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Christ the Victor and the Victim

Rowan A. Greer

A discussion of the theme of this essay could well begin with citations from several of the hymns found in the *Lutheran Book of Worship*. Hymn 141 celebrates Christ as the victor over death and sin:

The day of resurrection!
Earth tell it out abroad,
The passover of gladness,
The passover of God.
From death to life eternal,
From sin's dominion free,
Our Christ has brought us over
With hymns of victory.

Let hearts be purged of evil
That we may see aright
The Lord in rays eternal
Of resurrection light,
And listening to his accents,
May hear, so calm and plain,
His own "All hail!" and hearing,
May raise the victor strain.

In contrast, Hymn 137 begins by treating Christ, not as the victor, but as the victim reconciling sinners to the Father:

Christians, to the paschal victim,
Offer your thankful praises!
A Lamb the sheep redeeming:
Christ, who only is sinless,
Reconciling sinners to the Father.

Nevertheless, the contrast is not an absolute one, since Hymn 137 continues with these words:

Death and life have contended
In that combat stupendous;
The prince of life, who died,
Reigns immortal.

We may think as well of Hymn 118:

Sing my tongue, the glorious battle;
Sing the ending of the fray.
Now above the cross, the trophy,
Sound the loud triumphant lay;
Tell how Christ, the world's redeemer,
As a victim won the day.

How are we to explain the contrast between Christ the victor and Christ the victim? How shall we argue for their compatibility?

It would be tempting to suppose that Christ appears as the victim on Good Friday only to become the victor on Easter Day. Yet the first two hymns I have mentioned are both meant to be sung on Easter. A better way of describing the contrast suggests itself when we realize that "the Day of Resurrection" derives from a hymn written by John of Damascus in the early eighth century and represents the flowering of the patristic tradition and of the Greek church fathers. "Christians, to the Paschal Victim," however, is the traditional Easter sequence of the Latin Mass. Wipo of Burgundy, a chaplain to the Ottonian Emperor Conrad II, composed the hymn towards the middle of the eleventh century, roughly fifty years before Anselm wrote *Cur Deus Homo.*

What is being suggested here is that the contrast is one between the way in which the early church in the fourth and fifth centuries understood redemption and the Latin Western view we find expressed by Anselm. The one view tends to regard death as the basic human problem and to think of Christ's conquest of death as the completion of God's creative purpose for humanity. The Western view focuses upon sin and treats Christ as the atoning victim, who reverses the fall of Adam.[1] For the ancient church the cross is really the resurrection, whereas in the Latin West it tends to become a symbol of the victim's death. The crucifix, then, is a Western medieval development.

In what follows only a small part of the puzzle is examined. The argument will be that the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries betray the sensibility which we have found in the hymn of John of Damascus.[2] Christ is the victor over death. At the same time, nevertheless, these same writers find themselves obliged to take

account of the passages of the New Testament that speak of Christ's fate in sacrificial terms and so imply that He is the victim as well as the victor. It follows that we must think not so much of a later view replacing an earlier one, but more of a shift of emphasis. Themes that are ancillary and secondary in the earlier materials begin to occupy the center of the stage later on. Augustine seems to be the pivotal thinker in this regard, and this study will conclude by arguing that in Augustine's writings we begin to discover the center of gravity shifting from victor to victim.

I. Christ the Victor over Death

There is, of course, no single understanding of redemption in the ancient church; only the doctrines of the Trinity and of Christ's person found dogmatic definition.[3] It is reasonable, at the same time, to claim that Athanasius' treatise *On the Incarnation* gives us the basic perspective. Redemption is *theosis*, divinization:

> For He became man that we might become divine; and He revealed Himself through a body that we might receive an idea of the invisible Father; and He endured insults from men that we might inherit incorruption.[4]

"Divinization," though often given a merely spiritual significance, has two aspects for Athanasius.[5] It is the knowledge of God, a knowledge which requires the likeness of knower and known because of the Platonic axiom that like is known by like. And this knowledge is the perfect contemplation of God, a knowing of the good that enables humans to do the good. Thus, knowledge is equated with moral virtue and is a way of speaking of the moral and spiritual dimensions of redemption. Divinization, however, is also "incorruption." The term has a physical meaning and is Athanasius' way of speaking of the resurrection of the body. It is easy enough to see how Athanasius relates to the way in which the New Testament describes redemption. Moral and spiritual concepts—reconciliation, justification, becoming children of God, knowing, loving, seeing God—correlate with the physical nature of resurrection.

Athanasius locates his two ideas of redemption in what we may

call the Christian story and by doing so gives pride of place to incorruption.[6] Because of His "special pity for the human race" God created human beings with an "added grace" by "making them in His own image and giving them also a share in the power of His own word." Thus, Adam and Eve were able to know God and to be happy by that knowledge. But such grace is just the beginning:

> For He [God] brought them into His paradise and gave them a law, so that if they kept the grace and remained good they would enjoy the life of paradise, without sorrow, pain, or care, in addition to their having the promise of incorruption in heaven. But if they transgressed and turned away and became wicked, they would know that they would suffer the natural corruption consequent on death, and would no longer live in paradise, but in future dying outside it would remain in death and corruption.[7]

In other words, the knowledge of God is a capacity requiring full actualization and is a means towards effecting incorruption. The idea revolves around the Stoicizing notion that the soul or mind is the governing principle of the body and its passions. The contemplation of God empowers the human mind to fulfill its task of governance not only in a moral fashion by healing the passions but also in a physical fashion by rendering the body incorruptible. Thus, the incarnate Word *restores* the knowledge of God lost by Adam and Eve and *bestows* upon human nature the incorruption designed for humanity but never attained by Adam and Eve, who fell before they had grown into the resurrection-life. The knowledge of God, then, is for Athanasius, as for Irenaeus, a means towards physical incorruption; and redemption is firmly identified with the resurrection of the body.[8]

The incarnate Word, then, functions not only in a revelatory way, but also as the first principle of the general resurrection. The Word, by appropriating a human body and making it His own, divinizes the body by raising it from the dead incorruptible, thereby establishing the new humanity.[9] The logic is related to that of the Pauline comparison of Adam and Christ; as in Adam all die, so also in Christ are all made alive. The pattern established in the one shapes the destiny of all. Athanasius, however, can speak of Christ's

victory over death in another way:

> . . . as an offering and sacrifice free of all spot, He offered to death the body which He had taken to Himself, and immediately abolished death from all who were like Him by the offering of a like. For since the Word is above all, consequently by offering His temple and the instrument of His body as a substitute for all men, He fulfilled the debt by His death.[10]

Christ's death is a sacrifice, but why is it offered to death?[11] Why is it a substitute? What is meant by the debt Christ paid?[12]

Though it is by no means certain how we should answer these questions, we may find a possible solution by pointing out that for Athanasius, as for the other church fathers, Satan is the one "who has the power of death" (Hebrews 2:14).[13] The idea appears in the Wisdom of Solomon (2:23-24): "God made man for incorruption, and as an image of His own eternity; but by envy of the devil death came into the world." Athanasius cites this text in chapter 6. The debt, then, is human indebtedness to Satan and to death; and the sacrifice is a ransom given to Satan in exchange for all humanity. The equation of sacrifice and ransom may seem strange to us until we remember that in ancient Greece sacrifices were offered in order to avert hostile deities. We may be dealing, then, with a single metaphor rather than with two conflicting ones. The sacrifice-ransom accomplishes the victory of Christ over Satan-death by paying what was owed. In this way God maintains His justice by allowing Satan to exact the penalty of death; but, by shifting the penalty to Christ, He allows His goodness to prevail.[14] If these suggestions are correct, then it follows that Athanasius' use of "sacrifice," "debt," and "ransom" is ancillary to his theological exposition. One may argue further that the themes in question function in the story of how Christ won the victory over Satan, who had conquered our first parents.[15] To put the point somewhat differently, Athanasius' theology seeks to articulate in more sophisticated language the story of Christ's victory over Satan.

II. Christ's Victory over Satan and Its Baptismal Setting

The interpretation just given finds some confirmation in Gregory of Nyssa's *Catechetical Oration.* Gregory, writing later in the fourth century than Athanasius, seems still to be working with the same story. Satan succeeded in deceiving Adam and Eve, persuading them to disobey God by baiting "the fishhook of evil . . . with an outward appearance of good." God in His justice could not abolish Satan's claim to hold humanity in death. But just as, in the case of someone who has sold himself into slavery, it remains possible to buy back freedom, such is the case here too:

> . . . when once we had voluntarily sold ourselves, He who undertook out of goodness to restore our freedom had to contrive a just and not a dictatorial method to do so. And some such method is this: to give the master the chance to take whatever He wants to as the price of the slave.[16]

Christ, then, gave Satan a dose of his own medicine. Satan perceived only Christ's humanity, but saw in it such superlative virtues and miracles that he was willing to trade all humanity for it. Like a "greedy fish" Satan swallowed "the Godhead like a fishhook along with the flesh, which was the bait."[17] In this way the deceiver was deceived, and God found a way of reconciling His goodness, wisdom, justice, and power. Gregory does not here use the sacrificial metaphor, but the parallel with Athanasius' discussion seems clear enough to allow the inference that we are in the presence of a common and popular understanding of Christ's victory over Satan.[18]

The context of Gregory's discussion is a brief manual of instruction for catechetical teachers, and so we can begin to locate Christ's victory over Satan in a baptismal context. It is worth observing that theology in the ancient church was no armchair avocation. Quite to the contrary, what the church fathers say has its objective correlative in the Christian life and particularly in the liturgy. The primary way, moreover, in which people were socialized into the Christian church was through catechetical instruction; and it seems reasonably clear that Christians thought of the Christian life as the living out of their baptism. Once we see this connection, we can recognize that

Christ's victory over Satan is what enables catechumens to renounce Satan and to enroll themselves as soldiers and athletes of Christ. Baptism, then, not only initiates believers into Christ and the church; it also consecrates them for their own warfare or contest against Satan. Anointed like athletes in the games, they go forth confident that their own victory has been guaranteed by Christ's.[19]

The implication of what is being argued here is that sacrificial language is not central to the themes of Christ's victory over Satan and the Christian contest against him. At the same time, the fact that as a rule baptisms took place at Easter means that we must include the Christian passover in our discussion. At this feast Christ, our paschal lamb, is said to be sacrificed (1 Corinthians 5:7). He is the lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world.[20] It is this association that dominates the *Paschal Homily* of Melito of Sardis, written about 170 from the point of view of Christians in Asia Minor, who celebrated the Passover on the fourteenth day of Nisan, the day of the crucifixion.[21] The Passover (*pascha*) calls to mind the suffering (*paschein*) of Christ, who fulfills the type of the paschal lamb.[22] For Melito, however, as for John, the death of Christ on the cross is the victory of His resurrection:

> Come, then, all human families, defiled with sins; receive the forgiveness of your sins. For I am your forgiveness, I am the passover of salvation, I am the lamb slaughtered for you, I am your ransom, I am your life, I am your resurrection, I am your light, I am your salvation, I am your king.[23]

As the true paschal lamb Christ is the sacrifice and ransom averting sin and death. It seems reasonable to suppose that, when the later church fathers speak of Christ as a ransom or sacrifice offered to death, sin, or Satan, they have in mind the apotropaic meaning of the paschal lamb, which turns away the destroying angel from Israel.[24]

By the fourth century Melito's understanding of the Christian passover had in some respects yielded to a view which we find expressed in Origen's *Treatise on the Passover*. Passover no longer means suffering, but has the etymological meaning of "passage":

> [Christ came to show us] what the true passover is, the true "passage" (*diabasis*) out of Egypt. . . . for a new way of

> life begins for the one who leaves behind the *darkness and comes to the light* (John 3:20-21)—to speak in a manner proper to the sacrament (*sumbolon*) through water given those who have hoped in Christ. . . .[25]

The celebration of Easter no longer takes place on the day of Christ's death but on the Sunday after it. From one point of view the change makes no difference. Both understandings of the Christian passover celebrate Christ's victory over death.[26] At the same time, attention begins to shift from Christ's death which destroys death to the resurrection in which He is exalted to God's right hand.

Gregory Nazianzen gives us the best example of this modified sensibility of the Christian passover in one of his Easter sermons:

> Yesterday the lamb was slain and the door-posts were anointed, and Egypt bewailed her firstborn, and the Destroyer passed us over, and the seal was dreadful and reverend, and we were walled in with the precious blood. Today we have clean escaped from Egypt and from Pharaoh; and there is none to hinder us from keeping a feast to the Lord our God—the feast of our departure. . . . Yesterday I was crucified with Him; today I am glorified with Him; yesterday I died with Him; today I am quickened with Him; yesterday I was buried with Him; today I rise with Him.[27]

It may well be the case that Gregory begins to move towards our sensibility of Good Friday and Easter, the contrast between sorrow and joy, death and life. Certainly, the impact of the rites of Holy Week in Jerusalem on the Christian church from the fourth century onwards helps explain the development. It is unlikely, nevertheless, that Gregory wishes to sever Christ's death from His resurrection. He certainly retains the idea of the cross as Christ's sacrificial victory over death, and the new sensibility of the Christian passover leaves the door open to associating sacrificial language with Christ's passage to heaven.

III. Sacrificial Language and Christ's Death and Resurrection

We have seen that, just as the blood of the paschal lamb preserved

God's people, so Christ's death wins the victory of life over sin, death, and Satan. His sacrifice or ransom defeats these enemies. All these themes find their concrete location in baptism, when believers renounce Satan and embark upon their own struggle against him. When we turn to the emphasis upon the resurrection as the completion of Christ's victory, we discover that sacrificial language begins to treat God the Father as the one to whom Christ offers the sacrifice. We also find that the baptismal association remains, since baptism is a dying and rising with Christ.[28] John Chrysostom's Homily 14 on Hebrews illustrates the point. Hebrews 8 (1-2) speaks of our "high priest . . . seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven." Christ, we may infer, has taken His sacrifice to heaven; having completed His priestly work, He has taken His seat. (Priests stand and do not sit.)[29] These are heavenly and spiritual things:

> For although they are done on earth, yet nevertheless they are worthy of the heavens. For when our Lord Jesus Christ lies slain [as a sacrifice], when the Spirit is with us, when He who sitteth on the right hand of the Father is here, when sons are made by the washing, when they are fellow-citizens of those in heaven, when we have a country and a city and citizenship there, when we are strangers to things here, how can all these be other than "heavenly things"?[30]

Christ's sacrifice, somewhat vaguely described, prompts Chrysostom to think of the liturgy, of baptism, and of the Christian life.[31]

The idea that Christ offered His sacrifice to God, and not elsewhere to avert death and sin, has two primary warrants in the New Testament.[32] Hebrews 9:11-14 speaks of Christ in this way:

> He entered once for all into the holy place, taking . . . His own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption. . . . For if the sprinkling of defiled persons with the blood of goats and bulls and with the ashes of a heifer sanctifies for the purification of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish to God, purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.

