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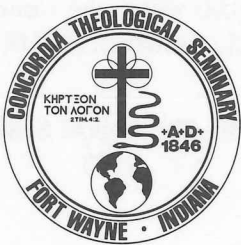
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Sacraments as an Affirmation of Creation

David P. Scaer

Recently a Lutheran pastor was reported shocked when he heard that a pastor of another synod was giving communion to non-Christians including Buddhists. The reason for this practice, as it was told, was based on deriving the meaning of the sacrament from the first article of the creed and not exclusively from the second article. The account is probably apocryphal, but considering the open-door policies of many churches, it is not implausible and may have happened more than once.

The problem was not simply that the pastor had no fellowship communion principles. He did, though most of us would disagree with them.¹ At the root of a totally open communion policy was a faulty view of God. Anyone who attempts to derive theology from one article of the creed without the others has a deficient trinitarianism. In Christian theology God is never simply God, but the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. A natural response to such an aberrant practice of giving communion to non-Christians is that the principles and practices of the holy communion derive from either the second or third article, but not the first. Speaking about first, second, and third-article Christianity might be a trendy thing to do to impress the impressionable. Such talk is only theo-babble, because it attempts to speak of one person of the Trinity in isolation from the other two. It is inevitably so misleading as to be heretical.

Each article is dependent on the others and in a certain sense one prepares or recapitulates the others. A good case could be made for placing the holy communion in either the second article, because it is the supper of Jesus, or the third article with its reference to the "communion of saints," as will be explained below. Placing communion under the second and third articles and not the first article where God is confessed as the creating Father leaves us with a truncated view of the sacrament. Worse, it violates the fundamental rule of trinitarian theology, which does not allow attributing a work to one or two persons and not the other (*opera Trinitatis ad extra indivisa sunt*). Speaking of the Father's sovereignty, the Spirit's indwelling, and the Son's redemption as if each person possessed that peculiar characteristic exclusively is careless.

Old ecclesiastical and Lutheran tradition gives the Father a prominent role in the holy communion. Consider that all the

eucharistic prayers, including Luther's *Formula Missae*, following the devotional and liturgical practices of Jesus Himself, were addressed to the Father. The proper preface begins: "We give thanks unto Thee, Lord God, holy Father, almighty (*omnipotens*) everlasting God."² This is, of course, the language of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds where the Latin *omnipotens* translates the Greek *pantokrator*, the creator of all things. Though the Father is not explicitly mentioned as the one whom Jesus thanked in the institution of the Lord's Supper (Matthew 26:27), it could not have been otherwise. In other places this is made explicit (11:25). The *Didache*, dated by scholars between 60 and 125 A.D., includes the idea of creation in the eucharistic prayers: "You, Lord Almighty, created all things for the sake of Your name and gave food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they may give You thanks."³ This does not mean that "a common ordinary first-article meal" becomes "a religious second or third-article meal" in the holy communion, but that in the sacrament the Father's intentions for mankind in creation to come into a closer fellowship with Him are realized.

Historically in the development of the creed the second article, with the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus, was the most detailed and prominent, making Christianity distinct from Judaism. Later Constantinople (381 A.D.) detailed the Spirit's relationship to the Father and the Son. Luther saw Christianity in christological terms because of the incarnation and atonement. The eternal treasures of the Father are given not directly but through the Son and the Holy Spirit (Large Catechism II, 24).⁴ The three persons exist in the others and in this sense share a common nature.⁵ Consider also this line from St. Ambrose's hymn "O Splendor of God's Glory Bright": "The Son with God the Father one, and God the Father in the Son."⁶

Having said this, we would not want to fall into the aberration of christomonism in any doctrine, and this must include holy communion, even if this sacrament is properly called the *Lord's Supper* (1 Corinthians 11:20). Any doctrine including that of the sacrament cannot be located in one article alone, simply because the three articles are not a succession of truths or realities, but concentric

realities, revolving around the person of Jesus Christ and revealing themselves in Him.⁷ We cannot know or speak about God or the Holy Spirit apart from Jesus. The proper preface for the Christmas holy communion prays that we may see the Father in the person of His Son.⁸ This is hardly more than a paraphrase of "he who has seen Me has seen the Father" (John 14:9). The Son's revealing of the Father depends upon and reflects the inner trinitarian relationship.

Isolating one article from the others has allowed for recent identifications of the persons of the Trinity not as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but as Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, attributing to each person an activity peculiar to Him alone. This is not only a confusion of the *opera ad extra* with the *opera ad intra*, a supplanting of the ontological Trinity with the economic Trinity, but tritheism. Though God is known in His historic acts, His tri-personal essence is above history. Pannenberg's trinitarian understanding fails because it does not go beyond an historical to a transcendental definition. Such identifications of the three divine persons as Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, as one wit with *Lutheran Forum* said, would be appropriate of the Hindu triad or trinity, Trimurti, with its (his, her) creative, preserving, and destroying principles.

Through Jesus we know God as Father (Matthew 10:27), and we are given the Spirit and consequently confess Father-Son-Spirit. God is Father because He is the Father of the Son in eternity and the Father of Jesus in time. The Spirit receives His eternal identity from the Father *and* from the Son simply because the Son is the Son of the Father and is *not* an independent source of the Spirit.⁹ In time the Spirit receives His identity from the incarnation and more specifically from the moment of the cross (Hebrews 9:14).¹⁰ This is hardly christomonism, but the christological perspective allows us to understand all doctrine as trinitarian. The Small Catechism requires that the sign of the cross be made at the name of the Trinity,¹¹ because it is precisely in the cross, at the moment of the eternal atonement, that we see God as triune with the Father offering up the Son who is assisted by the Spirit (Hebrews 9:11-14; 13:20). Knowledge of the Father apart from Christ is Arian or Unitarian, and

a revelation from the Spirit which is not completely christological is fanaticism.

Feminism with its frightening symptoms of a neutered liturgy and women's ordination challenges the understanding of God as Father. It is the resurgence in modern garb of the religion of the Greek mother-earth goddess, Gea.¹² Arguments for a feministic understanding of God and for the ordination of women are cut from the same cloth, though the connection is often not recognized. Christ's choice of males as His apostles, the incarnation of the Son of God as the man Jesus, and the identity of God as Father and Son are also valid arguments against the ordination of women, though they are at times ignored as secondary.¹³ Traditionally Lutheran opponents of women's ordination are more comfortable arguing from the orders of creation. Citing St. Paul's prohibitions is common, but the arguments become more effective when these prohibitions are derived from the doctrines of incarnation, atonement, and the Trinity. All theology, including the church's answer to feminism, must be normed by christology. God's coming in the flesh is historically decisive for theology. Without christology theology is fractured and fragmented into autonomous and unrelated truths. Our Lutheran Confessions proceed from such a christological basis which is axiomatic for Lutheran theology. Theological arguments only reach their full potential when they are offered christologically. If one removes Christ, the biblical references or proofs stand in danger of being interpreted as law or non-christological principles.

Making the redemption—that is, christology—the center of our theological task presupposes acknowledging God as Creator. Creation is the presupposition for redemption. But can the argument go one step further to understanding baptism and the Lord's Supper in light of creation and perhaps subsequently sanctification? Can our understanding of the sacraments be related as much to the Father and the Spirit as to the Son? We have touched on the role of the Father in the sacrament by showing that without exception eucharistic prayers are addressed to Him.¹⁴ Assigning the Spirit a prominent role in sacramental definition can be problematic for Lutherans as historically they have objected to the Reformed replacement of Jesus with the Spirit in the holy supper. This matter is part of a larger

concern with the Reformed, who to compensate for confining Christ's human nature to a spatial heaven have stressed the omnipresent Spirit.¹⁵ John Calvin used the *sursum corda* ("we lift our hearts unto the Lord") of the old liturgy to explain our communion with Christ as our spiritual ascent to heaven. Confined to heaven, Jesus cannot be so abased as to come to earth.¹⁶ What the human nature of Jesus is incapable of doing, our human spirits are. Hermann Sasse notes that the origin of the idea of the Spirit as the "transporter" of Christ's body is unknown.¹⁷ At first glance the substitution of the Spirit for Christ in the holy supper is attractive, because God is pictured, falsely let it be immediately said, with a more equal division of trinitarian labors. The problem is that the Spirit does what the human Jesus cannot do.¹⁸ Any division of trinitarian labors is intolerable. The old ecclesiastical adage stands that the trinitarian works are *indivisa*, undivided. Related to this is the way in which the Reformed assign divine works to the human nature of Jesus. One Reformed scholar, to avoid the issue of whether the divine or human natures performed the miracles of Jesus, attributed His miracles to the Holy Spirit. This solution not only depreciates Jesus' human nature, but it shows a deficient trinitarianism.¹⁹

Yet no fear of an aberration should force us into an unacceptable christomonism which eliminates the Father and the Spirit from christology or our teaching of the holy communion. The Lord's Supper would be a natural place to develop a legitimate christomonism as Jesus is the originator of the sacrament and its sole content. But at the same time the Lord's Supper must be thought of in trinitarian terms, since Christ is the Son of God only in relation to the Father and there is no presence of Christ without the Spirit. There is good reason to argue that the holy communion belongs in a certain sense to third-article Christianity, since scholarly opinion leans toward interpreting "the communion of saints" as a reference to the "communion of holy things," that is, the holy communion. Taken by Luther as a reference to the church, it was obvious to him that the word "communion" was an awkward reference to it.²⁰

Without sifting through the convincing arguments of Elert²¹ and Sasse²² favoring the *communio sanctorum* as a reference to the

holy communion, we would at least want to agree to the Spirit's activity there. With baptism there is no problem, as the Constantinopolitan Creed's article on the Spirit has an explicit reference: "I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins." The reference to "forgiveness of sins" in the Apostles' Creed has the same baptismal reference. Placing the holy communion along with baptism into the third article can and should not be *a priori* excluded.

The Formula of Concord does speak of spiritual reception of the Lord's Supper in the sense of a supernatural eating (Solid Declaration, VII, 104-105).²³ It makes no explicit reference to "spiritual" as referring to the Holy Spirit, but seems to imply it in condemning the Reformed meaning of the word "spiritual" as "the power of Christ's absent body" (Epitome VII, 5). Including the Holy Spirit as a factor in the holy communion is also not without biblical support, as Paul speaks of the Jews eating the spiritual food and spiritual drink which was Christ (1 Corinthians 10:3-4.) New Testament instances of *pneumatikos* may in some cases be translated "Spiritual" with an upper case "S," as the adjective for the Spirit, that is, the Holy Spirit. One may take, for example, the resurrected body (1 Corinthians 15:44). It is raised a Spiritual body, because it has been taken into the realm of perfection by the Holy Spirit. The use of the lower case allowed historical gnosticism to deny the physical aspect of the resurrection and in a sense to use Paul's words against his own arguments for the resurrection. The same understanding of "spiritual" is used by the Reformed to their own advantage. In 1 Corinthians the Holy Spirit is in view with the word "spiritual" (10:3-4). The "Spiritual" food devoured by the Israelites was not non-material, Platonic, non-substantive food and drink, but real food and drink provided by the Holy Spirit. Similarly the Lord's Supper is real food and drink supplied by the Holy Spirit. The *epiklesis* of the Eastern Church invoking the Spirit acknowledges His activity in the holy supper.²⁴

The Lord's Supper may also be developed in relation to the Holy Spirit simply to demonstrate in an obvious way that all articles of faith, including the sacraments, should not be limited to one divine person to the exclusion of the other two. But by saying that the

sacraments belong to the Holy Spirit as a third-article matter, they are also affirmed as completely christological, because Christian faith holds that the Spirit is always the Spirit of the Father sent into the world by Christ. To regard Him only as the Spirit of God without a necessary connection to Christ allows universalism, as Karl Barth held. Relating the sacraments to the Father and the article of creation is another matter.

Paul refers to baptism in Titus 3:5 as "the washing of regeneration," a reference taken over by Luther to demonstrate baptism's saving effects (Large Catechism IV, 27).²⁵ In English "regeneration" can be understood as a rebirth and also a new creation or re-creation. These concepts are interchangeable. The Greek allows the same kind of interchangeability. In Matthew 19:28 the same word refers not merely to a rebirth of the world, but to a renewal of it in the messianic age.²⁶ The messianic age or new creation means that what happened in first creation of Genesis is somehow going to happen again. The Old Testament prophets understand the messianic age in terms of the abundant paradise of Genesis 2. "The renewal of the Holy Ghost," which also belongs to Luther's definition of baptism,²⁷ also carries the idea of going back to an earlier and preferable state. In a certain sense baptism is God's creation of the individual.

In the Small Catechism (IV, 12) Luther continues the allusion to Genesis in requiring that the Old Adam in us should by contrition be drowned and a new man come forth.²⁸ The Old Adam reflects the Genesis imagery of man's creation by God and his fall into sin. A baptismal piety for Luther presupposes the constant reality of the fall of Genesis 3 in the life of the Christian and requires that the restoration, also suggesting Genesis 3, happen daily. Baptism is a kind of creation, a re-creation, patterned after Genesis. After Genesis 1:1 God does not create *ex nihilo*, but He refashions what is sinful and unacceptable to Him into what is holy and acceptable. The baptismal language of John 3 about being born from on high is recognizably incarnational (verse 7), but the concept of creation must be further developed in connection with baptism.

All matter is created in one moment and from that primordial creation God fashions all things. Similarly, the creation of Adam

was a creative event for humanity once and for all. Never again, even in the birth of Jesus, does God work with the dust of the ground in creating humanity. From Adam and Eve the entire race, including Jesus, has its origin. Something similar happens in baptism. The sinful humanity is restored in Christ's resurrection (1 Corinthians 15:22), something actualized by baptism. It is a creation of its own kind. More than a restoration of humanity is involved in baptism; rather, it brings humanity to its intended goal through the Spirit's work, paralleling Genesis 1:2, with the Spirit moving on the face of the waters. Baptism is at the same time a creative, redemptive, and sanctifying act. Through the sanctifying work of the Spirit in baptism, the redemptive work of the Son becomes reality in such a way that we are able to confess God as the creating Father. One may compare Galatians 4:6. The Spirit of the Son enables us to pray to the Father. Yet all three persons together and not separately are recognized as Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier. Baptism is inaugurated by Jesus, but is properly offered in the name "the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Matthew 28:20).

The God who brought about creation out of water by His Spirit's moving across it (Genesis 1:2; Psalm 104:30) brings about a permanent and perfected creation out of the water of baptism. The appearance of the Spirit at the baptism of Jesus points forward to the giving of the Spirit by Jesus through baptism,²⁹ and it points back to Genesis where the Spirit of God was moving across the face of the waters. In our baptism the Trinity who is the world's creator and its redeemer is recognized as the sanctifier by His reconstructing of sinful humanity into the church. It is the Spirit who not only works faith, but keeps the church with Jesus Christ in the one true faith (Small Catechism II, 4).³⁰ It is not that in creation, redemption, and sanctification we move from any one work of God to another, but that every work of God recapitulates an earlier work from which it derives its form and substance. Creation anticipates its redemption and sanctification, and redemption and sanctification presuppose the creation. Any argument from the orders of creation, especially in the continuing debate on the ordination of women, depends upon just this kind of thinking.

Arguments relating baptism to creation may be more accessible than those relating holy communion to the creation. Baptism is a creating water as was the water of Genesis 1:2. The temptation for Lutherans is to become christomonistic to avoid the Charybdis of an exclusively first-article Christianity with its universalism and the Scylla of an exclusively third-article Christianity which is forever making christology something merely past-tense in theology to exalt the Holy Spirit. An exclusively first-article theology can see nothing other in the Lord's Supper than an undefined religious eating. Where Christ is replaced with the Spirit, the Lord's Supper becomes an historical nuisance no longer necessary for true faith.

Understood properly, the sacramental element was inherent in the original creation in that creation provided the sacramental vehicles for God's grace. Creation is never autonomous, as deistic rationalism held, but remains dependent on God as much as God is involved in it. It anticipates God's greater purposes. The idea of incarnation is not absent in God's creative activities, as Jesus is described as the agent and goal of all creation (Colossians 1:15-17). Jesus bears the image of God in a way that Adam only anticipated. Fundamental to the Formula of Concord (VII and VIII) as characteristic of Lutheran theology is that the sacraments and the incarnation inform each other. Both presuppose the creation on which they are dependent and to which they give a further meaning. Suggestions for this are found in the account of creation itself. Before and without sin the first pair was promised a higher existence, which was known in Eden. The tree of life, almost in the manner of a sacrament, pledged that temporal life would be elevated to something more permanent (Genesis 2:9.) After sinning the primal pair had to be removed to avoid making their temporal punishment permanent (3:33). To borrow New Testament language, they would have been eating damnation to themselves (1 Corinthians 11:29; one may compare Hebrews 10:29).

