "justification by faith in Christ became both a her-
meneutical principle and an authority principle." Nelson,
Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970, 99. He also gives a
succinct and accurate summary of Jacobs' position when he
writes: "Commencing with a quotation from the *Epitome*
(Formula of Concord), Jacobs pointed out that the authority of
the Scriptures rests in their being the Word of God. Since,
however, the term 'Word of God' is used in more than one
sense, it is important to understand these different senses. First,
the Word of God means the gospel; second, the Word of God is
the historical self-revelation of God completed in Jesus Christ
and interpreted by men chosen and inspired by God; third,
because God continues to make himself known in the Holy
Scriptures of which Christ is the center, the Bible is properly
called the Word of God. The Scriptures have their more
important and less important parts, the measure of their impor-
tance being the closeness of their relation to the gospel, which is

the Word of God in the primary sense." Ibid., 101. Reu challenged Jacobs' contention that "the classical period of Lutheranism knew nothing of a verbal inspiration" by proving from the historical sources that Flacius and Andreas Osiander taught a dynamic theory of verbal inspiration and that Justus Menius and other Saxon Lutherans in the first (1549) Lutheran confession containing a separate article on the Scriptures even taught divine dictation. See J. M. Reu, "Verbal Inspiration," pp. 15-18, J. M. Reu Collection, Dubuque.

31.   In addition to those authors already cited in this chapter, Nelson remarks on this supposed "change of heart": "By way of explanation he recounted a metamorphosis which had occurred in him. In the years leading up to the 1930 ALC merger he had fought the Ohio Synod doctrine of inspiration. Since that time he had come to accept the inerrancy of the original writings, but had not deemed it an essential point. But over against recent tendencies in the Lutheran church he believed it necessary to insist on such a doctrine." Nelson, *Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970*, 104.

32.   J. M. Reu, quoted in Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church, "Minutes, Joint Commission, United Lutheran Church in America and American Lutheran Church, April 2, 1936, Deshler-Wallick Hotel, Columbus, Ohio," pp. 36-37, typewritten, Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Chicago, Illinois. In a letter written to Jacobs in 1937, Reu says, "Here, it seems to me, as I said at Columbus, you do not distinguish between the subjective and the objective element. Subjectively there is no other way to personal conviction of the truth of the Scripture than by faith in Christ; but the Scripture is truth before I make this subjective experience; it is the truth because of its own testimony of its divine origin being the result of the cooperation of the Holy Spirit." J. M. Reu, Dubuque, to Rev. Prof. Dr. Ch. Jacobs, Philadelphia, 8 June 1937, J. M. Reu Collection, Dubuque.

33.   Reu, in "Minutes, Joint Commission, April 2, 1936," pp. 51-52.

34.   J. M. Reu, quoted in Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church, "Transcript of Meeting of the Commissioners of the

United Lutheran Church and the American Lutheran Church, Deshler-Wallick Hotel, March 11, 1938," pp. 16-17, 20, typewritten, Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Chicago, Illinois. In a subsequent meeting of the Joint Commission on Fellowship, Reu elaborates his meaning as follows: "All statements in the Scriptures, not only those that pertain to our salvation, are correct. I do not want to use the expression authoritative. There is a difference between correctness and authority. The Bible is no authority on matters of geography, common world history, etc.; for those I go to other sources; but from this it does not follow that a casual statement made in the Bible about these things is incorrect." J. M. Reu, quoted in Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church, "Minutes of the Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church, William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, February 13, 1939," p. 2, typewritten, Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Chicago, Illinois. See also Reu's statement that "God has given them [i.e., the Scriptures] to His Church, not in separate parts, but in their totality and organic unity." J. M. Reu, *Homiletics: A Manual of the Theory and Practice of Preaching*, trans. Albert Steinhaeuser, fourth ed. (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1934), 301. In another place Reu observes regarding his understanding of the meaning of John 10:35: "The Old Testament Scripture cannot in such a way be dissolved into fragments, that by doing so its unified structure is destroyed and its individual parts lose their validity." Reu, "What Is Scripture and How Can We Become Certain of Its Divine Origin?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 63 (July 1939), 410.

35.   Reu, in "Transcript of Meeting of the Commissioners, March 11, 1938," pp. 23-24. On page 35 of this document Reu says that it was his reading of Herbert C. Alleman's commentary on the New Testament (published by the ULCA publishing house) that prompted him to return to the words "without contradiction and error" in place of the wording proposed by Jacobs, "the Bible as a whole and in all its parts." See J. M. Reu, "A New English New Testament Commentary," *Journal of the American Lutheran Conference*, 3 (February 1938), 7-29; originally published in German as "Ein neuer englischer Kommentar zum Neuen

Testament," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 61 (August 1937), 453-467.
In this criticism of Alleman's commentary Reu characterizes as
"startling" the claim made by several of the contributors to the
work. For instance, Reu is disturbed by the claim that St. Paul,
St. John, and even Christ Himself mistakenly understood the
apocalyptic sections of the Book of Daniel as being genuinely
prophetic rather than as embellished historical narrative written
after the fact; by the assertion that the dating proposed for Psalm
110 contradicts that given in Matthew 22; by the claim that "the
Jewish hope of a life after death . . . evidently does not rest on
divine revelation, but has simply grown out of the experience of
the Jews. . . ."; by the contention that the miracle of the raising
of the daughter of Jairus from the dead was not a literal hap-
pening but merely "mental suggestion" in the mind of the
evangelist Mark; and by the assertion that Christ's own concep-
tion of His messiahship cannot be determined definitively on the
basis of the scriptural texts themselves. Reu, "A New English
New Testament Commentary," 11-13, 23-25. The entire review
is worth reading because it shows Reu's apprehension and even
alarm concerning the extent of compromise in the ULCA
ministerium with the hermeneutical assumptions of historical
criticism—a compromise the extent of which Reu, by his own
admission, does not seem to have appreciated prior to the
publication of this officially-sanctioned exegetical work. It is his
conviction that several of the expositions and historical introduc-
tions contained in Alleman's commentary "contain so much that
is untenable, and exhibit a point of view which can not be
tolerated in the Lutheran Church of this country. . . . What stands
between a Church with such an official commentary and many
other Lutheran Churches as a separating wall is now no more
only the question of verbal inspiration, which now—without
being more closely defined—is disavowed at every opportunity;
it is now the question of the authority of Scripture itself, not only
in antiquarian things and matters of natural science, but even in
religious things." Ibid., 19, 29.

36.   Reu wrote in 1924: "No matter what inspiration theory the
German theology will 'work out' in the future, according to our
conviction each one would be mistaken which does not unmis-
takably bring to expression that the Scripture of the Old and the
New Testament is God's Word in its entirety, so that we are thus

able to reach into it indiscriminately as the New Testament authors do into the Old Testament, and in each individual case may be able to have the firm conviction that we have God's Word before us." J. M. Reu, "Zum Unterschied in der Theologie und kirchlichen Praxis zwischen deutschem und amerikanischem Luthertum," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 48 (April 1924), 218. In his speech detailing his experiences at the Lutheran World Convention of 1923, Reu says that he reminded the delegates that their historic position on the Scriptures includes the teaching of "the peculiar inspiration of the Scriptures in their entirety. . . ." See Reu, "The Lutheran World Convent at Eisenach," p. 49.

37.   Meuser points out that Reu already insisted on the *suggestio verborum* as being part of the scriptural doctrine of inspiration at the Eisenach conference of the Lutheran World Convention in 1923. See Meuser, *Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, 180. An examination of Reu's comments on the Scripture printed in the convention proceedings finds him describing them as "in their totality the authoritative, sufficient, absolutely dependable, sure and vital presentation of the revelation of God once given for our salvation, as they were formed through a peculiar operation of the Holy Spirit upon the writers." J. M. Reu, discussion of "The Confessions—The Indispensable Foundations of the Lutheran Church," by A. Joergensen, and of "The Confessions as the Indispensable Foundation of the Lutheran Church," by S. J. Sebelius, in *The Lutheran World Convention: The Minutes, Addresses and Discussions of the Conference at Eisenach, Germany, August 19th to 26th, 1923* (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1925), 89. Reu himself describes how he views the orthodox terminology on inspiration in an article written in 1924. He says: "Even less did our doctrine concerning 'verbal inspiration' among us grow out of the old dogmatics. . . . We do not consider the *impulsus ad scribendum* in any way to be as external as the old dogmatics for the most part had represented it. For us it is something of many facets, something mediated historically and psychologically, as certain as if one can say for example with a certain right concerning the letters of Paul, that these were occasional writings, and Luke could write his well-known *edoxe moi* (Luke 1:3). And the *suggestio rerum* like *verbi* we take thus, that they took place under intensive spiritual collaboration of the holy

writers. . . . In dealing with the divine factor in the origin of the Scripture (we do not deny the human, rather we claim it, but are not speaking of it now), we take the threefold together (*impulsus ad scribendum, suggestio rerum, suggestio verbi*), not because the old dogmaticians did that, but because it is for us a useful summarization of that which according to our conviction the Scripture itself expresses concerning its origin and its essence." Reu, "Zum Unterschied," 215, 217. He also states in this article that it is his understanding that not a single one of the dogmaticians of the age of orthodoxy presents the doctrine of verbal inspiration in such a way that they "let the holy writers be *calami* and *notarii* without will or personality." Ibid., 218. For more information on how Reu viewed the necessity of using the above three Latin terms or rather the meanings they denote in "describing the extent of the divine factor in inspiration," see Reu, "What Is Scripture and How Can We Become Certain of Its Divine Origin?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 63 (July 1939), 418-422.

38.   At no time did Reu believe that only certain portions of the Scriptures were inspired, while other portions were not. Reu makes an important biographical statement in an address to the Luther Academy in 1938 which throws significant light on his personal stance on the authority of the Bible. Here he says, "A certain holy awe kept me always from the assumption of errors in the original copies of the Scripture and its parts; even the mere possibility of errors seemed to me excluded by this reverential fear. However, this reverential fear alone should not hold one back from a serious reckoning with this possibility. It may be the result of training, and this training may have been wrong. . . . These are serious considerations, but none of them is decisive. The testimony of Scripture alone is decisive. And here II Tim. 3:16 and John 10:35 again stand before our eyes. If in II Tim. 3:16 of 'all the Scripture' is said that it is *theopneustos*, brought forth by the Spirit of God, does this not exclude every error from the original copy to which the term *theopneustos* alone can refer? If in John 10:35 the general rule 'The Scripture cannot be broken' is applied to a single, one might say, incidentally written word—if in Scripture we may term anything at all as casual and incidental—which was, indeed, important for the understanding and time of theocracy, but has nothing to do with *our* salvation, have we then a right to assume errancy for any

part of Scripture? I know some answer that Jesus and Paul in speaking or writing these passages were subject to the tradition of their times and assumed in these things what was common among their Jewish contemporaries. Some point as an explanation even to the state of *kenosis* in which Jesus lived when He spoke John 10:35. I must confess this assumption makes me all the more careful. Where does Scripture speak of such a *kenosis* that made Jesus subject to the errors of this time concerning the nature of Scripture?" Reu, "What Is Scripture and How Can We Become Certain of Its Divine Origin?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 63 (July 1939), 422-423. He remarks in his *Homiletics* as well: "Again, within the canonical books themselves, we must distinguish between those portions which are and those which are not adapted to serve as source of materials for the sermon. Not, indeed, that we distinguish between what is and what is not inspired, for no such distinction exists even on the theory of grades of inspiration, as worked out, e.g., by Philippi in his 'Glaubenslehre.'" Reu, *Homiletics*, 254.

39.   That this was Reu's understanding of Luther's own position is evident from *Luther's German Bible* (1934), where Reu writes: "Of one thing, however, he [Luther] was certain even then, that Scripture was the Word of God and the only final authority. . . . he identified Holy Scripture with the Word of God. Thus it was credited with sole authority in matters of faith. . . . Its authority he saw established in its freedom from error." Reu, *Luther's German Bible*, 103, 123. Two other telling sentences from this book demonstrate that, for Reu, Luther's understanding of the Bible as word of God is derived not from its evangelical content, but rather from its divine origin: ". . . for in his eyes the Bible was the inspired Word of God and behind each statement was the majesty of God whose avenging zeal and whose inviting grace alike dare not be diminished. . . . He bowed in awe before the majesty of God that was behind the word of Scripture." Ibid., 257, 261. Reu himself notes: "The question about the truth of the Bible is not identical with the question about its divine origin, but by proving the first we immediately prove the second; our subjective certainty about the divine origin of Scripture is based upon and given with our subjective certainty about the truth of the Bible. One follows the other of inner necessity." Reu, "What Is Scripture and How Can We Become

Certain of Its Divine Origin?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 63 (August 1939), 477.

40.   Reu, in "Transcript of Meeting of the Commissioners, March 11, 1938," p. 30. F. H. Knubel, president of the United Lutheran Church, had previously remarked that in his opinion the phrase "without contradiction and error" "has no direct Scriptural support" and "appears nowhere in any Scriptural text in any language." Ibid. In a later comment at this same meeting Reu continues to clarify his own thinking on the fact of inerrancy: "I want to emphasize one point. For me it is not a logical deduction that brings me to the statement that the Scriptures originally were errorless. To me it is only those passages in Scripture. Together with you I hold fast to this statement, the Bible as a whole is the Word of God. Then also those passages of which I think that they prove that the inspiration is the Word of God, and only that is for me the reason why I think that beside that Christological view we should not forget the other one. No logical deduction. If I would not find it expressed in Scripture itself, the logical deduction would not bother me. Who gives me the right to say God must have acted so and so. I have no right to prescribe His ways of action. That is entirely up to Him and since He has in the Word of God stated also what is expressed in those Scripture passages, I think we should not ignore that." Ibid., pp. 31-32. As early as 1924 Reu wrote that he accepted both the terminology by which the dogmaticians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries expressed the doctrine of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures: "In dealing with the divine factor in the origin of the Scripture (we do not deny the human, rather we claim it, but are not speaking of it now), we take the threefold together (*impulsus ad scribendum, suggestio rerum, suggestio verbi*), not because the old dogmaticians did that, but because it is for us a useful summarization of that which according to our conviction the Scripture itself expresses concerning its origin and its essence." Reu, "Zum Unterschied," 217. And in 1939 Reu explained further: "We do not want to emphasize at present the fact that without verbal inspiration we lack every guarantee that the divine contents is [*sic*] expressed in Scripture correctly and without abbreviations; we rather stress the fact that Scripture itself demands it. It is demanded by the form of the quotations: 'The Holy Spirit speaks,' 'God says';

furthermore, it follows from the fact that Jesus as well as Paul drew important conclusions from the wording of Old Testament passages, a few times even from a single word. . . ." Reu, "What Is Scripture and How Can We Become Certain of Its Divine Origin?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 63 (July 1939), 420-421. Reu goes on to remark in this latter document: "Faith does not close its eyes to what has been called the 'Knechtsgestalt' (*morphee doulou*) of Scripture; it recognizes what is human in Scripture not less than its critics; but at the same time faith keeps an open eye for its glory and, therefore, holds fast to Scripture as the word of God. It is the art of faith to see both and to ascend above both in order to find and hold their unity." Ibid., 424.