Other passages in Hebrews elaborate and complicate the metaphor. The other warrant does not clarify our understanding. Ephesians 5:2 is an exhortation to "walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave Himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God." The church fathers often simply repeat this language without seeking to explain what it means or what kind of sacrifice Christ is supposed to have offered.[33]

While the church fathers can speak of Christ's sacrifice as an offering of His blood to the Father, they can also understand it as His thankful gift to God of the redeemed:

> Now when became He "Apostle," but when He put on our flesh? And when became He "High Priest of our profession" (Hebrews 3:1-2), but when, after offering Himself for us, He raised His body from the dead and, as now, Himself brings near and offers to the Father those who in faith approach Him, redeeming all and for all propitiating God?[34]

In this passage Athanasius appears to be muddling together three rather different ideas. Christ's death is the sacrifice that averts death. But His death and resurrection propitiate God, and what He offers is those who believe in Him. The only point that is clear is the claim that Christ's resurrection from death has secured that of Christians. Gregory of Nyssa can also speak of Christ's offering God humanity:

> O happy good news! He who for us became one of us, so that by becoming our kin He might make us His own brothers, He brings His own Man to the true Father, in order through Him to attract all that is akin.[35]

The "Man" of Christ, for Gregory, becomes generic human nature with all humans as His members. Both Athanasius and Gregory retain the sacrificial language but draw it into their theological understanding of the incarnation.

Athanasius' reference to propitiating God is a troubling one to many.[36] John Chrysostom finds it so. "To appear in the presence of God for us" (Hebrews 9:24) means that Christ went up "with a sacrifice which had power to propitiate the Father." But, says

Chrysostom, was the Father an enemy? The answer is firmly negative, but Chrysostom takes the point no further.[37] We find a lengthier but similarly inconclusive passage in the Second Oration on Easter of Gregory Nazianzen:

> Now we are to examine another fact and dogma, neglected by most people, but in my judgment well worth inquiring into. To whom was that blood offered that was shed for us, and why was it shed? I mean the precious and famous blood of our God and High Priest and Sacrifice. We were detained in bondage by the Evil One, sold under sin, and receiving pleasure in exchange for wickedness. Now, since a ransom belongs only to him who holds in bondage, I ask to whom was this offered and for what cause? If to the Evil One, fie upon the outrage! If the robber receives ransom, not only from God, but a ransom which consists of God Himself, and has such an illustrious payment for his tyranny, a payment for whose sake it would have been right for him to have left us alone altogether. But if to the Father, I ask first, how? For it was not by Him that we were being oppressed; and next, on what principle did the blood of His only-begotten Son delight the Father, who would not receive even Isaac. . . .[38]

The only answer of which Gregory can think is to appeal to the incarnation, by which the tyrant was conquered and human nature purified. He concludes by declaring: "the greater part of what we might say shall be reverenced with silence."

While it is true that only rarely do we find explicit admissions of the problematic character of sacrificial language, there is evidence of an implicit feeling by the Greek fathers that such language was at worst misleading and at best metaphorical. Theodore of Mopsuestia, for example, ignores the sacrificial language of Ephesians 1:7-8 and 5:2.[39] At Colossians 1:20 Theodore equates "blood" and "cross" with Christ's death and argues that it is Christ's death and resurrection that effects the reconciliation of which the verse speaks.[40] In a similar way, though he retains without evident discomfort the sacrificial language of the New Testament, Cyril of Alexandria draws its texts into his own theology of the incarnate Lord. In a

long discussion in *Quod Unus Sit Christus* Cyril argues that the humanity of Christ in no sense functions apart from the Word that appropriates it. The biblical texts he cites include a number of references to Christ's "blood" and His "sacrifice." The terms refer to the humanity of the incarnate Word.[41]

Sometimes we find a more direct ascription of a metaphorical character to the sacrificial terms. Commenting on Hebrews 7:3, Theodoret argues that it is when He became incarnate that Christ became High Priest, lamb, sin, curse, way, and door. By assimilating Christ's priesthood, and consequently His sacrifice, to other terms that are clearly metaphorical, Theodoret invites us to move away from any literal understanding of Christ's sacrifice.[42] He also speaks of Christ's sacrifice, since it is clearly not the same as the sacrifices in the temple, as a "spiritual" one, as ours must be (Romans 12:1).[43] This conception must be borne in mind when the language of a type is applied to its fulfillment in Christ.

This conception provides a way to understand several passages in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Demonstration of the Gospel.* He finds the sacrifices of living things in the Old Testament contradictory to God's will and yet made necessary because they foreshadowed "the better, the great and worthy and divine sacrifice" and the "holy victim . . ., the offering for the sins of the world."[44] To be sure, we can take the language of Eusebius seriously; but we should also understand it as the metaphorical application to Christ of terms properly belonging to the sacrifices of the Old Testament. He fulfills the types of Isaac's sacrifice, of the sacrifices in the temple, of the paschal lamb, of the blood of the covenant, and of Abel's blood.

One additional point can be made as to the role of a metaphor of sacrifice in a theology which sees redemption primarily as Christ's victory over death. The biblical texts which speak of sacrifices usually associate them with the problem of sin. Thus, it would seem unlikely to find an exposition reinterpreting sacrifice as though abolishing death. Yet this is precisely what Theodore of Mopsuestia does in his interpretation of Ephesians 1:7, "In Him we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses. . . .":

> In Christ, he says, who deemed it worthy to undergo death for us (this is what he means by "through His blood"), we have received forgiveness. . . . since we were mortal, it followed that we were in the wrong, since it is impossible that what is mortal should ever exist without fault. Therefore, by dying for us and by rising again for us, He gave us together with our participation in the Spirit that immortal life in which it is possible for us to remain free from sin.[45]

Our mortality is what causes our inclination to sin. Christ, by breaking the hold of mortality upon us, makes it possible for us to renounce sin. The victory over death, then, is also a victory over sin. The promise of immortality stabilizes the human mind, enabling it once more to fulfill its task of governing the body and so achieving virtue.

It seems possible, then, to conclude that, in the fathers of the early church, Christ the victim and sacrificial language about Him take second place to a theology that emphasizes Christ as the victor over death and as such the consummator of God's creative purpose for humanity. Redemption completes creation, and the fall tends to become in the long run at worst a temporary interruption of the process and at best a mistake by which humans learn to grow towards the maturity of the resurrection-life. On the other hand, the sacrificial language by no means disappears; nor does the emphasis upon mortality as the basic human problem mean that sin is no longer relevant. It is time now, however, to turn to the thought of Augustine and argue that several themes secondary in the tradition before him begin to become primary. Sin, sacrifice, and Christ's death loom larger in his mature writings and so help to prepare the way for developments in Western medieval theology.

IV. Augustine's Shift of Emphasis

In many ways Augustine's thought conforms to that of the Christian Platonism to which he was converted. Indeed, one could even argue that his dependence upon Plotinus makes him in some respects more of a Platonist than his Greek contemporaries. He thinks of the Christian life as a moral purgation designed to prepare the believer for the contemplation of God and the ascent of the soul

to its place of true rest. He also insists upon the physical dimension of Christian destiny:

> The new life, therefore, is meanwhile begun in faith and maintained by hope; for it shall only then be perfect when this mortal shall be swallowed up in life and death swallowed up in victory, when the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed. . . .[46]

Redemption, then, is divinization in both a spiritual and a physical sense. It is made possible by Christ, the Mediator, "who was made partaker of our mortality to make us partakers of His divinity."[47] Christ's victory over death occupies the center of the stage.

From another point of view, however, Augustine radically repudiates central aspects of Christian Platonism. Without abandoning its idea of the ascent of the soul to God, he argues that because of original sin such an ascent is possible only by God's sovereign grace. A double sensibility informs these qualifications of the usual view. Humans are radically incapacitated because of Adam's fall, and God in His absolute sovereignty does not limit Himself to persuasive means. Original sin means that Adam died not merely in the ordinary sense of the word, but also spiritually and so became incapable of anything but sin. For this reason Adam brought eternal punishment on himself and all his children. We are born, then, not only mortal, but also spiritually dead in the sense that even our good choices are sinful because they are motivated by our evil will. The only hope we have of avoiding eternal damnation lies in God's sovereign grace, which alone, and without reference to anything we are or can do, is strong enough to free the will from its bondage to sin. Once we regard our predicament from this perspective, our basic problem turns out to be sin rather than death. The general tendency, indeed, of Western theology after Augustine was to follow him in turning attention away from death towards sin.

If sin becomes the basic problem and if the role of the Mediator is to establish the possibility of a grace that alone can deliver the elect from original sin, Christ's sacrifice is one that must be understood the same way:

> . . . this sacrifice was offered by the one true Priest, the

> Mediator of God and man; and . . . it was proper that this sacrifice should be prefigured by animal sacrifices, in order to foreshadow the flesh and blood of the one sacrifice for the remission of sins contracted by flesh and blood, which shall not inherit the kingdom of God. . . .[48]

No longer are the sacrifices of the Old Testament metaphors of Christ's death; instead, it is Christ's sacrifice that defines them. Augustine, to be sure, carefully defines what he means by sacrifice. Passages of the Old Testament such as Hosea 6:6 ("I desire mercy rather than sacrifice") make it clear that "what is generally called sacrifice is really a sign of the true sacrifice." And "true sacrifice is offered in every act which is designed to unite us to God in a holy fellowship, every act, that is, which is directed to that final Good which makes possible our true felicity." Such sacrifices are those of "the whole redeemed community" and are possible only because of Christ's sacrifice.[49] Christ's sacrifice, though carefully defined, has become a concept rather than a metaphor.[50]

Not only does Augustine begin to emphasize sin and Christ's sacrifice as its remedy, but he also in two places in the *De Trinitate* can sever Christ's death from His resurrection. In Book 4 he reflects upon the incarnation by using the metaphor of musical harmony. A single and a double, taken together, create harmony:

> Therefore on this double death of ours our Saviour bestowed His own single death; and to cause both our resurrections, He appointed beforehand and set forth in mystery and type His own one resurrection.[51]

What he means is that Christ's death overcomes both our spiritual and our physical death and that His resurrection gives us new life both spiritually and physically. Worthy of note, however, is the strong distinction which Augustine makes between death and resurrection. If, nevertheless, he severs Christ's death from His resurrection, it is not in order to say something of Christ, but rather to elaborate an argument regarding the Christian life.

A similar pattern occurs in Book 13. Here Augustine seeks to understand the "inner man," that is, the forms of human knowledge that are not tied in any way to sensory perception. It is because

these higher forms of knowledge are not fully developed in this life that Augustine begins by thinking of them in terms of faith. He distinguishes between the faith that we believe and the faith by which we believe. The latter arises when we have made the faith our own, and it becomes an inner orientation which the soul has in common with other believers. Augustine's next move is from a common faith and common will to a common will to live blessedly. His discussion is not so much an argument as a meditation, and he arrives at the conclusion that "he only is a blessed man, who both has all things which he wills, and wills nothing ill."[52] This definition, further, implies the necessity of immortality. Thus, bliss is defined in a double way as having what we will and willing what is right is impossible in this life. Faith in the immortality brought by Christ, however, assures us that bliss is a future possibility and one to which even now we can cling by hope.

It is at this point that Augustine turns from his analysis of human life and aspirations to Christ as the redeemer. And the double definition of bliss governs his treatment of Christ's death and resurrection. Willing what is right equates with righteousness; having what we will equates with power. The work of Christ, therefore, is described as follows:

> . . . [Christ] conquered the devil first by righteousness and afterwards by power: namely, by righteousness, because He had no sin and was slain by him most unjustly; but by power, because having been dead He lived again, never afterwards to die.[53]

Even more arresting is a sentence almost immediately before the passage just cited: "For He did one of these two things by dying, the other by rising again." What has been implicit in some of the other passages to which reference has been made becomes quite explicit here: Christ's death and His resurrection fulfill two different functions, in the first case righteousness and in the second case power. There are now two victories over Satan:

> It is not then difficult to see that the devil was conquered, when He who was slain by him rose again. It is something more, and more profound of comprehension, to see that the

> devil was conquered when he thought himself to have conquered, that is, when Christ was slain.[54]

The separation, to be sure, of Christ's death from His resurrection is a factor in Augustine's discussion of human destiny and not of christology; perhaps we should not make much more of it. The stage, nevertheless, is set for seeing Christ's sacrificial death on the cross as the act that establishes the possibility of forgiveness.

V. Conclusion and Summary

The preceding words have probably made Augustine seem more of a contrast to his Greek contemporaries than he really was. Indeed, it is because of the later Western development in thinking that it is easy to see in his writings an emphasis upon Christ as the victim atoning for sin. Augustine's thought cannot by itself explain the development we find fully articulated by Anselm. There are clearly other factors that demand consideration. Liturgical changes seem to have shifted attention away from the Christian passover, which celebrated Christ's death and resurrection simultaneously, to the pattern more familiar to us. Once, moreover, the baptism of people as infants became virtually universal, the catechetical setting no longer functioned as the concrete setting for the making of Christians. At least by the thirteenth century the Celtic practice of private penance surely supplied one such location for the transforming of nominal Christians into true ones. If such a setting was the place where people found the meaning of Christianity, it would not be surprising if the main point of the religion became the forgiveness of sins. Such considerations, however, take us beyond the scope of the argument here.

In sum, this study suggests that we find in Augustine at least the beginning of a contrast. Christ, the victor over death who completes creation, tends to become the victim who reverses the fall and atones for sin. The contrast is, to be sure, a matter of emphasis, and there is merit in making some attempt to combine the two sensibilities. The view in the early church is an optimistic one, insisting that there is room for human freedom and that God's persuasive providence can help us learn from our mistakes. There is no radical view of human sin, and the evils we do and suffer are in the long run part

of our education for the resurrection-life. The Augustinian view, on the other hand, involves more pessimism. It faces sin and evil directly, and tends to obliterate our capacity to deal with the dark side of our existence. Perhaps wisdom lies in seeking something in both perspectives and in thinking of Christ as the victor precisely because He was also the victim.