Unless redemption is understood and defined in regard to creation, creation is relegated to a mere past-tense event, as was done by the historic gnostics who also disparaged it. The use of created substances in the sacraments is an endorsement of creation. If the creation were as imperfect and evil as the gnostics said, then we

should have sacraments without matter or we should have no sacraments at all. Luther speaks of the word of God coming to an element, an element from creation, and turning it into a sacrament (Large Catechism IV, 17).³¹ In the sacraments our gaze is focused first on things, material things, things belonging to God's creation, through which we look at the supernatural. It is not that we look around them, but through them, to see the supernatural reality.³² What happens in the sacraments has in a sense already happened in the incarnation. In Jesus we see God. In water and bread and wine we find Jesus. In both incarnation and sacrament, the created becomes divine and serves the one divine purpose of salvation. In both Jesus and the sacraments the invisible is hidden in the visible, and thus creation is first affirmed and then elevated. Water, bread, and wine experience through the word of God a kind of redemption from their menial use and a sanctification through which the Spirit brings men into a higher relationship with God and confirms it. Created elements are brought to their highest potential and by God's words surpass this potential without denying their limitations. In the sacraments ordinary things are raised to a higher, spiritual level, a dimension in which the Holy Spirit is working. In baptism water becomes what God intended it to be—an introduction into and a confirmation of the life in paradise. Baptism looks back to the rivers of the paradise of Genesis (2:10-14), anticipates the river of the water of life in the final paradise (Revelation 22:1-2), and centers in Jesus as living water (John 4:10). From His side comes water (John 19:34). Confessional Lutherans are as unalterably opposed to any substitution for the prescribed substances as they are opposed to any alteration of meaning of the words.³³ Luther was so set on the meaning of the word "is" that he said that he would rather drink blood with the pope than wine with the Reformed. If he were alive in our time, he would hardly have that option, as Protestants have offered a variety of substitutions for wine.

It would be callous for Lutherans to say of the Reformed that, since their sacramental elements cannot be identified with Christ's body and blood, the elements used in communion are an indifferent matter. The color of the check matters little with no money in the bank. Authentic and forged Confederate dollars have the same value. Yet the elements *do* matter. Luther notes that substitutions

contravene specific biblical mandates.³⁴ On still a deeper level changing the elements or using no elements at all resembles the practices of ancient gnosticism, which considered creation so inferior that the elements could be changed. Some used water in place of wine for the Lord's Supper. Such an approach not only suggests that God does not need physical or material means to deal with His people, but they are in fact obstacles to true spiritual communion with God.³⁵ Of course, the sacraments are obstacles to anyone who holds that nothing stands between us and God in terms of our mystical union with Him. The Formula of Concord (VIII, 2-4) notes that those with erroneous opinions of the holy supper will fail to understand christology.³⁶ To this may be added creation.

Distaste for the sacraments is often accompanied by exalting faith as if it were an autonomous human work not dependent on the sacraments. Even if the sacraments are not matters of indifference, they can still be treated as if they were not essential for Christian life. The argument asserts that we can be good Christians only with faith and without the sacraments. Commonly the thief on the cross is mentioned (Luke 23:39-43), overlooking the totality of Luke's theology with his strong emphasis, in his gospel (3:3) and Acts (2:38), on the forgiveness of sins through baptism. Luther claims that "whoever rejects baptism rejects God's word, faith, and Christ, who directs us and binds us to baptism" (Large Catechism IV, 30).³⁷ Mark Ellingsen notes that one of the seven marks of contemporary evangelical theology is placing a priority on conversion and sanctification over the sacraments.³⁸ As shown above, such thinking is not only impossible for Luther but rejected by him.³⁹

The sacraments are important not only because of God's commands, but because they derive their life and meaning from a christology centered in the incarnation. The incarnation in turn is a full endorsement of creation. In the incarnation God takes humanity, the crown of His creation, into Himself.⁴⁰ Jesus is both Creator and creature: "equal to the Father with respect to the Godhead and inferior to God with respect to His manhood."⁴¹ Relegating the sacraments to a secondary position as unnecessary in our doctrine or in our liturgical life reflects negatively on what we think of God as Creator, especially as that Creator revealed Himself in the man

Jesus. On the indispensability of the sacraments, Luther should be heard again (Large Catechism IV, 28-29):

Our know-it-alls, the new spirits (Zwinglians or Anabaptists), assert that faith alone saves and that works and external things contribute nothing to this end. We answer: It is true, nothing that is in us does it but faith, as we shall hear later on. But these leaders of the blind are unwilling to see that faith must have something to believe—something to which it may cling and upon which it may stand. Thus faith clings to the water and believes it to be baptism in which there is sheer salvation and life, not through the water, as we have sufficiently stated, but through its incorporation with God's word and ordinances and the joining of His name to it. When I believe this, what else is it but believing in God as the one who has implanted his word in this external ordinance and offered it to us so that we may grasp the treasure it contains? Now, these people are so foolish as to separate faith from the object to which faith is attached and bound on the ground that the object is something external. Yes, it must be external so that it can be perceived and grasped by the senses and thus brought into the heart, just as the entire gospel is an external, oral proclamation. In short, whatever God effects in us He does through such external ordinances.⁴²

As the sacraments are not abstract commands or additional laws, as the Reformed hold, their meaning can be informed by creation and God's redemptive acts in Israel's history. They presuppose God's activity in the Old Testament which was in a sense sacramental. Paul found precursors for baptism not only in circumcision, but in the passing through the Red Sea and under the cloud (1 Corinthians 10:2) and in the creation itself (Titus 3:5), if the argument above stands. First Peter sees a baptismal correlation in the the flood (3:20-1); so also Luther incorporated the Noahic flood and the Red Sea into his baptismal prayer of 1526.

Unless we think in precisely these terms of moving back from sanctification through incarnation to creation and then perhaps even to God Himself, we stand in danger of a kind of gnosticism with its

disdain for the creation. This distancing of the divine from the human is also characteristic of the Reformed christology and sacramentology. A non-sacramental piety may at the first level show low regard for the sacrament itself, but it may reflect the more serious problems of an undeveloped christology and doctrine of creation. In a non-sacramental piety creation becomes what God did once upon a time. His important work is now sanctification. Not only is the creed's organic unity destroyed, but placing God's activities into time frames is dispensational, especially if one person of the Trinity seems to be acting at one time in isolation from the others. As mentioned, our response is that one person of the Trinity is in the other and that one article of the creed anticipates or incorporates the others. Luther in his explanation of the creed makes creation and redemption as contemporary for the believer as sanctification: "God has made me . . . redeemed me . . . called me" (Small Catechism II).⁴³

Absorbing creation into redemption and then through redemption into sanctification is derived from and patterned after the eternal generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father with the Son. If creation is patterned after what God is in Himself, so redemption receives its form from creation, and sanctification from redemption. Sanctification is dependent on the creation through the redemption. The Spirit sanctifies because He is the Spirit of Christ, and thus all spirituality must be christological.

The suggestion that the Lord's Supper may be distributed to non-Christians short-circuits the process whereby the Spirit's sanctifying activity is dependent on the creation only *through* the redemption. Putting creation, redemption, and sanctification in this order of dependency reflects the higher dependency of the Spirit on the Father through the Son and the Son's dependency on the Father. The concept that God is the creating Father not only allows Him to work sacramentally with His people, but suggests that He will in fact act in this way. In a certain sense, simply because He is the Creator, He is committed to acting sacramentally with His people. If God steps outside of creative means to deal with His people, He is in a certain sense denying Himself as Creator. This He cannot do because God is essentially and not incidentally the Creator. Luther

approaches the same topic from the creation in insisting that God works with us through external ordinances and things.⁴⁴ God remains in a kind of "sacramental union" with His creation, because even in its sinful condition He remains its Creator. Historically the demiurge was invented by the gnostics so that God would not have to contaminate Himself with the creation. To act sacramentally means to act through the creation ("means") or creatures. With this definition, the incarnation can be understood sacramentally and our sacraments have incarnational dimensions. Relating christology to sacramentology was essential for the defense of the Lutheran position against the Reformed.⁴⁵

The regulations, threats, and promises surrounding the trees of the garden verge on the sacramental. Eating one fruit brings death and removal from God's presence. Eating the other brings life and eternal bliss with God. One could almost transfer these descriptions to our use of the Lord's Supper, to which some are invited and from which some are prohibited for the same reasons surrounding the trees of the garden. For some the sacrament works death and for others it works life. In similar fashion the Old Testament is more than an historical account of an ancient people; it is the continuation of creation in which God continues to act sacramentally. Abraham is in a certain sense "an Adam" in whom the peoples of the earth are reconstructed as God's people and who prepares for Christ in whom this reconstruction is completed. In the Old Testament the themes of paradise are repeated and held up as Israel's destiny. Religious and secular uses of bread and wine and the eating of elders with God on Sinai are references forward to a more significant eating and drinking in the messianic age. The Old Testament is not an isolated history, but a redemptive history in which the themes of creation and paradise are held before the people in anticipation of their completed perfection in the messianic age which appeared in Jesus. The problem is not that we find too much of Christ in the Old Testament, but that we find too little.⁴⁶

Luther in answering his opponents' arguments about the uselessness of water in baptism claims that a straw used by God would have more value than all their good works (Large Catechism IV, 12).⁴⁷ He did not intend to say that God acted arbitrarily in

choosing the elements for the sacraments or that they suggested no meaning. Water suggested to Luther drowning and the Lord's Supper "food and sustenance" (Large Catechism V, 24).⁴⁸ Luther used the reference to the straw to say that in the sacraments God's word is everything. Of course, the same is true of incarnation and conversion. To assert that the human makes a contribution would synergistic. We must be clear on this point. Bread and wine no more make a contribution to the sacrament than we do to our conversion. In the incarnation the divine embraces the human and not the reverse. The initiation of the incarnation rests with God and not the Virgin Mary. Mariolatry assumes that Mary did make a contribution and, thus, devotion to her is not unrelated to synergism. Yet God's choice in any matter, including the elements for the sacraments, is neither accidental nor arbitrary. In the incarnation God chose one particular woman as the Lord's mother (Luke 1:30). Similarly Jesus is not any man, but the one particular man chosen in eternity. The same is true of the Lutheran doctrine of election. Selecting the sacramental elements reflected what God had already done in the creation. One may consider the incarnation. It did not and could not take place with an inanimate object or an animal, because certain characteristics, such as lifelessness and irrationality, contradicted what God was. Man made in God's image was fitted as was no other creature for the incarnation (Psalms 8:4-8; Hebrews 2:6-8). The same thought is applicable to the sacraments. Water has characteristics prior to its use in baptism which are carried over into this sacrament. The external washing ability of water is raised to a higher level in baptism. Its destructive characteristics in drowning and flooding points to the destruction of sin in baptism, a point not lost on St. Peter or Luther. The means of God's revelation do not contradict the revelation. The outward created element with God's word is a sign, that is, a window into the sacramental mystery. External elements and outward rites in the sacraments are by themselves not totally without meaning, but are in some way related to and reflect the internal reality. This is essential also to incarnational theology. That God is the Father of Jesus in His birth indicates His higher and eternal birth from the Father. In the Small Catechism (II, 4) Luther does exactly this by saying that Jesus is born from His Father in eternity and born of His mother here in

time.⁴⁹

In the same manner we should ask the same questions about the Lord's Supper. Faith sees through ordinary eating to a deeper kind of eating involving the Christian in the depth of his existence so that body and soul are receiving sustenance in the same moment and the same act. Essential for Lutherans is the *manducatio oralis*, a nourishment through the mouth for the body. The external nourishment of the body involves the deeper nourishment of the body and soul with Christ's body and blood.⁵⁰ Unbelievers are kept away from the holy supper because their bodies are receiving what their souls despise, and they are torn apart in the very midst of their existence. Christ's body, intended to join human beings in the depths of their existence with God, becomes destructive of this unity and destines them to the most severe of all judgments. What unbelievers despise with their souls they eat with their mouths and it is joined to their bodies. An act of redemption becomes one of condemnation. They thrust themselves prematurely and unprepared before the judgment throne of Christ.

While the physical eating and drinking in the sacrament points to a supernatural consumption, we ask whether the elements of bread and wine have significance. Are they divine but still only arbitrary choices? All divine decisions are purposeful and never arbitrary. God's actions in history are hidden, but in regard to salvation some of His purposes may be revealed. The sacrament stands in a tension between continuity with Israel's past and the idea that a new testament and covenant has come into existence through Jesus. The passover was the occasion for the sacrament (Matthew 26:17-8) and seems to have provided the basis for its celebration in the early church (1 Corinthians 5:7). Paul correlates the sacrament with the giving of the manna (1 Corinthians 10:3-4; one may compare John 6:31-2). Apart from the institution of the Christian sacrament, bread is not without cultic and theological significance in Israel. Wine points to a time of unbridled happiness pointing to the end-times (Genesis 49:11-2). Israel's cultic life was as much *sacramental* as it was sacrificial, a topic which must be pursued at another time.⁵¹ Yet note can be made in a preliminary way of how the sacramental substances differ from each other. Whereas water serves a purpose

in God's creative activities (Genesis 1:2), bread is first mentioned in connection with man's fall into sin: "By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread till you return to the ground" (3:19). The hand-to-mouth existence of Genesis 2 from trees providing fruit is replaced by a complex system involving tilling the soil, struggling with unwanted growth, cultivating, harvesting, threshing, converting harvested grain into flour, and finally baking. Bread is man's minimal requirement for existence in a world now condemned to corruption. Its production is accompanied by sweat at every step of the way. As difficult as is its production and as unadorned as is its taste, bread is basic to man's existence. With the toils and sorrows that accompany its production, bread is not a denial of creation in spite of its bondage to sin; bread is an affirmation. Creation, beset by its own problems, still serves the needs of sinners. Men in spite of their sin and on account of God's goodness are allowed to live in anticipation of a future redemption. Bread is given further significance by the references of Jesus to Himself as the "bread of God," "the true bread out of heaven," and "the bread of life." This has found a place Lutheran piety.⁵²

The parallel between ordinary bread and the bread of the sacrament is obvious. Ordinary and sacramental bread are each in its own way necessary for man in his state of sin. The physical man lives by bread alone. The man destined to live with God requires Jesus Christ as the bread of heaven. All work for bread which will eventually perish (John 6:27). The bread of eternal life is provided through the toil of the one man Jesus Christ.

Wine presents another facet. It makes human existence palatable. There is no reference by Jesus to Himself as wine, but there is as vine (John 15:1). In spite of alcohol's destructive affects, it has religious significance for the ancient Graeco-Roman world and for Israel, where it was considered God's gift. Here was the nectar of the gods. Canaan is not only the promised land, but the promising land because of the abundance of grapes. If Judah's teeth are made white with milk, his eyes are made red with wine (Genesis 49:12). The ecstasy of the messianic age is anticipated by wine.

Creation has undergone a deterioration because of sin. Now in the sacraments the process is reversed. God has overcome the

obstacle of a condemned creation with bread making spiritual life possible and with wine promising a permanent, heavenly ecstasy. The failure to recognize the theological symbolism distinctively inherent in bread and wine seems to be akin to the old Roman Catholic view that one did not need to receive the cup, since blood is already present in flesh. Bread and wine each have their own signification anchored in God's continued creative activity now perfected in Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit.

Now through the bread and wine of the holy supper God permanently overcomes the obstacle of sin with an atonement for sins once and for all. Through bread and wine, each with its own significance and symbolism, believers take hold of Him who is expiation, propitiation, sacrifice, and atonement. Bread focuses on that which is absolutely necessary. Wine indicates the luxury of God's goodness. God gives us exactly what we need and much more than we can anticipate. Christ's body sustains us, and His blood is the anticipation of unmeasured eschatological joy. Not only has God reserved the best for last, but there is more than anyone can consume (John 3:10).

We are too frequently tempted to work with a minimum in theology. The lowest common denominators become the norm, but what is absolutely required for salvation does not begin to exhaust God's intentions. Baptism and the Lord's Supper can become indistinguishable in the piety of the people because they are explained in terms of the forgiveness of sins as their common denominator. Overlooked is the fact that each has its particular and unique place in the plan of salvation. Similarly neglected is that God's creative materials in the sacraments point to the distinctiveness of each sacrament.

Plenary inspiration stands awkwardly in tension with a proclamation which often does not go beyond the bare minimum for salvation (Hebrews 6:1). Our insistence that the whole Bible is inspired prevents defining and proclaiming Christianity, including its sacraments, in minimal terms. This leaves us with a christomonism which does not do justice even to our christology and ignores the theological significance of creation in our theology. In redemption and sanctification God is only bringing what He planned for His

original creation to its intended perfection. The first article of faith is that we believe in God the Father Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth. Redemption and sanctification confirm and endorse this. The sacraments are first an endorsement of our redemption, but they are also a confirmation of creation.

Endnotes

1. For a full discussion of communion fellowship practices see Martin Wittenberg, "Church Fellowship and Altar Fellowship in the Light of Church History," trans. John Bruss, *Logia*, 1 (1992): 23-58. This issue was sent gratis to many of the readers of the *CTQ* and covers church practices from the year 200 up to the modern era. For the sake of future reference it should find a permanent place on library shelves.
2. *Prayers of the Eucharist Early and Reformed*, ed. R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cumming, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 138.
3. Jasper and Cumming, p. 15.
4. *The Book of Concord*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), p. 413.
5. See Kenneth Paul Wesche, "The Triadological Shaping of Latin and Greek Christology," *Pro Ecclesia* 1 (1):63-75 and 2 (1):84-105.
6. *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), Hymn 550.
7. The following reference from the late fourth-century church father and defender of the trinitarian faith, St. Gregory of Nyssa, is taken from Wesche, 2 (1):87-88. "We do not learn that the Father does something on His own which the Son does not co-operate; or again, that the Son acts on His own without the Spirit. Rather does every operation which extends from God to creation and is designated according to our differing conceptions of it have its origin in the Father, proceed through the Son, and

reach its completion by the Holy Spirit. It is for this reason that the name of operation is not divided among the several *actors* because their objective in any matter is not divided or independent of the others. But whatever takes place . . . takes place through the three . . . So then, the Holy Trinity carries out every operation in accordance with the number of *hypostases*, but there is one motion and regulative order, issuing from the Father, through the Son, and to the Holy Spirit."