41. "If we *love* God, we will *show* it by deeming it holy, that is, separating God's Word from all the words of man and recognizing in it the voice of God, which alone can save and help us. . . . We deem the name of God exalted and holy when we . . . teach the Word of God in its truth and purity, that is, do not mix it with error and sin as the heretics and profane persons do, but teach it just as it reads. Only by the *pure* teaching of the divine Word do we rightly know God." J. M. Reu, *Explanation of Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism, Together with Three Supplements*, trans. C. G. Prottengeier (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1904), 39, 103.

42. It is interesting to note in the transcript of the last meetings of the American Lutheran Church Section and also of the full Commission on Fellowship of the two bodies held in Pittsburgh in 1939 that both Reu and President Knubel of the ULCA are aware that the two sides actually do not agree on the doctrine of Holy Scripture. Reu comments in the minutes of the American Lutheran Church Section meeting that ". . . the United Lutheran Church commissioners could not accept 'without contradiction and error.' There is clearly a difference between us. They do not understand these two expressions as we do. . . . The United Lutheran Church 'of which Christ is the center,' does not mean the same as our statement. . . . As far as extent is concerned, we believe that all Scripture, also geographical, historical, etc. statements are inspired. This the United Lutheran Church men deny. . . . If the question were: 'Is the Bible as we have it today inspired?' I would say, 'No.' But the question is: 'Were the

original writings inspired?' We must say, 'Yes.' But the United Lutheran Church men are not ready to go that far." J. M. Reu, quoted in American Lutheran Church Section, Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church, "Minutes, Meeting of the American Lutheran Church Section of the Commission on Fellowship with the United Lutheran Church in America, William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, February 13, 1939," pp. 2, 4, typewritten, Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Chicago, Illinois. Of the final statement adopted by the Joint Commission, Knubel observed: "I personally would be willing to introduce the word 'errorless,' although I know that we would not understand the word in the same way." The final statement as adopted by the entire Joint Commission on Fellowship (and later adopted by each church body in general convention in 1940 as the Pittsburgh Agreement) reads: "Nevertheless, by virtue of a unique operation of the Holy Spirit . . . by which He supplied to the Holy Writers content and fitting word . . . the separate books of the Bible are related to one another, and, taken together, constitute a complete, errorless, unbreakable whole of which Christ is the center. . . . They are rightly called the Word of God." See Reu, in "Minutes of the Joint Commission on Fellowship of the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church, February 13, 1939," p. 4. As Nelson points out, Reu and others on the ALC side believed that the acceptance of this formulation meant that the United Lutheran Church had publicly confessed its adherence to the doctrine of verbal inspiration, even though this was, in fact, not the case. See Nelson, *Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970*, 106; 115, n. 129. Reu himself says, "At Pittsburgh, Feb. 13, 1939, verbal inspiration was adopted." Reu, "Verbal Inspiration," p. 18. The accuracy of Nelson's assessment is nowhere made clearer than in a letter Reu received in 1943 from Abdel Ross Wentz, president of the seminary of the United Lutheran Church located at Gettysburg. Wentz writes in regard to Reu's understanding of the Pittsburgh Agreement:

> I write to ask the source of your quotation at the top of page 760 [*Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 66 (December 1942)] as follows: "errorless Scripture." One might judge from the manner in which you make the quotation that

this phrase is to be found in the "third point of the Pittsburgh Agreement," to which you have made reference just before you make the quotation. But no such phrase occurs there in the third item of the Pittsburgh Articles of Agreement. There is indeed the mention of "separate books of the Bible" as being related to one another and taken together constituting a complete "errorless unbreakable whole." But nowhere do we find any phrase like "errorless Scripture."

You see, Dr. Reu, there are many of us who believe in the infallibility of the Bible as the Word of God but who hold that the "inerrancy" of the Scripture is both un-Lutheran and contrary to the Bible itself. We certainly could not commit ourselves to any such thing as "errorless Scripture." This quotation implies some kind of verbal inspiration, and that is precisely what the third point of the Pittsburgh Articles of Agreement repudiate when they say that the unique operation of the Holy Spirit upon the writers is named inspiration, and then add "We do not venture to define its mode or manner, but accept it as a fact."

I know that you would not purposely mislead your readers. And I have such confidence in your scholarship that I am sure you understand the seriousness of quotation marks. That is why I write to ask why you ascribe to the Pittsburgh Articles of Agreement such a thing as "errorless Scriptures"?

Abdel Ross Wentz, Gettysburg, to Dr. M. Reu, Dubuque, 11 January 1943, J. M. Reu Collection, Dubuque. Reu responded to Wentz's charge in the February 1943 issue of the theological journal, saying that he saw no "material difference" between describing the Scripture as an "errorless whole" and using the term "errorless Scripture" to describe the Bible. See J. M. Reu, "Note," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 67 (February 1943), 128. Neither organic union nor altar and pulpit fellowship between the two church bodies was established as a result of the adoption of the Pittsburgh Agreement.

43.   J. M. Reu, "Professor Warfield," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 45 (March 1921), 172-173. Reu commends Warfield for his "determined conservative standpoint," as well as for his scholar-

ship and his staunch conviction. He believes Warfield was "the best judge of the new German systematic theology that America had" and laments, "Sein Tod ist ein Verlust für die ganze konservative protestantische Kirche unseres Landes." Ibid., 173. Reu also quotes Warfield approvingly in "The Purpose of the Seminary," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 41 (December 1917), 601-604.

44.   For example, Warfield describes Scripture as ". . . so pure a record of His will, God-given in all its parts, even though cast in the forms of human speech, infallible in all its statements, divine even to its smallest particle! . . . Revelation is but half revelation unless it be infallibly communicated; it is but half communicated unless it be infallibly recorded. . . . the Scriptures are the very Word of God, to be trusted as such in all the details of their teaching and promises." Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1967), 441-442, 123. Reu distances himself, however, from Warfield's use of the expression "through the prophets" in Hebrews 1:1 as proof of the divine inspiration of the whole Old Testament Scriptures. See Reu, "What Is Scripture and How Can We Become Certain of Its Divine Origin?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 63 (July 1939), 412.

45.   Reu, *Luther's German Bible*, 171. Reu also equates "apostolic" with "inerrant" on page 175.

46.   J. M. Reu, "Die lutherische Kirche in einer Krisis?" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 53 (February 1929), 134-135. That this is no occasional or chance remark by Reu, but in fact a statement broadly representative of his position on biblical inerrancy, is shown by this comment he makes in a review of his instruction manual for adult catechumens: "The most that can be achieved by putting such a chapter [about the Bible] at the beginning is a superficial bending underneath the Scriptures. It is much more evangelical just to go right into the Scriptures themselves, so that the heart receives some sign of their strength and truth. Then after this it will be that much more willing to acknowledge them as the only standard and guiding principle for Christian faith and life (chapter 16)." J. M Reu, review of *Lutheran Faith and Life: A Manual for the Instruction of Adults*, by M. Reu, in *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 59 (July 1935), 430.

47.   Preus writes: "I find Reu's position on inerrancy stated very

clearly in his little *Luther and the Scriptures,* and in conversation he confirmed his position very clearly. . . . I believe . . . that he agreed with Pieper on inerrancy." Herman A. Preus, St. Paul, to Paul I. Johnston, Champaign, 3 July 1988.

48.   Reu, "Verbal Inspiration," pp. 12-13.

49.   J. M. Reu, "General Discussion," in *The Second Lutheran World Convention: The Minutes, Addresses and Discussions of the Convention at Copenhagen, Denmark, June 26th to July 4th, 1929* (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1930), 136-137. It is true that Reu calls the law-gospel distinction the "main content" of Scripture, but it is clear from the gist of his remarks that the authority of Scripture is to be understood as extending to every teaching, not just to those passages preaching the message of salvation.

50.   J. M. Reu, *How to Teach in the Sunday School,* A Teacher Training Course (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1939), 111.

51.   Reu, "Aus der Arbeit der exegetischen Theologie," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 46 (June 1922), 321-335; 46 (July 1922), 399-404.

52.   Reu, "Aus der Arbeit der exegetischen Theologie," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 46 (June 1922), 324. The respective positions of Delitzsch and Harnack on the authenticity of the Old Testament are discussed briefly in Gerhard F. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate,* third ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984), 160.

53.   Reu, "Aus der Arbeit der exegetischen Theologie," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 46 (June 1922), 325.

54.   Ibid., 328.

55.   Ibid., 329.

56.   Ibid., 334. On Sellin's works during this period and shortly afterwards, see Delbert R. Hillers, "An Historical Survey of Old Testament Theology Since 1922," *Concordia Theological Monthly,* 29 (August 1958), 582-585. Hillers remarks that "Sellin's work reveals a thoroughly critical, historical method. . . . along the lines of Wellhausen and his school." Ibid., 583-

584.

57.   Reu, "Aus der Arbeit der exegetischen Theologie," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 46 (June 1922), 335.

58.   Reu, *How to Teach in the Sunday School*, 120. In his adult instructional manual Reu refers to the Old Testament as "a trustworthy record of His revelation and an unerring guide for [Israel's] faith and life." See J. M. Reu, *Lutheran Faith and Life: A Manual for the Instruction of Adults* (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1935), 31.

59.   Reu, "Verbal Inspiration," p. 4.

60.   Ibid., p. 5.

61.   Ibid. Indeed, Reu maintains that 2 Timothy 3:16 "does not speak of the writers, but of that what these writers wrote and says it was Spirit wrought, brought forth by the Holy Ghost. If the Scripture was brought forth by the Holy Ghost as a whole, then certainly also her [*sic*] individual parts [are inspired], not only the thoughts found therein, but also the expression of these thoughts by means of the words." In commenting on how Christ and St. Paul used single words of the Old Testament Scripture to draw "far reaching conclusions from single statements," Reu asks: ". . . how could they do that if these words were human words and not written under the cooperation of the Holy Ghost [?]" Ibid., p. 6.

Books Received

Henry Warner Bowden. *Church History in the Age of Science: Historiographical Patterns in the United States, 1876-1918.* Carbondale-Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971, reprinted 1991. xvi + 269 pages. Cloth. $22.50.

Henry Warner Bowden. *Church History in an Age of Uncertainty: Historiographical Patterns in the United States, 1906-1990.* Carbondale-Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991. xiii + 279 pages. Cloth. $26.50.

Martin Hengel. *The Pre-Christian Paul.* London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991. xiv + 162 pages. Paper. $21.95.

Calvin B. DeWitt. *The Environment and the Christian: What Does the New Testament Say about the Environment?* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 156 pages. Paper.

Wesley G. Pippert. *The Hand of the Mighty: Right and Wrong Uses of Our Power.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 166 pages. Cloth. $14.95.

Dean Turner. *Escape from God: The Use of Religion and Philosophy to Evade Responsibility.* Pasadena: Hope Publishing House, 1991. 291 pages. Cloth. $17.95.

Tremper Longman III. *Old Testament Commentary Survey.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 160 pages. Paper.

Paul K. Jewett. *God, Creation, and Revelation: A Neo-Evangelical Theology.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1991. xix + 535 pages. Paper. $29.95.

C. Welton Gaddy. *A Soul Under Siege: Surviving Clergy Depression.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1991. 174 pages. Paper. $11.95.

Michael Scott Horton. *Made in America: The Shaping of Modern American Evangelicalism.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 198 pages. Cloth.

Mary Ann Mayo. *God's Good Gift. Teaching Your Kids about Sex—Ages 8-11.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991. 47 pages. Cloth.

Mary Ann Mayo. *In the Beginning: Teaching Your Children about Sex—Ages 4-7.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991. 37 pages. Cloth.

David L. Larsen. *Caring for the Flock: Pastoral Ministry in the Local Congregation.* Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1991. xii + 256 pages. Paper.

Rabinowitz and Lichtenstein

Kai Kjaer-Hansen

Some interesting events in Budapest occurred a century ago in October of 1891. One of the people involved was Joseph ben David Rabinowitz, the then well-known Russian Hebrew Christian from Kishinev in Bessarabia who in 1885-86 had formed a congregation called "Israelites of the New Covenant." The other key person was Rabbi Isaak Lichtenstein (not to be confused with Yehiel Lichtenstein, Rabinowitz's brother-in-law who taught at the Institutum Jadaicum in Leipzig). Rabbi Isaak Lichtenstein worked in Hungary and was also a well-known Jewish Christian. A third key person was Rabinowitz's wife, who, together with their daughter Rachel, had come with Rabinowitz to Budapest on a three-day stay.

I. Rabbi Rabinowitz

On 5 October 1891 a message sent from Budapest set the telegraph ticking in Kishinev, Bessarabia. The telegram had only two words: "Mama gerettet" ("Mother saved"). The sender was Joseph Rabinowitz. The recipients were his children. "Mama" was his wife.

A. General Background

In 1882 Joseph Rabinowitz had travelled to Palestine to look into the possibility of a Jewish settlement there for the hard-pressed Russian Jews. Immigration to Israel might be an answer to the Jewish question. His encounter with Palestine was a disappointment. Yet he returned to his hometown of Kishinev as a new person; he had come to faith in Yeshua the Messiah.

There are many indications that he did not travel to Palestine with the hope and desire of becoming a believer in Jesus. Yeshua met him and took him by surprise. Yet even when Jesus takes someone by surprise, something ordinarily precedes the creation of faith in the heart. In this case Rabinowitz many years earlier had been given a Hebrew New Testament. How much or how little he had read in it remains uncertain. Compared to his subsequent study of it, he had read little. Compared to what other Russian Jews of that time had read, he had read much. In any case, he brought it along on his journey. A few words from the New Testament came to his mind while he was sitting on the Mount of Olives. The lesson is that

distributing copies of the New Testament bears fruit. We may not see the fruit ourselves. Many Jews, however, who have come to faith in Jesus have testified that at some time they were given a New Testament and that they had peeked into it—sometimes secretly. It is a "dangerous" thing to peek into a New Testament, even if it is done secretly. For the Word of God testifying of Jesus may overcome prejudice.