Endnotes

1. In the author's (Anglican) tradition the contrast finds illustration in the Eucharistic Prayers in the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer*. Prayer I, which is firmly in the Prayer-Book tradition, treats Christ as the victim atoning for sin: "All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy, didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there, by His one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world. . . ." Prayer D, an adaptation of the Liturgy of Saint Basil, stresses Christ as the victor over death: "We acclaim You, holy Lord, glorious in power. Your mighty works reveal Your wisdom and love. You formed us in Your own image. . . . When our disobedience took us far from You, You did not abandon us to the power of death. . . . To fulfill Your purpose He [the Son] gave Himself up to death; and rising from the grave, destroyed death, and made the whole creation new." One can argue that the introduction of prayers that reflect the views of the ancient church is really a catching up with theological developments in Anglicanism. From at least the time of *Lux Mundi* (1889) people like Charles Gore and William Temple tended to repudiate the doctrine of the atonement and to substitute for it the incarnational views of the early church. For them, Christ is *redemptor* in order to be *consummator* of creation.

2. The author is indebted in this regard to Frances M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom* (Cambridge,

Massachusetts: Philadelphia Patristics Foundation, 1979). Her discussion of G. Aulén's *Christus Victor* is helpful (pp. 142, 171, 208, 294-295). Her book, of course, covers more ground than can be considered. The approach here differs from hers primarily by taking the sacrificial language less seriously than she would like. She does recognize (p. 160) that "frequently it seems that scriptural language and the language of confession of faith is reproduced without any attempt to find a rationale." One may also compare p. 293. Young also fails to point out that as often as not the sacrificial language occurs in passages that deal with death rather than sin. This study, too, has focused on the fourth and fifth centuries, whereas much of Young's work deals with earlier materials. Her discussion of Origen (pp. 167ff.) is particularly illuminating. H. E. W. Turner, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption* (London: A. R. Mowbray and Company, 1952), argues for four somewhat unrelated themes: Christ the Illuminator, Christ the Victor, incorruption and deification, and Christ the Victim. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 375-400, distinguishes three themes (physical interpretation, ransom to the devil, and realism) but treats them as complementary.

3. Readers may see the excellent discussion by Brooks Otis, "Cappadocian Thought as a Coherent System" (DOP 12, 1958). Otis contrasts Irenaeus' physical understanding of redemption with Origen's contemplative view and argues that most of the church fathers follow Irenaeus but seek to add spiritual dimensions to it.

4. *De Incarnatione*, 54. R. W. Thomson's text and translation are being used here: Robert W. Thomson, ed., *Athanasius: Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971).

5. The term has a complex origin. 2 Peter 1:4 ("partakers of the divine nature") is cited in support of the idea. But the tag in Plato's *Theaetetus* (176b) describing human destiny as "likeness to God so far as possible" is certainly part of

the picture. The patristic doctrine of humanity as the image of God pulls these themes together.

6. The point can be made more narrowly regarding Christ Himself. The incarnation (the economy) is what brings redemption, but the economy refers to the whole story of Christ, culminating in His death and resurrection, which are treated as two aspects of the same event. For the equation of the incarnation and the death and resurrection, readers may see Cyril of Alexandria, *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, 729e (SC 97, p. 352); Athanasius, *Contra Arianos*, 2.55 (NPNF 2.4, p. 378) and Letter 60.5 (NPNF 2.4, p. 576); and Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomius*, 2.3 (NPNF 2.5, p. 104). For the cross as both death and resurrection, readers may see Cyril of Jerusalem, Lecture 13.1-4 (NPNF 2.7, pp. 82-83). Cyril's text is Isaiah 53, and he refers to the true cross; "For though I should now deny it [the crucifixion], here is Golgotha to confute me, near which we are now assembled; the wood of the cross confutes me, which was afterwards distributed piecemeal from hence to all the world. I confess the cross, because I know of the resurrection . . ."

7. *De Incarnatione*, 3. We may note that Athanasius retains the Origenistic image-theology in which the Word is the image of God and the human soul is created according to the word of God. This theology, of course, has the possibility of dividing the persons of the Trinity and so plays into the hands of the Arians. This consideration, together with the fact that Athanasius in his other writings avoids this theology, contributes an argument to the case in favor of an early date of the *De Incarnatione*, a dating now widely contested.

8. Granted this interpretation, one problem revolves around why Athanasius begins by discussing incorruption and only then turns to the theme of knowledge (chapter 11). A possible solution is that he wishes to underline the fact that the bestowal of incorruption is the "primary cause of the incarnation" (chapter 10) and that this is because he is hostile to an Origenist emphasis upon spiritual contempla-

tion. In this writer's opinion, Athanasius is anti-Origenist only in the sense that he wishes to correct Origen. One may note, however, that in the *Life of Antony*, contemplation scarcely appears; the emphasis is very much upon the mind's governance of the body and the life of virtue.

9. Athanasius is technically an Apollinarian because he omits the human soul of Christ. Later he will correct himself, and it seems clear he is simply reproducing the Alexandrian tradition without in any way intending to deny Christ's full humanity.

10. *De Incarnatione*, 9.

11. Athanasius often speaks of Christ offering His body to death. One may see, for example, *Contra Arianos*, 2.69 (NPNF 2.4, p. 386).

12. There are other passages one can examine. In chapter 16 we learn that because the Word first had to accomplish His revelatory work, "He did not immediately upon His coming accomplish His sacrifice on behalf of all, by offering His body to death and raising it again. . . ." In chapter 21 we read: "But since it was necessary also that the debt owing from all should be paid again, for, as I have already said, it was owing that all should die . . . to this intent, after the proofs of His Godhead from His works, He next offered up His sacrifice also on behalf of all, yielding His temple to death in the stead of all, in order firstly to make men quit and free of their old trespass, and further to show himself more powerful even than death, displaying His own body incorruptible as first fruits of the resurrection of all." Chapter 25 cites Galatians 3:13, Deuteronomy 21:23, Ephesians 2:14 and speaks of the Lord's death as "the ransom of all" (Mark 10:45 and Matthew 20:28?). Chapter 25 treats the cross as the defeat of the devil. (One may compare chapter 31.)

13. Athanasius actually cites the passage from Hebrews in chapter 10 and again in chapter 20.

14. One may see *De Incarnatione*, 6-7, and Young's discussion, op. cit. pp. 192-209. Her idea that Athanasius has in mind an aversion sacrifice and integrates it with the idea of God's propitiating Himself is persuasive. The association, nevertheless, of sacrificial language with God's reconciliation of His justice and goodness is not as clear as it might be.

15. That Athanasius has this idea in mind finds support in his lengthy discussion of the victory of the cross in *De Incarnatione*, 20-32. In chapter 25 we read: ". . . the enemy of our race, the devil, having fallen from heaven moves around in this lower atmosphere, and lording it over his fellow demons in disobedience . . . the Apostle speaks of this also: 'According to the ruler of the power of the air, who now works in the sons of disobedience' (Ephesians 2:2). But the Lord came to overthrow the devil, purify the air, and open for us the way up to heaven, as the Apostle said, 'through the veil, that is, His flesh' (Hebrews 10:20)." Lifted into the air on the cross, Christ conquers Satan. One may also see *Contra Arianos*, 1.51 (NPNF 2.4, p. 336) and, possibly, 2.68 (NPNF 2.4, pp. 385-386).

16. Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Oration*, 21-22. The translation is from Library of Christian Classics, *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. E. R. Hardy (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), pp. 298-299.

17. *Catechetical Oration*, 24 (LCC, p. 301).

18. We may note that Gregory interprets the story by employing his understanding of providence and freedom. By his misuse of God's providence Satan brings punishment upon himself, and the punishment is justly retributive. The deceiver is deceived. But the punishment is also meant to be educative and remedial. Thus, Gregory holds open the possibility that Satan may come to recognize the benefit of his punishment; and he goes further by saying that God "freed man from evil, and healed the very author of evil himself." *Catechetical Oration*, 26 (LCC, p. 304).

19. Readers may see Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, 7 (NPNF 2.4,

p. 197): "This was Antony's first struggle against the devil, or rather this victory was the Saviour's work in Antony." One may also see Chrysostom, Homily 5 on Hebrews (NPNF 1.14, p. 392); Cyril of Jerusalem, Lecture 13 (NPNF 2.7, p. 82); Cyril of Alexandria, *De Recta Fide ad Pulcheriam et Eudociam* (Pusey, volume 7, p. 303); and the author's discussion in *The Fear of Freedom* (University Park and London: Penn State Press, 1989), chapter 3.

20. John 1:29, 36. John 19:36 makes it clear that Jesus is identified with the paschal lamb, and the irony implied by John 19:14 is that, at the very hour the lambs were being slaughtered in the temple, the true paschal lamb was sacrificed on Golgotha.

21. For problems of authorship, date, and text, readers may see edition in the Sources Chrétiennes (123) by Othmar Perler (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966).

22. One may also compare 1 Peter, especially 1:19.

23. Melito, *Paschal Homily*, 103 (SC 123, p. 122). Even when Melito's view is replaced by the later understanding of the Christian passover, we find this association of Christ's death with His triumph. One may see, for example, Athanasius, Letter 20 (NPNF 2.4, p. 548): "Let us now keep the feast, my brethren, for as our Lord then gave notice to His disciples, so He now tells us beforehand, that 'after some days is the passover' (Matthew 26:2), in which the Jews indeed betrayed the Lord; but we celebrate His death as a feast, rejoicing because we then obtained rest from our afflictions. We are diligent in assembling ourselves together, for we were scattered in time past and were lost and are found. We were far off and are brought nigh; we were strangers and have become His, who suffered for us and was nailed on the cross, who bore our sins, as the prophet saith (Isaiah 53:4), and was afflicted for us, that He might put away from all of us grief and sorrow and sighing."

24. In regard to death being slain by death, one may see, for example, Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomius*, 2.11 (NPNF

2.5, p. 121); and Chrysostom, Homily 4 on Hebrews (NPNF 1.14, p. 386). . As to the paschal lamb, one may see, for example, Gregory Nazianzen, Oration 12 (NPNF 2.7, p. 246); Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses*, 126 (CWS, p. 84) and *Inscription of Psalm 58* (Jaeger volume 5, p. 171); Chrysostom, Homily 27 on Hebrews (NPNF 1.14, p. 487); Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on John*, ad locum 1:29, and *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, 774 (SC 97, pp. 498-499).

25. Origen, *Treatise on the Passover*, 4 (ACW 54, p. 29).

26. One may compare Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986), who says of Melito's homily (p. 12): "Here it is clear that the Lord's passion is not considered an event distinct from His glorification, as later developments will tend to distinguish Good Friday and Easter. Rather, as Melito makes clear, the primitive Pascha celebrated the memorial of the death of Jesus as a total festival of our redemption in Christ, including not only His glorification but also the incarnation."

27. Oration 1.3-4 (NPNF 2.7, p. 203). One may also compare a passage in the Fourth Theological Oration, 20 (NPNF 2.7, p. 309): "He is sold, and very cheap, for it is only for thirty pieces of silver; but He redeems the world, and that at a great price, for the price was His own blood. As a sheep He is led to the slaughter, but He is the Shepherd of Israel and now of the whole world also. As a Lamb He is silent, yet He is the Word and is proclaimed by the voice of one crying in the wilderness. He is bruised and wounded, but He healeth every disease and every infirmity. He is lifted up and nailed to the tree, but by the tree of life He restoreth us. . . ." (The biblical passages are Matthew 26:15, 1 Peter 1:19, Isaiah 53:7, John 1:23, and Isaiah 53:23.)

28. Readers may see Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Galatians*, 2:20 (Swete; volume 1, pp. 34-35): "Therefore, he [Paul] says: 'I have been crucified with Christ' because he has nothing in common [*oudemian koinonian, nullam*

communionem] with this present life in which we must live by the law. Rather, I reckon that I have passed from this life and am already, as it were, living in that life because Christ lives in me. Joined to Him by the resurrection, I have become a member of Christ, worthy to be joined to His body. . . ." One may also compare 5:11 and 5:24 (Swete; volume 1, pp. 92ff.).

29. That Chrysostom understands the text of Hebrews in this way may be demonstrated by appealing to Homily 11.5 (NPNF 1.14, pp. 419-420: "we have our victim on high, our priest on high, our sacrifice on high") and Homily 13.8 (NPNF 1.14, p. 430: "having become a minister, He did not continue a minister. For it belongs not to a minister to sit, but to stand").

30. Chrysostom, Homily 14 on Hebrews 3 (NPNF 1.14, p. 434).

31. One may compare Gregory Nazianzen, Oration 16.11 (NPNF 2.7, p. 251), where Christ's blood sprinkles the "doorposts of our mind, contemplation and action, with the great and saving seal, with the blood of the new covenant, by being crucified and dying with Christ, that we may rise and be glorified and reign with Him both now and at His final appearing. . . ."

32. It is somewhat surprising how sparing is sacrificial language in the New Testament apart from Hebrews. The eucharistic words of Jesus (Mark 14:24 and parallels) refer to "My blood of the testament . . . poured out for many." Mark 10:45 refers to Jesus as giving His life as "a ransom for many." Romans 3:25 speaks of "an expiation [or mercy seat] by His blood." Other references to "blood" occur in Romans 5:9; 1 Corinthians 10:16, 11:27; Ephesians 1:7, 2:13; Colossians 1:20; 1 Peter 1:2, 19; 1 John 1:7, 5:6, 8; Revelation 1:5, 5:9, 7:14, 12:11. Apart from Hebrews "sacrifice" occurs only in Ephesians 5:2. The allusions are, of course, to the sacrifices in the temple or to the passover lamb or to the ratification of a covenant, but they are seldom explained.

33. Cyril of Alexandria, in particular, often repeats the language of Ephesians 5:2. One may see *Commentary on Hebrews* (Pusey, volume 3, pp. 374, 396-397); and *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, 761ab (SC 97, p. 458). Theodore of Mopsuestia ignores the sacrificial language and explains the verse by citing the new commandment of John 15:12-13 (Swete, volume 1, p. 177).

34. Athanasius, *Contra Arianos*, 2.7 (NPNF 2.4, p. 351). One may compare Theodore on Hebrews 6:20 (Staab, p. 207) and Cyril of Alexandria, *De Recta Fide ad Pulcheriam et Eudociam* (Pusey, volume 7, p. 313).