8. *The Lutheran Hymnal*, Hymn 25.
9. Wesche calls attention to the Eastern Church's insistence on the use of the term "Godhead" solely for the Father, since quite literally it means "the source, or head, of the Trinity" (2 [1]:87, note 8); "divinity" is the preferred term for the three divine persons.
10. This thought is discussed by Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John XIII-XXI. The Anchor Bible* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1987), p. 931.
11. Tappert, p. 352. "In the morning, when you rise, make the sign of the cross and say, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.'"
12. Olivia Vlahos, "The Goddess That Failed," *First Things*, 28 (December 1992), pp. 12-19.
13. *First Things* has regularly been addressing feminist theology at its foundation. See, for example, Michael Novak, "Women, Ordination, and Angels," 32 (April 1993), pp. 25-32.
14. See Jasper and Cumming.
15. John Calvin is quoted as follows by Hermann Sasse, *This Is My Body* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958), p. 323: "While we as long as we sojourn in this mortal life cannot be included or contained in the same place with Him, the efficacy of His Spirit is not limited by boundaries of space and therefore is able to bring together and to connect what is separated by local distance. Thus we recognize that His Spirit is the bond of

our participation of Him."

16. Sasse, pp. 324-325.
17. Sasse, p. 325. The role of the Holy Spirit as the conveyor of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper remains essential to the Reformed understanding. Compare Gabriel Fackre, "Call and Catholicity," *Pro Ecclesia*, 1 (1):20-3: "the Holy Spirit alone, as recognized in the *epiklesis* and *sursum corda*, provides 'the bridge between "the sign" and "the thing" in the Supper"' (p. 23). Fackre's essay was a positive response to "A Common Calling," a foundational document for Lutheran and Reformed unity in the United States.
18. Robert W. Jenson concludes that "A Common Calling," intended to unite Lutheran and Reformed churches in North America, does not settle the issue. "Comment on *A Common Calling*," *Pro Ecclesia*, 1 (1):19-20. "And the christological-sacramental *propositions* so far put forward by Lutherans and Reformed are indeed flatly contradictory, and do *not* state a common *telos* of the two sets of concerns. Is the Logos' divine attribute of omnipresence really communicated to the man Jesus, so that He as a human person transcends spatial separation as He chooses (Lutheran), or is it not (Reformed)? Is a personally specific ecclesial imitation of God the Spirit constitutive for the real presence (Reformed), or it is not (Lutheran)?"
19. Wesche is worth quoting on this point (*Pro Ecclesia*, 2(1):88): "There are not three separate actors, each one scheming against the other to effect his own agenda, as one finds in the Olympian pantheon, nor is there one common operation performed independently by each of the Three, as in the case, for example, of several human orators, or farmers, or shoemakers who each one performs the same activity, but independently of others; there is but one natural operation which all three persons perform, each in his own way, but in natural union with the others. There is accordingly identity of purpose, will, and knowledge; the Son knows what the Father is doing because His action is the Father's action and it is the very action perfected by the Holy Spirit."

20. Large Catechism II, 49-50; Tappert, pp. 416-417.
21. Werner Elert, *Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries*, trans. Norman Nagel (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House).
22. Sasse, pp. 389-398.
23. Tappert, pp. 104-105.
24. Sasse, p. 15. Tappert, p. 179, note 4. The prayer in "Divine Service II" of *Lutheran Worship* ([Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982], p. 171) seems to have a remnant of the *epiklesis*: "Send your Holy Spirit into our hearts . . ." This is probably a reflection of the earliest Eastern liturgies. Other liturgies have the sending of the Spirit on the elements. Taken out of the historical context of the ancient church, it could be understood in a Reformed sense. The liturgy's editors have shown that the Spirit can have a rightful place in the holy communion without being judged as Reformed. For examples of the *epiklesis* see Jasper and Cumming (p. 44). The following prayer is traced to the sixth century: "We pray and beseech you to send your Holy Spirit and your power on these (your?) (gifts) set before you, on this bread and this cup, and to make the bread the body of Christ and (the cup the blood of the) new (covenant) of our Lord Jesus Christ."
25. Tappert, p. 440.
26. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, ed. Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), 1:649.
27. Tappert, p. 349.
28. Tappert, p. 349.
29. This is Luther's thought in the second stanza of "To Jordan Came the Christ, Our Lord," *Lutheran Worship* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982), Hymn 223.

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30. Tappert, p. 345.
 31. Tappert, p. 438. For a recent discussion see John Frederick Johnson, "Evangelical Sacraments: A Look at the Apology," *Concordia Journal*, 88 (1992):259-264.
 32. Consider Luther's baptismal hymn "To Jordan Came the Christ, Our Lord": "All that the mortal eye beholds is water as we pour it. Before the eye of faith unfolds the pow'r of Jesus' merit." *Lutheran Worship*, Hymn 223.
 33. Sasse, p. 235.
 34. Sasse, pp. 235-236.
 35. This may be inherent in the words of Oecolampadius at the Marburg Colloquy quoted by Sasse, p. 236: "As we have the spiritual eating, why should there be any need for bodily eating?"
 36. Tappert, p. 592.
 37. Tappert, p. 440.
 38. *The Evangelical Movement* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), p. 204.
 39. Large Catechism IV, 28; Tappert, p. 440. For Luther "faith clings to the water and believes it to be baptism."
 40. Athanasian Creed, 32-33; Tappert, p. 20. "Although he is God and man, he is not two Christs but one Christ: one that is to say, not by changing the Godhead into flesh but taking on the humanity into God."
 41. Athanasian Creed, 31; Tappert, p. 20.
 42. Tappert, p. 440.
 43. Tappert, p. 345.
 44. Large Catechism IV, 28-31; Tappert, p. 440.

45. Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration VIII, 2; Tappert, pp. 591-592.
46. For a fascinating treatise on the christological content of the Psalms see Maurice Schild, "Approaches to Bugenhagen's Psalm Commentary (1524)," *Lutheran Theological Journal*, 26:(1992) :63-71. Bugenhagen, Luther's colleague and the pastor at Wittenberg, understood the Psalms as reflecting the sentiments of the original writers, Christ, and the believer.
47. Tappert, p. 438.
48. Tappert, p. 449.
49. Tappert, p. 345. While the English translations distinguish between Christ as "begotten of the Father from eternity" and "born of the virgin Mary"; Luther's German uses the same word, *geboren*.
50. Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration VII, 8; Tappert, p. 580. "There is therefore a twofold eating of the flesh of Christ. The one is spiritual, of which Christ speaks chiefly in John 6:48-58. This occurs in no other way than with the spirit and faith, in preaching and contemplation of the gospel as well as the Lord's Supper."
51. This topic is slated for a forthcoming volume in *Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics*, ed. Robert D. Preus.
52. *Lutheran Worship*, Hymn 244, "O Living Bread from Heaven"; Hymn 239, "Soul, Adorn Yourself with Gladness," stanza 6: "Jesus, Bread of Life, I pray you"; Hymn 240, "Draw Near and Take the Body of the Lord," stanza 2: "With heav'nly bread he makes the hungry whole"; Hymn 248, "Lord Jesus Christ, Life-Giving Bread," also stanza 3: "O bread of heav'n, my soul's delight"; Hymn 126, "At the Lamb's High Feast We Sing," stanza 4: "Praise we Christ, whose blood was shed, paschal victim, paschal bread; with sincerity and love eat we manna from above."

The Guiding Lights of the University of Wittenberg and the Emergence of Copernican Astronomy

Patrick T. Ferry

Under the direction of its most celebrated faculty members, Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, the University of Wittenberg assumed a position of leadership in the sixteenth-century reformation of the church. The role of the academic community in the process of reform was a pivotal one, and from its inception the Reformation in Germany was a university movement.¹ More than any other institution, the University of Wittenberg provided the impetus and became the instrument through which some of the most profound changes in ecclesiastical history were engineered. The Reformation, however, was not the only movement of historic significance and far-reaching implications to gain momentum during the first half of the sixteenth century. Advances in science, and chiefly the cosmological achievements of Copernicus, gradually began to stir the geostatic world into motion. While many of the tenets of Copernicus were slow to receive recognition, his astronomical assertions represented a major shift away from the prevailing Aristotelian and Ptolemaic approaches to astronomy. The thoughts of Copernicus were not unknown to the leaders at the University of Wittenberg. Contrary to the assumption that Luther and Melanchthon obstructed the spread of Copernicanism, each played a role in its eventual dissemination.

Before the publication of his monumental *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium Libri Sex* Copernicus and his ideas were topics of some discussion in Wittenberg. Theology continued to be the focus of most attention, but science in general, and astronomy more than any other scientific endeavor, proved to be of great intellectual interest. As in theology, so also in astronomy, the University of Wittenberg established interpretive trends that influenced the perspective of most Protestant universities throughout Germany. At the very least the University of Wittenberg did not attempt to stand in the way of emerging Copernicanism. In fact, the evidence indicates that Wittenberg helped create an atmosphere in which Copernican views could be addressed and assimilated.

The reaction in the University of Wittenberg to Copernicanism touches on the larger issue of the relationship between the Reforma-

tion and the scientific revolution. With the Reformation and the rise of science coming to prominence at approximately the same time questions about how they may have been related frequently arise. Conclusions about the connections between the two have been varied and conflicting. The nineteenth-century French Protestant historian, Alphonse de Candolle, noted that, of the ninety-two foreign members elected to the Academy of Sciences in Paris from its founding in 1666 to 1866, seventy-one were Protestant, while only sixteen were Roman Catholics, and the remaining five were Jews. This observation, coupled with the fact that during these two centuries European Roman Catholics far outnumbered their Protestant counterparts, compelled Candolle to conclude that Protestantism and science were not only compatible but intimately wedded to one another.² Conversely, others have argued that the Reformation and the advance of science were fundamentally antagonistic, with early reformers taking an inflexible stand and arresting the progress of theories such as those espoused by Copernicus. Andrew Dickson White has provided the classic argument for this point of view in his two-volume *History of the Warfare of Science and Theology in Christendom*.³ Recent studies of the issue have been more sophisticated, neither resorting to the overstated military metaphor of White, nor being reduced to the oversimplified head-counting technique of Candolle. Most investigations, however, continue to characterize the relationship between the Reformation and science as either essentially adversarial or inextricably linked. Such facile categorizations are wholly inadequate and fail to recognize the more subtle dimensions of the question.

The subtleties of the issue are apparent in the case of Lutheran Wittenberg and Copernican astronomy.⁴ The position of Wittenberg, represented by its most influential spokesmen, Luther and Melancthon, has traditionally been understood to be inherently opposed to Copernicanism. The following pages will argue, however, that the University of Wittenberg and its faculty helped shape an intellectual milieu that proved to be helpful to the expansion of Copernican teaching. This argument is not to imply that Luther or Melancthon endorsed the teaching of their contemporary, Copernicus. They did not, nor was there any compelling reason for them to question the traditional cosmological matrix of their day. Nevertheless, the

guiding lights of Wittenberg did not interfere with this alternative approach to understanding the stars. On the contrary, they helped facilitate much of the earliest reception of the controversial Copernican theory. This transitional time, therefore, ought not be depicted as either a pro-Copernican or anti-Copernican period, for each description says too much. Instead, the example of the University of Wittenberg suggests how complex the response to Copernicus could be. In contrast to its place on the leading edge of ecclesiastical reform, Wittenberg's approach to the initial assertions of the new science was mainly reactive. But react it did and, while generally conservative in its analysis, the University of Wittenberg did not receive Copernicanism with either animosity or aloofness. It engaged the otherwise earth-shaking argument with studied caution and interest—if not always complete agreement.

The teachings of Luther and Melanchthon are consistently cited as evidence of their disapproval of Copernican cosmology. Admittedly, the Wittenberg reformers were not personally impressed with the heliocentric interpretation of the universe, nor could they accept the theory that the earth and not the sun was in motion. Scriptural citations and, especially in the case of Melanchthon, Aristotelian references were raised in opposition; yet neither Luther nor Melanchthon addressed the unconventional ideas with great urgency. In traditional scholarship, however, certain of their comments have been used in a way which misrepresents the positions of the Lutheran reformers. It will be necessary to place isolated remarks into the larger framework, firstly, of Luther's attitude toward astronomy and scientific inquiry and, secondly, of Melanchthon's curricular reforms and accommodating approach toward views to which he did not personally adhere. Finally, the extent to which the University of Wittenberg served to shape the disposition toward Copernicus at other German universities of Protestant persuasion will be considered in further detail. It will be shown that Wittenberg's impact on the teaching of astronomy abroad was extensive and that its measured interest in the theories of Copernicus had a rippling effect throughout Germany. In stepping away from the question of whether or to what extent Wittenberg was for or against Copernicus, this essay will demonstrate how the Lutheran Reformation opened the way for a preliminary but

necessarily limited introduction of the new science.

Martin Luther was a university man. More than any other, his name is associated with the Reformation, and an integral feature of Luther's agenda was the introduction of university reform. Addressing the German nobility, Luther wrote, "The universities, too, need a good, thorough reformation. I must say that, no matter whom it annoys."⁵ The brunt of the responsibility for this task was left to Melancthon, but Luther's input and participation as dean of the theological faculty were indispensable.⁶ Certainly, his interests focused mainly on the department of theology rather than the sciences, but Luther maintained an active interest in what was transpiring throughout the university.

In addition to academic and institutional interests the professor of theology remained a keen observer of nature, and his writings and sermons are replete with references to the natural world. As Luther scholar Heinrich Bornkamm has put it, "Luther had the necessary talent, the prerequisite for a proper study of nature: a sense of primal wonder and awe."⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that rumors of startling new cosmological theories would come to Luther's attention. His apparent response leaves evidence to suggest that "primal wonder and awe" only went so far and that finally Luther's view of the solar system was governed by traditional geocentric and geostatic assumptions. In an often cited quotation from Luther's *Tischreden* dated June 4, 1539, his student Anton Lauterbach recorded Luther as having said:

There was mention of a certain astrologer who wanted to prove that the earth moves and not the sky, the sun, and the moon. This would be as if somebody were riding on a cart or in a ship and imagined that he was standing still while the earth and the trees were moving. . . . So it goes now. Whoever wants to be clever must agree with nothing that others esteem. He must do something of his own. That is what the fellow does who wishes to turn the whole of astronomy upside down. Even in these things that are thrown into disorder I believe the Holy Scriptures, for Joshua commanded the sun to stand still and not the earth [Joshua 10:12].⁸

To what extent do these remarks reflect Luther's attitude toward scientific inquiry and the value of astronomy? Such a statement appears damaging to the argument that Luther himself contributed to the acceptance of the theories of Copernicus. Moreover, the parallel citation in Johann Aurifaber's version of the statement renders an even more disparaging assessment. Included in the quotation is a phrase frequently reproduced by those desiring to demonstrate Luther's hostility toward Copernicus and the new science. Aurifaber added these words: "The fool wants to turn the whole art of astronomy upside down."⁹ Though comparably mild by the reformer's often caustic standards, it is not surprising that those eager to portray Luther as one of the key figures in the early Protestant suppression of science have latched on to the phrase. At a glance these words seem to go some distance in support of the contention that Luther's literalist interpretation of the Scripture inhibited his appreciation of science and was an obstacle to his understanding the contribution of Copernicus.

A mere glance, however, will not suffice to explain the whole of Luther's scientific perspective. This statement must be placed alongside the far more extensive *corpus* of Luther's writings about science and astronomy to give a more complete reading of his opinions. Furthermore, elaboration upon Luther's thoughts about the authority of Scripture for theology and how this authority relates to other disciplines is necessary in order to grasp more accurately his understanding of the interaction between science and faith.

Before proceeding with these explanations, however, there is much that calls into question the extent to which his off-hand "table talk" should be taken as a reflection of Luther's sentiments about Copernicus. Informal conversation with the steady stream of dinner guests at the Luther household was an important feature of the Wittenberg professor's rapport with his students and other interested parties. His comments ranged over a vast array of topics, and his eager pupils assiduously took notes on nearly everything Luther had to say. The dynamic of these kind of discussions was such that rarely were the words carefully conceived or considered in advance. It is clear that idle conversation should not bear the same weight of authority in interpreting Luther's point of view as treatises or

commentaries in which his choice of words was more deliberate. It is necessary, too, to raise the question of reliability. It is certainly not difficult to imagine that Luther might have made such a remark, even in its least flattering form. The possibility that a later editor, because of personal opposition to Copernicus or simply on the basis of hearsay, incorporated the statement in question has also been suggested.¹⁰ In any event, the only recorded negative comments Luther ever made against Copernicus (presumably, although the astronomer is never mentioned by name) came not from his own pen but from the notes and recollections of his students.

More significant, however, is the fact that Luther's remarks came in 1539, four years before the *De Revolutionibus* of Copernicus was made public. Even the *Narratio Prima*, a preliminary Copernican treatise written by the mathematician Georg Rheticus (a colleague of Luther's on the faculty of Wittenberg), was not published until 1541. Many of the ideas of Copernicus were circulating before this date, but Luther's comments about "the new astrologer who wanted to prove the earth moves" predated the formal presentation of Copernicanism by at least two years. He might be blamed for a few premature and harsh words, but to consider Luther anti-Copernican before Copernicanism was off the ground is anachronistic.