Back in Kishinev Rabinowitz established himself as a lawyer, but when he began telling his clients of his new-found faith, his business suffered. Rabinowitz buried himself in Scripture, and in time his faith gained in clarity.

B. Rabinowitz and Baptism

1. The Baptism of the Family

In March of 1885 Rabinowitz was baptized in Berlin. While he was in Palestine in 1882, his eldest son had been baptized in St. Petersburg, where he was a student. Rabinowitz's three daughters were baptized in Rohrbach in October of 1887 by the Hebrew Christian A. Venetianer. Rabinowitz's two other sons were baptized in October of 1888. Of his immediate family only his wife had not yet been baptized. E. H. Leitner, a clergyman in Constantinople, described her, after his visit to Kishinev in 1887, as a formerly "fanatical Jewess who now loves Jesus and together with Magdalene calls him 'Rabboni,' that is, 'my Master.'"

The baptism of Mrs. Rabinowitz took place in Budapest in the meeting hall of the Free Church of Scotland. The Reverend Andrew Moody writes of this occasion as follows:

> We have had several baptisms during the year, the most interesting being that of Mrs. Rabinowitz, the wife of Mr. Joseph Rabinowitz of Kischineff, the well-known Hebrew Christian reformer. He was himself baptized some years ago in Berlin by Mr. Mead, an American pastor, it being his desire to confess in baptism the name of the Lord Jesus Christ as his Saviour, but not to be received into any of the existing churches in Russia. His children followed and now his beloved wife. When her husband took the decisive step,

she had shed tears at the thought that one of such high repute in Israel and so dear to her should bend the knee before the despised Jesus of Nazareth, but she had herself soon after, responding to the call "Come and see," had her own eyes opened to behold the glory of Him who came out of Nazareth, and it was with joy that she now confessed her faith in Him as her own Saviour. The event was very touching and solemn. After the service, which took place on the afternoon of Monday, 5th October, Mr. Rabinowitz telegraphed home, "Mama gerettet" ("Mother saved"). On the evening of the day following he delivered a lecture about Jesus in the large hall of our school building. There was a large attendance, and one or two prominent men of the Jewish community were present. Next day he had an interesting interview with Rabbi Lichtenstein, who, on my invitation, came in from Tapio-Szele to see him. Miss Rachel Rabinowitz, who came with her parents, remained here till Christmas, and had the opportunity of seeing something of our school work and of the mission work generally.

The reason why Rabinowitz did not himself baptize his children and his wife is that the Russian authorities would not allow him to administer baptism. The reason why he and his family were not baptized in Kishinev by the Lutheran pastor Rudolf Faltin, with whom Rabinowitz was on good terms at the beginning of his public stand, is that he would then have had to renounce his Jewish identity. These points require some elaboration.

2. The Baptism of Rabinowitz Himself

Rabinowitz was baptized, as previously noted, in Berlin in March of 1885. This action came as a shock to Rudolf Faltin, the Lutheran pastor in Kishinev. If, however, Rabinowitz had been baptized by Faltin, he would have become a Lutheran and, according to Russian law of the day, he would have ceased to be a Jew. Rabinowitz, contrariwise, desired ardently to retain his Jewish identity. Rabinowitz had already discussed the question thoroughly with Wilhelm Faber, who was right hand to Franz Delitzsch, when Faber in 1885

was in Kishinev for the second time. In the course of those conversations Rabinowitz gradually came to believe in the sacramental nature of baptism and so in its application to infants as well as adults. He adopted, then, the understanding of baptism expressed in the Lutheran Confessions.

After discussions in Leipzig with, among others, Franz Delitzsch and John Wilkinson, arrangements were made for Rabinowitz to be baptized in Berlin—under quite extraordinary circumstances. He was baptized in a Bohemian Lutheran church by a Congregationalist (Methodist) pastor and professor, C. M. Mead, from Andover, Massachusetts. In the presence of a few invited people Rabinowitz was baptized using a creed written by himself in Hebrew—after having testified to being in complete concurrence with the Apostles' Creed. In this way Rabinowitz was baptized into the universal church of Christ without losing his Jewish identity. Delitzsch recognized this end and defended Rabinowitz when he was later attacked.

3. The Baptism of Others

Rabinowitz himself, then, was baptized, but he never received permission to baptize or to administer the sacraments. The authorities would only allow him to function as a preacher. Although we may speak of his "congregation," it must be borne in mind that he was never given permission to establish a church in the biblical sense. It goes without saying that a church in the biblical sense cannot exist without baptism and holy communion. Such being the case, it is no wonder that Rabinowitz's movement crumbled after his death. In 1887 it looked as if this situation could be avoided. Some members of his congregation were baptized in Rohrbach by the Hungarian Jewish Christian A. Venetianer. The authorities, however, quickly put a stop to that procedure, possibly owing to appeals from Faltin or others in the Lutheran church of Kishinev.

II. Rabbi Lichtenstein

A. Conversations with Rabinowitz

Concerning the encounter between Rabinowitz and Lichtenstein

on 7 October 1891 Andrew Moody, as we have seen, wrote simply: "Next day he had an interesting interview with Rabbi Lichtenstein, who, on my invitation, came in from Tapio-Szele to see him." The words "interesting interview" are sufficiently vague to allow any interpretation. Three weeks after this encounter Rabinowitz gives a more specific account of the results. In a letter of 30 October 1891 to H. Müller of the German Central Agency, Rabinowitz tells him he had met with Lichtenstein at Moody's house on two occasions, and he proceeds to criticize Lichtenstein's Christianity. By virtue of their conversations and his reading of Lichtenstein's book, *Judaism and Christianity*, Rabinowitz reached the conclusion that Lichtenstein had not taken the crucial step away from Judaism, had not yet realized that one cannot put a patch on an old garment. Rabinowitz expressed the hope that Lichtenstein might be granted "a living and pure faith in the only begotten Son, Jesus."

Already in a letter of 22 February 1889 Rabinowitz had written to Moody that Moody should greet Lichtenstein and remind him of what was written in John 12:23-24 and Romans 6:4: "And Jesus answered them, 'The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified. Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the ground and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit.'" "We were buried therefore with Him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life." Rabinowitz continued the letter, which was published in the annual report of the Free Church of Scotland, with some words clearly disapproving of Lichtenstein's failure to be baptized. "If Rabbi Lichtenstein verily loves his people Israel . . . let him be baptized." By being baptized he would set a good example to be followed by others, something of which there is more need than theological learning.

B. Conversations with Others

Rabinowitz, of course, was by no means the first to urge baptism on Lichtenstein, nor would he be the last. Dr. Somerville, for instance, a prominent figure of the Free Church of Scotland, had done so in the autumn of 1888. In a report filed in 1889 the church's collaborator in Budapest stated:

> Dr. Somerville, in writing to me recently, gave expression to his fear that he [Lichtenstein] would die without being baptized, and that thus his testimony might be weakened, and in measure lost. He does not as yet take the same view of the matter as we do, but still clings tenaciously to the idea that his testimony has greater weight because he is not baptized; but while we cannot dislodge him from his position by our arguments, we may hope and pray that he may be further instructed and led by the Spirit of God.

Clearly this was not the first time that baptism had come up for discussion between Rabinowitz and the Scots. In the same vein Andrew Moody, before bringing Rabinowitz into the picture in the way previously noted, had already written of Lichtenstein as follows:

> Our friend the Rabbi of Tapio-Szele, whom I have happily the opportunity of seeing from time to time, still maintains somewhat the same position as he did a year ago. When in the Tyrol I addressed an earnest appeal to him, the purport of which was: "And now why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized!" He replied: "Best thanks to you, reverend sir, for remembering me when you are at a distance. Be assured that your form hovers before my eyes, and that every day I pray fervently to the Almighty for your complete recovery. As regards your pious wish, I regret that in the interest of the holy cause itself I cannot fulfil it. It is high time that a Jew, as a Jew, should take his place at the gate of the camp and cry, 'Kiss the Son lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way.' 'Do homage to Jesus as the rightful heir to the Kingdom.' 'For He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, having abolished in His flesh the enmity. For through Him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.' He is that heavenly ladder which stands on the earth, the top of which touches the heaven, and the angels of God ascend and descend upon it, and the Lord Himself stands above it. My adversaries agitate without ceasing against me, but I have built upon a rock, and am therefore not moved. Saluting you in the name of God, His Anointed, and the

Holy Spirit who hath made both one, I am, yours respectful-
ly, J. Lichtenstein, District Rabbi.

Lichtenstein's view, then, was firmly established by the time that he
encountered Rabinowitz in 1891 and was unlikely to change.

Conclusion

Lichtenstein, in fact, declined the counsel of Rabinowitz and
others to the end and so died unbaptized in 1909. To Rabinowitz,
on the other hand, baptism was important, so important that he
would allow nothing to prevent it. At the same time, it was
important that it take place in such a manner as would enable him
to retain his Jewish identity. There is a message for us today in the
telegram which Rabbi Rabinowitz sent to his children on 5 October
1891: "Mama gerettet." In spite of all the external difficulties and
internal controversies in 1891, there were Jews who were being
saved by the grace of God through faith in Jesus the Messiah. The
same things can happen today. The difficulties which we face are
no greater than those experienced by the Christians of a century ago.

The original form of this essay was delivered by Kai Kjaer-Hansen
to the Eighth North American Coordinating Committee Meeting of
the Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism. (The original has
here been abridged by omitting various points of application to the
work of the particular organization which he was addressing.)

Books Received

Nicholas Lossky. *Lancelot Andrewes. The Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England.* Translated by Andrew Louth. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. xii + 375 pages. Cloth. $89.00.

John Ashton. *Understanding the Fourth Gospel.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. xvii + 599 pages. Cloth. $139.00.

Werner Neuer. *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective.* Translated by Gordon J. Wenham. Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1991. 224 pages. Paper.

Quentin J. Schultze. *Televangelism and American Culture: The Business of Popular Religion.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 264 pages. Cloth.

J. Deotis Roberts. *A Philosophical Introduction to Theology.* London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991. x + 182 pages. Paper. $15.95.

Jacob Neusner. *Studying Classical Judaism: A Primer.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1991. 208 pages. Paper. $15.95.

James M. Wall and David Heim, editors. *How My Mind Has Changed.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1991. viii + 184 pages. Paper. $8.95.

Stephen E. Fowl and L. Gregory Jones. *Reading in Communion: Scripture and Ethics in Christian Life.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1991. ix + 166 pages. Paper. $13.95.

Robert Cummings Neville. *A Theology Primer.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991. xxix + 221 pages. Paper.

Lars Koen. *The Saving Passion: Incarnational and Soteriological Thought in Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John.* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 31. Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksell, 1991. 149 pages. Paper.

Joseph M. Hallman. *The Descent of God: Divine Suffering in History and Theology.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991. xvi + 150 pages. Paper.

Richard J. Blackwell. *Galileo, Bellarmine, and the Bible, Including a Translation of Foscarini's 'Letter on the Motion of the Earth.'* Notre Dame-London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991. x + 291 pages. Cloth. $29.95.

Theological Observer

IS WORSHIP AN END IN ITSELF?

There are currently two main views in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod about the relationship between liturgy and missionary activity. (Using other terminology, we could say that the issue concerns the relationship between "making disciples" and "worship.") Is liturgy a means to the end of mission, or is mission a means to the end of liturgy? How we answer this question has great practical significance for the ongoing work of the synod. If we answer that liturgy serves mission, then we should encourage the development of "alternative worship styles" which would enable us to reach more people. If we answer that mission serves liturgy, then we should spend time in adult instruction classes helping new members to understand the liturgy.

When two things relate to each other as means to an end, how can we tell which is the means and which is the end? Consider the act of building a house. We build for the sake of having a house—not the other way around. And the house remains when the building is done. It would seem, then, that an end is different from a means in at least these two ways: (1.) the means is pursued for the sake of the end, and (2.) the end endures after the means has passed away.

Given this understanding of means and end, it seems evident from Scripture that mission is a means to the end of liturgy, and not the other way around. Mission is pursued in Scripture for the sake of the worship of the Triune God, and not the other way around. In John's Gospel, for example, when Jesus heals the man born blind (chapter 9), the climax of the text is reached when the man now healed encounters Christ. "Do you believe in the Son of Man?" Jesus asks. "Who is He, Lord?" the man answers. "You have seen Him, and He is talking to you," Jesus replies. The man responds by saying, "Lord, I believe," and he worships Jesus. In Matthew's Gospel, the wise men journey from the east (a mission text if ever there was one) and reach the goal of their journey when they worship the Christ-child.

Even if some would dispute the first test, no one can dispute the second test. Which will remain when the other passes away—mission or liturgy? Mission will last until the return of Christ and then cease: "This gospel of the kingdom will be preached in all the nations . . . and then the end will come," Jesus says in Matthew 24. But the liturgy does not stop with the return of Christ. Indeed, liturgy is the activity of the redeemed in heaven! Speaking of the new Jerusalem, John says that ". . . the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and His servants shall worship Him."

Someone might respond, "But you are confusing the heavenly liturgy

with the Sunday morning variety. Of course, the heavenly liturgy is the end to mission, and not the other way around. But not so with the earthly liturgy. It must serve mission." To this I respond that, rightly understood, there is only one liturgy. It is celebrated at many altars, but it itself is only one. It has been celebrated at many times throughout history—in Eden, in the wilderness, in the land of promise, and now—as well as in eternity. But the liturgy is one; even in heaven John sees "the Lamb slain as if from the foundation of the world." (Recall, by the way, God's stated reason for the Israelites' departure from Egypt: "Let My people go so that they may celebrate a feast to Me in the wilderness," Exodus 5:1.)