35. Easter Homily on the Three Day Period, ed. A. Spira and C. Klock, *The Easter Sermons of Gregory of Nyssa: Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1981), p. 49 (PG 46.620). One may compare Photius on Hebrews 1:13 (Staab, p. 639).

36. It is difficult to find the expression, but it does occur in the Mystagogical Catecheses sometimes attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem (Lecture XXIII.10; NPNF 2.7, p. 155): "In the same way we, when we offer to Him our supplications for those who have fallen asleep, though they be sinners, weave no crown, but offer up Christ sacrificed for our sins, propitiating our merciful God for them as well as for ourselves." Two passages from Gregory of Nyssa that Young (op. cit., p. 210) interprets as referring to Christ's sacrifice propitiating the Father do not seem really to have this meaning. *Against Eunomius*, 6.2 (PG 45.717B; NPNF 2.5, p. 184), speaks of Christ's making "with His own blood the priestly propitiation for our sins," but there is no reference to the Father. *The Lord's Prayer*, 3 (PG 44.1149-CD; ACW, p. 46), does seem to speak of Christ as propitiating the Father, but the passage is allegorical and reads as follows: "This *adyton* is not inanimate nor made by hands; but it is the hidden inner chamber of our heart if it be truly *adyton* (impenetrable) to evil and inaccessible to vile thoughts. The head, too, He adorns, not with the shape of letters embossed with gold leaf, but with a heavenly mind

on the highest faculty of which, that is to say, reason, God Himself is impressed. Ointment He pours on His hair distilled from the interior virtues of the soul. A sacrificial victim, too, He prepares for Him to offer to God in the mystic rite, which is none other than Himself. Being thus led by the Lord to this sacrifice, He mortifies His fleshly mind with the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God (Ephesians 6:17) and thus appeases God. Being in the *adyton*, He immolates Himself in such a sacrifice, presenting His body a living sacrifice, holy—pleasing unto God (Romans 12:1)."

37. Chrysostom, Homily 17.2 on Hebrews (NPNF 1.14, p. 447). Young (op. cit., pp. 188-189), to be sure, argues that Chrysostom does speak of Christ as appeasing God's wrath. Her basis for this view is Homily 16.2 on Hebrews (NPNF 1.14, p. 443): "The Father . . . was wroth against us . . . [Christ] became mediator between us and Him, and won Him over." The text, however, continues by overturning this idea: "And what then? How did He become mediator? He brought words from [Him] and brought [them to us], conveying over what came from the Father to us and adding His own death thereto. We had offended; we ought to have died. He died for us and made us worthy of the testament."

38. Oration 45.32 (NPNF 2.7, p. 431). One may compare Young, op. cit., p. 210. She notes that Gregory often speaks of Christ's sacrifice, "particularly in devotion and preaching, generally as an emotive affirmation of faith rather than as part of a reasoned theological system. . . ."

39. Swete, volume 1, pp. 126 and 177. Chrysostom, however, takes the sacrificial language of the first passage more seriously (Homily 1 on Ephesians; NPNF 1.13, p. 53): "For nothing is so great as that the blood of this Son should be shed for us. Greater this than both the adoption and all the other gifts of grace, that He spared not even the Son (Romans 8:32). For great indeed is the forgiveness of sins, yet this is the far greater thing, that it should be done by the Lord's blood."

40. Neither Chrysostom nor Theodoret suppress the sacrificial language of Colossians 1:20 in this fashion (PG 82.601AB and NPNF 1.13, p. 272). Chrysostom can treat the cross apart from the resurrection, but only in order to speak of it as evidence of God's love or as an example for us to follow. One may see Homily 4.3 on Hebrews (NPNF 1.14, p. 383): "Again he reminds them of the cross, thereby effecting two things; both showing His care [for them] and persuading them to bear all things nobly, looking to the Master." One may compare Homilies 23.6 and 28.4 on Hebrews (NPNF 1.14, pp. 471 and 493).

41. *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, 761a-765e (SC 97, pp. 456ff.).

42. PG 82.725B. The association of "sin" (2 Corinthians 5:21) and "curse" (Galatians 3:13) is a common one. One may see, for example, Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomius*, 2.11, 11.1, and 12.1 (NPNF 2.5, pp. 121, 231, 241).

43. PG 82.753, 777, 781. One may compare Gregory of Nyssa, Easter Homily on the Three Day Period (PG 46.612; Spira and Klock, pp. 39ff.), where he says that Christ offered His sacrifice in a hidden and spiritual way by giving Himself as food and drink at the Last Supper.

44. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Demonstration of the Gospel*, 1.10 (Ferrar, pp. 56-57); one may compare 2.3, 8.2, 10.8. Young is willing to take the language of Eusebius rather more seriously than is done here (op. cit., pp. 190-192).

45. Swete, volume 1, p. 126; one may compare pp. 149-152, 261, 276; and Staab, pp. 131, 134. One may see the discussion of R. A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 172-189. He carefully notes a tension in Theodore's thought between a biblical and a philosophical orientation. For passages in later writers explaining sin as a consequence of mortality, one may see Gennadius and Oecumenius in Staab, pp. 375 and 463.

46. Letter 54.13.26 (NPNF 1.1, p. 311). This letter includes a lengthy discussion of the Christian celebration of Easter.

47. *City of God*, 21.16. One may compare *De Trinitate*, 4.2.4: "By joining therefore to us the likeness of His humanity, He took away the unlikeness of our unrighteousness; and by being made partaker of our mortality, He made us partakers of His divinity."

48. *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean*, 22.17 (NPNF 1.4, p. 277). One may also see 6.5, 18.6, 20.17-18 (NPNF 1.4, pp. 169, 238, 260). One may compare Jean Rivière, *Le Dogme de la Redemption chez Saint Augustin* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1933), pp. 177-178: "Il y a, pour qui fait abstraction de tout parti-pris, si peu de doute sur le rapport du sacrifice au rachat dans la sotériologie augustinienne que la dépendance de ce dernier est tenue pour acquise, non seulement par les théologiens catholiques, mais par des critiques protestants. Et cette évidente subordination vient, à son tour, confirmer la parfaite indépendance du premier de ces themes, que déja les textes où il est directement développé faisaient éclater au grand jour. De toutes facons, la doctrine du sacrifice constitue, chez l'évêque d'Hippone, un tout qui se tient." One may compare pages 160 and 163.

49. *City of God*, 10.5-6. One may compare 10.19-20: "Thus He is both the priest, Himself making the offering, and the oblation. This is the reality, and He intended the daily sacrifice of the church to be the sacramental symbol of this; for the church, being the body of which He is the head, learns to offer itself through Him. This is the true sacrifice; and the sacrifices of the saints in earlier times were many different symbols of it. . . . This was the supreme sacrifice, and all the false sacrifices yielded place to it."

50. One may note in this regard that Augustine does not understand Christ's sacrifice as one that propitiates the Father. In *De Trinitate* 13.11.15 he raises the question whether "reconciled by the death of His Son" (Romans 5:10) means that God the Father "saw the death of His Son for us and was appeased towards us." Romans 8:31-32 demonstrates that this cannot be the correct interpretation, since God the Father "spared not His own Son, but delivered Him

up for us all." Moreover, the Son was willing, since Galatians 2:20 says that Christ "loved me and delivered up Himself for me."

51. *De Trinitate*, 4.3.6 (NPNF 1.3, p. 72).

52. *De Trinitate*, 13.5.8 (NPNF 1.3, p. 171).

53. *De Trinitate*, 13.14.18 (NPNF 1.3, p. 177).

54. *De Trinitate*, 13.15.19 (NPNF 1.3, p. 177).

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The *Filioque*: What Is at Stake?

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The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, together with the Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian Creed, is one of the "three chief symbols" recognized in the Lutheran Book of Concord. In many churches, including the Roman Catholic, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (which will henceforth be called simply the Nicene Creed) is publicly sung or recited in the eucharistic liturgy on Sundays and feast days. The Apostles' Creed is used at baptism. The third creed, the Athanasian, traditionally formed part of the divine office in the Roman Catholic Church. Although it was dropped from the liturgy following the Second Vatican Council, it still belongs to the creedal and dogmatic heritage of the church.

I. Historical Background

The Nicene Creed exists in two forms: the form commonly in use in various Eastern churches and the Western form. The Eastern form is the text of the creed attributed to the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381) and found in the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). It affirms simply that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father—a statement taken from John 15:26, where the Lord Jesus promises: "When the Counselor comes, whom I shall send to you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness to me." The Western form, familiar to both Lutherans and Roman Catholics, includes, besides several minor variants, one major variant—the addition of the *filioque*, that is to say, the assertion that the Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* the Son.

Even before Chalcedon the doctrine of the twofold procession of the Spirit was taught by a number of Western fathers, including Tertullian, Hilary, Marius Victorinus, Augustine, and Leo the Great, who was pope at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. From then on, the doctrine became universal in the West. It was affirmed by the so-called Athanasian Creed, a fifth-century Western composition which was later erroneously attributed to Athanasius. Probably under the influence of the Athanasian Creed, the *filioque* was inserted into the Nicene Creed when it began to be sung in Spain, late in the sixth century, about the time of the Third Council of Toledo (A.D. 589). The *filioque* also served to emphasize, against Arians and Priscillianists, the perfect equality between the Son and

the Father. From Spain this form of the Nicene Creed spread to England and Gaul, where it was strongly promoted by the Holy Roman Emperors, beginning with Charlemagne. The Council of Aachen (A.D. 809) ordered the solemn chanting of the creed in the then current form, with the *filioque*, throughout the Holy Roman Empire.

For more than two centuries the popes stood up against the Western emperors in refusing to have the creed chanted in the mass and in adhering to the unmodified text of the creed, which Leo III had inscribed in Greek and Latin, without the *filioque*, on two silver shields and hung on either side of the "confessio" in the Basilica of St. Peter. But the popes also defended the orthodoxy of the double procession against some Eastern objections. Although precise information is lacking, historians commonly assert that the *filioque* was introduced into the Roman liturgy by Pope Benedict VIII in deference to the desires of the Emperor Henry II that the creed be chanted in the mass when Henry came to Rome for his coronation in A.D. 1014.

The Eastern fathers, although they were aware of the currency of the *filioque* in the West, did not generally regard it as heretical. Some, such as Maximus the Confessor, a seventh-century Byzantine monk, defended it as a legitimate variation of the Eastern formula that the Spirit proceeds from the Father *through* the Son.[1] In the ninth century, the Patriarch Photius, who had a number of other reasons for quarreling with the Latin West, complained that the *filioque* was heretical. Rome's subsequent action in sanctioning the *filioque* in the Latin form of the creed heightened the tension, preparing the way for the mutual anathemas issued by the Patriarch Michael Caerularius and the papal legate Humbert of Silva Candida in 1054.

The Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215) affirmed the *filioque* both in its creed and in its defense of the trinitarian doctrine of Peter Lombard against Abbot Joachim. In 1274 the Second Council of Lyons, in its Profession of Faith for the Eastern Emperor Michael Paleologus VIII, insisted on the Western formulation. To meet some Eastern objections, the Second Council of Lyons explained that the Spirit proceeds not from two principles but from the Father and the

Son as one co-principle. In 1439 another union-council, that of Florence, achieved a fragile accord with the Greek delegation in which the formulas "from the Father and the Son" and "from the Father through the Son" were recognized as equivalent. But this accord, like that of Lyons, was never received in Greece and Constantinople, which fell under Turkish domination a few years later (A.D. 1453).

At the time of the Reformation the *filioque* was not an issue. It was accepted as part of the Nicene Creed by Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans. The question was raised in new form in 1875, when the Old Catholics sought to restore communion with the Orthodox by conceding that the term *filioque* had been illegitimately added to the creed, while affirming that the doctrine was admissible as a theological opinion. In the Anglican communion, the Lambeth Conference of 1978 accepted the recommendation of those involved in the Orthodox-Anglican dialogue to suppress the *filioque*, but the resolution of the conference could only be implemented by the various provinces of the Anglican communion, which generally have made no change. In 1979 a theological consultation sponsored by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches unanimously recommended that the creed should be restored to its original form, as approved by the Council of Constantinople.[2] In 1990 the Faith and Order Commission issued a document, *Confessing One Faith*, which encourages Christians to confess together the creed in its original form.[3]

In the Roman Catholic Church the status of the *filioque* is currently under discussion. Paul VI, in his Profession of Faith of 1968, intended for all Catholics, asserted: "We believe in the Holy Spirit, the uncreated person who proceeds from the Father and the Son as their eternal love." John Paul II, in his encyclical of 1986 on the Holy Spirit, *Dominum et Vivificantem*, affirms in passing the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son (§2). But the Holy See retains the original wording, without the *filioque*, when the creed is recited in Greek. John Paul II authorized it to be said in this form in 1981, at the celebration in St. Peter's Basilica of the sixteenth centenary of the Council of Constantinople. Again in 1987, when Patriarch Demetrios visited Rome, he and the pope

together recited the creed with the wording of Constantinople.

The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992) reproduces the Nicene Creed with the added phrase (§184) and in the text explains that this Latin formulation does not contradict the Eastern formula that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, provided that neither formula is rigidly understood (§248). A number of prominent theologians, including Yves Congar, have expressed themselves as favoring the deletion of the *filioque* even in the Latin as an ecumenical gesture, provided that it be recognized that the doctrine is not heretical and provided, furthermore, that the faithful of both sides be pastorally prepared so that the "legitimate sensibilities" of all are respected.[4]

II. Present Options

Three principal options seem to present themselves to the Western churches at the present time:

> (1.) They could insist on acceptance of the *filioque* as a condition of full ecclesial communion, while rejecting the formula "from the Father through the Son."
>
> (2.) They could allow two or more alternative forms of the creed. These might include the form that affirms the double procession, the form that asserts the procession simply "from the Father," and the form that declares "from the Father through the Son."
>
> (3.) They could suppress the *filioque* and revert to the wording of the creed as approved in A.D. 381.

Several theologians have proposed mediating positions, but these proposals do not seem to have eventuated in new practical possibilities regarding the wording of the creed.[5]

A. Three Levels

The issues involved in the *filioque* are complex. In order to sort them out it will pay to consider three levels of affirmation: the basic Christian faith, official church teaching, and theological affirmation.

(1.) The basic Christian faith concerning the triune God, as taught

on the basis of Scripture by the ecumenical councils of the early centuries, holds the reality of the one God, eternal and sovereign, who exists as three eternal persons, inseparably united, each possessing the fullness of the divinity, and hence equal in dignity and majesty. The Father is the fontal source from whom the other divine persons ultimately proceed. This faith, simultaneously monotheistic and trinitarian, is common to all the principal Christian churches, Western and Eastern.