Luther likely believed that rumors about the radical postulate regarding the earth's motion could be refuted on the basis of Scripture, but he did not thereby dismiss the valuable role of science or the legitimacy of astronomical reflection. He was critical of a mere naturalistic explanation of what could be observed; Luther believed that the behavior of all things, whether in the heavens or upon the earth, depended upon the Creator God who could command all of creation to act according to or in opposition to its nature.¹¹ Luther acknowledged that this view could not be understood apart from faith and wrote: "This is so because, when God's miracles are performed, they are understood by none but the godly. The ungodly indeed disparage all of God's miracles and say they happened by chance. They attribute them to some essential and formal causes, as the mathematicians do."¹² Luther was unable to conceive of cause-and-effect scientific interpretations that failed also to take into account the guiding hand of God. He was concerned that this kind

of explanation, if allowed to stand alone, would obscure the supreme power of the deity. But this concern does not mean that Luther perceived the intensive study of nature to be a threat to theology. Knowledge of nature did not encroach upon revelation or diminish the message of the gospel, and thus Luther could encourage a freedom of research and scientific teaching.¹³

Astronomy was a science that Luther held in particular esteem. Numbered among the liberal arts, astronomy was one of the *quadrivium* of subjects taught in secondary schools. It was a part of the strong pedagogical emphasis Luther encouraged for the young of Germany in order to provide the nation with much needed educated men.¹⁴ Even beyond its utility, Luther spoke of the great pleasure to be derived from such stimulating pursuits:

Therefore we should not follow the imaginations of the interpreters who suppose that the knowledge of nature, the study of astronomy or all of philosophy, is being condemned here and who teach that such things are to be despised as vain and useless speculations. For the benefits of these arts are many and great, as is plain to see every day. In addition, there is not only great utility, but also great pleasure in investigating the nature of things.¹⁵

While not hesitating to acknowledge the legitimacy of astronomy, Luther was more skeptical toward astrology. "We will gladly allow astronomy," he once stated, "but I cannot bear astrology because it has no demonstrable proof—its prophecies are doubtful."¹⁶ Astronomy, on the other hand, was affirmed by Luther as "the oldest science and has been instrumental in introducing many arts."¹⁷ The distinction which Luther recognized between astronomy and astrology was not typical of his day. The two were regularly interwoven in the minds of many, including the likes of Copernicus and also Melanchthon. According to Luther, Melanchthon pursued astrology "as I take a drink of strong beer when I am troubled with grievous thoughts."¹⁸ Concerning his colleague, Luther lamented, "I regret that Philip Melanchthon adheres so strongly to astrology. He is very much deluded for he is easily affected by signs in the sky and deceived by his own thoughts. He has often been mistaken, but he cannot be dissuaded."¹⁹ Eager to separate astronomy from pseudo-

science, Luther's unfavorable attitude toward astrology provides insight into what he believed constituted genuine science. Commenting on Genesis 1:14, Luther wrote:

I shall never be convinced that astrology should be numbered among the sciences. And I shall adhere to this opinion because astrology is entirely without proof. The appeal to experience has no effect on me. All the astrological experiences are purely individual cases. The experts have taken note of and recorded only those instances which did not fail; but they took no note of the rest of the attempts where they were wrong and the results they predicted as certain did not follow . . . and so I do not believe that from such partial observations can a science be established.²⁰

Luther's sense of astronomy as a legitimate science, on the other hand, underscores the assertion that he recognized the natural sciences as having a foundation of knowledge distinct from scriptural revelation. What is more, given Luther's attitude toward those whose investigation of the stars led to the plethora of predictions and speculations, it might be expected that Luther would dismiss such practices and their practitioners out of hand. However, this was not his position:

If someone should uphold them with less insistence, I for my part have no great objection. Geniuses must be allowed their pastime! Therefore, if you put aside all superstition, it does not offend me greatly if anyone exercises his ingenuity in toying with these predictions.²¹

It would stand to reason that, if he could tolerate astrology, an authentic science such as astronomy provided an even more appropriate context for research and reflection. Luther's willingness to allow geniuses their pastime with no great objection was based upon a pair of underlying and connected principles. Firstly, Luther was confident that the fundamental content of Scripture remained unthreatened and untouched by astronomy and other disciplines. His biblical hermeneutic did not hinder but rather could easily adjust to science. This was true, secondly, because Luther recognized two distinct sources of knowledge—reason and revelation. Science and

Scripture, he believed, each explained things differently, utilizing different systems of language. The differing discourses, however, while often contrasting, were not mutually exclusive or contradictory. A more detailed analysis of these features of Luther's thought will demonstrate how he could restrain himself from interfering with a cosmological perspective which he did not hold despite a growing adherence to Copernicus at the University of Wittenberg.

Increasing approval of Copernican theory was not confined to mathematicians or astronomers on the faculty. Caspar Cruciger, Luther's colleague in the department of theology, was charmed by what he knew of the teaching of Copernicus. Certainly, Luther had the ability as dean of the theological faculty to take action against any differences of opinion within his department which he considered a serious problem, and he was undoubtedly a formidable enough force to restrict views which he opposed anywhere in the university. It has even been argued that, in view of his influence over a number of princes, Luther could have seen to the suppression of Copernican teaching throughout the Lutheran territories.²² He was not compelled to proceed with any stringent measures, however, because his understanding of Scripture did not require him to attempt to suppress scientific explanations of the operation of the universe.

What little he knew of the new science, admittedly, would prove difficult to harmonize with his biblical understanding, and Luther never abandoned Ptolemaic assumptions. Luther, however, did not regard Scripture as a scientific textbook, nor was his acceptance of the prevailing cosmology such that his theological perspective was dependent upon it. He viewed Scripture christologically. In other words, the person and work of Jesus Christ were seen as the sum and substance of Holy Writ.²³ The Bible was not a scientific explanation of nature, and Luther was not confined to a rigid biblicism that prevented him from seeing the value of natural science. Instead, he was aware that science and faith were distinct disciplines, each being directed by its own discourse and each autonomous within its own sphere. He was, therefore, willing to accept the astronomers' conclusion that the moon was the smallest and lowest of the stars even though Scripture referred to it as one of the "two great lights" with control over the night and the heavenly

bodies. The Old Testament scholar conjectured that Scripture was simply describing the moon as it appeared from the perspective of earth.²⁴

Religious and scientific terms, therefore, do not refer to the same thing in precisely the same way. Recognizing that Scripture and science describe things differently, indeed at times even contrastingly, Luther asserted that each possessed autonomy within its own domain. This view was framed most succinctly in theses prepared by Luther for the regular quarterly disputation at the University of Wittenberg in January of 1539. It is safe to assume that Luther gave more thought to the relationship between theology and other disciplines in the preparation of these theses than in his after-dinner comments about Copernicus a few months later. In this disputation Luther was responding to a proposition advanced by the University of Paris asserting that truth was the same in philosophy and theology. Luther argued that philosophy had its own independent meaning and was qualified to set forth the truth in the realm of nature while theology was to be preeminent in the realm of grace. Thus, it followed that, while reason was to keep silent in the church, it was nevertheless understood by Luther to be a divinely given gift by which humanity was to assert dominion in the world of nature.²⁵ Selections from Luther's theses of 1539, "The Disputation Concerning the Passage: The Word Was Made Flesh," provide a sense of how he could permit astronomy, which was among the disciplines of philosophy, its own autonomy:

Theses 1. Although the saying, "Every truth is in agreement with every other truth," is to be upheld, nevertheless, what is true in one field of learning is not always true in other fields of learning.

Theses 2. The Sorbonne, the mother of errors, has very incorrectly defined that truth is the same in philosophy and theology.

Theses 36. Finally, something is true in one area of philosophy which is, nonetheless, false in another area of philosophy.

Theses 38. Thus, in particular liberal arts, or rather crafts,

if you look them over, you will discover that the same thing is not true in all of them.

Theses 39. How much less is it possible for the same thing to be true in philosophy and theology, for the difference between them is infinitely greater than that between liberal arts and crafts.

Theses 40. We would act more correctly if we left dialectic and philosophy in their own area and learned to speak in a new language in the realm of faith apart from every sphere.²⁶

Luther did not espouse the medieval "theory of double truth" condemned at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517) but claimed that the same thing was not always true in different disciplines. Contrasts, however, are not the same as contradictions. While contrasting versions of truth occur between disciplines—for example, between astronomy and theology, Luther maintained contradictions occurred only within the same system of language and not between one discourse and another. For Luther, words were like coins which are the acceptable currency only in the place where they are minted, and so also the various disciplines have full autonomy within the limits of their own individual spheres. The meaning of words is tied to a specific discourse and, when transferred to another, may be interpreted differently according to the new context.²⁷

Luther had no theological reason to hinder scientific progress. His literal biblical exegesis does not imply that he understood each scriptural reference as a matter of scientific truth. Inconsistencies between disciplines and their discourses could be met with adjustments. For Luther, of course, the adaptations would take place within traditional rather than Copernican science, but he made available a pattern which others, including colleagues at the University of Wittenberg, could alter to fit their own astronomical conceptions.

The most influential of Luther's colleagues was the rector of the university, Philip Melancthon. His key post in the faculty made Melancthon's response to Copernicanism critical to whether or not the view would be permitted expression within the academic

community of Wittenberg. Melanchthon came to Wittenberg in 1518 to assume a newly created chair in Greek at the age of twenty-one. When the Elector Frederick the Wise established the University of Wittenberg in 1502, the imprint of the humanistic movement was immediately present, but the addition of Melanchthon marked the beginning of a thrust to incorporate more fully *humanitas* into the curriculum.²⁸ Among the measures of educational reform that Melanchthon stressed was the study of mathematics and thus astronomy. He believed astronomy merited a prominent place in the curriculum because the study of the heavens lent itself to a greater appreciation of the order and beauty of the divine creation.²⁹ Linking the study of nature with the adulation of the Creator, Melanchthon offered this praise of astronomy:

To recognize God the Creator from the order of heavenly motions and of his entire work, that is true and useful divination, for which reason God wanted us also to behold his works. Let us therefore cherish the subject which demonstrates the order of the motions of the description of the year, and let us not be deterred by harmful opinions, since there are some who—rightly or wrongly—always hate the pursuit of knowledge.³⁰

By 1525 two lectureships were devoted to mathematics, with scientific expertise and aptitude for teaching being among the requirements expected of candidates under consideration for the positions.³¹ The university's renown as a center for the study of mathematics grew under the rectorate of Melanchthon. The great French educational reformer, Peter Ramus, admiringly called Germany "the nursery of mathematics" and praised Melanchthon, the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, as the leading force:

Just as Plato revived the study of mathematics in Greece through the great power of his eloquence and erudition, so Melanchthon found [mathematical studies] already greatly encouraged in most academies in Germany, with the exception of Wittenberg. Whereupon, through the force of of much and varied instruction and through the example of a pious and upright life, which, at least in my opinion, no doctor or professor in that country has ever attained, he

wondrously ignited [those studies] with the result that Wittenberg became superior not only in theology and eloquence, in which fame it especially excels, but also in the studies of the mathematical discipline.³²

Wittenberg attracted important and influential mathematicians and astronomers such as Georg Rheticus and Erasmus Reinhold. The powerful tradition of mathematical astronomy that Melanchthon introduced into the curriculum of Wittenberg did not of itself predispose the faculty toward a particular cosmology, but it was within this environment that traditional views were challenged and newer theories considered.

Melanchthon himself approached Copernicanism with ambiguity. The strong words of objection he used at first were eventually tempered, and over time Melanchthon began to write and speak of Copernicus more approvingly. More significantly, the manner in which he interacted with those who demonstrated Copernican sympathies reveals that, while Melanchthon was personally unconvinced by most of the theory, he remained extremely supportive of and encouraging toward younger faculty members who were inclined otherwise.

This flexibility must be placed alongside his persuasiveness within and beyond the "Melanchthon Circle."³³ Melanchthon's cautious attitude toward Copernicus created a model of circumspection emulated not only by most of those who were a part of the Wittenberg faculty, but also by the many German universities that came within Wittenberg's orbit of influence. Melanchthon and his circle left their stamp on the discipline of astronomy by staffing many leading German universities with their pupils and preparing the textbooks used in those institutions.³⁴ Robert Westman argues: "The effect of this informal scientific group on the early reception of the Copernican theory cannot be underestimated."³⁵ His view, however, is that Melanchthon's impact hindered the realist and cosmological claims of Copernicus from receiving full consideration. Yet, as will be shown, the recognition granted Copernican thought, albeit limited, opened the way for a more complete consideration of his theory. Though by no means progressive in his thinking about astronomy, Melanchthon helped introduce a pivotal transitional phase of

receptivity to Copernican cosmology.

Considering Melanchthon's own philosophical background, arriving at a position of tolerance of Copernicanism could not have been easily accomplished. For his time Melanchthon was somewhat of an authority in the field of the natural sciences. He encouraged expansion within the discipline and recruited talented men for the faculty, but these actions were not indicative of a wide-open attitude toward scientific innovation. On the contrary, Melanchthon at first opposed Copernicus. This reaction was not due to the fact that Melanchthon himself was a practicing astronomer; his concerns were based upon theoretical rather than practical considerations and were guided more by ancient texts than an informed criticism of the new astronomy. Melanchthon was a gifted humanist scholar as well as university administrator, yet each of these roles contributed to his initial discomfort with Copernicus.

As a humanist Melanchthon was concerned with classical thought including a traditional conception of nature that was widely accepted and rarely challenged. Melanchthon was aware of how antiquity struggled to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the orbits of the planets. He knew that the ancients generally disregarded the view of Aristarchus of Samos concerning the immobility of the sun and movement of the earth.³⁶ Werner Eiert has written: "It is self-evident that his attitude toward Copernicus is part of this whole sphere of ideas which characterizes Melanchthon as a genuine humanist but has nothing at all to do with his evangelical theology."³⁷ Melanchthon's lectures on physics and astronomy were firmly entrenched in the teachings of Aristotle and Ptolemy and, looking at Copernican cosmology through his humanist lenses, Melanchthon saw it as less an innovation than a revival of Aristarchus who had been already discredited in the ancient world.³⁸

In his position as university rector Melanchthon reintroduced Aristotle into the curricular program in a variety of areas, not the least of which were the natural sciences. Luther's attitude toward Aristotle was mainly hostile, and the package of university reform which he recommended early in the Reformation initiated more than a decade of de-emphasizing Aristotelianism.³⁹ Following the extensive university reforms in 1536, however, Luther acquiesced in

Melanchthon's restoration of Aristotle and then became convinced himself of the appropriateness of Aristotelian precepts in various areas of learning. Melanchthon successfully rekindled interest in the study of Aristotle and republished works of an Aristotelian inclination such as Sacrobosco's introduction to astronomy.

With reference to the study of nature, Melanchthon regarded Aristotle as the unequaled authority. When he first learned in some detail of the Copernican theory through the *Narratio Prima* of Rheticus sent to him on February 15, 1540, Melanchthon could not have approached the material with complete objectivity. His humanist bent with its Aristotelian outlook informed Melanchthon's assessment of Copernicanism and prompted his less than favorable response.

Melanchthon's earliest reference to Copernicus came in the form of a letter to Mithobius on October 16, 1541, in which he casually mentions the theory and regards it more as a disturbance than a serious threat.⁴⁰ A more detailed analysis of the Copernican system is found in the *Initia Doctrinae Physicae*, a series of lectures published in 1549.⁴¹ In a section pertaining to the movement of the world, Melanchthon opposed the system in the first instance by citing scriptural passages which led him to conclude: "strengthened by these divine proofs, let us embrace the truth, and let us not permit ourselves to be led away from it by the deceptions of those who think it is an ornament of the intellect to throw the arts into confusion."⁴² But Melanchthon was not satisfied to refute Copernicus exclusively on the basis of Scripture; a far more extensive compilation of *argumenta physica* were also incorporated to defend his position. Within these physical arguments it was reiterated that the earth was situated at the center of all the universe and that it was immobile—a position consistent with the Aristotelian doctrine of simple motion which claimed that, if the earth moved, everything would break into pieces.⁴³ Melanchthon's reading of Copernican astronomy could not be reconciled with his Aristotelian predisposition, and, therefore, the cause of his opposition was not so much specifically biblical as it was philosophical.

His opposition, however, was not absolute or unyielding. As Melanchthon continued in his *Initia*, he expressed a more positive

and favorable interpretation of aspects of the Copernican theory. For example, in reference to Copernican lunar theory he spoke of its description of the movement of the moon as "beautifully put together." Nevertheless, he hastened to express his preference for the traditional teaching of Ptolemy, "in order that we may attract studious persons to the common teaching adopted in the schools."⁴⁴ It is important to note, however, that Melanchthon did acknowledge certain features of the Copernican theory to have merit and in several places utilized data drawn from Copernicus to support his own conclusions.⁴⁵

Even more significant is the evidence of an adjustment in Melanchthon's thought toward Copernicus. In 1549, the year of the initial publication of his *Initia Doctrinae Physicae*, Melanchthon wrote in a speech to honor Cruciger, "We have begun to admire and love Copernicus more."⁴⁶ And in the second and all subsequent editions of the *Initia* Melanchthon deleted the antagonistic allusions to those who argue "either from love of novelty or from the desire to appear clever" that the earth moves.⁴⁷ There is a clear indication that Melanchthon's original resistance to Copernicus and his astronomical assertions diminished in intensity by 1550.

Moreover, in examining the relationship between Melanchthon and those on the Wittenberg faculty who approached Copernicus with greater sympathy during the previous decade, it becomes clear that the university rector's flexibility accommodated views not completely consistent with his own well before 1550. Melanchthon's reputation as a theologian who often negotiated and occasionally compromised on articles of Lutheran doctrine is frequently attributed to his irenic spirit. The Philippists, that contingent of more moderate individuals who were one of the contending factions in the late sixteenth-century struggle for ecclesiastical supremacy within Lutheranism, were named for Melanchthon and observed his more widely inclusive theological stance. The extent, of course, to which Melanchthon's desire for concord in the church caused him and his followers to stray from the purer strains of Luther's theology is not within the scope of this essay, but identifying Melanchthon's adaptability in the controversial realm of theology makes the idea of his flexibility in the less consequential sphere of astronomy seem the more

plausible. Caspar Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law and his successor as the rector of the University of Wittenberg, was jailed for being a crypto-Calvinist but not for his introduction of various elements of Copernican thought into his teaching of astronomy. Scientific deviation was not perceived to be as much of a threat as theological aberration during the Lutheran Reformation, and Melanchthon could allow and even encourage latitude in his faculty with few qualms.