CRH

FIRST THINGS: A BIT OF NOSTALGIA, A PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE

First Things, edited by Richard John Neuhaus, may well be the most literate religious journal on the right and is championing issues about which Lutherans of the Missouri Synod traditionally have strong feelings. It is strongly anti-abortion, opposed to feministic philosophy, and supports a religiously moored college education. Without being a political journal, *First Things* is clearly compatible with mainline Lutheran thought. *First Things* is not without Missourian roots; editor Father Neuhaus was reared in our synod, as was his working editor James Nuechterlein, on leave from Valparaiso University. Any special treatment that the LCMS receives on its pages is often and unnecessarily negative. For example, Neuhaus includes this quotation from Robert Jenson: "In the seminaries of the ELCA there is now a theological censorship of stringency previously unknown in Lutheranism outside the Missouri Synod" (January 1992, p. 60). For the sake of good manners, Neuhaus ought to stop this kind of thing. The following could serve as a substitute: "ELCA seminaries, who have deliberately censored by caricature such traditional Missouri Synod doctrines as verbal inspiration, are now engaged in an even stronger censorship of views which they now find unacceptable." Those who believe that the seminaries of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America are open-minded might want to consider Jenson's critique that there "biblical and historical study is for the purpose of liberating language and opinions of the Bible and tradition."

As required by postal regulations, *First Things* (December 1991) claimed 15,315 as its total paid circulation. As the average for the entire year was 11,314, it can be assumed that 1991 began with about 7000.

The difference is about a one hundred percent increase, an enviable feat for a two-year-old publication.

The articles reflect a common philosophy rather than promoting a denominational platform. Like *National Review*, whose literary style it attempts to emulate, it cannot cover up a Roman Catholic bias. Where the popular and popularized *Christianity Today* fudges on an issue like feminism (e.g.,"Breaking the Impasse" [January 13, 1992]), there is no doubt where *First Things* stands. Its philosophy is distilled from an informal alliance among conservative thinking Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, those commonly grouped together as backing what is called Judaeo-Christian ethics. Whether such an ethics or culture exists or is merely a fabrication is debatable, but for now it is a workable hypothesis for Neuhaus.

From my own experience I can roll back the calendar to public school days in Brooklyn where this kind of Judaeo-Christian world which Neuhaus is attempting to recreate may have existed in its declining days. At two weekly assemblies the Jewish principal and a generic Protestant assistant principal read from 1 Corinthians 13 and we sang the first verse of "Come Thou Almighty King." I never made any connection between these religious exercises and anything learned in church, and I am sure that I was not alone. Civil religious activities were probably taken with as much seriousness as music appreciation classes where children sat for one hour sessions listening to records. Probably neither exercise accomplished its purpose of making the children either religious or musical, but it was part of the scenery of youth. I do have a general memory of both and become slightly teary-eyed when I hear the music. At least God was not an unwelcome intruder in "the public square," to use a Neuhaus phrase. During December we expanded our repertoire to include "The First Noel," but "the King of Israel" was left as unidentified as was "the Almighty King." My Jewish classmates were probably thinking of David or Solomon, maybe Herod, especially since the modern State of Israel was taking shape then; it was not Jesus. The whole situation was benign and this was as much its strength as it was its weakness. What was adjustable to all made a claim on no one. *First Things* lives in that world where differences between Jews and Christians can be overlooked for a common religious good.

The December and January issues contain contributions by Rabbi Jacob J. Petuschowski, the late professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. The first article chastises fellow-Jews for joining secularists in opposing

a publicly sanctioned celebration of Christ's birth, and the second laments the secularization of Reformed Judaism. Without *First Things* these kinds of discussions would be unknown to many of us.   Christians can appreciate the rabbi's novel enthusiasm over the birth of another Jew, but I would be less tolerant if I found myself in similar shoes. The legalized celebration of the birth or martyrdom of Joseph Smith would be distasteful to many of us for several reasons. Certainly the claim of Jesus to deity must border on polytheism or blasphemy for a Jew.

Attached to the rabbi's second article is the sad note that he had died. With the title of the Bronstein Professor of Judaeo-Christian Studies, he probably knew more about biblical Christianity than many mainline Protestant seminary professors. This situation is not uncommon with those who become scholars in disciplines which are opposed to their personal beliefs. In writing obituaries in *National Review*, William Buckley, Neuhaus's mentor and a participant as lector at his September ordination into the Roman priesthood, courteously included "R.I.P. ("may he rest peace") even where it was obvious that no heavenly reward was possible for the deceased. Editor Neuhaus has not followed Buckley on this point, even though his peculiar form of universalism would allow this practice at least in the case of the late rabbi.

Neuhaus promised to clarify his (re-)ordination into the Roman priesthood and what appeared to be a form of universalism. There was no way out of his (re-)ordination without tipping over the entire Roman tradition which sees Protestants, including Anglicans in the "apostolic succession", as having a less than fully legitimate clergy. By eliminating another ordination, the ordaining cardinal would have with one stroke removed the stricture of schism against the Lutherans.   Instead the cardinal did the unecumenical thing, but softened the blow by emphasizing in his sermon that the Roman church was embracing Neuhaus's Lutheran past by (re-)ordaining him. We hope that the cardinal would not repeat such a generous thought in the ordination of a former Buddhist. Neuhaus's involvement with Evangelicals, who have not disowned him for "poping," to use William F. Buckley's phrase, does bring Roman Catholicism closer to the mainstream American Protestant heritage which traditionally has a deep seated fear of Rome.

The presence and participation of one fellow-Lutheran classmate from seminary days as a lector for the ordination may have been an attempt to take some bitterness out of the pill, but former ELCA brothers remain unhappy. The LCMS ignored the event, but I do regret not taking

advantage of an invitation to attend, especially since a reception followed his first mass at the Hotel Commodore (though I am not sure my invitation extended beyond the church sidewalk). New York is still my home in a way other places simply cannot be, and another excuse to return is always welcome.

Neuhaus's alleged universalism is a bit more serious than his ordination. On this matter he has expressed himself in writing and with Buckley *On Firing Line*. The October issue of *First Things* (pp. 61-64) sets forth the views concerned, which Neuhaus wants us to see as conforming to Pope John Paul II's eighth encyclical, *Redemptoris Missio*. Encyclicals are foreign to the thinking of the LCMS, but resemble documents of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations, official but not infallible expressions of church doctrine. For the pope and Neuhaus, missions are seen as a necessary expression of our faith in Christ and His love for us. We might want to take the argument for mission back to the universal atonement itself. These same documents cited by Neuhaus allow for salvation in Christ and the working of the Holy Spirit without knowing the name of Christ. Rome, Zwingli, certain Evangelical segments have held similar views. This is not classical universalism, since a severe judgement is promised for those in the Catholic Church who "fail to respond to [Christ's special] grace in thought, word, and deed." "Not only will [such Catholics] not be saved, [but] they will be judged more severely." Without being frivolous, one might have a better chance of going to heaven (to use uncritical jargon) by staying out of the church than by joining and not being saved.

Still Neuhaus is offering a serious, albeit a wrong opinion. He would not want me to say less. Neuhaus's alliance with non-Christians, particularly Jews, in moral endeavors doubtless brought him to this modified universalism and may have been a chief reason for his going to Rome. Universalism is tolerated in the ELCA and could hardly have been a reason for leaving. If Neuhaus refers to judgment beginning with the house of God, no one can oppose him, but universalism in any form strikes at the exclusivity of Christianity. Still he is not a relativist, because he firmly believes that the church's teaching is absolute and other views are wrong. *First Things* takes a stand. Certainly we would agree that scaring people out of hell is not a good motivation to believe, though some would argue for its effectiveness (the Kennedy method). His views, however, are in line with Rome. Is it only wishful thinking that Rabbi Petushowski, who knew so much about Christianity, secretly embraced it? Neuhaus might know. Here is the contradiction in which he lives and

perhaps we all do: a *religious* alliance with those whose message is unalterably opposed to the church's. The church and the synagogue have diametrically opposing views on Jesus as the Messiah. The amusing remark that, when the Messiah comes, we will ask him whether he was here before (a position even of some Evangelicals), covers over the seriousness of judgement on unbelief.

One suspects that Neuhaus envisages a reconstructed Constantinian era in the American tradition, an updated pre-Reformation Europe, an historical romanticism for which others wish in other forms. His world would involve a public morality based on the Ten Commandments, an acknowledgement of the relative superiority of Christianity but not to the exclusion of other religious expressions, the influence of churches in the public domain, and the election of religiously sympathetic leaders. "Judaeo-Christian" describes this world. If all this sounds like the Jerry Falwell platform, it is, but aesthetically more appealing for those uncomfortable with low church forms. An enlightening but not uncritical review article by working editor James Nuechterlein on Ronald Reagan as embodying American religious ideals clarifies this utopia (December 1991). The former president understood his Sunday nature walks at Camp David as substitutes for regular church worship—shades of Washington or Lincoln.

Our intention here is not to be critical of Neuhaus and *First Things*, but supportive. Neuhaus is raising issues for discussion not raised elsewhere. He also takes up issues which are clearly theological and are not merely part of the American religious heritage. The December issue contains an article by the Episcopal minister, Alvin F. Kimmel, Jr., "The Grammar of Baptism," defending the necessity of speaking of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. "Can Notre Dame Be Saved?" alerts the reader to the secular forces in this traditional bastion of Roman Catholicism. A previous issue spoke of the evolution of religious colleges into secular institutions. Every LCMS college regent should obtain a copy. Feminism is addressed regularly. "Despising Our Mothers, Despising Ourselves" (January 1992) shows how so called feministic advances have been to the disadvantage of women. This sentence provides an example: "Employers are losing their commitment to providing our husbands with a living wage, reasoning that we, their wives, can always get a job to make up the slack." But if Neuhaus distances himself from feministic philosophy, he has yet to express himself on women's ordination as ministers or priests. His former colleagues at *Lutheran Forum* have been similarly critical of feministic influence in the liturgy, but have shown a continued, and in my view a

self-contradictory, enthusiasm for women clergy. The pope opposes female ordination, but would Neuhaus burn unnecessary bridges among deserted Protestants, if he followed what seems to be his natural inclination in opposing it? Before leaving for Rome, he remarked that the arguments offered for the ordination of homosexuals caused him to re-evaluate similar ones offered for the ordination of women. Extremely valuable is an editorial entitled "Marburg and Modernity" (January 1992) which criticizes the modern view, associated with Zwingli, separating the symbol from the reality. A call for "a revival of biblical sacramental theology and practice" comes from a writer who, of all things, is identified as the pastor of Reformed Heritage Presbyterian Church in Alabaster, Alabama.

First Things is one journal which allows us to participate in serious theological thinking, not only for its own sake, but for the sake of the things we hold as part of our own commitment. There was an issue in 1991 in which Gilbert Meilaender had a few words to say about doctrinal truth and conventions of the LCMS. I made the mistake of giving that issue away.

David P. Scaer

THE NEW WELS CREED

At a time when theological confusion rules and there is significant social and cultural oppositions to Christian truth, creedal clarity is an absolute requirement of ecclesiastical responsibility. It is a salient mark of the present debasement of Christian integrity that within many ecclesiastical jurisdictions the language of the ecumenical creeds—in addition to Bible translations, hymns, liturgies, and lectionaries—has become an object of language-tinkering of which the seminal womb has been cultural forces (often feminist) hostile to traditional, confessional Christianity. The attempt (often successful) to replace or balance even the names of the Trinity with feminine correspondents ("Mother," "Daughter") or with neutral designations ("Child") is well known. Alvin F. Kimmel, Jr., has been especially eloquent in defending the biblical and confessional language of the Trinity in the face of the erosion of orthodoxy within the Episcopal Church. In a recent *Lutheran Forum* (Pentecost 1990) Kimmel exhorts Lutherans to "pay attention to what is now happening in the Episcopal Church. You may well be looking at your future! I pray you will be able to make a more constructive theological response than we, so far, have been able to do."

Any hope that Lutherans are any more prepared to make a constructive theological response to modern egalitarian hostility to gender differences and to the biblical, confessional language which implies them received a blow with the news that the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS) has approved for use in its new worship book a translation of the Nicene Creed which wishes to avoid male-oriented language for human beings, specifically for the person of Christ. With the new worship book, *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal*, worshipers in WELS churches will confess that the eternal Son of the Father "became incarnate from the Virgin Mary, and was made fully human." This will replace the traditional English translation "was made man." According to a report in the *Metro Lutheran* (VI, No. 10, October 1991), a Milwaukee Lutheran publication, the Rev. Victor Prange, chairman of the WELS Joint Hymnal Committee, explains that "man" and "men" are losing their generic "human" meaning and becoming gender-specific. He is also quoted as saying that the change "is not to deny that Jesus was male. The creed means to say that, just as Jesus is 'fully divine,' so also he is 'fully human.'"

This change is no doubt a well-intentioned attempt to up-date the creedal language and to make it correspond more closely to new language usage deemed necessary by the canons of egalitarian orthodoxy. And no doubt there is some room for Christians to accommodate their culture's biases. In the language of the creed, however, the church speaks not the language of culture but the language of faith which is based upon the prophetic and apostolic witness of the Scriptures. And in the change envisaged by WELS the faith witnessed by the Scriptures and given ecumenical confessional expression in the Nicene Creed is being eroded no less than in those instances where the names of the Trinity are emasculated.

The flight to generic abstraction, so characteristic of the gnosticizing ideology of equality of our culture, denies or merely gives lip-service to the reality and significance of the distinctions and particularities which so characterize the biblical understanding. And this failure to do justice to distinctions and particularities in God and in humanity characterizes also the WELS change. It is true, of course, that according to the Nicene Creed Jesus is "fully divine." The actual language of the creed is that Jesus is "true God." And the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), affirming the faith of Nicaea, says that our Lord is "perfect in divinity" (*teleion en theotēti*). But if one intends "fully divine" to mean "generic divinity," then frankly that is modalistic heterodoxy. For foundational to the

trinitarian doctrine is the belief that the relations between the divine persons (Father, Son, Holy Spirit) are as elemental and primal as is the divine essence. The divine essence has no existence apart from the persons, but only subsists in them. Or, if we may speak this way, there is no such thing as pure deity, but only fatherly deity, filial deity, and sanctifying deity. It is more traditional, and better, to speak of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. But the point is that the creed does *not* say that Jesus was "fully divine" without fully entailing as well his divine personhood, his divine particularity. Jesus is "the Son of God [the Father]." It is this "Son of God," begotten from all eternity, who is "true God from true God" and "of the same substance with the Father," that is, "fully divine."