(2.) Over and above this basic faith, official ecclesiastical doctrine in the Western tradition affirms the *filioque* on the basis of a virtually unanimous consensus since the fourth century. Creeds, councils, and popes have authoritatively taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. This consensus has been accepted in the confessional documents of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican churches. Without wishing to judge how the matter stands for other churches, the *filioque* may be said, from a Roman Catholic point of view, to have achieved the status of irreversible ecclesiastical dogma. This status, however, does not necessarily imply that the dogma has to be explicitly professed in the creed. Indeed, the *filioque* is not mentioned in the most ancient Western creed, the *Apostolicum.* A creed is not intended to declare the whole of Christian dogma but only certain cardinal points.

(3.) The faith and doctrine of the church inevitably raise theological questions. Reflective Christians seek to understand how it can be that the one God exists as three persons, each of whom eternally possesses the fullness of the divinity. Theology attempts to cast some light on the matter. According to a view that is widely current in the West, the divine persons are subsistent relations, and the two processions—those of the Son and the Holy Spirit—take place according to the analogies of intellection and volition. In their explanatory statements theologians deliberately go beyond the dogmatic teaching of the church, while at the same time seeking to interpret it. Conversely, theological reflection contributes to the maturation of official doctrine. The Western councils in the Middle Ages drew on the work of theologians such as Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventure and endorsed some of their insights.

B. Theological Grounds

The theological question about how to reconcile the plurality of persons with the unity and simplicity of the godhead was discussed both in the East and in the West. Eastern fathers such as Gregory Nazianzen laid the groundwork for a solution by distinguishing between the divine essence and the three hypostases and by making use of the philosophical doctrine of relations. Building on these elements, a series of Western theologians from Hilary and Ambrose, through Augustine, Anselm, Richard of St. Victor, and Thomas Aquinas, gradually perfected a systematic theology of the Trinity that has satisfied many rigorous thinkers.[6] The *filioque* is an essential ingredient in that system. The following summary will be based primarily on the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas.[7]

In the first place, the theory affirms that the three divine persons are subsistent relations, a unique and mysterious category that cannot be known except through reflection on the data of revelation (S.T., 1.29.4). Only in God can relations exist according to the category of substance.

Secondly, the persons are distinguished by their relations of origin. There are four such relations in God: paternity, filiation, active spiration, and passive spiration. The Son is constituted by the first pair of relations, the Spirit by the second (S.T., 1.28.4).

Thirdly, the system holds that the three divine persons are identical with one another in all things except the mutually opposed relations of origin (S.T., 1.30).[8] Fatherhood and sonship are mutually opposed; active and passive spiration are mutually opposed.

From these three premises the procession of the Spirit from Father and Son necessarily follows. The Father and Son are identical in everything except the mutually opposed relations of fatherhood and sonship. According to the famous dictum of Athanasius, "the same things are said of the Son as are said of the Father, except His being said to be 'Father.'"[9] The only thing that the Father alone can do is to be Father, that is, to generate the Son. Since the Father does not act alone in spirating the Spirit, the Spirit must proceed from the Father and the Son as from a single co-principle. The Holy Spirit is distinguished from the Son by a different relation of origin.

The double procession of the Spirit can be established also by recourse to the psychological analogy, which became standard in trinitarian theology with Augustine. The processions are correlated with the acts of intellection and volition, the two modes of action proper to spiritual beings. The Son proceeds by way of intelligence as the Father's concept or mental word. The Father contemplates all truth in the Word whom he conceives or engenders intellectually. Since the Son fully expresses the Father's mind, there is no room for a further procession by way of understanding.

Spiritual beings can act, secondly, by way of love, the primary act of the will. The will never acts blindly, since it is impossible to love what one does not know. The act of love follows from, and involves, the concept through which the object is known (S.T., 1.27.3). Hence it follows that the love from which the Spirit proceeds comes not only from the Father but also from the Son, the engendered Word, and is the expression of their mutual love. The most perfect love, that of friendship, involves distinct personal subjects who are conjoined in a fruitful communion of love. The Holy Spirit, then, results from the friendship between the Father and the Son (S.T., 1.36.4, ad 1).

This psychological analogy helps to clarify the difference between the generation of the Word and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Intellectual conception produces a mental word or image, in which the mind contemplates the real object. Love, however, does not produce an image; it is an impulse going out to the beloved in itself. The Spirit, arising through love, is not a word or image, as is the Son (S.T., 1.27.4). Combining the psychological analogy with the personal, many theologians teach that the Spirit, as the fruit of the love of the Father and the Son, is the bond of peace and unity between them. This theological systematization, although it is too technical and speculative to attain dogmatic status, manifests the inner intelligibility of the revealed mystery, which otherwise might appear as a sheer conundrum. This intelligibility presupposes the truth of the *filioque*.

A further asset of the *filioque* is the harmony it establishes between the inner constitution of the Trinity and the missions by which the Son and the Holy Spirit accomplish their saving work in

history. In the New Testament the Son is frequently said to be sent by the Father (John 5:23; 6:38-39; 7:28; Galatians 4:4). The Holy Spirit is said to be sent by the Father (John 14:26; Galatians 4:6) and by the Son (John 15:26; 16:7; 20:23; Acts 2:33), and in many of these texts the Father and Son are mentioned together as being involved in the sending of the Spirit. The Father, however, is never said to be sent.

From these texts it seems evident that the processions underlie the missions. The Father cannot be sent because He does not proceed. The Son can be sent by the Father because He proceeds from the Father. The Spirit can be sent by both Father and Son because He proceeds from both. According to Thomas Aquinas the missions are the processions, insofar as the processions connote an effect outside of God (S.T., 1.43.2, especially ad 3). The external term in the case of the mission of the Son is the hypostatic union, and in the case of the Holy Spirit it is the inhabitation by which the creature is sanctified.

C. The Stakes

In appraising the importance of the *filioque*, one must compare it with two other positions regarding the origin of the Spirit. The first, the so-called "monopatrist" position, affirms the procession of the Spirit from the Father *alone*. This was the formula preferred by Photius and his strict disciples, although it has little basis in the earlier Eastern tradition. The other Eastern formula, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father *through* the Son, is found in many Eastern fathers, including Epiphanius, Ephrem, Cyril of Alexandria, and John Damascene.[10] This formula was also employed by the Patriarch Tarasius at the Second Council of Nicea (A.D. 787).[11]

The first Eastern alternative, "from the Father alone," if asserted in a rigid and exclusive way, has many disadvantages in comparison with the *filioque*. It may be asked, most fundamentally, whether the monopatrist position can account for the terminology of the New Testament regarding the Holy Spirit. Admittedly we do not have any New Testament text which teaches formally that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but a number of texts, read in convergence, seem to imply this. John 5:19, for example, says that the Son does

only what He sees the Father doing—a statement which seems to refer to the externally existing Son and hence to imply that the Son, together with the Father, breathes forth the Spirit. In John 16:14 Jesus says that the Spirit of Truth will take from the Son what is the Son's and declare it to the believing community. This "taking" is often understood as referring to the procession. Then again, in the Revelation to John, the river of the water of life is said to flow from the throne of God and of the Lamb (Revelation 22:1). Read in conjunction with Ezekiel 36:25-26, John 3:5, John 4:10, and 1 John 5:6-8, this river of living water may be understood as the life-giving Spirit.

What is merely suggested by these texts is impressively confirmed by the titles given to the Spirit in the New Testament. He is repeatedly called the Spirit of the Son (Galatians 4:6), the Spirit of Jesus (Acts 16:7), the Spirit of the Lord (2 Corinthians 3:17), the Spirit of Christ (1 Peter 1:11), and the Spirit of Jesus Christ (Philippians 1:19). It is not enough to declare that the Son sends the Spirit, as most monopatrists do, since it must be explained how the Son gets the power to send the Spirit as His own. Correctly insisting that the temporal truth must have an eternal ground, Karl Barth holds that the Spirit of the Son eternally proceeds from the Son.[12]

This first criticism leads to a second. The monopatrist position invites an unfortunate split between what God is in Himself (the "immanent Trinity") and how He acts in the history of salvation (the "economic Trinity"). Barth rightly protests against the separation sometimes made between the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity, or between the divine being and the divine energies.[13] Reacting against such dichotomies, Barth maintains that the sending of the Spirit by the Father and the Son implies His origin from both.[14] God cannot manifest Himself in His historical action as anything different from that which He is antecedently in Himself.

A third weakness in the monopatrist position has already been suggested above. If the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, it is hard to see how the Son and the Spirit differ. Many Eastern fathers confessed their inability to give a satisfactory answer to this question. They sometimes describe the procession of the Spirit as

a prolongation of the generation of the Son, as though the latter were in need of completion in its own order. In the Western theory, however, as already explained with the help of Thomas Aquinas, it is luminously clear why the procession of the Spirit is different in kind from the generation of the Son. If the Holy Spirit had the same relation of origin as the Son, the two could not differ from each other.

Fourthly and lastly, the monopatrist position runs the risk of portraying the Son and the Spirit as two autonomous and competing agencies, so that what is given to the Son is subtracted from the Spirit and vice-versa. This portrayal imperils the unity of the economy of salvation, according to which all grace and sanctification are from the three divine persons operating in unison—from the Father as sending, from the Son as sent by the Father, and from the Holy Spirit as sent by both the Father and the Son. Just as the Holy Spirit is at work in the incarnation of the Son, so the Son is present in the indwelling of the Spirit. In some Eastern theologies one gets the impression that an independent sphere of action is being allotted to the Spirit. This tenet would compromise the unity of the godhead and the universal efficacy of Christ's redemptive mediation.

The *filioque* must also be compared with the other Eastern formula, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Here a more nuanced judgment is required. The formulas using "and" and "through" may be seen not as contradictory but as complementary. Approaching the same mystery from different points of view, both formulas fall short of encompassing the full reality that is intended. In the seventh century, as mentioned above, the Byzantine monk Maximus the Confessor maintained that the *filioque* was a legitimate variation of the doctrine that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Thomas Aquinas, in the thirteenth century, maintained that the expression "through the Son" was orthodox and did not contradict what he himself understood by the *filioque* (S.T., 1.36.3). The Council of Florence, as we have seen, admitted the legitimacy of both formulas.

Some prefer the formulation using "through" because they think that it better preserves the so-called "monarchy" of the Father—namely, the fact that the Father is the fontal source of all

divinity. Augustine, while preferring the *filioque*, concedes that the Spirit proceeds "principally" (*principaliter*) from the Father, in the sense that the Father alone is the underived source (*principium sine principio*), whereas the Son is the derived source (*principium principatum*).[15]

Yet the expression "from the Father through the Son" labors under one major difficulty. It gives the impression that the Spirit is differently related to the Father and to the Son, as though the Father were only a remote rather than an immediate source. The "through" can easily be understood as though the Son were a mere instrument used by the Father, somewhat as a person might speak by means of a microphone. Thomas points out that the Son does not receive the capacity to spirate as a superadded power, but as a power that pertains to Him by His very being as Son. The Spirit, therefore, proceeds immediately and equally from both Father and Son (S.T., 1.36.3, ad 2). The *filioque* formula indicates more clearly that the Father and the Son have the same identical relationship to the Spirit. If this case were not so, the Son would not be one with the Father in all things except in being Son.

D. An Objection to the Filioque

At this point an objection arises against the Western formula. If the Son's equality with the Father depends upon His being co-principle in actively spirating the Holy Spirit, does not the inability of the Spirit to originate or send any other divine person make the Spirit inferior? Eastern theologians often accuse the West of subordinating the Spirit to the Son.

This difficulty, however, arises even against the Eastern theories, since they insist on the prerogatives of the Father as the person who proceeds from no other. The Eastern tradition, heavily imbued with neo-Platonism, has always been in danger of embracing an emanationist view in which the Father alone has the fullness of the divinity, with the Son and the Spirit being subordinated at least to the Father as the fontal source. To avoid this pitfall, it is necessary to insist that the persons who proceed are not inferior provided that they receive the fullness of the divinity as their own. Both the Son and the Holy Spirit, although they proceed from the Father (or from the

Father and the Son), possess the entire divine being by way of identity. Hence neither of them is inferior to the other or to the Father. The procession of the Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father does not subordinate the Spirit to the Son any more than, on the Eastern theory, the procession of the Son and the Spirit subordinate them to the Father.

E. Choosing an Option

The options regarding the creed, as already indicated, are basically as follows: either to impose one formula as the only legitimate one or to admit two or more concurrent formulas. Three formulas are in question concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit: from the Father alone, from the Father through the Son, and from the Father and the Son.

The extreme Eastern position would be to insist on the original Constantinopolitan wording, with the understanding that it be interpreted as meaning "from the Father alone." The *filioque* would be branded as heretical. This approach is the one which has been called here the Photian or monopatrist position.

The extreme Western position would be to insist on the *filioque* as the only legitimate way of reciting the creed. This was the position of the Carolingian theologians of the eighth and early ninth centuries, who rejected the validity of the formula that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.

A third option is that adopted by the Roman Catholic Church in recent centuries—to retain the *filioque* in the Latin creed while allowing Eastern Catholics to recite the creed according to the Eastern custom, without the *filioque*. Eastern Catholic churches are today free to omit the *filioque*, and some do omit it. If this policy is continued, Eastern churches coming into union with Rome in the future will not be required to add the *filioque* to the creed, even though they would be held to recognize the orthodoxy of the expression.

A fourth proposal, currently favored in many ecumenical circles, is to delete the *filioque* from the creed, while insisting at the same time that the Western formulation is not heretical. In favor of this

option one may say that it would give all major Christian groups, whether Eastern or Western, a common creed by which they could express their adherence to the basic Christian faith, even while recognizing disagreements about certain issues not settled by the creed.

This fourth option presents severe difficulties for Western Christians who are convinced of the truth and legitimacy of the *filioque*. In the absence of a solemn and binding declaration from the Eastern Churches that they accepted the orthodoxy of the *filioque*, the gesture of striking the term from the creed would short-circuit the ecumenical process by failing to confront the question whether the Latin church had been guilty of heresy for the past fifteen hundred years. The suppression would be taken in some quarters as an admission that the term was illegitimately added, or even false. The reversion to the earlier form of the creed would diminish the intelligibility of the revealed mystery, so brilliantly elucidated by theologians such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. The action, moreover, would obscure the intimate connection between the immanent and the economic Trinity, between the processions and the missions. In the end it would raise questions about whether the gift of the Spirit who is poured out into our hearts is really the same as the Spirit who exists from all eternity in the godhead.