Under the aegis of Melanchthon the University of Wittenberg permitted the cultivation of Copernican sympathies among some prominent faculty members. In turn, these men introduced Copernicus in their own teaching. The most convinced adherent of Copernicus in the University of Wittenberg was the mathematician Rheticus. Through the efforts of Melanchthon he came to Wittenberg as professor of mathematics in 1537 at the age of twenty-three. A preliminary draft of the conclusions of Copernicus, the *Commentariolus*, began to circulate as early as 1530, and Rheticus was interested enough in the content to pay a personal visit in the spring of 1539 to Frauenberg, where Copernicus was a canon in the cathedral chapter.⁴⁸ Rheticus later reflected on the inspiration for his journey:

I heard of the fame of Master Nicholas Copernicus in the northern lands, and although the University of Wittenberg had made me a public professor in those arts, nonetheless, I did not think that I should become content until I learned something more through the instruction of that man. And I also say that I regret neither the financial expenses nor the long journey nor the remaining hardships.⁴⁹

Although there was already an awareness of the Copernican heliocentric theory in Wittenberg, the visit of Rheticus went unimpeded. Rheticus became the first major disciple of Copernicus and in 1540 took the initiative to make public a preliminary report on the Copernican system in the *Narratio Prima*.⁵⁰ In the autumn of 1541, a year and a half after his original departure, Rheticus returned to Wittenberg where his new-found allegiance to Copernicus was undoubtedly known from the *Narratio Prima*:

I sincerely cherish Ptolemy and his followers equally with my teacher, since I have ever in mind and memory that sacred precept of Aristotle: "We must esteem both parties but follow the more accurate." This is so perhaps partly because I am persuaded that now at last I have a more accurate understanding of that delightful maxim which on account of its weightiness and truth is attributed to Plato: "God ever geometrizes"; but partly because in my teacher's revival of astronomy I see, as the saying is, with both eyes and as though a fog had been lifted and the sky were now clear, the force of that wise statement of Socrates in *Phaedrus*: "If I think any other man is able to see things that can be naturally collected into one and divided into many, him I will follow after and walk in his footsteps as if he were a god."⁵¹

If the conversion of Rheticus to Copernicanism had been unacceptable to Melanchthon, it is doubtful that the former's professorship would have been restored. In fact, his faculty position was left open for Rheticus for the entire length of his absence. Indeed, he not only resumed his regular faculty responsibilities but was almost immediately made dean of the faculty of arts. Following his return to Wittenberg, Rheticus made repeated journeys to Nuremberg to supervise the publication of *De Revolutionibus*, which he had persuaded Copernicus to publish. Commenting later on his visit to Copernicus and the role which he filled in prodding his teacher along, Rheticus remarked, "Yet, it seems to me there came a great reward for these troubles, namely, that I, a rather daring young man, compelled this venerable man to share his ideas sooner in this discipline with the whole world."⁵² Copernicus commissioned Rheticus with the responsibility of overseeing the publication, and, in order to enable him to fulfill this task, Melanchthon arranged a leave of absence with full salary. Melanchthon also provided letters of recommendation on behalf of Rheticus to his friends in Nuremberg. Writing to Veit Dietrich in May of 1542, Melanchthon called Rheticus "a man who is learned and capable of teaching this most pleasing knowledge of the movements of heavenly bodies."⁵³ And to Erasmus Ebner, in a letter written in July of that same year, Melanchthon stated that Rheticus was "born to search out learning."⁵⁴

The fact that Rheticus took the work of publishing *De Revolutionibus* to Nuremberg does not indicate that he faced stricter censorship in Wittenberg, nor does it mark the beginning of a separation from those local connections. The fact is that Rheticus had a shorter version of the *Narratio Prima* published previously in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft, the printer of Luther's German Bible and, although he did leave the University of Wittenberg for a post at Leipzig, he did not depart under pressure because of his views. Leopold Prowe, a nineteenth-century biographer of Nicholas Copernicus, promised to write an additional volume in which he would provide evidence that Rheticus was obliged to abide by the Ptolemaic astronomy in his teaching in Wittenberg and that he subsequently removed himself thence to escape the conflict between obligation and conviction.⁵⁵ Prowe, however, never wrote the promised volume, and the evidence that Rheticus was restrained from teaching tenets of Copernicanism has not been brought forward. Indeed, by the time of the astronomer's move the University of Leipzig had also become solidly Lutheran, and from all the subsequent correspondence it is evident that Melanchthon missed Rheticus and held him in high regard.⁵⁶ The relationship between Melanchthon and Rheticus may not have been one of complete agreement, but the university rector respected his colleague and in many way and on various occasions supported his effort to make the views of Copernicus more widely known. Far from obstructing the progress of Copernican teaching, the University of Wittenberg helped facilitate the spread of his work by its steady support for Rheticus.

The theories of Copernicus did not fade into obscurity at the University of Wittenberg after the move of Rheticus to Leipzig. Erasmus Reinhold, who lectured on higher mathematics (which included astronomy), became interested in Copernicus and convinced by many aspects of his theory. Rheticus had acquainted him with Copernicus and, like Melanchthon, Reinhold was especially intrigued by his lunar theory. Reinhold wrote:

I know of a recent author who is exceptionally skillful. He has raised a lively expectancy in everybody. One hopes that he will restore astronomy. He is just about to publish his

work. In the explanation of the phases of the moon he abandons the form that was adopted by Ptolemy. He assigns an epicycle to the moon. . . .⁵⁷

Reinhold spoke with praise of Copernicus, "whose divine intellect all posterity will have good reason to admire," and gave thanks that "God in His goodness kindled a great light in him so that he discovered and explained a host of things which, until our day, had not been known or [were] veiled in darkness."⁵⁸ Reinhold proceeded to provide the *Tabulae Prutenicae*, tables for the working astronomer based upon the planetary motions set forth in *De Revolutionibus*. He continued to speak admiringly of the Copernican writing throughout his own publication.⁵⁹ It must be admitted that Reinhold had little to say about the more revolutionary cosmological arguments of Copernicus; he maintained what has been called "the most perfect neutrality on the problem of geocentrism and heliocentrism."⁶⁰ The *Tabulae Prutenicae*, however, demonstrate that Reinhold was not only interested in the details of Copernican theory, but was also willing to develop the material and make it more accessible.

All of this activity, of course, was accomplished under the academic supervision of Melanchthon and with his administrative approval. Reinhold's work on the planetary tables received Melanchthon's moral and financial support, and on his behalf Melanchthon also wrote to Duke Albrecht of Prussia.⁶¹ As was true with Rheticus, there is no evidence to suggest any interference with Reinhold's teaching activities at Wittenberg. In 1547 he was named dean of the faculty of arts, and from 1549-1550 he was the rector of the university. In 1553 he left Wittenberg on account of an outbreak of the plague, and soon afterward he died in his native city of Saalfeld. His appreciation of Copernicus, while perhaps not all-encompassing, never proved to be an impediment to Reinhold's career. Indeed, the publication of the *Tabulae Prutenicae* was his finest and most enduring achievement and showed that the teachings of Copernicus could be embraced at the University of Wittenberg without fear of censorship. Once again the University of Wittenberg, through one of its faculty members, played a role in the advance of Copernican astronomy.

A foundation was laid for the reception of Copernicus by Martin Luther, the name most synonymous with the German Reformation, and by Philip Melanchthon, the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, together with others on the faculty of the University of Wittenberg. It was on this foundation that the academicians at various other institutions gradually built. Indeed, Wittenberg became the prototype of an overall program of educational reform followed by a number of universities beginning with the organization of the University of Marburg in 1527. Philip of Hesse persuaded Melanchthon to fill a key role in Marburg's establishment, the first of many opportunities he had to influence the direction of university education outside of Wittenberg by helping to write or reformulate existing university statutes. Basel was reformed in 1532, and in 1536 Melanchthon introduced new measures at Tübingen. In 1539 reform at the University of Leipzig, the bastion of Luther's adversary Duke George of Saxony until the principality turned evangelical, was also begun. The new measures were implemented by the time Rheticus arrived in 1543. Also in 1539 the Wittenberg model was adopted at Greifswald and Copenhagen, and Frankfurt-on-the-Oder followed suit in 1540. Duke Albrecht of Prussia founded the University of Königsberg in 1544 as a "purely Lutheran place of learning," while Jena was established in 1558 in order to provide an orthodox Lutheran university. Melanchthon supervised the reorganization of the University of Heidelberg in 1557 and 1558. The spirit of his reforming efforts continued after Melanchthon's death in 1560 with the reorganization of the University of Rostock in 1564 and the founding of the Lutheran University of Helmstedt in 1575.⁶²

The impact of Melanchthon's reforming energies specifically upon the field of astronomy was profound. The emphasis upon mathematics in the curricular program at Wittenberg was instilled in other places, and the measured reception of Copernicus was not unknown abroad. Lucas Valentin Otho, who completed the trigonometrical tables of the aging Rheticus, praised Wittenberg as a place where mathematical studies were flourishing and added that "there were evidences of Ptolemy, likewise evidences of Copernicus."⁶³ A large number of students and former professors left Wittenberg for other universities to assume positions that involved the teaching of astronomy. Undoubtedly, many of these took with them the

elements of both Ptolemaic and Copernican thinking which they had encountered in Wittenberg—studying under Melanchthon, Reinhold, Rheticus, and Peucer—and incorporated them into their classrooms through texts and lectures. At Leipzig were Melanchthon's close friend and biographer Camerarius and the astronomer Johannes Homelius. Homelius was a former student of Rheticus at Wittenberg and was later joined by him on the Leipzig faculty. He also became one of Tycho Brahe's first instructors in astronomy. The imprint of Wittenberg through the migration of faculty and students to other universities (German and Scandinavian) can also be traced to Tübingen, Königsberg, Heidelberg, Neustadt, Jena, Altdorf, and Copenhagen.⁶⁴ Educational reform at the level of the German gymnasium was also the object of Melanchthon's urgent attention, and former students often occupied faculty positions in these schools as well.

Copernican astronomy gained support in other parts of Lutheran Germany without direct influence immediately traceable to the University of Wittenberg. An example of one who championed the teaching of Copernicus elsewhere was Michael Maestlin at Tübingen. For a time Maestlin served as a Lutheran pastor in Württemberg prior to becoming professor of mathematics first at Heidelberg and then at Tübingen. Maestlin, along with Tycho Brahe and Peucer's former student, Johannes Praetorius of the University of Altdorf, were among the first Lutherans to take the entire Copernican cosmological system seriously.⁶⁵ Under Maestlin's most famous pupil, Johannes Kepler, the transition to a fuller engagement with Copernican theory was virtually completed. Luther provided a framework in which astronomy could be studied as a discipline distinct from theology, and Melanchthon inspired a pattern of limited acceptance of Copernican teaching. It was left to the next generation to build upon this foundation and consider in greater detail the broader implications of what Copernicus maintained.

Of course, the debate between the church and science over matters of astronomy was by no means complete. The famous struggle between Galileo and the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century is evidence enough that issues such as these were not settled easily.⁶⁶ The same also held true for Lutheran Germany in the late

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By the turn of the century there were a host of men unabashedly teaching the Copernican system in German universities, and there were no doubt instances in which this development did not please their theological counterparts.⁶⁷ From Luther on, however, there were no measures enacted at Lutheran universities designed to suppress the teaching of Copernicus. Indulgence, obviously, is not the same thing as endorsement or approval; yet, while the university did not take steps to replace Ptolemaic constructions with Copernican ones, the two approaches enjoyed a relatively peaceful coexistence during the era of the Reformation. Melancthon, an ardent Aristotelian, created an environment in which his colleagues who were more inclined toward Copernicus could work comfortably and advance in their careers. Luther, the driving force behind the Reformation and the most prominent figure on the entire faculty of Wittenberg, had relatively little complaint and exerted no formal opposition.

Science and religion are not completely compatible. The former holds an unwavering devotion to reason, while the latter lays claim to that which transcends reason and is accessible only through faith. There have been and continue to be examples where the rational and the suprarational have come into conflict, highlighting differences in their respective methods and purposes. The emergence of the Reformation and the scientific revolution in early modern Europe has made their relationship a topic of considerable inquiry. The period provides ample evidence of their mutual incompatibilities, but the example of Lutheran Wittenberg and Copernican astronomy suggests that the relationship is not easily defined. Views that conflicted with traditional assumptions were approached with hesitation, not merely because science was relegated to an inferior status by the religious community, but because familiar explanations were generally considered satisfactory. New conclusions, however, were not simply dismissed or disregarded but evaluated and eventually improved. The environment existing at universities such as Wittenberg proved to be more conducive than obstructive to ideas such as those coming from Copernicus. The transition was accomplished gradually, but the religiously motivated University of Wittenberg did more to enhance than impede the progress of the new scientific astronomy.

Endnotes

1. See Lewis W. Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities: Culture and Confessions in the Critical Years," in *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience: Universities in Transition, 1300-1700*, ed. James M. Kittelson and Pamela J. Transue (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984), pp. 42-67.
2. Alphonse de Chandolle, *Histoire des Sciences et des Savants* (Paris: 1873).
3. Andrew Dickson White, "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology," in *Christendom*, 2 vols. (London: Arco Publishers, 1955).
4. The idea that the "Wittenberg Interpretation" represented a transitional phase is discussed in Robert S. Westman, "The Melancthon Circle, Reticus, and the Wittenberg Interpretation of the Copernican Theory," *Isis* 66 (1975), pp. 165-193.
5. *Luther's Works: American Edition* [henceforth cited as *LW*], ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1955-1986), 55 vols., 44, p. 200.
6. See James M. Kittelson, "Luther's Impact on the Universities and the Reverse," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 48 (1984), pp. 23-38.
7. Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought*, trans. Martin H. Bertram (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), p. 182.
8. *LW*, 54, pp. 358-359.
9. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Tischreden* (henceforth abbreviated *TR*), 6 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1912-1921, in association with the "Weimar Ausgabe" [hence cited as *WA*], i.e., *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* [Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1883-]), 1, no. 855.
10. John Dillenberger, *Protestant Thought and Natural Science: A Historical Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 38.
11. See Gary B. Deason, "Reformation Theology and the Mechanis-

tic Conception of Nature," in *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 175-178.

12. *LW*, 16, p. 326.
13. Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. Walter A. Hansen (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), p. 417.
14. See *LW*, 46, p. 252.
15. *LW*, 15, p. 9.
16. *TR*, 1:17.
17. *TR*, 4:4705.
18. *TR*, 2:2730a.
19. *LW*, 54, pp. 219-220.
20. *LW*, 1, p. 45.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
22. Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, pp. 423-424.
23. See Dillenberger, *Protestant Thought and Natural Science*, p. 37.
24. *TR*, 5:5259. See also B. A. Gerrish, "The Reformation and the Rise of Modern Science," in *The Impact of the Church upon Its Culture*, ed. Jerald C. Bauer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 249-250.
25. See Gerrish, "Reformation and the Rise of Science," pp. 249, 253.
26. *LW*, 38, pp. 239-242.
27. See Gerrish, "Reformation and the Rise of Science," pp. 251-254.
28. For a discussion of humanism and the early history of the University of Wittenberg, see Robert Rosin, "The Reformation, Humanism, and Education," *Concordia Journal*, 16 (1990), pp. 301-318.
29. See Robert S. Westman, "The Copernicans and the Churches," in *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between*

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- Christianity and Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 82.
30. Quoted in Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 170.
31. See Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, p. 425.
32. Quoted in Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 172.
33. The designation "Melanchthon Circle," used by Westman and others, is drawn from Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), pp.378-405.
34. Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," pp. 167-168.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
36. See Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, p. 418.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 418.
38. The standard critical edition of Melanchthon's works is the *Corpus Reformatorum* [henceforth cited as *CR*], ed. C. G. Bretschneider (New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1963 ff.). Here see *CR*, 13, p. 216.
39. See Kittleson, "Luther's Impact on the Universities," p. 25; see also Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities," p. 54.
40. *CR*, 4, p. 679.
41. *CR*, 13, pp. 181-411.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
46. *CR*, 11, p. 839.
47. See Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 173.
48. For a translation of the *Commentariolus* see Edward Rosen, *Three Copernican Treatises* (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), pp. 57-90.

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49. Quoted in Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 183.
 50. For a translation of the *Narratio Prima* see Edward Rosen, *Three Copernican Treatises* (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), pp. 109-196.
 51. Ibid., pp. 167-168.
 52. Quoted in Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 183.
 53. *CR*, 4, p. 810.
 54. Ibid., p. 839.
 55. See Gerrish, "Reformation and the Rise of Modern Science," p. 236, note 11.
 56. See *CR*, 7, p. 601.
 57. Quoted in Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 175.
 58. Ibid., p. 175.
 59. Erasmus Reinhold, *Prutenicae Tabulae Coelestium Motuum*, (Tübingen, 1551).
 60. A quotation of Aleksander Birkenmajer in Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 177, note 48.
 61. *CR*, 5, p. 444.
 62. For an account of Melanchthon's role in the shaping of these universities see Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities," pp. 54-56.
 63. Quoted in Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, p. 426.
 64. See Westman, "The Melanchthon Circle," p. 171.
 65. Ibid., p. 181.
 66. See Jerome J. Langford, *Galileo, Science, and the Church* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966).
 67. See Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, p. 427.