We must be similarly aware that the creed does not assert that Jesus was "fully human" apart from wholly entailing His human individuality, His human particularity. To be sure, Christ was "fully human." The Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), for example, asserts that the Lord Jesus Christ was "perfect in manhood" (*teleion en anthrōpotēti*). The Nicene Creed asserts that the Son of God "became man" (Latin: *homo factus est*; Greek: *enanthrōpēranta*). The words *homo* and *anthrōpos* may refer to humanity in general and, therefore, may be translated "humanity" or "human." But the words of the creed are not mere linguistic ciphers which may receive any dictionary meaning. They express a divine economy of salvation which was accomplished through a particular history and which was given canonical witness in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures. And from that perspective it is very clear that the creed does not mean by *homo* or *anthrōpos* merely some generic humanity apart from the constitutive particularity of a concrete human being. We might refer to the words of the rule of faith expressed by Tertullian, which makes clear how little generic realities were meant when speaking of Christ. Tertullian says that Christians believe in the Word of God who was born, "man and God, son of man and Son of God, and named Jesus Christ" (*Adversus Praxeam* 2.1). Here the specific concrete human being, who is son and Son, is the one who is "homo et deus," "man and God." There is no generic human reality apart from an individualized concretion of it. The fathers did assert that Christ united to Himself the entire human race; He became *homo*, *anthrōpos*, or as the Alexandrians always preferred to say with the Gospel of John, He became "flesh." However, this language served especially the soteriological interests of christology. Christ as the Savior of all must bear the humanity of all. Thus, the fathers did not understand the incarnation as meaning that the eternal Son assumed "a

particular man" but rather "the whole human nature."

But the fathers were not oblivious to the dangers of the Platonizing notion that Christ possessed only a generic humanity, and they excluded and rejected this view (most explicitly through the post-Chalcedonian debates of the fifth to seventh centuries). Therefore, as Theodore the Studite (ninth century) put it, the whole human nature of Christ must be contemplated "in an individual manner." And in affirming the foundational reality of individualized humanity, the fathers were faithfully following the biblical understanding according to which a generic humanity also does not exist apart from its particularization in concrete human persons. And these persons are either male or female. The creation account itself indicates that God created not some generic humanity but humanity *in* the consubstantial forms of male and female. There is no human personhood apart from maleness or femaleness. There is no humanity apart from male humanity or female humanity, for maleness or femaleness is a primal and constitutive element of true humanity. Pastor Prange's assurance that the WELS change in the creed "is not to deny that Jesus was male" bears no weight, for it is clear that the offending term "man" is being replaced because it is losing its "generic human meaning." Clearly the words "fully human" are intended to refer to a generic humanity without entailing the gender specificity of Christ. But in view of the biblical understanding, there is no humanity apart from gender specificity, and that specificity is a constitutive element of human personhood. Prange's statement, while maintaining the mere facticity of Jesus' maleness, extracts his gender from the creedal affirmation of his "full humanity." Paradoxically, and worse, while the WELS change intends more clearly to assert the "full humanity" of Christ, it in fact (and as an affirmation of the creed!) refuses to include the gender specificity of Christ which is a constitutive factor of His humanity and without which His humanity does not exist. Christ is not "fully human" by being generically human. He is "fully human" by being a male human being, even as His mother, the Virgin Mary, was "fully human" by being a female human being. The change in the WELS rendering of the creed simply denigrates the importance of Christ as a concrete male human figure and apparently assumes that Christ's gender is confessionally insignificant and without meaning.

However, the WELS creedal revision does more than give entree to gnosticizing tendencies concerning biblical anthropology by failing to credit the constitutive significance of maleness and femaleness for human personhood. This revision also breaks the organic connection between the

prophetic and apostolic Scriptures and the ecumenical creed as an orthodox summary of the Scriptures. One might say that the Scriptures are the prophetic and apostolic narrative and exposition of the creed and that the creed is the summary of the prophetic and apostolic narrative. The creed is not just some catena of doctrinal truisms but expresses the church's mind concerning the central and determinative "story line" of the biblical witness to the divine economy in creation and redemption. When, therefore, the creed says that Christ "became man," it is not to an isolated doctrinal truth that it refers. It is summarizing the biblical story according to which Christ is the New Adam in whom a new humanity is begun. This is a central feature of Paul's preaching (Romans 5:12-21; Philippians 2:5-11). The incarnation of Christ is the fulfillment and completion of a divine purpose begun in the first Adam and now consummated in the second Adam. It is not just that Christ became "fully human" or that He became "man." Because it is rooted in the Scriptures, is determined by them, and is the creedal summary of them, the creed is cognizant of this man as the New Adam and, as such, the Head of a new humanity which, to be sure, encompasses all human beings, both male and female. Thus, Leo I (in the fifth century) in one of his Christmas sermons (!) says that the "Lord Jesus Christ, being at birth true man, though He never ceased to be true God, made in Himself the beginning of a new creation" (*Sermo* 27). To think of Christ as "fully human" is an abstraction which does credit neither to the personhood of Christ nor to His biblical significance. Indeed, the generic language of the new WELS creed guts the whole range of biblical talk about the person and work of Christ (New Adam, Son of God, son of man, bridegroom, etc.) which are possible only of a male member of the human unity of male and female. It is furthermore a doubtful proposition that there is no inherent relationship between the Bible's use of male imagery for God and the fact of Christ's own personal male gender. We ought not forget that we know God to be Father through the man, Jesus Christ.

As we have said, at a time when confusion rules and there is significant pressure to accommodate Christian language to the language demands of cultural egalitarianism, it is the church's task to safeguard the deposit of faith once entrusted to it and to ensure that the expression of its faith through creed does not merely mirror the demands of culture with the attendant erosion of a clearly articulated faith. Whatever else the new WELS creed may be, it falls seriously short of reasserting the faith of Nicaea and the trinitarian and christological doctrines which the fathers there believed to be necessary to confess and to preach the gospel purely.

Lutherans have to do better than this, or we shall bring to pass the worst fears of Father Kimmel.

<div align="right">William C. Weinrich</div>

THE ORDINATION OF WOMEN:
A BIBLIOGRAPHY

A letter in the *Lutheran Witness Reporter* of May 1992 suggests that discussion of the ordination of women be conducted among the men and women of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. To promote such discussion among the readers of this journal, attention is hereby recalled to those essays dealing with the subject which have appeared in the *Springfielder* and the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* since March of 1970. Readers are free, indeed, to duplicate any of these materials for the purposes of discussion with others. The staff of the *CTQ* is unfortunately unable to provide copies of past issues except in rare cases, but photocopies of any articles published herein are available from the library of Concordia Theological Seminary at the cost of production and postage. Certain contributions, to be sure, may have appeared in other periodicals as well, and the use of these materials may require the permission of those concerned.

<div align="center">Volume 33: Number 4 (March 1970)</div>

David P. Scaer, "The Woman as Pastor," pages 1-2.

Editors of *Lutheran Forum*, "Ordination for Women? Some Words of Caution," (reprinted from *Lutheran Forum*, July-August, 1969), pages 2-3.

Martin J. Naumann, "Natural Orders," pages 4-9.

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Peter Brunner, "Regin Prenter on the Ordination of Women," pages 23-26.

Raymond F. Surburg, "The Place of Women in the Old Testament," pages 27-32.

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James Weis, "The Status of Women in the Missouri Synod in the Twentieth Century," pages 38-43.

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Volume 36: Number 2 (September 1972)

David P. Scaer, "May Women Be Ordained as Pastor?" pages 89-109.

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Douglas Mc. L. Judisch, "Women in Authority," pages 136-137.

Volume 44: Number 1 (January 1980)

David P. Scaer, "Rewriting the Bible in Non-Sexist Language," pages 50-51.
David P. Scaer, "C. S. Lewis on Women Priests," pages 55-59.

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William C. Weinrich, "Feminism in the Church: The Issue of Our Day," pages 139-144.

Volume 51: Numbers 2-3 (April-July 1987)

David P. Scaer, "A Lutheran Response to Evangelicalism: Ordination of Women," pages 103-105.

Volume 53: Numbers 1-2 (January-April 1989)

David P. Scaer, "The Validity of the Churchly Acts of Ordained Women," pages 3-20.

Waldemar Degner and William C. Weinrich, "The Danvers Statement," pages 92-96.

Volume 54: Numbers 2-3 (April-July 1990)

William C. Weinrich and Dean O. Wenthe, "Neo-Donatism or Neo-Docetism?" pages 209-212.

The Editors

Book Reviews

MEANING AND TRUTH IN 2 CORINTHIANS. By Frances Young and David F. Ford. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987. 289 pages. $15.95.

This volume is distinctive in its approach to understanding 2 Corinthians. It is not a commentary; it is a wide-ranging discussion of New Testament hermeneutics and theology that employs 2 Corinthians to illustrate theory in practice. SPCK originally published this work in its Biblical Foundations in Theology series. The authors, professors of the University of Birmingham in exegesis and systematics, collaborate in this effort to bring about a marriage of disciplines: systematic theology with biblical studies; biblical criticism with ecclesiology; and hermeneutical theory with practical exegesis.

The reader of this study may initially be disillusioned by the lack of a clear and careful movement through the text that is typical of a commentary. However, patience in following the purpose of the authors will be rewarded in several ways. This treatment allows the reader to rethink and evaluate his own interpretative process. Even the basis for perceiving the meaning of words is reviewed. Pastors who often go into a volume to secure specific comment on a particular pericope for preaching may benefit from this broad and reflective approach. The authors combine the results of interpretative methodology and linguistic theory (Gadamer and Ricoeur) with concrete applications to 2 Corinthians of "bridging the hermeneutical gap" and "fusing the two horizons." There is sensitivity to both Hellenistic and Jewish elements of the epistle (e.g., the discussion of rhetorical structure and Paul's use of the Old Testament). This approach yields some fresh conclusions, the most attractive of which is that ". . . Paul's thorn in the flesh was the irritation caused by the interlopers and unfaithful in his churches" (p. 76, cf. *skolops* in Ezekiel 28:24 and Numbers 33:55). Furthermore, while the prominence of an "economy of God" metaphor in 2 Corinthians is overstated, the uncovering of this theme and the stress on the referential importance of metaphor in communicating reality prove valuable.

Certain features of this volume do detract from an unqualified endorsement. First, it is somewhat disjointed in its presentation; there is no clear progression. Secondly, there is an obvious divergence in style and content where the exegete ends and the systematician begins. Thirdly, the theme of the glory of God as found in "the face of Christ" (4:6) is highlighted as central to this epistle, but David Ford's analysis lacks a strong incarnational and revelatory emphasis. The manner with which he speaks of an "encounter" with this face appears to be more Barthian than Pauline. While there are others assertions with which one will disagree,

this treatment certainly stimulates thought and reflection on both 2 Corinthians and hermeneutics.

Charles A. Gieschen
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SAMUEL AND THE DEUTERONOMIST. By Robert Polzin. New York: Harper and Row, 1988. 296 pages. $38.95.

Not many books can honestly be labelled "revolutionary" (in terms of the history of exegesis), but I think this one can be. This one follows very much in the wake, and in the pattern, set by the author's previous: *Moses and the Deuteronomist*, which is sometimes assumed or to which reference is made. This work applies the same method to I Samuel. It is not easy to find a label for it. The subtitle calls it "A Literary Study," and perhaps that label will serve as well as any. Certainly, the work is a major contribution to the full-scale revolt against what we have known as the "historical-critical method."

Polzin (of Carleton University in Ottawa) is wholistic in procedure, assuming one "author," and he insists on looking at the complete massoretic text as it stands. He is full of scorn for what he calls "excavative" or "genetic" preoccupations with the alleged history of the text, which they then proceed to reconstruct according to its own presuppositions. He is just as scornful of the presumed "redactor," so beloved by traditional critics, which he labels "a code word for the producer of supposed literary incoherence" (p. 260, n. 21, and many similar statements throughout the book).

Polzin is by no means unaware of the many text-critical problems with which especially I Samuel is thought to teem, but even these he is reluctant to concede. (One major exception is 13:1, where something is undeniably wrong with the massoretic text's report of Saul's regnal years). But the famous alleged contradictions in the narrative which underlie most redactional theories (e.g., Samuel's contradictory views about kingship, or Saul's inconsistency in recognizing David) are given plausible literary solutions.

The virtual "rogue's gallery" of major influential critics with which he largely disagrees (McCarter in the *Anchor Bible*, Miller and Roberts on the ark narrative, Noth, Cross, van Seters), while respectful, makes delightful reading for the conservative. In the extensive end-notes (nearly

fifty pages of small type), he interacts, both positively and negatively, with a host of other relevant writers. His own approach is closer to that of Alter, Fokkelman, and Gunn, and he names the likes of Bakhtin, Berlin, and Sternberg as major mentors.

But he takes care to make plain that his is not a *theologically* motivated conservativism or traditionalism. For example, in evaluating the "canonical criticism" of Childs and Sanders, he criticizes both for their failure to detail "what philosophy of language or discourse-oriented models they use" and explicitly insists that "whereas both scholars write primarily for a community of believers, I write primarily for a community of scholars; the difference is crucial" (p. 230, n. 44). And he distances himself as much as possible from "conservative" (or "dispensational" or "fundamentalistic"—it seems that he does not distinguish) hermeneutics (p. 225, n. 9).

The net result, in my judgment, is a study or near-commentary which a theological conservative can generally use with much more profit and with far less adaptation (or outright rejection) than he can a run-of-the-mill critical study. Both adjustments, and even rejections, will sometimes still seem mandatory. Many times, of course, theological presuppositions will not be relevant to whether the user consents to Polzin's interpretations or not. But often they will be.

For example, the author's "convention of omniscience" (p. 19 and *passim*) will certainly be construed differently. A merely human author's "artful contrivance" (e.g., p. 35) may sometimes be a neutral, or even laudable, insight, but at other times it will be less than clear that the "contrivance" is any more acceptable when coming from a single "author" than from a conglomerate of clumsy or inaccurate writers and editors. Sometimes Polzin appears to me really to "strain at gnats" in trying to wrest what he calls "ideological" meaning from details in the text, and he speaks of "allegory" in a way which, at best, leaves me uncomfortable.

We, of course, will not be able to accept that the Book of Deuteronomy and the "Deuteronomistic History" (Noth's hypothesis, which, at least in outline, Polzin still apparently shares with most other contemporary scholars) come from essentially the same hand. If that is not the case, the idea of a unified "Dtr" history (as it is usually abbreviated) can be "baptized," in my judgment.