If the Eastern churches were to make it clear that they could accept the *filioque* as a legitimate theological opinion, the consequences of the change would be less damaging, but in that case there would be no imperative reason why the West should abandon its long-standing tradition. If the orthodoxy of both the Eastern and Western formulations is clear, both may be tolerated without divisiveness, the one for the creed in Greek and Slavic liturgies, the other for churches of the Latin rite.[16]

By no means, to be sure, should the insertion of a Western interpolation into the creed be made a condition of reunion with the East. A number of ecumenical experts, indeed, have declared that it ought not be added to the creed in Greek, on the ground that the Greek term ἐκπορεύεται, unlike the Latin *procedit* and the English "proceeds," carries with it the notion of proceeding from an original

source—a source that has no prior source.[17]

The problem of the *filioque* is in the last analysis inseparable from that of the development of dogma. Much of the Eastern opposition was occasioned by the view that the creed of Constantinople was not subject to any modification. The Greek theologians at the Council of Florence argued that the addition of the *filioque* was a violation of the decree of Ephesus (A.D. 431) that "no one should profess, write, or compose any faith other than that defined by the holy fathers who were gathered at Nicea with the Holy Spirit" (D.S. 265). The Latin theologians replied that these words were intended to prevent any change of the faith, but not any change in the words of the creed. This interpretation was surely correct, because the Nicene Creed, to which the fathers at Ephesus were referring, did not yet have the words about the procession of the Holy Spirit that were added at Constantinople and were still to be approved by Chalcedon. The Council of Florence decided that the *filioque* had been licitly and reasonably added to the creed in order to make its meaning more explicit in the face of misunderstandings (D.S. 1302).

Just as it was proper for the Council of Nicea to add the ὁμοούσιον to the earlier wording of the creed, and as it was proper for Constantinople to insert a clause regarding the procession of the Spirit from the Father, so, according to the Western view, it was proper for later councils and popes to make a further modification to clarify the relation between the Spirit and the Son. Nothing can deprive the church of its power to retouch the creed provided that its meaning is not deformed. Before it was approved by Rome, the *filioque* had been universally accepted in Western theology; it had been sanctioned by local councils in several countries and had entered into the liturgical usage of many, if not most, Western churches. The Holy See was not imposing anything new, but simply confirming what was already deeply ingrained in the sense of the faithful. While the *filioque* is not the only orthodox way of expressing the procession of the Holy Spirit, it embodies a profound truth that should not be sacrificed out of indifference, agnosticism, or ignorance, nor be discarded for the sake of a merely apparent unity. The toleration of different wording in the Eastern and Western churches seems, then, in this writer's judgment, ecumenical-

ly appropriate at the present time. The one faith may be expressed in different formulations that are compatible and mutually complementary.

Endnotes

1. Maximus the Confessor, Letter to the Cypriot Priest Marinus, A.D. 655, in his *Opuscula Theologica et Polemica*, PG 91:136. Congar quotes at length from this letter in his *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, volume 3 (New York: Seabury Press, 1983), 52-53. Readers are also referred to Michael A. Fahey, "Son and Spirit: Divergent Theologies between Constantinople and the West," in *Conflicts about the Spirit*, ed. Hans Küng and Jürgen Moltmann (Concilium 186; New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 15-22, at 17.

2. "The *Filioque* Clause in Ecumenical Perspective," in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy* (Faith and Order Paper 103; Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981), 3-18.

3. *Confessing One Faith: An Ecumenical Explication of the Apostolic Faith as It Is Confessed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed* (Faith and Order Paper 153; Geneva: WCC Publications), p. 79.

4. Yves Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 3:204-209.

5. For a variety of suggestions see the account in Congar, *I Believe*, 3:199-203. Walter Kasper remarks that it might be possible to adopt "from the Father through the Son" as a common formula, but he personally prefers the proposal to tolerate different formulations in the East and the West. Readers are referred to his *The God of Jesus Christ* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1984), 222. Juan-Miguel Garrigues suggests a rather complex formula that in his opinion might satisfy both Eastern and Western churches: "The Holy Spirit who comes forth in his personal originality as Spirit from the one only Father of the Only-Begotten through and by reason of this unique Begotten, proceeds in origin from the two in the consubstantial perichoresis of the Trinity, while being, by his relation to the Son, what the Son is, just as the Son, by his relation to the Father, is what the Father is, that is to say God." Readers are referred to his essay, "A Roman Catholic View," in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*,

149-163, at 162-163. In the same volume Jürgen Moltmann recommends that the text of the creed be interpreted: "The Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father of the Son, and receives his form from the Father and the Son." Readers are referred to his "Theological Proposals Towards a Resolution of the Filioque Controversy," ibid., 164-173, at 171.

6. On the Latin developments in the patristic period and the Middle Ages, readers are referred to Congar, *I Believe*, 3:49-54, 79-127.

7. An excellent presentation, emphasizing the personalism of Thomas, is A. Malet, *Personne et Amour dans la Théologie Trinitaire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris: Vrin, 1956). He deals with the procession of the Holy Spirit on pages 124-149.

8. This statement, of course, applies to the divine persons as existing within the godhead. It is quite true that certain things are said of the Incarnate Son that are not said of the Father—for instance, that He died on the cross. These statements, however, presuppose the "interchange of properties" (*communicatio idiomatum)* between the two natures of Christ, a christological question that goes beyond the purview of the present paper.

9. Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* 3:3-4; as quoted by Thomas F. Torrance, *The Trinitarian Faith: The Evangelical Theology of the Ancient Catholic Church* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1988), 313.

10. On the teaching of the Greek fathers, readers are referred to Congar, *I Believe*, 3:24-48; Torrance, *Trinitarian Faith*, 302-340; more briefly, Dietrich Ritschl, "Historical Development and Implications of the *Filioque* Controversy," in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, 46-65; idem, "The History of the *Filioque* Controversy," in *Conflicts about the Holy Spirit*, 3-14.

11. On Tarasius and the Second Council of Nicea see Congar, *I Believe*, 3:53-54, with references to original texts reproduced in J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 12:1122 and 1154.

12. Barth, *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*, I:1 (ninth ed.; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 504-505; *Church Dogmatics* I:1 (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1936), 550.

13. Limitations of space prevent consideration in this paper of the doctrine of the divine energies as expounded by Gregory Palamas.

14. Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, I:1:503; *Church Dogmatics*, I:1:548.

15. See Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 15:17:29. This and several other texts from Augustine are quoted by Congar, *I Believe*, 3:93, note 25.

16. In his critique of the fourth option the author fully agrees with the wise observations of Walter Kasper, *The God of Jesus Christ*, 221-222.

17. This position is subject to the objection that the river of life in Revelation 22:1 is asserted to be "flowing" or "proceeding" (ἐκπορευόμενον) from the throne of God and the Lamb—an objection that is especially acute if this text is understood in a trinitarian sense. The problem of finding a term in Greek that accurately corresponds to the Latin *procedit* as applied to the Son is discussed by a number of authors in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, mentioned in note 5 above. The Romanian Orthodox theologian Dumitru Staniloae, following several other authors, suggests the term πρόεισι, but does not favor its introduction into the creed for fear of confusion between the various terms. Readers are referred to his "The Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and His Relation to the Son, as the Basis of our Deification and Adoption," 174-186.

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Books Received

Klass A. D. Smelik. *Writings from Ancient Israel: A Handbook of Historical and Religious Documents.* Translated by G. I. Davies. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. ix + 191 pages. Paper. $19.95.

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Carnegie Samuel Calian. *Theology without Boundaries: Encounters of Eastern Orthodoxy and Western Tradition.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 130 pages. Paper. $14.95.

Catharina J. M. Halkes. *New Creation: Christian Feminism and the Renewal of the Earth.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 177 pages. Paper. $13.95.

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T. Richard Snyder. *Divided We Fall: Moving from Suspicion to Solidarity.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 170 pages. Paper. $11.95.

Maurice Casey. *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology.* Cambridge, England: James Clark and Company; Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 197 pages. Cloth. $20.95.

Robert W. Wall. *Revelation.* New International Biblical Commentary. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991. xv + 295 pages. Paper. $9.95.

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G. R. Beasley-Murray. *Gospel of Life: Theology in the Fourth Gospel.* Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991. xii + 131 pages. Paper. $7.95.

James L. Crenshaw. *Old Testament Story and Faith: A Literary and Theological Introduction.* Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986, 1992. viii + 472 pages. Cloth. $19.95.

God the Son and Hermeneutics: A Brief Study in the Reformation

David P. Scaer

I. Hermeneutics in General

A. A Christological Skill

In his *Evangelical Interpretation: Perspectives on Hermeneutical Issues*, the Evangelical New Testament scholar Millard J. Erickson makes this observation on theology:

> Frequently those who are the most effective practitioners of a given skill cannot explain how they do it. They either possess this ability intuitively, like musicians who play "by ear," or they have so assimilated the methodology that they are no longer conscious of the steps that they go through in executing that action, like experienced drivers driving an automobile. . . .
>
> Likewise, many of the most important theologians in the history of the church did not write discourses on theological methodology. They simply proceeded to do theology, correlating their statements with the pressing issues and thought forms of the day.

Erickson offers Augustine and Martin Luther as examples.[1] Instinctively one knows that Erickson is right. Dance lessons by themselves no more produce great dancers than do piano lessons great pianists. Hermeneutics requires a method, but ultimately it is a skill grounded in the faith of the interpreter within the context of the church.[2] In a Lutheran context the intuition of faith is christological.

B. The Failure of Humanism

All Lutheran theologians from Luther to Pieper have made this fact clear when they claim that suffering (*Anfechtung*; *tentatio*) is a component of the theological task.[3] Theology, especially hermeneutics, originates and finds its goal within the context of the Christian life, denoted not by proscriptions (law), but comprehended in and by christology (gospel). Christology is more than an abstract theological discipline; it is a sharing in Christ's suffering in which the true knowledge of God (theology) is grasped. From his burden the interpreter may instinctively flee, desiring the safe haven of a precisely defined science, but the land of pleasant neutrality is never

found. Erasmus, who gave the Reformation the Greek New Testament, distanced himself from the conflict which Luther's Reformation brought. He died an outcast and was excommunicated after his death; he was branded a heretic and his books were banned.[4] As a textual critic and linguistic scholar Luther came in second—or third if Calvin be added to the list—but he found Christ in the Scriptures.

C. Method and Its Limitations

Questionable is any claim that theology and with it biblical interpretation are abstract sciences, acquired and then measured by the application of principles and regulations. A variety of often contradictory results come from those applying the same principles. Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin were all exegetical scholars, and Luther was the least methodical. A purely scientific method would be possible if the Bible could be approached from a position of nearly absolute religious, philosophical, or literary neutrality. Humanism failed in this attempt. Locating a point of literary neutrality even in non-religious writings is elusive. Within their own spheres Shakespearian and American constitutional scholars do not agree. An objective literary hermeneutic remains as elusive as Camelot. The *Jesus Seminar*, for all of its self-heralded scientific objectivity, is hardly more than a curiosity in what must appear to some a carnival with each scholar hawking his own wares. Polling scholars to determine the authentic words of Jesus is no more valuable (scholarly) than asking Lutherans what they believe so as to determine the Lutheran faith. This undertaking is sociology gone awry and allowed to trespass where it does not belong. Scientific exegesis ultimately fails because it assumes that a modicum of objectivity can be located. The content and purpose of the Bible (law and gospel) permit no reader the luxury of neutral, scholarly objectivity. His faith or lack of faith involves him at the deepest level of his existence as he is battered between the seeming contradiction in the God who constantly reverses Himself by rejecting (law) and accepting him (gospel). Claims of discovering the high ground of neutral territory are deluded. Distinctions, made in sermons to seminarists and pastors, between a "professional" and a "devotional" study of the Bible are somewhat puzzling and are hardly Luther-like,

since no one is ever excused from the combat of faith.

D. Unplanned Discoveries: Unearthing Old Treasures

Even within the same religious community, it would be impudent to suggest that one person (even Luther), one method, or one commentary has exhausted the full meaning of the Scriptures and nothing new can be learned. Biblical commentaries can never be treated rightly as exhaustive, although they are often treated as if they were. Commentators are hermeneutical combatants with the rest of us. Luther and his fellow-reformers approached the Scriptures differently. Luther spoke of interpreting the Scriptures as walking in the woods. One can walk where he wants and may walk where he has already gone to see things which he did not see the first time.[5] A trip to the botanical garden in which the flora are labeled may be helpful to the uninitiated, but it can never match the sheer joy of discovery. The fathers have made paths through the woods, but we may leave the beaten track. Often, much to our chagrin, paths new to us are already charted by the fathers. Still, as children, we are entitled to the thrill of discovery. We can take the hands of the fathers, but studying the map is no substitute for enjoying the scenery. London may be old to one man, but another can discover it for himself.[6]

If we believe that the Scriptures are a divine book, we shall be drawn into its pages. Here our finite minds pursue in the joy of faith the infinite God revealed in the cross. The right of pursuit does not, of course, give license to crazed wandering exegetes to head for the forests with chain-saws, but it is a passport to go where we and others have already gone and see what was not seen the first time. Biblical interpretation is more than a constant reshuffling of a deck of cards. Rather the interpreter will be consumed by those Scriptures which he consumes. He never fully envelops what fully envelops him.

E. Scripture as Churchly Domain

Those who find themselves only condemned by the Scriptures readjust them or put them aside, but those who find redemption there are drawn by them into the church. The Spirit who inspired the Scriptures is the same Spirit who helped Christ to offer up an eternal

sacrifice and who brings the listener to Christ as the content of the Scriptures. They belong to the church. He comes to us in the Scriptures and joins our existence in the sacraments. The custom of placing the gospel-book on the altar is a profound symbol of the ecclesial and christological nature of Scripture. Inspiration without christology turns gracious invitations into rules and principles. The Bible arises and functions in and for the church to awaken and confirm faith in the Christ encountered in the sacraments.

F. Setting Boundaries

The task and title here, "God the Son and Hermeneutics," would be unacceptable to Helmut Koester, who disputes the distinctions between secular and sacred documents. The Gospel of Thomas has as much weight as John. Cicero, Socrates, Philo, Jesus, and Paul are equals. Walls separating university and seminary are artificial.[7] For Lutherans the principle suggested in the title, "God the Son and Hermeneutics," is self-understood. Remove Christ and the law becomes the functional hermeneutical key. Then God's final word becomes what we must do and not what He has already done. Law and gospel are reversed.