Books Received

Claus Westermann. *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*. Translated by Hugh Clayton White. Foreword by Gene M. Tucker. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press; Louisville: Westminster-John Know Press, 1991. xvi + 222 pages. Paper. \$18.95.

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Greg L. Bahnsen. *No Other Standard: Theonomy and Its Critics*. Tyler, Texas: Institute for Christian Economics, 1991. xv + 345 pages. Paper.

James W. Skillen, editor. *The Problem of Poverty*. By Abraham Kuyper. A translation of the opening address at the First Christian Social Congress in the Netherlands, November 9, 1891. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 94 pages. Paper.

Charles Van Engen. *God's Missionary People: Rethinking the Purpose of the Local Church*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 223 pages. Paper.

William David Taylor, editor. *Internationalizing Missionary Training: A Global Perspective*. Exeter, England: The Paternoster Press; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. xii + 286 pages. Paper.

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William V. Crockett and James G. Sigountos, editors. *Through No Fault of Their Own: The Fate of Those Who Have Never Heard*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 278 pages. Paper.

Duane A. Garrett. *Rethinking Genesis: The Sources and Authorship of the First Book of the Pentateuch*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 273 pages. Paper.

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J. A. Loader. *A Tale of Two Cities: Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, Early Jewish, and Early Christian Traditions*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology, 1. Kampen, The Netherlands: J. H. Kok Publishing House, 1990. 150 pages. Paper.

Alan Geyer and Barbara G. Green. *Lines in the Sand: Justice and the Gulf War*. Louisville: Westminster-John Know Press, 1992. 187 pages. Paper. \$11.95.

Book Reviews

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF THEOLOGY: REPORT OF A PERSONAL JOURNEY. By Hendrikus Berkhof. Translated by John Vriend. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989.

Long-time professor of dogmatic and biblical theology at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, Hendrikus Berkhof, now retired, presents much more than a folksy travelogue through the theological meanderings of the past two centuries. This is a critical analysis of the thinking of the theological "greats" during a period of time that felt the impact of the Enlightenment very deeply. In view of the fact that "today what theology offers on a world scale is more confusing than ever" (p. 310), Berkhof urges that theology, along with its concern for the gospel, be sensitive to the demand for contextuality that rises from various corners of the globe (the Third World, the oppressed masses of Latin America, the feminist agitators, etc.) lest the gospel go unheard in the situation estranged from it. By means of such sensitivity "the message gains superiority over all that which emerges from our situational analyses" (p. 312).

The fundamental objective of Berkhof in this book is to survey the efforts that have been made to bridge the gulf in the relationship between the gospel and modern liberal thought. The result is an impressive analysis of the thinkers who endeavored to address the leading "cultured despisers" of the Christian gospel in the aftermath of the Enlightenment. The focus is almost entirely on the liberal "lights" who played their roles on theology's stage during this period. The text becomes an extremely helpful handbook on the thought and influence of a long parade of theological and philosophical liberals during the last two hundred years. Berkhof does not totally ignore the place of conservative theology during this period, but he argues that it has received even less hearing from the "cultured despisers" than has liberalism. That observation allows him to make rather short shrift of his fellow Dutchman, Gerrit Cornelis Berkouwer, eminent dogmatician for many years at the Free University of Amsterdam. Berkhof devotes considerable space, however, to Berkouwer's colleague and former student, Harry Kuitert, who as a post-Barthian argued that theology should start with man, with the "anthropological floor" that believers share with unbelievers. Ably, objectively, even sympathetically Berkhof traverses at some length the systems of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and the like. The book thus becomes a handy textbook on these thinkers and their systems. The unique position of Kierkegaard, not fitting any particular mold, receives respectful handling. The same is true of the special character of British theologians (special attention being given to Coleridge, Maurice, and Newman) and Roman Catholic theologians, such as Blondel, de Lubac, and Rahner. As might be expected, a good analysis of Dutch theology is also included.

Berkhof pays apt attention to the contributions of A. Kuyper and H. Bavinck in the conservative movement that led to the founding of the Free University of Amsterdam and the conservative Dutch Reformed Church. Barth and Bultmann, both of whom owed a debt to their teacher, Wilhelm Hermann, continue to cast a spell over liberal theology in Berkhof's opinion, as does Schleiermacher. North American theology is largely confined to a treatment of Rauschenbusch, the social gospel movement, the Niebuhrs, and the like. Tillich rates a special chapter by himself. One would have to appraise this kind of study as a high-level, academic, intensive scrutiny, especially useful on the graduate level.

Berkhof ends the book with Luther's famous statement at Heidelberg: only "the theologian of the cross calls things by their right names." The last two hundred years has needed more theologians of Luther's mind! Missing in virtually all the principals delineated by Berkhof is a *Knechts-gestalt*—a commitment like Luther's to God's holy word, the inspired Scriptures. Only such faith can keep human reason in tow, so that it abandons its vaunting and flighty subjectivism and listens obediently to what God is saying instead of itself. Only then will reason be quiet when God speaks.

Eugene F. Klug

MARKETING THE CHURCH. By George Barna. Colorado Springs: Navpress, 1989.

The ethical dilemmas of salesmen are immense, even if they are rarely considered in any formal way. Many a salesman is out to "kill" the competition and win his place at the top at the expense of virtually everyone else. Machiavelli is the patron saint of predatory capitalism. Not a few salesmen find some way to convince themselves that they are rendering some positive good to their customers. For the ethical salesman the struggle with the old Adam is the struggle to make a marriage work between enlightened self-interest and service to one's neighbor. Of great utility here is Luther's discussion of the Seventh Commandment in the Large Catechism.

The point is that this reviewer is not unfamiliar with marketing. Before entering the ministry he worked for a top company known for its aggressive and successful marketing. He also worked for an insurance firm and a small privately owned business. One of the several positive lessons he learned as a salesman was to respect those lone journeymen of the marketplace who go from door to door and business to business in an

effort to support their families and make a positive contribution to their communities. It takes a great deal of *chutzpah* to speak to a stranger about all the good one's product will do him when one knows that his next meal depends on making this sale.

For this reason the reviewer has little use for Mr. Barna's book. This work is simply another instance of a tiresome phenomenon in American life—the sales seminar. This work is to the church what late-night television "infomercial" programs are to the real estate business. Reasonable people today know that baldness cannot usually be cured, regardless of the promises made for the newest treatment from Scandinavia. What is puzzling is that certain church officials cannot recognize the same slick rhetoric when it is being applied to the church.

Mr. Barna claims to have information vital for the growth of the church. He cites certain "facts" which show that the church is "... losing its battle to positively and effectively impact this nation for Christ" (p. 21). However, when one looks for the evidence supporting these "facts," the footnotes refer us to the "... research conducted by the Barna Research Group" (p. 37). This reviewer will not dispute Mr. Barna's "facts." It is reasonable to assert, however, that the state of the church is too important a matter simply to accept his *ipse dixit*.

Ascertaining the facts is particularly important in that Mr. Barna considers himself qualified to pontificate on the nature of the church and ministry. Without any theological qualifications he presumes to speak about what is appropriate to the church's mission. What is appropriate is what he has to sell—marketing principles. His book is promoted as yet another corrective to what the church has been doing so poorly at the seminary. One example will suffice (p. 14):

Ultimately, many people do judge the pastor not on his ability to preach, teach, or counsel, but on his capacity to make the church run smoothly and efficiently. In essence, he is judged as a businessman, an area in which he has received no training or preparation.

One cannot argue with the phenomenology of this statement. People do judge a pastor according to all sorts of expectations. The problem is that it is preaching and teaching that a pastor is called to do faithfully (2 Timothy 4:1-5). One can only wonder what Mr. Barna makes of the understanding which the apostles express of their calling in Acts 6:3-4.

Mr. Barna's use of Scripture is self-serving as well as slight. Whole

chapters are cited without any real understanding of their contents. For example, according to Mr. Barna, the parable of the sower "... portrays marketing the faith as a process in which there are hot prospects and not so hot prospects and shows how we should gear our efforts toward the greatest productivity" (p. 31). In point of fact, the parable of the sower is one of the strongest statements against Mr. Barna's promotion of marketing principles. The sower sows his seed giving little care to where it falls. Nowhere does the parable advocate selecting better soil for the seed. In no way does it show us how we are to tell bad soil from good soil. The parable simply states that, regardless of many failures, the seed will produce. In this way our Lord calls upon us to be faithful to the message of His kingdom despite the many different ways in which we might experience failure. Mr. Barna should have read the parable before referring to it.

Some might overlook his manifest errors of exegesis in the hope that Mr. Barna's research would provide some bit of truth that is only available to one schooled in the laws of the market. This hope can only be born of fallacious thinking. If Mr. Barna cannot be trusted with the facts of Scripture, which are available to all of us, why should he be trusted in the arcane role of researcher?

Some apologists for Mr. Barna might protest that he is not a theologian and that this is not a theological work. While it is to be granted that he is no theologian, this book is theological in a thoroughly Arminian way. Jesus is "the premier example" for us. "His concern was people's personal commitment to righteousness" (p. 54). Therefore, outreach must recognize "... that righteousness is attained through accepting and following Christ." Lutherans should recognize that marketing the church is acceptable only to an ecclesiology which has at its center a decision made for Christ. In such an ecclesiology righteousness is just another commodity competing for our attention.

In an ironic way Mr. Barna is right about the naivete of clergymen with regard to marketing. If we were a little better schooled in the ways of the world, Mr. Barna would be recognized for the sophist that he is. However, little can excuse the acceptance of his work from a theological standpoint. One can only wonder why this work is being cheerily promoted in the Missouri Synod when so much of it runs counter to the synod's doctrine of the church and ministry.

Michael J. Hill
Schuyler, Nebraska

CHRISTIAN BELIEF IN A POSTMODERN WORLD: THE FULL WEALTH OF CONVICTION. By Diogenes Allen. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1989.

During the past half-century the modern outlook has increasingly become the object of philosophical criticism, so much so that it is now commonly claimed that our intellectual culture is at a major turning-point—turning from the modern outlook to the postmodern. In his latest work Diogenes Allen argues that postmodernism is a new and more promising intellectual situation for Christian faith. Theologically the victims of modernism fall into three categories: unbelievers who think that modern science has rendered Christian belief intellectually groundless and superfluous, believers who have eliminated or reinterpreted those elements of the faith most inconsistent with the modern outlook, and believers who have held to traditional Christian teaching largely by turning their backs on the philosophical issues raised by modern science. Allen's analysis is addressed to all three categories.

To the open-minded unbeliever Allen offers an *apologia*. Historically Christianity has not been hostile to modern science; to the contrary, Christianity played an important role in its development. The real victim of the scientific and philosophical criticism of religion is not Christianity but deism. Properly understood, science does not make religion superfluous; for, of all the many things they may eventually explain, the sciences can never tell us why there is a world at all and why it has the particular order it does. These are legitimate questions that science cannot answer, but religious belief can. What is more, we have deep, legitimate needs that lead us to seek God. So, while there is no proof of God, any reasonable person should be, if not a believer, at least a seeker. Seeking becomes faith, not by further philosophical proofs, but by the experience of God's grace, which comes through contact with Scripture and a community of believers. This faith, Allen argues, is not contrary to reason, but is that higher dimension on which much of our important reasoning depends.

To the Christian who would sacrifice "the full wealth of conviction" to the basic tenets of modernity, Allen argues that the sacrifice is unnecessary: much of "modernity" has collapsed intellectually. Allen argues against Gordon Kaufman and Maurice Wiles that it makes sense to speak of God acting in human affairs. Against John Hick, he argues for a Christian theology of other religions that does not sacrifice the uniqueness of Christianity. To the intellectually fearful Christian, Allen counsels courage. The traditional Christian has much to say both to the philosoph-

ical unbeliever and the modernist Christian, if he will but take the time and effort to enter the fray.

Throughout the book, Allen does a masterful job of bringing recent developments in philosophy and the history and philosophy of science to a theological audience. The philosophical argument for religious faith is a first-rate essay in the philosophy of religion and merits special and careful study by those interested in doing justice to the claims of both reason and faith. Less satisfactory are the more theological sections of the book, in part because Allen often takes on too much; as a result, what he says is, almost of necessity, incomplete, hurried, and only suggestive. What is more, too often "the full wealth of conviction" turns out to be Simone Weil's particular philosophical reading of the faith. Still, the book certainly deserves and amply rewards a careful reading.

Robert Holyer
Batesville, Arkansas

PSALMS 60-150: A COMMENTARY. By Hans-Joachim Kraus. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1989.

This volume is a translation of *Die Psalmen, 60-150* (1978) in the series known as the *Biblischer Kommentar*. Augsburg Publishing House is doing a great service in making this magisterial German series available in English. Fortress Press has previously translated certain volumes in its series called *Hermeneia* (e.g., H. W. Wolff's *Joel und Amos*). The translator, Hilton C. Oswald, will be recognized by many readers of this journal. He has done masterful work, not only in rendering the German into faithful yet elegant English, but also in providing translations of a number of patristic and Latin citations in the original.

For those unfamiliar with the format of *Biblischer Kommentar*, a number of features make it exceedingly useful. First, each psalm is prefaced with pertinent bibliography in German, French, and English. For example, the chief titles in the secondary literature on Psalm 110 are provided just prior to the translation proper (p. 343). Specialized studies are thereby made readily available to the student who wants to pursue a particular aspect of the text in more depth.

Kraus' translations tend to be cautious and reflect the Massoretic Text, although on occasion the text is emended a bit too readily. A real strength of the commentary is its care in addressing textual issues and problems just below the translation proper. Each psalm is then discussed

under the headings of "form," "setting," "commentary," and "purpose and thrust" (the German *Ziel*). The commentary section as well as the discussion of purpose will probably prove the most useful for the parish pastor who is preparing a Bible class or homily. Particularly the commentary contains helpful exposition of the Hebrew both at the grammatical level and at the level of possible meanings within the life of Israel.

The prospective purchaser is encouraged to read the treatment of Psalm 150 (pp. 569-571) as a sample of Kraus' approach. Here the place of *musica sacra*, not only in the post-exilic community, but also in ancient Israel, is fully and succinctly expounded. A look at the less adequate treatment of Psalm 133 will provide another perspective. Here too great an emphasis falls on the wisdom character over against the purported and later sacralizing of the psalm (p. 485). The antithesis which Kraus projects into the text was surely not perceived by the ancient community at worship.

Readers of this journal will note the late dating of certain psalms. Psalm 90, traditionally dated (with the superscription) to the time of Moses, is placed in the post-exilic period (p. 215). Similarly, concerns can be raised about the manner in which the messianic psalms are treated, although Kraus clearly rejects as inadequate the views of Gressmann and similar expositors (p. 353).

It is doubtful whether any future commentary on the Psalms will supplant Kraus as the critical standard. If the pastor's library had this set, along with Leupold and perhaps Perowne, he would be equipped for many hours of profitable study. If any incentive is required for such study, voices from Luther to Bonhoeffer should call one's attention to the pivotal significance of the Psalms in framing a biblical theology and a biblical piety.

But it is a dangerous error, surely very widespread among Christians, to think that the heart can pray by itself. For then we confuse wishes, hopes, sighs, laments, rejoicings—all of which the heart can do by itself—with prayer. And we confuse earth and heaven, man and God.

. . . And so we must learn to pray. The child learns to speak because his father speaks to him. He learns the speech of his father. So we learn to speak to God because God has spoken to us and speaks to us. By means of the speech of the Father in heaven his children learn to speak to him. Repeating God's own

words after him, we begin to pray to him.

So says Dietrich Bonhoeffer in *Psalms: The Prayer Book of the Bible* (Augsburg Publishing House, 1970, p. 9).

Dean O. Wenthe

WORD BIBLICAL THEMES: HOSEA-JONAH. By Douglas Stuart. Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1989.

Douglas Stuart is professor of Old Testament and chairman of the Division of Biblical Studies in Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. He has a doctorate from Harvard University. *Word Biblical Themes: Hosea-Jonah* is a companion to his previous work in the Word Biblical Commentary Series devoted to the same books of Scripture. The Word Biblical Themes Series is not intended to be a set of commentaries. They were written to explore the major themes found in the books of Scripture. Thematic studies of Scripture are essential to the study of God's word and to the preaching and teaching of its truths.

In dealing with the books of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonah, Stuart has provided an excellent resource for the preacher and teacher. He has dealt not only with the main theme of each book, but also with underlying themes necessary to a fuller understanding of God's message through the prophets. In Hosea, for example, he explores the following themes: God's covenant with Israel, idolatry, prostitution, the law, blessings and curses, corporate and individual sin, guilt and guiltiness, Yahweh's "wife" and "child," the distant past, and the ultimate future.

Jeffrey H. Pulse
Burt, Iowa

WORD BIBLICAL THEMES: ISAIAH. By John D. W. Watts. Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1989.

John D. W. Watts is professor of Old Testament Interpretation in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He has degrees from New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary and Southern Baptist Seminary. *Word Biblical Themes: Isaiah* is a companion to the two-volume commentary on Isaiah by Watts in the Word Biblical Commentary Series.

Watts divides the major themes of the Book of Isaiah into two main categories: (1.) knowing God and His ways (revelation) and (2.) serving God and His plan. Watts describes this procedure in his preface: "The

Book of Isaiah is one of the greatest in the Bible in two respects. On the one hand, its presentation of the character and work of God is revelation at its best. On the other, it treats the theme of serving God and those who do it as comprehensively as any part of Scripture."