Polzin arrives at an almost totally negative portrait of Samuel, which scarcely accords with the clear impression left by the text. And hovering

over the entire treatment is Polzin's assumption that the exilic author set out simply to demonstrate that "Israel's romance with kingship" had been misguided from the outset, and that the people must now return to some premonarchical form of governance. Here, almost in spite of himself, he ends up with an uncanny convergence with much other contemporary scholarship. But, from my viewpoint, it is hard to see how such a totally negative judgment on kingship accords either with the totality of "Dtr," as it stands, or with the many eschatological-messianic portraits of kingship in the Old Testament (not to speak of the New). Again, in my judgment, the conservative (and that includes the pastor) can use this study with uncommon benefit, but must still keep his guard up.

<div style="text-align: right">

Horace D. Hummel
St. Louis, Missouri

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CHRISTIAN ETHICS: OPTIONS AND ISSUES. By Norman L. Geisler. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1989.

Norman Geisler intends this volume to "supersede" his earlier *Options in Contemporary Christian Ethics* and to "replace" *Christian Ethics: Alternatives and Issues.* Indeed, this new book is an ambitious attempt both to survey various models for ethical deliberation and to provide explicit biblical direction on the major moral questions faced by Christians today. In the main Geisler succeeds, but one cannot offer this endorsement without serious qualification.

Part I, "Ethical Options," explores ethical systems within two main categories, "non-absolutism" and "absolutism." Geisler rejects all instances of the former in antinomianism, situationism, and generalism. He favors the latter category, and he finally opts for "graded" over "unqualified" and "conflicting absolutism."

Succinctly stated, graded absolutism holds that, in cases of unavoidable moral conflict, one is obliged to follow the "higher" moral law, and in doing so we are not held responsible for not keeping the "lower" moral law. Geisler prefers this approach to conflicting absolutism, which he attributes to the Lutheran tradition. According to the "conflicting" model, when real dilemmas are present no alternative is morally blameless, and the only appropriate course is the one God Himself has appointed, namely, confession and absolution. In Geisler's "graded" view, when one does the "greater good," his or her "tragic moral act is guiltless."

There are several practical problems with Geisler's approach. Can we really determine in every instance what is the greater good or higher moral law? The recognition of real conflicts neither denies the perspicuity of Scripture nor entails ethical skepticism. Furthermore, what validates his important distinction between "exemption," which obtains in graded absolutism, and "exception," which he properly rejects?

More to the point, confessional Lutherans steeped in the work of Luther and Walther will find a major theological flaw here as well: there is finally no place and no real need for law and gospel—for the cross itself—in Geisler's ethic. One is supposed to comb the Bible for a hierarchy of moral rubrics and follow it. To be sure, Geisler would label such a description as a caricature. Yet all appropriate qualifications notwithstanding, it is the core of his position.

Part II, "Ethical Issues," is usually quite helpful. But the course charted in Part I leads to some problems and even some surprises. Abortion to save the life of the mother can be defended, we are told, on the basis of the mother's biblical (Exodus 22:2) right to self-defense. Later, and perhaps most startlingly, the Liberty University professor can find no biblical reason to preclude artificial insemination either by the husband *or* by another donor. This conclusion is not consistent with his otherwise excellent refutation of utilitarian attempts to use another human being to attain one's own ends.

Finally, there is much worth using in this volume. Geisler covers the whole waterfront of vexing issues. He works with the biblical text, and he does so with consistent reverence. He highlights the flaws in competing ethical systems. Nevertheless, in the last analysis the cross and empty tomb of Jesus must pervade moral reflection as well as dogmatic theology; and they cannot do so where the voices of law and gospel are muted, as they are all too often here.

<div align="right">David A. Lumpp
St. Paul, Minnesota</div>

NARRATIVE AND MORALITY: A THEOLOGICAL INQUIRY. By Paul Nelson. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987.

Theologians and ethicists alike have come to a renewed appreciation of the formative role played by a community's founding narrative or story.

In today's jargon this appreciation is a post-liberal phenomenon, and one which finds George Lindbeck's cultural-linguistic approach to church doctrines preferable to the cognitivist assumptions of orthodoxy or the experiential-expressive model of liberalism. Paul Nelson assumes that narrative is indispensable to self-understanding and that the history of moral philosophy is intelligible only when comprehended within such a larger coherent narrative. In short, narrative affords a community a single, commonly acknowledged conceptual framework within which moral themes are an integral component.

Two of Nelson's chief paradigms are Alasdair MacIntyre and Stanley Hauerwas, the former notable for his philosophical study of narrative and morality, and the latter celebrated for his narrative theological ethics. MacIntyre's refurbished Aristotelianism argues that virtue is fundamental to morality, and virtue in turn depends on a conception of the human *telos* or an account of the meaning and purpose of life. Narratives, at once historically and culturally diverse, provide this account. Hauerwas, more than any of the other Christian writers considered (e.g., James Gustafson, James Childress, Charles Curran), seizes narrative as the vehicle through which virtue and character might be restored to their appropriate places of prominence. Narrative provides the metaphors, categories, and concepts requisite to an overall vision of life. Furthermore, narratives show the "connectedness" of intentional actions (or their lack) and in this way display character.

Nelson correctly notes that narrative is no methodological panacea, nor will it conclusively resolve moral conflicts. While Hauerwas' emphasis on character is a corrective to MacIntyre, neither writer successfully confronts the issue of narrative diversity and its concomitant pluralism. In ethics, a "plurality of readings" easily devolves to relativism. To be sure, none of Nelson's subjects countenances relativism, but such potential liabilities lead him to opt for a combination of narrative-dependent and narrative-independent elements in a concluding anticipation of his own moral theology. The narrative-independent elements, while not diminishing the contributions of one's narrative, provide the basic rules that admit the possibility of moral discourse across communities with competing narrative traditions. (For Nelson, such narrative-independent components are particularly important in forging a coherent social ethic.)

Narrative and Morality is not a primer in either narrative theology as a movement or in normative ethics. Nelson does not even broach the perennial moral dilemmas *per se*. Difficult going in places, it is a

sophisticated and challenging study of how the "resourcement" characteristic of post-liberal writers can help inform theological ethics. Numerous issues still cry for resolution—biblical hermeneutics vis-a-vis an endemic multiplicity of narrative readings, to name the most obvious. Nevertheless, Nelson succeeds in introducing knowledgeable readers to an ethic rooted in the story of creation, fall, redemption, and resurrection.

David A. Lumpp
St. Paul, Minnesota

THE BELOVED DISCIPLE: HIS NAME, HIS STORY, HIS THOUGHT. By Vernard Eller. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987.

Vernard Eller's *The Beloved Disciple* offers two studies of the Gospel of John. The first of these studies sets out to identify the "Beloved Disciple." The second attempts to delineate the disciple's thought. Both studies share a distinctive audience addressed, methodological procedure used, and results attained.

In this offbeat work, Eller asks that lay readers join him in a Sherlock Holmesian pursuit of the identity of the "Beloved Disciple" and of his chief purpose in writing. Providing the reader with an entry-level introduction to the methods of biblical higher criticism, Eller leads the way on a biblical "whodunit." Along the way, Eller's additional objective is that the reader will also come to a greater understanding of the materials in and constitution of the portraits of Jesus in each of the other canonical gospels.

Eller's strategy is to proceed entirely on the basis of the internal clues provided by the gospels themselves. The entire body of scholarly research, opinion gathering, and debate, therefore, is held at a distance. No references to secondary literature are found. The accessibility of both Eller's data and his argument to the lay reader are thus purposefully and effectively facilitated.

Eller's humor and erudition make for a spirited prose which is both provocative and lucid. His is a pleasant invitation to a bit of biblical sleuthing. The result, however, is a decidedly idiosyncratic work, not only in its approach and conversational style, but also and especially in its judgments concerning both the identity of the "Beloved Disciple" and the question of his alleged sacramentarianism.

Breaking with the custom among reviewers of whodunits who have normally sought to preserve the secret of their final outcome, this reviewer will presume to spoil the mystery of Eller's whodunit and reveal that Eller judges Lazarus to be the "Beloved Disciple" (an unusual, though not unique, conclusion).   As far as the "Beloved Disciple's" thought is concerned, Eller finds him not at all interested in a sacramental theology. Indeed, it is Eller's view that "Scripture played no part in Christendom's decision that its baptism and Supper should be called 'sacraments'" (p. 76) and that they should then become matters of "mystery" and of "mystical experience."   The term "sacrament," argues Eller, serves only as an accurate description of what the church has made of baptism and the Supper.   In reality, he concludes, the church has reversed the biblical priority.   "Instead of making such 'worship aids' our means of coming to God in order to recognize Him for who He is . . . , we have perverted them into aesthetic psychological therapies for promoting the self-affirmation and self-enhancement of self-serving peak experiences" (p. 89).

The boldness with which Eller critiques the theories of others and then proceeds with his own is, therefore, both the strength of his work and its ultimate weakness.   His arguments, while refreshingly forthright, are at the same time unbalanced in their treatment of the evidence.   Still, the reader will garner much in carefully examining the arguments presented in this work.   Readers will especially find Eller's critique of those who support an "ecclesiastical mysticism" which "stops addressing God (in order to glorify and hallow His name) and becomes more interested in providing meaningful experience for the worshippers (in order to help them feel good about themselves and go forth as better persons)" (p. 87) both vexing and current.

<div style="text-align: right;">Bruce Schuchard
Victor, Iowa</div>

THE MACCABEAN REVOLT: ANATOMY OF A BIBLICAL REVOLUTION.   By Daniel J. Harrington.   Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1988.

Those who have read only the brief summaries of intertestamental history commonly found in introductions to New Testament studies will be surprised to discover the difficulty of interpreting the events of the Maccabean period.   Matters seem to be so clear: in 167 B.C. Antiochus

IV Epiphanes desecrated the temple in an attempt to Hellenize the Jews, the Jews revolted under the leadership of Judas Maccabeus, and the temple was purified and the Greeks defeated in 164 B.C.

The Maccabean revolution, however, was not as simple as it seems. It lasted twenty-five years, not three, since Seleucid troops held the tower of Jerusalem until 141 B.C. The Maccabean family, moreover, did not begin their revolution until two full years after the persecution had begun. Nor was Judea divided only into two camps, the pious pro-Maccabees and the Hellenizers. There were pious Jews who opposed the Maccabees, as is hinted in 1 Maccabees 2:29-41 and the Qumran Habakkuk commentary. The Maccabees, indeed, seemed to have usurped authority from the legitimate high priestly line of Onias III. Antiochus' enforced Hellenization of the Jews also is puzzling. Why did Antiochus abandon the *laissez faire* policy of the Hellenistic emperors? Could the Greek religion mentioned in 1 and 2 Maccabees possibly be the Syro-Phoenician cult of Baal Shamin, whom the Greeks saw as the Palestinian equivalent of Zeus? Was the persecution Antiochus' idea or that of certain Jewish leaders who (like Reform Judaism of the last century) wanted to modernize Judaism by abolishing embarrassing customs?

Daniel Harrington's *The Maccabean Revolt* is a good introduction for understanding the problems in using the accounts of 1 and 2 Maccabees to answer the questions of modern historians. An annotated bibliography guides the student into current scholarship on the subject. Harrington's excellent study is marred only by a late dating of Daniel, with all the concomitant errors in exegesis. The errors are to be found chiefly in his exegesis of Daniel 2, 7, and 11:36-45; since, however, Daniel 8 and 11:1-35 examine this portion of Judean history, his discussion of Daniel is worth reading, albeit with a critical eye.

James A. Kellerman
Chicago, Ilinois

THEOLOGY OF THE REFORMERS. By Timothy George. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1988. $21.95.

Timothy George, Dean of Beeson Divinity School at Stamford University in Alabama (Southern Baptist), has written an excellent introduction to Reformation theology by focusing on four principal figures, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Menno Simons, each of whom, as George reminds us, "stands at the headwaters of a major confessional tradition in the Reformation" (p. 20). Accordingly, his careful analysis of

these individuals is helpful in understanding the various Protestant traditions that still look to these figures as founding fathers as well as understanding their own times since, in each case, their theology struck responsive chords in the hearts of many of their fellow Christians.

After a brief introduction justifying his interest in a theological interpretation of the sixteenth century instead of a social, political, or economic treatment, George gives us a chapter outlining the major themes in late medieval theology and then a chapter apiece on each of his four major figures before concluding with some final thoughts on the "abiding validity of Reformation theology." The heart of the work is, of course, George's analysis of the four reformers. In the case of each, George begins with a biographical sketch explaining how it happened that each reformer broke with Rome and came to a new understanding of the Christian religion. Then George describes the main themes in each man's theology by tying them around a central insight—for Luther *sola fide*, for Zwingli the absolute distinction between the Creator and His creatures, for Calvin the transcendent and self-revealing God, and for Menno the interiorized process of salvation. In each case, the result is a clear, well-organized, and well-written presentation of each reformer's theology. Although George does compare and contrast his four figures, each chapter could very well stand alone as an introduction to the thought of each theologian.

Obviously in a work of this type, an author depends upon the research of others as George's selected bibliography at the end of each chapter and extensive footnotes indicate. However, George does not simply parrot the opinions of others, but instead roots his analysis in the actual works of the reformers and quotes extensively from them in developing his argument. Of course, not everyone will agree with George's conclusions (e.g., that Luther held to "absolute, double predestination," p. 77), but one does have to say that George presents a good *prima facie* case for his opinions that can be dismissed only by returning to the sources themselves. In other words, George's scholarship is excellent.

Many American historians today prefer to analyze the Reformation era from a social or economic perspective, but Timothy George shows us that an intellectual and theological approach is still viable. In fact, his *Theology of the Reformers* reminds us that, however much economic or social circumstances help to explain the Reformation, for the reformers themselves it was theology that really mattered.