II. Johannes Bugenhagen and the Psalms

A. Looking for Guides

While asserting the interpreter's right to wander around in the woods without having others barking at him, these woods are churchly domain. Like children at play, we never want to go so far that we no longer see the lights in the house. Our Lutheran Confessions find our homes in Ceasarea, Constantinople, Milan, Hippo, and Rome.[8] In addition, of course, Wittenberg beckons.

B. Bugenhagen's Place in the Reformation

The *Lutheran Theological Journal* of May 1992 contains an article by Maurice E. Schild on Johann Bugenhagen's approach to the Psalms.[9] If he had lived in a different place and time, he may have achieved a greatness denied those who live in the shadow of a giant (in this case Luther). He is immortalized by Lucas Cranach the Younger on the triptych over the altar of St. Mary's Church in

Wittenberg, where he was pastor and shared the pulpit with Luther. There he lies buried. On the right panel of the triptych is Melanchthon baptizing an infant by immersion. In the center stands Luther preaching. Superimposed between him and the congregation, which includes his wife and son, is the crucified Christ. The Lutheran hermeneutical principle is obvious. By itself this painting expresses the theme here of "God the Son and Hermeneutics." Like St. Paul Luther intended to preach nothing except Christ and Him crucified and saw all his theology in christological dimensions. On an upper panel Luther, Bugenhagen, and other reformers gather for eucharistic celebration with Jesus as the host who is then also symbolized by the slain lamb on the table. The passover, the institution of the eucharist, and the participation of the reformers, events covering three thousand years are brought together on one canvas. Mysteries of Old Testament promise, New Testament atonement, and eucharist comprise one reality. Artists on one canvas can confess mysteries for which theologians need pages. On the right panel stands Bugenhagen alone, holding the keys of his office, one restoring a penitent sinner and another excommunicating an impenitent. On the triptych is the triumvirate of the Reformation: Melanchthon, Luther, and Bugenhagen. Here is the heart and content of Lutheran theology: baptism, preaching, the eucharist, and the pastoral office pictured in the Bugenhagen's keys. Luther fueled the Reformation and Melanchthon provided the confessional structure, but Bugenhagen was the *episcopus*, planting the Reformation and liturgically restructuring the north German and Danish churches.[10]

From 1517 to 1521 Bugenhagen was already lecturing on the Psalms to the monks in Belbeck in Pomerania, the region from which he took his Latin name, Pomeranus.[11] In March of 1521 he arrived in Wittenberg. Luther left on April 2 for Worms and exile in the Wartburg until the spring of 1522. In a letter of 1518 Bugenhagen makes reference to Luther. Scholars believe he had his own "tower experience" in reading the *Babylonian Captivity* in 1520.[12] During Luther's absence he lectured on the Psalms for Pomeranian students. Before he had reached Psalm 16, the room was so filled that the self-invited Melanchthon suggested that the lectures be offered at the university (from November 1521 to March 1523).[13] In 1523 Bugenhagen became pastor of St. Mary's Church

and in 1533 a doctor of theology and professor in the university.[14] In 1537 he was third among forty-three theologians to sign the Smalcald Articles, his signature appearing after Luther and Justus Jonas. During Luther's absence he resisted Karlstadt, and after the reformer's death, he opposed the interims.[15] He died in 1558 at the age of seventy-two, a man of remarkable and unquestionable confessional Lutheran credentials. Influenced by Luther, Bugenhagen was autodidactic, but he shared with him the sense of a tortured soul searching for salvation. Luther was his father, but he was Luther's *Beichtvater* and *episcopus.*

C. Bugenhagen's Commentary and Luther's Preface

Bugenhagen's *Librum Psalmorum Interpretatio* was so important that, upon his return, Luther urged its publication and he and Melanchthon provided prefaces for the first edition in 1524.[16] Luther lectured on the Psalms from 1513 to 1515[17] and wrote another commentary on the Psalms in 1525.[18] To Martin Bucer Luther wrote that Bugenhagen with his exegesis of the Psalms was "on the mark" and urged him to prepare a German translation which appeared in January 1526.[19] By 1679 the Latin version had appeared in sixteen editions. It lies at the center of the exegetical thinking of the Reformation. In his preface Luther said: "Among the number [of the elect] is Johannes Bugenhagen, the bishop of Wittenberg ["Pomeranus episcopus ecclesiae VVittembergen"] by the will of God and our Father, through whose gift this Psalter ["hoc Psalterium"] is given opening to you, dear reader, by the Spirit of Christ, who is the key of David." Christology or, more precisely, Christ is, according to Luther, the hermeneutical key, and Bugenhagen by God's grace had found it. Bugenhagen is for Luther "the first in the world who deserves to be called an interpreter of the Psalms" ("huc Pomeranu primu in orbe psalterii interpres"). Melanchthon in his preface said of Bugenhagen's commentary: "Mercuriales statuae vias indicant."[20]

D. Christ, the Key for Luther and Bugenhagen

Bugenhagen's commentary differs from Luther's, as Luther's two commentaries differ from each other. Not even Luther followed the same path through the woods, but both Luther and Bugenhagen

found Christ.[21] Luther declares:

> Every prophecy and every prophet must be understood as referring to Christ the Lord except where it is clear from plain words someone else is spoke of. For thus He Himself says: "Search the Scriptures, . . . and it is they that bear witness to Me" (John 5:39). Otherwise it is most certain that searchers will not find what they are searching for. For that reason some explain very many psalms not prophetically but historically, following certain Hebrew rabbis who are falsifiers and inventors of Jewish vanities. No wonder, because they are far from Christ (that is, from the truth). "But we have the mind of Christ," says the apostle (1 Corinthians 2:16).[22]

Bugenhagen's approach to the Scriptures is caught by the titles which Hans Hermann Holfelder gave to his studies of Bugenhagen's commentaries on Paul's epistles (*Solus Christus*)[23] and the Psalms (*Tentatio et Consolatio*).[24] *Solus Christus* expresses Luther's own theology[25] and *Tentatio et Consolatio* expresses Luther's dilemma of being condemned and accepted by God at the same time.[26] This dilemma of rejection and acceptance describes the Christian experience in confronting God, but also the experience of Christ Himself as the one who is made sin (in death) and the one who is vindicated and declared righteous by God (in the resurrection). The characteristic Lutheran principle of law and gospel is christological; Christ knows intimately, even more profoundly, what every Christian experiences in being rejected (law) and then accepted (gospel) by God. The title *Tentatio et Consolatio* is as much christological as is *Solus Christus*. The cry of the forsaken (Psalm 22:1) is prayed by Christ and believers in Christ.

E. Christus Qui Clavis David

Schild notes, as others have, that Bugenhagen's commentary is not a modern one.[27] He does, however, attend to exegetical details and textual criticism.[28] Schild calls the commentary "a work of spiritual edification in which he [Bugenhagen] teaches that the Psalter is opened through the Spirit of Christ, who is 'the key of David'—as Luther rejoiced in his preface."[29] Luther echoed his preface to the

lectures on the Psalms which he delivered between 1513 and 1515, providing nine biblical references, including Revelation 3:7, identifying Jesus as the key of David, and Psalm 40:7, "In the roll of the book it is written of Me."[30] In biblical interpretation Bugenhagen and Luther come from Christ and return to Him.[31] Christ is the hermeneutical key.[32] In Reformed and Evangelical hermeneutics this role is played by the Spirit.[33] A christological hermeneutic and not inspiration accounts for Lutheran differences with others on justification, sanctification, the ministry (including our opposition to the ordination of women), the sacraments, and the person and work of Christ.[34]

F. Confessio Autoris

Biblical hermeneutics presupposes faith, because Christ through the biblical text embraces the interpreter. Bugenhagen's interpretation of the Psalms was his spiritual autobiography, *confessio autoris.* Yet he was an accomplished linguist and had come under the influence of the humanists Faber Stapulensis and Erasmus and was known by them.[35] He prepared three translations of the Psalms from Hebrew into Latin.[36] As a scholar he compared the Hebrew text with the Septuagint and Vulgate and eventually Luther's German translation; he lectured and wrote in the Latin language. His christological hermeneutic was not compensation for a linguistic deficit. His christological conclusions can hardly be explained alone as the results of the proper application of linguistic or scientific methods. Erasmus, with his view of the Scriptures as the source of Christian life, was Bugenhagen's nemesis, whose views he rejected as his own *priores errores.*[37] He, like Luther, admits undergoing a conversion from the human righteousness which he knew under the papacy and Erasmus to a righteousness given in Christ. Luther was by far the more famed opponent of Erasmus (notably in his *Bondage of the Will*), but he had never been under humanism's spell as Bugenhagen confessed that he had been.

As Bugenhagen was drawn into the text, it spoke of David, of Christ, and of himself. Bugenhagen used Nicholas of Lyra against the allegorizing of Augustine, but did not adopt Lyra's application of the *sensus literalis*, steering a course in between the two.[38] Seeing the psalms in terms of the psalmist, of Christ, and of himself

did not introduce various layers of meaning, since christology was the key to all three arenas involved. Christ participates in the lives and deaths of believers, as they participate in His life and death, a reciprocal imputation and participation. Pietism separated sanctification from justification and lost the christological perspective. With sanctification seen as self-conscious moral achievement, the way was open to separating ethics from God and religion in the Enlightenment. Bugenhagen was religiously self-conscious of being a sinner and not of his own moral accomplishment. Christology distinguishes Lutheran hermeneutics as it does the Lutheran view of sanctification. "Christ is made our sanctification."[39]

G. Peccatum Reliquum

As for Luther, so for Bugenhagen, the past was never entirely wiped away, but came back to plague him.[40] The good tree of Psalm 1 at times produces rotten apples. "For there is in the saints a *peccatum reliquum*, which, however, is not imputed because of faith."[41] Bugenhagen finds himself among both the righteous and the wicked in Psalm 1. While he was leading others into his error of (popish) works-righteousness, God had compassion on him and restored him. "God took pity on human error [and] brought back apostolic times and the preaching of His gospel according to the Spirit of Christ."[42] We, not others, are the sinners. God's enemies are ourselves. Bugenhagen made this confession:

> Once I was an offense to God, but now I am the one who has been made an offense to men, especially to those for whom the gospel of Christ is more of an offense than I am. For the change in my lot I will forever thank God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, beseeching Him, to give me His Spirit, through which I will have the strength to meditate on His law [*lege*, the Scriptures] day and night, that by the comfort of the Spirit I may avoid the offense of the teachings of the Antichrist and through love bear the sins and follies of my weaker brothers, to many of which I myself am abundantly [*nimiaque*, immoderately] given.[43]

Even in his state of being saved Bugenhagen sees himself as sinner, and thus he represents the classical Lutheran understanding

of *simul iustus et peccator.* A Christian is released from sin purely by God's grace so that he may help others who show the same imperfections which exist excessively in him. In looking at Psalm 1 Bugenhagen does not find himself as a spectator cheering the righteous and heckling the wicked, as Calvin does in his commentary,[44] but rather finds himself on both sides, not watching but participating. In helping relieve the sins of others, he finds that they are only a reflection of a worse condition in himself.[45] Bugenhagen finds himself in the battered condition of David who finds himself rejected by God and condemned by others, often for things of which he is unaware, and finally accepted by God. The great reformer could see in Bugenhagen's self-portrait his own image. He "had hit the mark."[46] In the back of Bugenhagen's mind is Erasmus for whom the law is *praecepta lex*,[47] anticipating Calvin for whom the law reenters the Christian life with prescriptions and regulations. The "study of the law" means that "that God is rightly served when His law is obeyed."[48] For Bugenhagen the *torah* (Scripture) is the *verbum Dei* or the *evangelium Christi.*[49]

H. Christ and Then the Man Who Is in Christ

The continuing quest for the historical Jesus regardless of the quantity of details unearthed hardly qualifies as christology, since it concerns itself in locating Jesus as an historical figure without relating him to either God or mankind or the reader of the biblical texts.[50] Carl Braaten calls it "Jesuology." Luther says as much in condemning rabbinic exegesis.[51] Christology means instead that Jesus is the manifestation of God to us and the presentation of us to God. In Him we see God and in Him God sees us. Jesus is on all sides of the theological equation. Christ is inclusive of the divine and human; nothing less could be expected of a Chalcedonian christology. Also for Bugenhagen's hermeneutic Christ is foundational. Biblical interpretation begins and returns to Him.

In dealing with Psalm 1, Bugenhagen relates "blessed" to the Beatitudes: "Blessed are the poor in spirit. Blessed are the merciful. Blessed are those who suffer persecution on account of righteousness ["propter iustitiam"]. Blessed are you when they speak evil of [curse] you." He then refers to Jeremiah 17: "Cursed is the man who trusts in himself"; "Blessed is the man who trusts in the

Lord." The Hebrew text is compared with the Septuagint and the Vulgate. Where the Septuagint uses the singular, the Hebrew uses the plural and the Latin has *beatitudines viro sunt.* The Hebrew text, he notes, moves between the singular and plural. Bugenhagen identifies the blessed man first as Christ and then the man who is in Christ. "Beatus vir, qui hic describit, primu est Christus Dominus propter nos homo factus, deinde quilibet homo qui est in Christo."[52] Luther in his lectures of 1512 saw the *beatus vir* in christological terms: "The first psalm speaks literally concerning Christ thus."[53] Bugenhagen went a step further by referring to the believers of the Old and New Testaments. A christological hermeneutic is ecclesial:

> When we speak in this way [the man who is in Christ], do not think that we are excluding believers who died before the incarnation of Christ; for all those are in Christ who looked for the coming of the Woman's Seed, who would crush the head of the serpent (Genesis 3) and [who looked for the coming] of the Seed of Abraham by whom all the nations of the earth would be blessed (Genesis 22). Christ . . . [is] set forth as the goal, as it is said in Luke 2.[54]

After Bugenhagen speaks of the "blessed man" first as Christ and then as the church, because it is "in Christ," he speaks of himself, the interpreter of the psalm. "For whoever does not believe that he is one with Christ, that one will never understand the Psalms."[55]

I. Christus Summum Sacramentum

Also characteristic of Bugenhagen's hermeneutic is his sacramental approach to the Psalms. In connection with the "cup" of Psalm 23 he makes eucharistic references, as also in connection with the "remembrance" and "food" of Psalm 111:4-5. He also refers to John 6. While the Lord's Supper is for Bugenhagen *sacramentum* itself, it still points to Christ who is *summum sacramentum.*[56] As Bugenhagen spoke christologically of his dilemma, he could likewise speak of Christ sacramentally, anticipating Articles VII and VIII of the Formula of Concord.