Watts deals with six major themes and twenty-two sub-themes in this volume. Watts has also provided points of reference to his main work on Isaiah in the Word Biblical Commentary Series for quick access and further study. This volume is a useful tool when studying the book of Isaiah and preparing to teach and preach its message.

Jeffrey H. Pulse
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THE SPIRIT OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS: SHATTERING THE MYTH OF RABBINIC LEGALISM. By Roger Brooks. San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1990.

Lutherans, as C. F. W. Walther demonstrated a century ago, have a unique understanding of the law—one not shared by the Roman Catholics, the Reformed, or pagans. Whereas other denominations exalt man's ability to meet the requirements of the law and thereby mitigate the demands of the law, Lutherans believe that the law always shows us to be unholy: *lex semper accusat*. Only by the death of Christ are the demands of the law fulfilled. Lutherans, therefore, apply the law of God to the smallest offenses, including thoughts and words as well as deeds under the stricture of the law, while at the same time believing that the gospel delivers from the punishment demanded by the law.

Just as use of the law in Lutheranism has been misunderstood by non-Lutherans, so too the attitude to the law in Judaism, which is also unique, is frequently misunderstood. For those who wish to understand Jewish law on its own terms, *The Spirit of the Ten Commandments* is a good introduction. Roger Brooks attempts to demonstrate that Judaism is not a legalistic, casuistic religion. He shows that the rabbis of the Talmud do not derive their morality merely or even chiefly from the Ten Commandments, but strive to incorporate the whole Torah into their ethical thinking. Judaism, accordingly, connects many violations of the law with idolatry, and rightly so. To violate a law of the Torah is at the same time to disregard the God who gave the Torah. Often the rabbis, in proving a point of morality, ignore seemingly obvious passages and choose rather obscure passages as the prooftexts, since they wish to stress the unity of the morality taught in the Torah. The study of Jewish law

(*halakhah*), therefore, involves learning how to arrive at a decision rather than memorizing legal minutiae. The process is more important than the conclusion. This fact explains why the rabbis in the Talmud often take different stances on the same issue. Lutherans, because of their view of the law and their insistence that ethics, like doctrine, be drawn from clear *sedes doctrinae*, cannot accept the premises of Judaism in its treatment of the law. *The Spirit of the Ten Commandments*, nonetheless, is excellent reading for those who wish to understand Judaism better.

James A. Kellerman
Chicago, Illinois

THE COMPASSIONATE MIND: THEOLOGICAL DIALOG WITH THE EDUCATED. By Donald Deffner. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991.

A campus pastor turned seminary professor, Donald Deffner has provided the church with a book that promises to be of assistance in speaking the word of the Lord, both law and gospel, to educated men and women living in the pluralistic context of late-twentieth century North America. Deffner's book is evangelistic without merely offering an evangelistic program that meets the needs of the educated adult. Rather, Deffner focuses his attention on characteristics of the educated adult and makes suggestions as to how educated Christians might be engaged in conversation which clearly confesses the one saving gospel of Jesus Christ. As the confession of that gospel never occurs in isolation from a particular context, Deffner aptly looks to modern literature for clues to the current thought patterns of the Old Adam, who constantly and consistently is concerned to justify his own existence.

Literature, then, can be used as an arm of the law as it works a diagnosis of idolatry and sentences the sinner to death, as in the case of Albert Camus' *The Fall* (pp. 72-83). Yet Deffner is careful to point out that "the reader should remember that the novelist's 'law diagnosis' is not to be equated with the full law of God found in Scripture. Secular literature knows only the 'law affirmation' of humanity's entrapment. God's law, His demand for perfect righteousness and holiness, must be spelled out" (p. 58). Likewise, Deffner warns against premature and unfounded "Christianized" interpretations of secular literature. It is the apostolic gospel of Christ crucified and risen, the gospel given in the Holy Scriptures, that is to be proclaimed for the salvation and comfort of sinners. It is the Jesus born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius

Pilate and resurrected on the third day, and not some mythic "Christ figure," that is the content of Christian proclamation.

Deffner freely shares stories from his many years of campus ministry in Berkeley to illustrate his theology of evangelism. Deffner is a gifted storyteller and his stories echo with "the ring of truth." David Scaer writes, "Any Lutheran theology of evangelism should be informed by Luther's oft-quoted phrase that, while he and Melancthon drank beer, God spread the gospel. Of course, the New Testament knows of organized missions to evangelize. Jesus sends out the twelve and the seventy. Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome are bases of missionary operations. But foundational to any theology of evangelism is that, like salvation, evangelism is an extension of grace 'without any merit or worthiness in us.' Evangelism, 'comes of itself, without our prayer, but we pray in this petition that it may happen among us.' Synergistic enthusiasm produces fanatics, not Christians" ("Evangelism—Not Evangelicalism," *Lutheran Forum*, August 1990, p. 30). It is, indeed, the most helpful feature of *The Compassionate Mind* that Deffner operates with an anti-synergistic understanding of evangelism. He does not provide the would-be evangelist to the educated with an arsenal of techniques, programs, and gimmicks but, instead, Deffner urges his readers to draw from Christ, His word, and His sacraments.

The Compassionate Mind is not a scholarly treatise on missiology; it is a seasoned journal of a pastor-professor who has labored for the kingdom in the academy. It is a book complete with many insightful observations about the educated. It is also a bountiful resource book that contains short descriptions of books that could become texts for Bible studies or discussion groups in the parish. *The Compassionate Mind* will, no doubt, come to be a standard book for those committed to the church's apologetic task in North American culture.

John T. Pless
Minneapolis, Minnesota

PASTOR: A DAY AND A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF A PARISH CLERGYMAN. By Gary C. Genzen. Lima: Fairway Press, 1990.

If one wishes to read a book detailing what things a pastor does in the course of his days, then this is the book to read. While this description of daily and weekly pastoral life is intentionally specific to Genzen's experience, most readers will discern the elements of that experience which are common to the lives of all pastors. Genzen's approach is

somewhat piecemeal, but he covers all the territory eventually; for example, although the table of contents lists no chapter on teaching duties, those tasks are fully covered in parts throughout the book.

Genzen's style is so forthright that some readers may feel an uncomfortable closeness to the author as he describes his feelings about even the most mundane pastoral tasks. But this candor is the book's strength, and Genzen achieves with this transparency his goal to help readers understand "the pastor's life" and not merely "the pastor's work."

Genzen's tone is often wistful, and some readers may feel that he is complaining of a perceived lack of appreciation by lay-people. A detailed explanation of why he entered the parish ministry and why he perseveres in it might have mitigated the effect of this wistfulness. Yet even in the absence of such an explanation, discerning parishioners will gain from this book what Gary Genzen promises—an accurate accounting of how their pastors spend their time in the vocation of the care of souls.

Andrew Dimit
Duluth, Minnesota

INTERPRETING THE PAULINE EPISTLES. By Thomas R. Schreiner. Guides to New Testament Exegesis. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990.

The art of interpretation involves both a cultivation of philological skills (e.g., grammar and vocabulary) and an understanding of hermeneutical principles (such as "Scripture interprets Scripture"). While the latter must be regarded as the more important, the former is still an indispensable part of the task of interpretation. Schreiner's volume, one of seven in a series, deals only briefly with the latter but admirably with the former.

The opening chapter's discussion of the methods of "rhetorical criticism" offers a sober analysis, bringing the reader up to date and saving him much time reading material of limited value. The bibliographical material in general is welcome; in addition to drawing attention to "old standbys" of earlier decades, it also alerts the reader to worthy volumes of the eighties. Schreiner thereby provides much worthwhile material for further study—but not so much that the reader is simply overwhelmed.

Most useful are the chapters on sentence diagramming (complete with thirty-three brief examples and one extended example) and on tracing the argument. In both chapters the author effectively illustrates the use of

diagrams to open up the grammatical meaning and overall argument of given pericopes and even of entire epistles. If the other books in this series are of the same quality as this one, these volumes will be useful in courses for upper-level college and beginning seminary students (the audience for which they are intended). More seasoned exegetes will learn a thing or two from them as well.

Paul Deterding
Satellite Beach, Florida

FAITH AND WEALTH: A HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN IDEAS ON THE ORIGIN, SIGNIFICANCE, AND USE OF MONEY. By Justo Gonzalez. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990.

In the Missouri Synod one hears so much talk of congregations and synodical institutions in financial trouble that this book should draw some attention. What is the theological relationship between faith and wealth? This question is far more important than how the church obtains money. Justo Gonzalez, the author of *A History of Christian Thought*, examines how the early church viewed money and its relationship to the life of faith.

Gonzalez offers an overview of the economic conditions in the Greek, Roman, and Jewish societies which helps the reader understand some of the challenges facing the fledgling Christian church. After painting this background, he interprets the New Testament ideas about money by emphasizing the idea of *koinonia*. For Gonzalez *koinonia* was not limited to spiritual sharing, but referred to a material sharing of goods as well. Gonzalez makes a strong case for this interpretation and sees it as the key to understanding the teachings of the early fathers.

This book attempts to summarize material from each of the fathers through the time of Augustine. Some fathers are viewed as more faithful to the *koinonia* of the New Testament than others. Clement of Alexandria is noted for his contribution in linking worldly goods to an original order of creation which called for a commonality of goods. Cyprian is seen as a figure who moves the church from the sharing of goods (*koinonia*) to almsgiving (*eleemosyne*). Chrysostom and the Cappadocians have many things to say about the question of faith and wealth which are more faithful to the commonality of goods than Cyprian. Augustine is seen as the figure who finally moved the West away from the concept of *koinonia*, because he "reverted to his Roman legal upbringing" (p. 221).

The chief short-coming of this book is its failure to place the comments of the fathers on money within the incarnational theology and sacramental life of the church. For example, Chrysostom and Augustine seem to view the sacramental unity of faith established in the Lord's Supper as the impetus toward a common sharing. Gonzalez does tease the reader with quotes from Athanasius in his *Historia Arianorum* which present the shameful treatment of widows and orphans by the Arians as intimately connected with their denial of the incarnation. For theologians of the cross the issues which Gonzalez raises stimulate thought about the application of incarnational theology to practice.

Karl F. Fabrizio
Greenfield, Wisconsin

THE SUPREMACY OF GOD IN PREACHING. By John Piper. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990.

John Piper, a New Testament scholar (D.Theol., University of Munich) and pastor of Bethlehem Baptist Church in Minneapolis, is the author of this short devotional-theological reflection on the nature and content of preaching. Part I of the book is devoted to an exploration of the author's contention that "the glory of God should be supreme in preaching." Here the author works with an articulate Calvinistic theology centered in the greatness and majesty of God. Piper develops his theme in trinitarian fashion: (1.) The goal of preaching is the glory of God. (2.) The ground of preaching is the cross of Christ. (3.) The gift of preaching is the power of the Holy Spirit. In this section the author sustains a much-needed polemic against contemporary preaching which is folksy and non-textual. While Lutherans will resonate to much of Piper's critique of anthropocentric preaching, his theology of preaching is an exposition of the bare majesty of God and not the glory of God in the crucified Christ. To be sure, preaching is always doxological; the doxology is a confession of the truth and wisdom of the cross. It is the glory of Christ that He makes Himself to be the friend of sinners who dies for their sins and is raised again for their justification. Lutheran preaching holds that it is the cross, not "the freedom of God's sovereign grace," which must dominate Christian proclamation.

Clearly, Jonathan Edwards is Piper's spiritual guide in the preaching task. The second part of *The Supremacy of God in Preaching* is something of a preacher's guide to the theology and homiletical thought of the great American Puritan divine. Piper writes as one who is at home

in the writings of Jonathan Edwards and seeks to urge others to find in Edwards a remedy for shallow and careless preaching. In John Piper, Edwards has found both a disciple and interpreter who makes a winsome plea for current application of Edwards' theology in the pulpit.

John T. Pless
Minneapolis, Minnesota

PREACHING IN AND OUT OF SEASON. Edited by Thomas G. Long and Neely Dixon McCarter. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1990.

The intent of this collection of essays is to assist preachers who wish to preach according to the calendars of secular society and ecclesiastical programmers instead of restricting themselves to liturgical preaching. Discussions of preaching on nine topics are included: race relations, family, church and nation, global witness, work, evangelism, ecumenism, stewardship, and giving thanks. The book attempts to provide "theological and biblical reflection upon these ongoing concerns of the Christian church" (p. 15).

The first essayist (Lischer) warns the preacher that addressing the calendars of society and church programs may lead into the trap of moralism. Yet the great majority of these essays (including his) fall into that trap. There is a great deal of emphasis given to the law and the law's application to contemporary church and society. The gospel is rarely mentioned and, when it is, it is usually presented as a new law or is overwhelmed by the law.

In interpreting texts the essayists strive to be innovative. So Joanna Adams suggests that the preacher mine the parable of the Good Samaritan for a new surprise: where was the Samaritan "going after he left the inn?" (p. 49). Adams advances one possibility—he was going to see if something could be done with the bandits. Such a fresh approach to the parable, she writes, "invites us to trust once again in the power of the story to get the society . . . on its way to being home again" (p. 50). Other such unique interpretations are found in Buttrick's gospel-reductionism of Jesus' teaching on divorce (p. 35), Allen's discussion of *koinonia* (pp. 108-114), and Wardlaw's use of Matthew 11:28-30 to talk about fulfilling labor.

The collection is not without value. Buttrick offers some well-aimed shots at typical family preaching. Lischer discloses the prevalence

of racism. Long provides an analogy that helps shape preaching to the newcomer, yet defends the use of theological words in sermons. Craddock rightly argues that giving thanks is only the result of God's gift of grace to us. For the most part, however, this work has little to offer a pastor who wishes to preach Christ by expounding the texts of Scripture rather than the agendas of men.

David C. Fleming
Warrenville, Illinois

CHRISTIANS WHO COUNSEL. By Ray S. Anderson. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990.

Ray S. Anderson, a professor at Fuller Theological Seminary, has sought to provide readers with a book about Christian counseling. The book is supposed to address Christian counseling as practiced by lay, pastoral, and so-called "professional" Christian counselors. Having struggled with Anderson's book for many weeks, the reviewer is not at all certain that he succeeds in reaching most lay or pastoral counselors. Perhaps the third group, the "professional" Christian counselors, may reap some benefit from this book, especially if one is a Ph.D. in clinical psychology and also a Th.D. in New Testament studies.

This reviewer has no doubt that Anderson understands what he has written in this book. This reviewer cannot claim to have understood but a portion of the book under review. It is, without question, one of the more difficult books that the undersigned has ever attempted to review. It reads more like a complex academic dissertation than like a book written primarily for clergy and laity. The reviewer found himself reading sentences and paragraphs many times and still coming away with only a vague understanding of the material.

According to Dr. Anderson, a goal of Christian counseling is the integration of the physical, spiritual, and mental aspects within the individual. Much of his thinking seems to have been influenced by the *Gestalt* school of psycho-therapy. He views Christian counseling as a calling of some Christian laity, clergy, and mental health professionals. Anderson seems to view prayer as a helpful modality in the counseling process. He would also hold that Scripture has a role in counseling, as it informs and provides wisdom to the counselee. Yet the reviewer saw no hint in the book that Scripture has any unique power to change lives. The Christian counselor, in Anderson's view, provides both directive and non-directive therapy, with probably slightly more weight given to directive-

interpretive modalities. Anderson sees therapy-counseling as one route by which God's grace is communicated to the counselee's life.

The book, in both Freudian and Rogerian fashion, maintains that the counselee has within himself the solution to the problems of living. Christian counseling helps release these solutions. While this reviewer agrees in part, the book does not seem to lay much stress on sin as an impediment in the life of the counselee—and one that only God in Christ can remove.

Anderson is attempting to set forth a theory and theology of Christian counseling. Many other books attempt the same thing. Unfortunately, his book is not written in an easy style. It may appear on seminary library shelves and may be of interest to some pastoral counseling specialists. One doubts, however, that it will have much impact on Christian lay or pastoral counselors. It is definitely not light reading for an evening or a vacation.

Gary C. Genzen
Lorain, Ohio

THREE RIVAL VERSIONS OF MORAL ENQUIRY: ENCYCLOPAEDIA, GENEALOGY, AND TRADITION. By Alasdair MacIntyre. South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990.

Few books in moral philosophy have received sustained attention equal to that given Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue* (published in 1981). To a large degree the decade since then has been filled with discussion and argument generated by that book in which MacIntyre sought to depict the state of moral fragmentation in society and the academy, to offer a narrative explaining how we came to be in such a confused state, and to outline a vision of a renewed Aristotelianism by which such fragmentation might be confronted and perhaps overcome. Arguing that fruitful moral argument could take place only within a tradition of discourse that did not seek some neutral starting point, the book ended hauntingly: "We are waiting not for a Godot, but for another—doubtless very different—St. Benedict."

In *After Virtue* MacIntyre himself noted that the moral theory he was developing needed an account of what it meant to be rational. He sought to supply that account in 1988 with the publication of *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* This book, which made clear MacIntyre's own return to the church, argued that rival intellectual viewpoints might be, strictly

speaking, incommensurable. If they could not be successfully translated into each other's terms, the only possibility for overcoming fragmentation and conflict would come from those able and willing to inhabit each tradition as though a native speaker of it. This argument was developed in dense detail in *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* It is now set forth in what will prove to be a more accessible book, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry*, the published form of MacIntyre's Gifford Lectures in Edinburgh.

The three rival versions are represented by three significant texts of the late nineteenth century: the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (which began publication in 1875), Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals* (1887), and the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, published by Pope Leo XIII in 1879. These represent respectively the view that moral thinking can begin with neutral, timeless premises; the view that in argument we are given only different and irreconcilable perspectives which disguise self-assertion and that, therefore, moral fragmentation is our natural condition; and the view that moral thinking must work within a tradition of discourse that provides standards of rationality, though it may seek a truth that is independent of historical circumstance. MacIntyre argues that the third of these positions, the Thomist one, is the most adequate.