Cameron A. MacKenzie

Index of Homiletical Studies (1975-1991)

For the various reasons mentioned at the time the homiletical section of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* was discontinued last July after a period of sixteen years. It comprised, clearly, some of the most frequently used pages in this periodical. A complete index of the homiletical studies of the *CTQ* has now been prepared by the Reverend Robert Bayer of St. Libory, Nebraska, and the editors have decided to publish it here in response to the many requests which they have received from readers for precisely such a tool. In the table which follows an "A," "B," or "C" in the column headed "series" denotes a pericope in one of the series of the modern three-year cycle. A "T," on the other hand, denotes a pericope in the traditional series of readings handed down from the Western Church of ancient times. Some pastors will have a complete or nearly complete collection of the *Springfielder* and the *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, and they are quite free, as far as we are concerned, to allow their copies to be duplicated by others.   The Editors

Text	Sunday	Series	Volume	No.	Year
Genesis 2:18-24	Pentecost 20	B	51	2-3	1987
Genesis 3:9-15	Pentecost 3	B	51	2-3	1987
Genesis 11:1-9	Pentecost	C	47	1	1983
Genesis 15:1-6	Pentecost 12	C	47	1	1983
Genesis 18:20-32	Pentecost 10	C	47	1	1983
Genesis 22:1-14	Lent 1	B	51	2-3	1987
Genesis 28:10-22	Lent 2	B	51	2-3	1987
Genesis 32:22-30	Pentecost 22	C	47	2	1983
Exodus 3:1-15	Lent 3	C	46	4	1982
Exodus 15:1-11	Easter	C	46	4	1982
Exodus 16:2-15	Pentecost 11	B	51	2-3	1987
Exodus 20:1-17	Lent 3	B	51	2-3	1987
Exodus 24:3-11	Pentecost 10	B	51	2-3	1987
Exodus 32:7-14	Pentecost 17	C	47	2	1983
Exodus 32:15-20	Third-Last Sunday	C	47	2	1983
Numbers 6:22-27	Trinity	C	47	1	1983
Numbers 11:4-29	Pentecost 19	B	51	2-3	1987
Numbers 21:4-9	Lent 4	B	51	2-3	1987
Deuteronomy 4:1-8	Pentecost 15	B	51	2-3	1987
Deuteronomy 5:12-15	Pentecost 2	B	51	2-3	1987
Deuteronomy 6:4-9	Trinity	B	51	2-3	1987
Deuteronomy 10:12-22	Pentecost 23	C	47	2	1983
Deuteronomy 18:15-20	Epiphany 4	B	51	2-3	1987

Deuteronomy 26:5-10	Lent 1	C 46	4	1982
Deuteronomy 30:9-14	Pentecost 8	C 47	1	1983
Deuteronomy 32:36-39	Palm Sunday	C 46	4	1982
Deuteronomy 34:1-12	Epiphany Last	C 46	4	1982
Joshua 24:1-2a, 14-18	Pentecost 14	B 51	2-3	1987
Ruth 1:1-19a	Pentecost 21	C 47	2	1983
I Samuel 3:1-10	Epiphany 2	B 51	2-3	1987
II Samuel 7:1-11, 16	Advent 4	B 51	2-3	1987
II Samuel 12:1-10, 13	Pentecost 4	C 47	1	1983
I Kings 8:41-43	Pentecost 2	C 47	1	1983
I Kings 17:17-24	Pentecost 3	C 47	1	1983
I Kings 19:4-8	Pentecost 12	B 51	2-3	1987
I Kings 19:4-21	Pentecost 6	C 47	1	1983
II Kings 2:1-12c	Epiphany Last	B 51	2-3	1987
Job 7:1-7	Epiphany 5	B 51	2-3	1987
Job 38:1-11	Pentecost 5	B 51	2-3	1987
Proverbs 8:22-35	Pentecost 9	C 47	1	1983
Proverbs 9:1-6	Pentecost 13	B 51	2-3	1987
Proverbs 9:8-12	Pentecost 16	C 47	1	1983
Proverbs 25:6-22	Pentecost 15	C 47	1	1983
Ecclesiastes 1:1, 2:18-26	Pentecost 11	C 47	1	1983
Isaiah 6:1-8	Epiphany 5	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 12:1-6	Lent 4	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 25:6-9	Easter	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 35:4-7a	Pentecost 16	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 40:1-8	Advent 2	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 42:1-7	Epiphany 1	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 42:1-7	Epiphany 1	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 43:16-21	Lent 5	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 45:22-25	Christmas 1	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 50:4-10	Pentecost 17	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 51:4-6	Last Sunday	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 52:13-53:12	Good Friday	T 43	4	1979
Isaiah 53:4-12	Good Friday	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 53:10-12	Pentecost 22	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 60:1-6	Epiphany	T 43	4	1979
Isaiah 61:1-6	Epiphany 3	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 61:10-11	Christmas 2	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 61:10-62:3	Christmas 2	B 51	2-3	1987
Isaiah 62:1-5	Epiphany 2	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 62:10-12	Christmas	C 46	4	1982
Isaiah 62:10-12	Christmas	B 51	2-3	1987

Matthew 3:13-17	Epiphany 1	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 4:1-11	Invocavit	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 4:1-11	Lent 1	T 42	4	1978
Matthew 4:1-11	Lent 1	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 4:12-23	Epiphany 3	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 5:1-12	Epiphany 4	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 5:13-20	Epiphany 5	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 5:20-26	Trinity 6	T 43	2	1979
Matthew 5:20-37	Epiphany 6	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 5:27-37	Septuagesima	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 5:38-48	Epiphany 7	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 5:38-48	Sexagesima	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 6:1-6, 16-18	Ash Wednesday	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 6:1-6, 16-18, 19-21	Ash Wednesday	T 41	1	1977
Matthew 6:16-21	Ash Wednesday	T 42	4	1978
Matthew 6:24-34	Epiphany 8	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 6:24-34	Quinquesima	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 6:24-34	Trinity 15	T 43	2	1979
Matthew 7:(15-20), 21-29	Pentecost 2	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 7:15-23	Trinity 8	T 43	2	1979
Matthew 7:21-29	Trinity 1	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 8:1-13	Epiphany 3	T 42	4	1978
Matthew 8:23-27	Epiphany 4	T 42	4	1978
Matthew 9:1-8	Trinity 19	T 43	2	1979
Matthew 9:9-13	Pentecost 3	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 9:9-13	Trinity 2	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 9:20-22	Trinity 24	T 43	2	1979
Matthew 9:35-10:7	Trinity 3	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 9:35-10:8	Pentecost 4	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 10:24-33	Pentecost 5	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 10:34-42	Pentecost 6	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 10:34-42	Trinity 4	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 11:2-10	Advent 3	T 42	2	1978
Matthew 11:2-11	Advent 3	T 41	4	1977
Matthew 11:2-11	Advent 3	A 47	3	1983
Matthew 11:25-30	Pentecost 7	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 11:25-30	Trinity 6	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 13:1-9, (18-23)	Pentecost 8	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 13:1-9, 18:23	Trinity 7	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 13:24-30	Pentecost 9	A 47	4	1983
Matthew 13:24-30, 36-43	Trinity 8	T 42	1	1978
Matthew 13:44-52	Pentecost 10	A 47	4	1983

Matthew 13:44-52	Trinity 9	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 14:13-21	Trinity 10	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 14:13-21	Pentecost 11	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 14:22-23	Pentecost 12	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 14:22-33	Trinity 11	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 15:21-28	Lent 2	T	42	4	1978
Matthew 15:21-28	Pentecost 13	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 15:21-28	Trinity 12	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 16:13-20	Pentecost 14	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 16:13-20	Trinity 13	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 16:21-26	Pentecost 15	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 16:21-26	Trinity 14	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 17:1-9	Epiphany Last	A	47	3	1983
Matthew 17:1-9	Transfiguration	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 17:1-9	Transfiguration	T	42	4	1978
Matthew 18:15-20	Pentecost 16	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 18:15-20	Trinity 15	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 18:21-35	Pentecost 17	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 18:21-35	Trinity 16	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 18:23-35	Trinity 22	T	43	2	1979
Matthew 20:1-6	Pentecost 18	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 20:1-6	Trinity 17	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 20:1-16	Septuagesima	T	42	4	1978
Matthew 20:17-28	Laetare	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 20:17-28	Lent 4	A	47	3	1983
Matthew 21:1-9	Advent 1	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 21:1-9	Palm Sunday	T	42	4	1978
Matthew 21:28-32	Pentecost 19	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 21:28-32	Trinity 18	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 21:33-43	Pentecost 20	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 21:33-43	Trinity 19	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 22:1-14	Pentecost 21	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 22:1-14	Trinity 20	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 22:1-14	Trinity 20	T	43	2	1979
Matthew 22:15-21	Trinity 21	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 22:15-22	Trinity 23	T	43	2	1979
Matthew 22:34-40	Trinity 22	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 22:34-46	Trinity 18	T	43	2	1979
Matthew 23:1-12	Third-Last Sunday	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 23:1-12	Trinity 25	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 24:1-14	Second-Last Sunday	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 24:1-14	Trinity 26	T	42	2	1978

Matthew 24:37-44	Advent 1	A	47	3	1983
Matthew 24:37-44	Advent 1	T	41	4	1977
Matthew 25:1-13	Last Sunday	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 25:1-13	Trinity 23	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 25:14-30	Trinity 24	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 25:31-46	Last Sunday	T	42	2	1978
Matthew 26:6-13	Palm Sunday	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 27:11-26	Palm Sunday	A	47	3	1983
Matthew 28:1-10	Easter	A	47	4	1983
Matthew 28:16-20	Trinity	T	42	1	1978
Matthew 28:16-20	Trinity	A	47	4	1983
Mark 1:1-8	Advent 2	B	48	4	1984
Mark 1:4-11	Epiphany	B	48	4	1984
Mark 1:12-15	Lent 1	B	48	4	1984
Mark 1:14-20	Epiphany 3	B	48	4	1984
Mark 1:21-28	Epiphany 4	B	48	4	1984
Mark 1:29-39	Epiphany 5	B	48	4	1984
Mark 2:23-28	Pentecost 2	B	49	1	1985
Mark 3:20-35	Pentecost 3	B	49	1	1985
Mark 4:26-34	Pentecost 4	B	49	1	1985
Mark 4:35-41	Pentecost 5	B	49	1	1985
Mark 5:21-24a, 35-41	Pentecost 6	B	49	1	1985
Mark 6:1-8	Pentecost 7	B	49	1	1985
Mark 6:7-13	Pentecost 8	B	49	1	1985
Mark 6:30-34	Pentecost 9	B	49	1	1985
Mark 7:1-8	Pentecost 15	B	49	1	1985
Mark 7:31-37	Pentecost 16	B	49	1	1985
Mark 7:31-37	Trinity 12	T	43	2	1979
Mark 8:1-9	Trinity 7	T	43	2	1979
Mark 8:27-35	Pentecost 17	B	49	1	1985
Mark 8:31-38	Lent 2	B	48	4	1984
Mark 9:2-9	Transfiguration	B	48	4	1984
Mark 9:30-37	Pentecost 18	B	49	1	1985
Mark 9:38-50	Pentecost 19	B	49	1	1985
Mark 10:2-16	Pentecost 20	B	49	1	1985
Mark 10:17-27	Pentecost 21	B	49	1	1985
Mark 10:35-45	Pentecost 22	B	49	1	1985
Mark 10:46-52	Pentecost 23	B	49	1	1985
Mark 11:1-19	Advent 1	B	48	4	1984
Mark 13:1-13	Third-Last Sunday	B	49	1	1985
Mark 13:24-31	Second-Last Sunday	B	49	1	1985
Mark 14:3-9	Palm Sunday	B	48	4	1984

Luke 9:28-36	Epiphany Last	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 9:51_62	Pentecost 6	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 10:1-12, 16-20	Pentecost 7	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 10:25-37	Pentecost 8	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 10:25-37	Trinity 13	T	43	2	1979
Luke 10:38-42	Pentecost 9	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 11:1-13	Pentecost 10	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 11:14-28	Lent 3	T	42	4	1978
Luke 12:13-21	Pentecost 11	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 12:32-40	Pentecost 12	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 12:42-48	Last Sunday	C	52	4	1988
Luke 12:49-53	Pentecost 13	C	52	4	1988
Luke 13:1-9	Lent 3	T	41	1	1977
Luke 13:1-9	Lent 3	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 13:22-30	Pentecost 14	C	52	4	1988
Luke 13:31-35	Lent 2	T	41	1	1977
Luke 13:31-35	Lent 2	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 14:1, 7-14	Pentecost 15	C	52	4	1988
Luke 14:1-11	Trinity 17	T	43	2	1979
Luke 14:16-24	Trinity 2	T	43	2	1979
Luke 14:25-33	Pentecost 16	C	52	4	1988
Luke 15:1-3, 11-32	Lent 4	T	41	1	1977
Luke 15:1-3, 11-32	Lent 4	C	52	2-3	1988
Luke 15:1-10	Pentecost 17	C	52	4	1988
Luke 15:1-10	Trinity 3	T	43	2	1979
Luke 16:1-9	Trinity 9	T	43	2	1979
Luke 16:1-13	Pentecost 18	C	52	4	1988
Luke 16:19-31	Pentecost 19	C	52	4	1988
Luke 16:19-31	Trinity 1	T	43	2	1979
Luke 17:1-10	Pentecost 20	C	52	4	1988
Luke 17:11-19	Pentecost 21	C	52	4	1988
Luke 17:11-19	Trinity 14	T	43	2	1979
Luke 17:20-30	Third-Last Sunday	C	52	4	1988
Luke 18:1-8a	Pentecost 22	C	52	4	1988
Luke 18:9-14	Trinity 11	T	43	2	1979
Luke 18:19-14	Pentecost 23	C	52	4	1988
Luke 18:31-43	Quinquagesima	T	42	4	1978
Luke 19:1-10	Pentecost 24	C	52	4	1988
Luke 19:11-27	Second-Last Sunday	C	52	4	1988
Luke 19:41-48	Trinity 10	T	43	2	1979
Luke 20:9-19	Lent 5	T	41	1	1977
Luke 20:9-19	Lent 5	C	52	2-3	1988

John 10:11-16	Easter 2	T	42	4	1978
John 10:11-18	Easter 4	B	48	4	1984
John 10:22-30	Easter 4	C	52	2-3	1988
John 10:22-39	Easter 4	T	41	2	1977
John 11:21-45	Judica	T	42	1	1978
John 11:47-53	Lent 5	A	47	3	1983
John 12:20-33	Lent 5	B	48	4	1984
John 13:1-15	Maundy Thursday	T	42	4	1978
John 13:1-17	Maundy Thursday	T	42	1	1978
John 13:1-17, 34	Maundy Thursday	A	47	3	1983
John 13:31-35	Easter 5	T	41	2	1977
John 13:31-35	Easter 5	C	52	2-3	1988
John 14:1-12	Cantate	T	42	1	1978
John 14:1-12	Easter 5	A	47	4	1983
John 14:15-21	Easter 6	A	47	4	1983
John 14:15-21	Rogate	T	42	1	1978
John 14:23-29	Easter 6	T	41	2	1977
John 14:23-29	Easter 6	C	52	2-3	1988
John 14:23-31	Pentecost	T	42	4	1978
John 15:1-8	Easter 5	B	48	4	1984
John 15:9-17	Easter 6	B	48	4	1984
John 15:26-16:4	Exaudi	T	42	4	1978
John 15:26-27, 4b-11	Pentecost	C	52	2-3	1988
John 15:26-27, 16:4b-11	Pentecost	T	41	2	1977
John 16:5-11	Pentecost	A	47	4	1983
John 16:5-15	Easter 4	T	42	4	1978
John 16:12-15	Trinity	T	41	2	1977
John 16:12-15	Trinity	C	52	2-3	1988
John 16:16-23	Easter 3	T	42	4	1978
John 16:23-30	Easter 5	T	42	4	1978
John 17:1-11	Easter 7	A	47	4	1983
John 17:1-11	Exaudi	T	42	1	1978
John 17:11b-19	Easter 7	B	48	4	1984
John 17:20-26	Easter 7	C	52	2-3	1988
John 17:22-26	Easter 7	T	41	2	1977
John 18-19	Good Friday	T	42	4	1978
John 18:33-37	Last Sunday	B	49	1	1985
John 19:17-22	Good Friday	B	48	4	1984
John 19:17-24	Good Friday	A	47	3	1983
John 19:30	Good Friday	T	41	2	1977
John 19:30b	Good Friday	T	42	1	1978
John 20:1-09	Easter	T	42	1	1978

Acts 14:8-18	Easter 5	C	46	4	1982
Romans 1:1-7	Advent 4	A	44	4	1980
Romans 1:1-7	Advent 4	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 1:1-7	Advent 4	A	53	3	1989
Romans 3:19-28	Trinity 21	B	46	1	1982
Romans 3:21-25a, 27-28	Pentecost 2	A	45	1-2	1981
Romans 3:21-25a, 27-28	Pentecost 2	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 3:21-25a, 27-28	Pentecost 2	A	53	4	1989
Romans 4:1-5, 13-17	Lent 2	A	44	4	1980
Romans 4:1-5, 13-17	Lent 2	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 4:1-5, 13-17	Lent 2	A	53	3	1989
Romans 4:18-25	Pentecost 3	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 4:18-25	Pentecost 3	A	45	1-2	1981
Romans 4:18-25	Pentecost 3	A	53	4	1989
Romans 5:1-5	Trinity	C	50	1	1986
Romans 5:1-11	Lent 2	B	45	4	1981
Romans 5:1-11	Lent 2	B	55	2-3	1991
Romans 5:6-11	Pentecost 4	A	45	1-2	1981
Romans 5:6-11	Pentecost 4	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 5:6-11	Pentecost 4	A	53	4	1989
Romans 5:12 (13-16), 17-19	Lent 1	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 5:12, 17-19	Lent 1	A	44	4	1980
Romans 5:12-15	Pentecost 5	A	45	1-2	1981
Romans 5:12-15	Pentecost 5	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 5:12-15	Pentecost 5	A	53	4	1989
Romans 5:12-19	Lent 1	A	53	3	1989
Romans 6:1b-11	Pentecost 6	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 6:1b-11	Pentecost 6	A	53	4	1989
Romans 6:2-11	Trinity 5	T	42	1	1978
Romans 6:2b-11	Pentecost 6	A	45	1-2	1981
Romans 6:3-11	Trinity 6	T	44	1	1980
Romans 6:19-23	Trinity 7	T	44	1	1980
Romans 7:15-25a	Pentecost 7	A	45	1-2	1981
Romans 7:15-25a	Pentecost 7	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 7:15-25a	Pentecost 7	A	53	4	1989
Romans 8:1-10	Lent 4	A	44	4	1980
Romans 8:1-10	Lent 4	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 8:1-10	Lent 4	A	53	3	1989
Romans 8:11-19	Lent 5	A	44	4	1980
Romans 8:11-19	Lent 5	A	50	3-4	1986
Romans 8:11-19	Lent 5	A	53	3	1989
Romans 8:12-17	Trinity 8	T	44	1	1980

Romans 14:5-9	Pentecost 17	A 53	4	1989
Romans 14:7-9	Pentecost 17	A 45	1-2	1981
Romans 15:4-13	Advent 2	T 43	4	1979
Romans 15:4-13	Advent 2	A 44	4	1980
Romans 15:4-13	Advent 2	A 50	3-4	1986
Romans 15:4-13	Advent 2	A 53	3	1989
Romans 16:25-27	Advent 4	B 45	3	1981
Romans 16:25-27	Advent 4	B 54	4	1990
I Corinthians 1:1-9	Epiphany 2	A 44	4	1980
I Corinthians 1:1-9	Epiphany 2	A 50	3-4	1986
I Corinthians 1:1-9	Epiphany 2	A 53	3	1989
I Corinthians 1:3-9	Advent 1	B 45	3	1981
I Corinthians 1:3-9	Advent 1	B 54	4	1990
I Corinthians 1:4-9	Trinity 18	T 44	2-3	1980
I Corinthians 1:10-17	Epiphany 3	A 44	4	1980
I Corinthians 1:10-17	Epiphany 3	A 50	3-4	1986
I Corinthians 1:10-17	Epiphany 3	A 53	3	1989
I Corinthians 1:18, 22-25	Lent 4	C 49	4	1985
I Corinthians 1:22-25	Lent 3	B 55	2-3	1991
I Corinthians 1:26-31	Epiphany 4	A 44	4	1980
I Corinthians 1:26-31	Epiphany 4	A 50	3-4	1986
I Corinthians 1:26-31	Epiphany 4	A 53	3	1989
I Corinthians 2:1-5	Epiphany 5	A 44	4	1980
I Corinthians 2:1-5	Epiphany 5	A 50	3-4	1986
I Corinthians 2:1-5	Epiphany 5	A 53	3	1989
I Corinthians 2:6-13	Epiphany 6	A 44	4	1980
I Corinthians 2:6-13	Epiphany 6	A 50	3-4	1986
I Corinthians 2:6-13	Epiphany 6	A 53	3	1989
I Corinthians 3:10-11, 16-23	Epiphany 7	A 44	4	1980
I Corinthians 3:10-11, 16-23	Epiphany 7	A 50	3-4	1986
I Corinthians 3:10-11, 16-23	Epiphany 7	A 53	3	1989
I Corinthians 4:1-5	Advent 3	T 43	4	1979
I Corinthians 5:6-8	Easter	T 43	4	1979
I Corinthians 6:12-20	Epiphany 2	B 45	4	1981
I Corinthians 6:12-20	Epiphany 2	B 55	1	1991
I Corinthians 7:29-31	Epiphany 3	B 45	4	1981
I Corinthians 7:29-31	Epiphany 3	B 55	1	1991
I Corinthians 8:1-13	Epiphany 4	B 45	4	1981
I Corinthians 8:1-13	Epiphany 4	B 55	1	1991
I Corinthians 9:16-23	Epiphany 5	B 45	4	1981
I Corinthians 9:16-23	Epiphany 5	B 55	1	1991
I Corinthians 9:24-10:5	Septuagesima	T 43	4	1979

Galatians 3:23-29	Pentecost 5	C	50	1	1986
Galatians 4:1-7	Christmas 1	T	43	4	1979
Galatians 4:4-7	Christmas 1	A	44	4	1980
Galatians 4:4-7	Christmas 1	A	50	3-4	1986
Galatians 4:4-7	Christmas 1	A	53	3	1989
Galatians 4:21-31	Lent 4	T	43	4	1979
Galatians 5:1, 13-25	Pentecost 6	C	50	1	1986
Galatians 5:16-24	Trinity 14	T	44	2-3	1980
Galatians 5:25-6:10	Trinity 15	T	44	2-3	1980
Galatians 6:1-10, 14-16	Pentecost 7	C	50	1	1986
Ephesians 1:3-6, 15-18	Christmas 2	A	44	4	1980
Ephesians 1:3-6, 15-18	Christmas 2	B	45	3	1981
Ephesians 1:3-6, 15-18	Christmas 2	C	49	4	1985
Ephesians 1:3-6, 15-18	Christmas 2	A	50	3-4	1986
Ephesians 1:3-14	Pentecost 8	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 1:3-14	Trinity 7	B	46	1	1982
Ephesians 1:16-23	Ascension	A	44	4	1980
Ephesians 1:16-23	Ascension	B	46	1	1982
Ephesians 2:4-10	Lent 4	B	45	4	1981
Ephesians 2:4-10	Lent 4	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 2:13-22	Pentecost 9	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 2:13-22	Trinity 8	B	46	1	1982
Ephesians 3:2-12	Epiphany	A	44	4	1980
Ephesians 3:2-12	Epiphany	B	55	1	1991
Ephesians 3:13-21	Trinity 16	T	44	2-3	1980
Ephesians 4:1-6	Trinity 17	T	44	2-3	1980
Ephesians 4:1-7, 11-16	Pentecost 10	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 4:1-7, 11-16	Trinity 9	B	46	1	1982
Ephesians 4:17-24	Pentecost 11	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 4:17-24	Trinity 10	B	46	1	1982
Ephesians 4:22-28	Trinity 19	T	44	2-3	1980
Ephesians 4:30-5:2	Trinity 11	B	46	1	1982
Ephesians 4:30-5:2	Pentecost 12	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 5:1-9	Lent 3	T	43	4	1979
Ephesians 5:8-14	Lent 3	A	44	4	1980
Ephesians 5:8-14	Lent 3	A	50	3-4	1986
Ephesians 5:8-14	Lent 3	A	53	3	1989
Ephesians 5:15-20	Pentecost 13	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 5:15-20	Trinity 12	B	46	1	1982
Ephesians 5:15-21	Trinity 20	T	44	2-3	1980
Ephesians 5:21-31	Pentecost 14	B	55	2-3	1991
Ephesians 5:21-31	Trinity 13	B	46	1	1982

I Thessalonians 2:8-13	Third-Last Sunday	A 50	3-4	1986
I Thessalonians 3:7-13	Second-Last Sunday	A 50	3-4	1986
I Thessalonians 3:9-13	Advent 1	C 49	4	1985
I Thessalonians 3:11-13	Third-Last Sunday	A 54	1	1990
I Thessalonians 4:1-7	Lent 2	T 43	4	1979
I Thessalonians 5:1-11	Last Sunday	T 44	2-3	1980
I Thessalonians 5:16-24	Advent 3	B 45	3	1981
I Thessalonians 5:16-24	Advent 3	B 54	4	1990
II Thessalonians 1:1-5, 11-12	Pentecost 24	C 50	1	1986
II Thessalonians 3:1-5	Third-Last Sunday	C 50	1	1986
I Timothy 1:12-17	Pentecost 17	C 50	1	1986
I Timothy 2:1-8	Pentecost 18	C 50	1	1986
I Timothy 6:6-16	Pentecost 19	C 50	1	1986
II Timothy 1:3-14	Pentecost 20	C 50	1	1986
II Timothy 2:8-13	Pentecost 21	C 50	1	1986
II Timothy 3:14-4:5	Pentecost 22	C 50	1	1986
II Timothy 4:6-9, 16-18	Pentecost 23	C 50	1	1986
Titus 2:11-14	Christmas	T 43	4	1979
Titus 2:11-14	Christmas	A 44	4	1980
Titus 3:4-7	Christmas	C 49	4	1985
Titus 3:4-7	Christmas	A 50	3-4	1986
Titus 3:4-7	Christmas	B 54	4	1990
Philemon (2-9), 10-21	Pentecost 16	C 50	1	1986
Hebrews 1:1-9	Christmas	B 45	3	1981
Hebrews 1:1-9	Christmas	A 53	3	1989
Hebrews 2:9-11	Trinity 19	B 46	1	1982
Hebrews 2:9-11 (12-18)	Pentecost 20	B 55	2-3	1991
Hebrews 2:10-18	Christmas 1	C 49	4	1985
Hebrews 3:1-6	Pentecost 21	B 55	2-3	1991
Hebrews 4:2-10	Trinity 22	B 46	1	1982
Hebrews 4:9-16	Pentecost 22	B 55	2-3	1991
Hebrews 4:12-13	Trinity 20	B 46	1	1982
Hebrews 4:14-5:10	Good Friday	B 45	4	1981
Hebrews 4:14-5:10	Good Friday	A 44	4	1980
Hebrews 5:1-10	Pentecost 23	B 55	2-3	1991
Hebrews 5:7-9	Lent 5	B 45	4	1981
Hebrews 5:7-9	Lent 5	B 55	2-3	1991
Hebrews 7:23-28	Pentecost 24	B 55	2-3	1991
Hebrews 7:23-28	Trinity 23	B 46	1	1982
Hebrews 9:11-15	Lent 5	T 43	4	1979
Hebrews 10:5-10	Advent 4	C 49	4	1985
Hebrews 10:11-18	Third-Last Sunday	B 55	2-3	1991

II Peter 1:16-19, (20-21)	Epiphany Last	A	50	3-4	1986
II Peter 1:16-19, (20-21)	Transfiguration	A	44	4	1980
II Peter 1:16-21	Epiphany 3	T	43	4	1979
II Peter 1:16-21	Transfiguration	A	53	3	1989
II Peter 3:3-4, 8-10a, 13	Last Sunday	A	54	2-3	1990
II Peter 3:8-14	Advent 2	B	45	3	1981
II Peter 3:8-14	Advent 2	B	54	4	1990
I John 1:1-2:2	Easter 2	B	46	1	1982
I John 3:1-2	Easter 3	B	46	1	1982
I John 3:13-18	Trinity 2	T	44	1	1980
I John 3:18-24	Easter 4	B	46	1	1982
I John 4:1-11	Easter 5	B	46	1	1982
I John 4:13-21	Easter 6	B	46	1	1982
I John 4:16b-21	Trinity 1	T	44	1	1980
I John 5:1-6	Easter 1	B	46	1	1982
I John 5:4-10	Easter 1	T	43	4	1979
Revelation 1:4-18	Easter 2	C	49	4	1985
Revelation 1:4b-8	Last Sunday	B	55	2-3	1991
Revelation 1:4b-8	Last Sunday	B	46	1	1982
Revelation 5:11-14	Easter 3	C	49	4	1985
Revelation 7:9-17	Easter 4	C	49	4	1985
Revelation 21:1-5	Easter 5	C	49	4	1985
Revelation 21:10-14, 22-23	Easter 6	C	49	4	1985
Revelation 22:12-17, 20	Easter 7	C	49	4	1985