A peculiarity of his discussion is that *Aeterni Patris* itself is never really explicated in its own historical circumstances. It stands simply as an injunction to return to Thomas. Many of MacIntyre's claims will require—and will certainly stimulate—protracted debate. Especially interesting is the final chapter in which he considers the implications of his argument for the modern university. Lutherans may wish to consider whether their own peculiar theological vision raises any critical questions for MacIntyre's Thomism, since in his version of the history of philosophy the Reformation plays little part. This is an important book by an important philosopher. It will repay careful study—and very likely will repay no other sort of study.

Gilbert Meilaender
Oberlin, Ohio

1 PETER. By Peter H. Davids. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990.

The works of E. G. Selwyn (1946-1947) and J. N. D. Kelly (1969) have stood at the forefront of English language commentaries on this important

New Testament epistle. To this distinguished company we may now happily welcome this volume by a teacher of New Testament literature in Canadian Theological Seminary in Regina, Saskatchewan. While the commentary proper is a welcome addition to studies on 1 Peter, the same cannot be said of the introduction. With the exception of a fine excursus on the letter's teaching regarding suffering (with particular reference to pastoral care), these opening pages have little to offer.

Thus, it is a most pleasant surprise to turn to the exposition and notes and to find such sober and careful analysis of the text and its message. Even in those places where one must disagree with the author's interpretation, one will find much relevant information to aid in the task of exegesis. Davids is probably best known for his work on the Epistle of James (NIGTC, 1982). In the present volume he makes frequent comparisons between 1 Peter and James, especially the ethical portions. While one is tempted to conclude that the author does so out of an inclination to interpret everything in light of what he knows best, these comparisons are helpful in pointing out the unity of the New Testament and lend support to the idea (championed by Selwyn) of a common form of catechetical instruction being present already in New Testament times.

An important part of any commentary on 1 Peter is its treatment of 3:18-21 and of 4:6. Davids' exposition of the latter verse may be commended without qualification and, while the same cannot be said of the interpretation of the former passage, it is far more satisfying than that of most commentaries (in this regard Davids outdoes both Selwyn and Kelly). This relatively brief commentary is to be heartily recommended to all students of the First Letter of Peter.

Paul E. Deterding
Satellite Beach, Florida

PRAYER IN PASTORAL COUNSELING: SUFFERING, HEALING AND DISCERNMENT. By Edward P. Wimberly. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1990.

When the undersigned received this book for review, he assumed that it would be a book of guidelines describing how and when to use prayer as part of pastoral counseling. Such a book might be welcome, based on suspicions that the power of prayer may be overlooked in some contemporary Christian counseling. As a matter of fact, Edward Wimberly, Associate Professor of Pastoral Counseling at Garrett Seminary, has provided a book of guidelines for the use of prayer in

counseling—and much more. The book is more than just a set of sample prayers for use in counseling situations. Instead Wimberly constructs a theological and psychological basis for the use of prayer in counseling work, and he provides major illustrative case-studies in the last two-thirds of a well-written volume. He discusses the use of prayer, plus other counseling modalities, in individual, marriage, and family counseling.

Wimberly uses prayer in those counseling situations where it seems appropriate, but does not pray with every counselee in every counseling session. He does indicate that he often prays, privately, for specific counselees between sessions. According to the author, prayer reminds the counselee that God is already at work in that person's life. Prayer is also a way to ask for God's help and to thank Him for the insights provided. Prayer is also viewed as a reminder of our need to cooperate with God in the healing process which He has initiated. The book also discusses the roles of empathy, problem-framing, goal-setting, and action stages in pastoral counseling.

Lutheran readers may be uncomfortable with talk about "cooperating with God." Wimberly, however, does not use the term in connection with regeneration. He uses the word in connection with the counseling setting. For example, God may be moving the counselee to visit a pastor or a physician for help. Cooperation means that the counselee seeks such help. While the reviewer did not view this book as one which every pastor must have, it will help pastors to think more about the potential role of prayer in pastoral counseling.

Gary C. Genzen
Lorain, Ohio

JOURNEYS TOWARD NARRATIVE PREACHING. Edited by Wayne Bradley Robinson. New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1990.

For a preacher who thrills to a logical sermon outline, it is a tremendous temptation to review *Journeys toward Narrative Preaching* by stating a clear, concise theme and then developing it with three subdivisions: (1.) well-reasoned; (2.) well-supported; (3.) well-illustrated. As the book's six contributors have demonstrated, however, there is another way to convey the intended message (cf. pp. 23, 67, 107, 109). Narrative preaching, the editor maintains, has the potential to be one of the ways, if not the most forceful way, to carry out the homiletical challenge. It has the power to transform lives, to affect the volitional, not just the cognitive side of people, because we see ourselves in narrative;

all life itself is a narrative, a progression, a journey (pp. 1-2).

Of course, no two individuals follow identical paths, and here six members of the Narrative and Imagination Working Group of the Academy of Homiletics describe very different personal journeys in their homiletical development. They even arrive at different destinations. No one clear definition of narrative preaching suits all of these models. Rather they invite every preacher to take the trip for himself.

The preacher who has never thrilled to anything but a tight three-part outline may benefit from at least considering a side-trip into narrative preaching.

Carl C. Fickenscher II
Garland, Texas

TRACKING THE MAZE: FINDING OUR WAY THROUGH MODERN THEOLOGY FROM AN EVANGELICAL PERSPECTIVE. By Clark Pinnock. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990.

Clark Pinnock attempts here to make some sense of the chaos of modern theology and to provide a way to choose between the plethora of options which it offers. In Part One of his book Pinnock organizes the ingredients of modern chaos under the categories of three "ideal types" of theologian. The *progressives* "always want to bring the original message up to date so that it connects with today's issues and experiences." "They will insist that Christian theology is not locked into past formulations." The *conservatives* "press in the very opposite direction, stressing the importance of remaining faithful to the original revelation." The *moderates* (Pinnock's heroes) "try to achieve a better balance of the text and context poles" (p. 13). In Part Two Pinnock attempts to make sense of the chaos of modern theology by giving a historical sketch of how theology landed in its present state, attempting to give the reader some understanding of what lies behind the panorama of contemporary theologies. In Part Three Pinnock proposes a way to choose between the options with which this panorama presents us by taking up the questions of what is the essence of the Christian message and, therefore, what should Christian theology be like.

Tracking the Maze is interesting, can be informative, and offers some good insights and ideas, but it ought not be read uncritically. There are many points at which Pinnock has gone wrong. For example, the way in which Pinnock sets up his trichotomy of theological types implicitly and

falsely suggests that in order to "connect with today's issues and experiences" theologians must be willing to sacrifice something of historic orthodoxy. Secondly, Pinnock does not exhibit an adequate grasp of the proper roles of Scripture, creeds and confessions, experience, reason, and faith in the guidance of the Spirit. Thirdly, many difficulties attend Pinnock's claim that we ought to pursue a "narrative" rather than a "propositional" theology. Some of what he says in this regard seems not only mistaken but incoherent. Finally, Pinnock clearly holds a lower-than-maximal view of the reliability-in-detail of Scripture.

Jonathan Strand
South Bend, Indiana

HEALING EMOTIONAL WOUNDS. By David G. Benner. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1990.

How does one work through the pain of an emotional loss? This question is the subject of an excellent book by Dr. David G. Benner, a clinical psychologist and also a member of the faculty of McMaster University Divinity College. According to Benner, depression and anxiety are usually by-products of some emotional loss. Because of the pain of loss, people tend rapidly to convert their hurt to anger. This anger, if one does not deal with it, tends to become self-directed, causing either depression, anxiety, or both. Meanwhile, defense mechanisms, such as repression, cause the original hurt or loss to be pushed from consciousness.

Benner advocates a combination of listening, interpretive, and educative therapies which will help the counselee reexperience the hurt and release the anger. He asserts that the Christian, who knows Christ's forgiveness, has been given the resources to forgive the hurts caused by others. Genuine forgiveness is seen to bring emotional healing, and the topic of forgiveness is explored at length.

While the reviewer does not believe that Benner's book covers much "new ground," it does restate some thoughts which pastors may tend to forget in their counseling work. The book is written in a popular style and, while well-documented, was probably designed to serve as both textbook and self-help book. Indeed, readers may find the book helpful as they examine and deal with pain and loss in their own lives. As a review of the theory and practice of helping persons confront loss, anger, and depression, Benner's book deserves a place on the reading list of the parish pastor. It is also a book that can be read with profit by parish-

ioners who are counselees.

Gary C. Genzen
Lorain, Ohio

THE BOOKS OF NAHUM, HABAKKUK, AND ZEPHANIAH. By O. Palmer Robertson. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990.

In this commentary O. Palmer Robertson has done well in balancing thorough scholarship and pastoral concern. It becomes immediately clear that the author has consulted much of the scholarly literature on each of the prophetic books treated, especially in the case of Nahum. The fruits of the various disciplines involved in the study of the ancient Near East are brought to bear on many of the exegetical and historical questions which Nahum raises. At the same time, Robertson manages to avoid becoming overly technical and is able to make Nahum's prophecy speak to pastors. The same type of balance is found in his treatment of Habakkuk and Zephaniah. Robertson offers a straight-forward defense of the integrity of these prophetic books. It is significant that he includes a section on "Messianism in Seventh-Century B.C. Prophets" in the introductory section. All too often American Evangelicals become preoccupied with defending the inerrancy of the Old Testament and give short shrift to its christology. Robertson admirably avoids this pitfall.

The criticisms required of this volume are minor. Robertson attempts to label parallel structures in the poetry of these prophets. Occasionally his scheme seems forced. Moreover, the parallelism seen in the English is not always the same as that of the Hebrew (e.g., page 66, where Nahum 1:4b is depicted as ABAB while the Hebrew is ABBA). An apparent typesetting error occurs on page 245, where footnote 3 is missing. As with other volumes of the NICOT, the bibliography is placed after the introductory material but before the commentary section, making it difficult to locate.

Lutherans will find some excellent theological insight in this commentary, although they will notice some Reformed tendencies (i.e., "the sovereignty of God in working salvation," p. 61). Robertson uses the prophetic text to counter the numerical emphasis of "church growth theology" (p. 125), and he notes that the Israelites, as modern people still do, often erred in assuming that worship was dictated by one's conscience rather than by God through His word (p. 264). These are but two

examples of the worthwhile insights to be found in this commentary.

Andrew E. Steinmann
Cleveland, Ohio

GEORGE WHITEFIELD: GOD'S ANOINTED SERVANT IN THE GREAT REVIVAL OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Arnold A. Dallimore. Westchester, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1990.

Arnold Dallimore, a Baptist minister, offers in this work a brief chronicle of the life of one of the most important figures of the First Great Awakening in England and America, George Whitefield. Dallimore is no novice to the field of Christian biography, having previously authored works on the lives of Charles Wesley and Charles Spurgeon, nor is he unacquainted with the life of Whitefield, having authored a two-volume account of the evangelist's life, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth-Century Revival* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1970).

The author's purpose in recording the saga of Whitefield's life is to identify him, and not John Wesley, as the constitutive figure in the unfolding of the eighteenth-century Methodist movement. Of central concern to Dallimore is the conflict between Whitefield and Wesley over the doctrines of predestination and perfectionism. Unfortunately for Dallimore, while Wesley left an account of this controversy, Whitefield did not—a fact which forces Dallimore to rely on secondary sources in his efforts to "correct" the accounts of the contention between the two men.

Does the Dallimore gain his objective? Few will think so. He continually portrays Wesley in such a poor light that his analysis lacks objectivity. Although much of the credit for the ascent of Methodism must go to Whitefield, Dallimore purposely downplays Wesley's integral role and magnifies Whitefield's role. Thus, the book is a prime example of popular religious hagiography (the subtitle is noteworthy) and leaves much to be desired as historical interpretation. (One wonders whether the book was published as a result of the recent revival of Wesleyan studies. On this development one may consult Ted A. Campbell, "Is It Just Nostalgia? The Renewal of Wesleyan Studies." *The Christian Century* [April 18, 1990], pp. 396-398.)

Yet the book does serve the purpose of introducing the reader to the general chronology of Whitefield's life and work, as well as placing due stress on his labor in the United States; although the undersigned would

have appreciated acknowledgment of Whitefield's ties with Lutheran patriarch, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. It should be noted that the present edition is a condensed version of Dallimore's more extensive work and, as is the case in many digests, there is much material omitted which is crucial to understanding the subject's character. As a result this little book relegates itself to introductory status for the college-level student. Nevertheless, for those who desire more information, the author provides a very good bibliography which identifies the chief resources for further study of this notable historical figure.

Lawrence R. Rast
Nashville, Tennessee

THE PASSION OF OUR LORD. By Erich H. Kiehl. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1990.

Dr. Kiehl, professor of New Testament Exegesis at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, here provides the reader with a vade-mecum of theological and historical information about our Lord's passion. The purpose of the book is to "let each of the Gospel writers speak on his own terms regarding Jesus' passion" ("Preface," page 9). The method involves "careful attention . . . to the total setting, for example, the messianic expectations, both the Jewish and Roman law of that time, the topography of Jerusalem, the historical sites where these events took place, and recent archeological researches . . ." (ibid.).

After an introductory chapter dealing with messianic hopes and the coming of Jesus, Professor Kiehl's monograph is divided into thirteen chapters which examine Jesus' final trip to Jerusalem and the events of Holy Week. The work follows the chronological order of the events and compares or harmonizes the four gospels, as well as incorporating Hebrew, Greek, and Latin material, archaeological data, linguistic information, and contemporary and ancient scholarly opinions. Chapter fifteen is an epilogue dealing with the resurrection of Jesus. The book has two appendices ("Deuteronomy 21:22-23 and the Crucifixion" and "The Piercing of Jesus' Side"), twenty pages of endnotes, twenty pages of bibliography, and two indices. There are also helpful maps, photographs, and figures or drawings.

Reading the book from beginning to end, especially during the Lenten season, will help pastors understand and interpret the crux of the gospel narratives. On the other hand, Dr. Kiehl's detailed analysis makes his monograph serve as a reference book where both sources and summary

information can be quickly reviewed. To this reviewer, chapter 9, "Jesus' Trial before the Council," seemed especially well done. Information about the organization and responsibility of the high priests was judiciously presented. Abuse of power and corruption was duly noted, yet without rancor.

The strength of the book is the vast amount of material covered and the clarity with which the author presents his opinions. As with any book of such scope and complexity, every reader will question some opinions. Thus the book will also serve as a catalyst to further Bible study and research.

Robert Holst
St. Paul, Minnesota

THE SONG OF SONGS: A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION. By Marcia Falk. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1990.

Falk is a poet and a specialist in comparative literature, with Jewish and feminist associations. Her book is beautifully printed with superb woodcut illustrations of some of the flora and fauna mentioned in the Song. Falk views the Song as an anthology of thirty-one love poems by various authors with a long oral history, accounting for the lack of a coherent plot. She interprets the Song in a humanistic way as a celebration of sexuality and nature, saying "the Song contains no mention of the name of God" (p. 102) and downplaying the last Hebrew word of 8:6 (p.193), which says that the love which is the subject of the Song is a "flame of Yah(weh)." It is most unfortunate that she, along with the NIV, RSV, and many other translations, ignores the theological implications of 8:6. In any case, Esther shows that a book does not have to contain the name of God to have a strong theological message.

Falk provides a helpful discussion of the *wasf* genre, themes and motifs, and the flora and fauna. Her poetic translation, intended to be a dynamic equivalence, often captures the meaning and emotion exceedingly well. However, it frequently departs radically from the usual understanding and omits Hebrew words. Hebraists will be agitated that her textual notes in chapter 6 provide scant linguistic justification. Theologians will be annoyed at her disregard for the canonical context and the didactic message of the Song itself.

For example, the refrain, "Do not stir up love until it is willing" (2:7;

3:5; 8:4), is usually and best understood as a warning against premarital sex, but Falk translates and explains it as the opposite: "Swear not to wake or rouse us till we fulfill our love," a warning against disturbing the lovemaking of the unmarried couple! She also misses the message of 8:8-10, which extols premarital chastity, and the theme of marital fidelity throughout the Song. However, Falk does avoid the unjustified graphic sexual interpretations found in Marvin Pope's Anchor Bible commentary.

This book provides an artistic rendering with beautiful illustrations. The reader, however, who is seeking a careful translation with philological and theological comment will be disappointed. The book is of little help in understanding the rich and profound message of the Song regarding chastity, fidelity, and the exquisite pleasure of the love that is a "flame of Yahweh."

Christopher Mitchell
St. Louis, Missouri

TEACHING FOR CHRISTIAN HEARTS. Souls and Minds: A Constructive Holistic Approach to Christian Education. By Locke E. Bowman, Jr. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990. 118 pages. Cloth, \$15.95.

In this work Locke E. Bowman assesses the current educational scene in mainline Protestantism, including an interesting overview of trends since World War II. His essential thrust is on what we want learners to *know*, and yet he holds that what we teach in the church is not just a body of technical knowledge but a *way of life*. He draws heavily on the work of the late Rabbi Max Kadushin, stressing that curriculum should deal with the soul of students as well as their minds. The body of this book and the appended notes give a fair insight into much of today's Protestant religious education. One wishes, however, that Bowman would give more attention to the ongoing doctrinal plagues besetting Christian education—moralism and synergism.

Donald L. Deffner

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