J. The "Zwinglian" Distortion and Bucer

Bugenhagen followed medieval precedence in making eucharistic

references in connection with Psalm 111:4-5: "He caused His wonderful works to be remembered."[57] His commentary appeared on the eve of the Zwinglian denial of Christ's bodily presence in the Lord's Supper and did not necessarily use the terms which later became familiar to Lutherans. Bucer, asked by Luther to translate the book, took the opportunity, as Schild notes, to "read the Bugenhagen texts as if they were open to a Zwinglian denial of the real presences [sic!] and, in his free translation, took the risk of rewriting them accordingly."[58] *Translator traditor est!*[59] Bucer did the same with Luther. Bucer was unaware of certain tracts which Bugenhagen had written in 1525 in the course of his controversy with Karlstadt, one addressed to Thomas More on iconoclasm and another addressed to a clergyman of Breslau "against the new error concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ."[60] Both Luther and Bugenhagen were outraged at Bucer's alterations and published treatises against him. In a response Bucer (1527) pleaded ignorance, and Bugenhagen declared matters at an end in 1528. Bugenhagen's exchange with Bucer was the first step in the debate between Luther and Zwingli on the Lord's Supper, an issue which has permanently divided Protestants from one another. Bugenhagen, with his christological and sacramental hermeneutic, was first in the arena against the denial of the real presence. Luther, in the face of Bucer's attempt to paint Bugenhagen as Zwinglian, defended him and permitted his preface to stand.

K. Christological Hermeneutic as Inclusive Exegesis

Bugenhagen was no peripheral figure in the Reformation. Luther was his father, but he was for Luther a bishop (*episcopus*) and confessor (*Beichtvater*), a friend closer than either Melanchthon or Justus Jonas. On the way to meet the papal legate, Luther said to Bugenhagen, "Da fahren der deutsche Papst und Kardinal Pomeranus."[61] Luther was pope and Bugenhagen his legate. The *Commentarius Pomeranii* is a window into a leading soul of the Reformation shared with Luther. When Bugenhagen came to occurrences of "David" in the Psalms (as in 132), not merely the phrase "Son of David," he saw Jesus as the real "David."[62] Schild says of Bugenhagen's interpretation: "The closer Christ is to David, the closer is the Lord to our temptations, sufferings and sin."[63] A christological

hermeneutic does not confront us with making a separation between Christ and believers. Christology, history, and autobiography (sanctification) are perspectives on one reality. The times of Israel, of Christ, and of the church are not divorced from one another.[64] In Cranach's altar-painting, again, the reformers sit for the sacrament with the risen Christ at the table and the passover lamb, signifying Christ, on the table. Christ is in all parts of the equation. In another painting in St. Mary's Church Bugenhagen is placed in the scene of John's baptism of Jesus, recalling Luther's baptismal hymn: "To Jordan Came Christ the Lord." Now Bugenhagen is in the equation. Christ's baptism is his. Bugenhagen's hermeneutic is classically Lutheran, simply because it is christological.

After Luther's death Bugenhagen faced personal tragedy and a church weakened by compromising friends. When Wittenberg was occupied by the imperial forces of Charles V, he remained. In 1556 he addressed his last episcopal letter to the Saxon pastors, and in 1557 he preached his last sermon. Until he died on the night of April 19-20, 1558, the now blind reformer daily attended services in the church. Perhaps his faith can be described in this statement gleaned from his commentary by Schild: "Christ would not be king were he defeated in His saints."[65]

Endnotes

1. Millard J. Erickson, *Evangelical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1993), 80-81.

2. *Lex orandi lex credendi.*

3. Readers are referred to Paul Buehler, *Die Anfechtungen bei Martin Luther* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1942); Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), 188-189; David P. Scaer, "The Concept of *Anfechtungen* in Luther's Thought," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 47:1 (January 1983), 15-30.

4. William Manchester, *A World Lit Only By Fire* (Boston: Little-Brown, 1992), 186.

5. Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New Haven: Yale Universi-

ty, 1989), 166.

6. Oberman, 166. Luther, who was a doctor of theology of thirty-four years and well-practiced in exegesis and translation, admitted "that he was overwhelmed by the depth and wealth of the Scriptures, which no man would ever fathom in a single lifetime."

7. Carl Braaten makes reference to the gathering of Lutheran professors at the meeting of the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature in November of 1990 in New Orleans at which Koester made these remarks. "A Chalcedonian Hermeneutic," *Pro Ecclesia*, 3:1 (Winter 1994), 18-19. "The canon [for Koester] was the result of a deliberate attempt to exclude certain voices from the early period of Christianity: heretics, Marcionites, Gnosticism, Jewish Christians, perhaps also women. . . . Koester advocated a return to the 'history of religions' approach in which 'early Christianity is just one of several Hellenistic propaganda religions.'"

8. Augsburg Confession, XXI: ". . . this teaching is grounded clearly on the Holy Scriptures and is not contrary or opposed to that of the universal Christian church or even of the Roman church. . . ."

9. Maurice Schild, "Approaches to Bugenhagen's Psalms Commentary (1524)," *Lutheran Theological Journal*, 26:1 (May 1992), 63-71.

10. Johannes H. Bergsma, *Die Reform der Messliturgie durch Johannes Bugenhagen* (Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1956).

11. Biographical data on Bugenhagen is taken from Bergsma, 1-35.

12. Bergsma, 7.

13. Georg Geisenhof, *Bibliotheca Bugenhagania* (Nieukoop: B. de Graaf, 1963), 3-4.

14. Already in 1522 Bugenhagen was called "doctor."

15. Bergsma, 30-31.

16. Johannes Bugenhagen, *Librum Psalmorum Interpretatio* [*Commentarius Pomerani*] (Nuremberg: Jo. Petrejus, [August] 1524). Direct references to Bugenhagen's work are based on a micro-

film in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, which is a copy of the fourth edition to follow the first (which was published in Basel in March of 1524).

17. Martin Luther, *First Lectures on the Psalms*, I, *Psalms 1-75*, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 10 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1974), x. This first volume on the Psalms was not written as a commentary, but was constructed from Luther's glosses written in the margins of his Psalter.

18. Luther lectured on the Psalms in Latin in 1525. In his own preface to a German translation by Stephan Rodt, Luther discusses how he was delayed in writing this commentary by his going to Worms and how in his absence "Johann Pommer" had done this work in his stead.

19. Schild, 64.

20. Road-markers were placed on ancient Roman roads to assist merchants in determining distances.

21. For a detailed yet popularly written study of Luther's christological exegesis, readers are referred to Oberman, 151-175, "The Reformation Breakthrough." "The Bible contains only one truth, but it is the decisive one: 'that Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, died for the sake of our sins and was resurrected for our righteousness'" (171).

22. *Luther's Works*, 10:7. For a recent study of the role of christology for Martin Luther, readers are referred to Gerhard Ebeling, "The Beginnings of Luther's Hermeneutics," *Lutheran Quarterly*, 7:2 (Summer 1993): 129-158; 7:3 (Autumn 1993): 315-337; 7:4 (Winter 1993): 451-468.

23. Hans Hermann Holfelder, *Solus Christus* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981).

24. Hans Hermann Holfelder, *Tentatio et Consolatio* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1974).

25. Readers are referred to *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* (December 1992), 90-91. "For when Luther emphasized *solus Christus*, this meant, as you point out so well, that justification and the work of Christ as Propitiator and Redeemer belong inextricably together; the entire Scriptures are Christocentric in their content;

therefore all Christian doctrine must center in Christ (the purpose of Scripture and of all doctrine in the church is soteriological)."

26. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 167.

27. Schild, 65.

28. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 96-97.

29. Schild, 65.

30. *Luther's Works*, 10:6. This is no casual remark, but essential to Luther's theology. In his *Lectures on Romans* (*Luther's Works*, 25:40) Luther writes "that the entire Scripture deals only with Christ everywhere, if it is looked at inwardly, even though on the face of it it may sound differently by the shadows. . . . Hence he [St. Paul] also says that Christ is the end of the Law (v. 4), as if to say that all Scripture finds its meaning in Christ."

31. Luther clearly used the christological principle of biblical interpretation before Bugenhagen did. For a scholarly study of Luther's christological hermeneutics, readers are referred to Gerhard Ebeling as cited above in note 22.

32. Kenneth Paul Wesche discusses the christological interpretation of the Scriptures of Ignatius of Antioch in "St. Ignatius of Antioch: The Criterion of Orthodoxy and the Marks of Catholicity," *Pro Ecclesia*, 3:1 (Winter 1994). At the end of the first century the Judaizers used the approach now associated with Fundamentalists in saying that each doctrine needed a specific biblical passage. Their cry was that what "I do not find in the Scriptures [Old Testament], I will not believe in the gospel [what is now recognized as our New Testament].'" When the Judaizers found the scriptural references which he offered unacceptable, Ignatius replied: "For me, the Scriptures [*archeia*, i.e., the Old Testament] are Jesus Christ; the holy Scriptures are his cross and death, his resurrection, and the faith which comes through him."

33. For a discussion of this issue in contemporary Evangelical thought, readers are referred to Erickson, 33-54 (Chapter 2, "The Role of the Holy Spirit in Biblical Interpretation"). Erickson takes issue with those Evangelicals who see the Spirit's illumination providing new or cognitive information. He does see the Spirit providing an insight which may escape a particular methodology (52), but does not identify that insight as christolog-

ical as is characteristic of Lutheran theology.

34. Formula of Concord, VII and VIII.

35. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 3-4, 112-119.

36. Geisenhof, 4.

37. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 111-112.

38. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 92.

39. "[God] is the source of your life in Christ Jesus, whom God made our wisdom, our righteousness, and sanctification and redemption; therefore, as it is written, 'Let him who boasts, boast in the Lord'" (1 Corinthians 1:30-31).

40. Schild, 66.

41. Schild, 66.

42. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 202-203. "Dum interim fidei rationem, per quam illa omnia praestanda sunt, ignorabam, donec ex alto miseratus hominum errores deus apostolica tempora et praedicationem sui evangelii secundum spiritum Christi nobis revocavit."

43. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 203 (the author's translation).

44. John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of the Psalms*, trans. James Anderson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1949), 1:7.

45. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 203: "ipse multa nimiaque circumdatus sum infirmitate."

46. Schild, 64.

47. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 13.

48. Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4.

49. Bugenhagen, *Commentarius*, 3.

50. See Jeffery L. Sheler, "Who Was Jesus?" *U.S. News and World Report* (December 20, 1993), 115(24):58-66.

51. *Luther's Works*, 10:7.

52. Bugenhagen, *Commentarius*, 2.

53. *Luther's Works*, 10:11.

54. Bugenhagen, *Commentarius*, 2 (the author's translation). Luther in his first lectures on the Psalms spoke of the text literally, allegorically, and tropologically. (*Luther's Works* 10:7.) Where we should expect the literal meaning to refer to David, Luther sees Christ. Thus the first verse is an explanation of the humanity of Christ (10:10). It spoke allegorically of the church and tropologically (in the moral sense) of the conflict between the inner and outward man, the spiritual and carnal. In his second series of lectures on the Psalms Luther abandons this method and concentrates on how the Christian is involved. Bugenhagen is not indebted to a restructured medieval method, but has made christology the over-arching category to which first Jesus relates, then David, and finally himself.

55. Bugenhagen, *Commentarius*, 2.

56. Schild, 67.

57. Schild, 67.

58. Schild, 68.

59. This Latin phrase means that the translator puts his own ideas into the translation, and thus the translation is really something different from the original. In the case of Bucer the alteration seems intentional.

60. Bergsma, 15 (the author's translation).

61. Bergsma, 16-17.

62. Schild, 69.

63. Schild, 69.

64. Holfelder, *Tentatio*, 202-203, as quoted above in note 42.

65. Schild, 70-71.

Johann Sebastian Bach and Scripture: "O God, from Heaven Look Down"

Paul Hofreiter

Introduction

On 18 June 1724 Johann Sebastian Bach first presented his newly composed Cantata for the Second Sunday after Trinity, *Ach Gott, vom Himmel Sieh Darein*—which is denominated henceforth by its title in English translation, "O God, from Heaven Look Down"—at St. Thomas Church in Leipzig. The text, most likely revised by Picander,[1] was originally penned by Martin Luther as a paraphrase of Psalm 12 two hundred years before the setting of Bach's cantata.[2] In the psalm and, therefore, subsequently in Luther's paraphrase and Bach's cantata as well, false doctrine and evil-doers are countered and subjugated by the truth, power, and authority of the holy word of God.

This essay will consist in a brief overview of the reformer's paraphrase of Psalm 12 and a detailed investigation of the composer's engagement with what is essentially Luther's text (only slightly altered),[3] resulting in a powerful and authoritative theological and artistic statement created in an era of tension and ambiguity involving Orthodox Lutheranism (of which Bach was a representative),[4] Pietism, and Reformed theology. The outline, therefore, will be as follows: (1.) Luther and his paraphrase of Psalm 12; (2.) a general depiction of Bach's view of Scripture and use thereof in his cantatas; and (3.) Bach's setting of "O God, from Heaven Look Down."

I. Luther and His Paraphrase of Psalm 12

Peter Brunner aptly asserts the significance of the psalms to the liturgical life of the church in his *Worship in the Name of Jesus*:

> The Psalter of the Bible plus the Old and New Testament canticles are the church's prayer-book and its hymnbook in one. When these biblical psalms are prayed and sung in worship, the words of Holy Scripture are directly proclaimed. In verbal content, the singing of psalms is closely related to the reading of Scripture. The element of witnessing proclamation is not lacking either; this is already intimated in the manner of presentation. When the church

> takes the psalms on its lips, as for instance in the prayer psalms, it testifies that it has taken these words into its heart and now professes them as its own . . . This type of presentation of the word may effect a meditative appropriation, a spiritual "eating" of the word such as is achieved in hardly any other form of proclamation in worship.[5]

There is no more appropriate way to begin discussing Martin Luther and his hymns than to note the mystery and joy of this psalmodic component of the *Gottesdienst* ("God's Service") of the church. For Luther and Bach were both keenly aware of the significance of worship and God's consistent activity as initiator throughout the Divine Service.

Luther had an endearing term for music when it was wed with Scripture, *Frau Musica*. It was his conviction that, when the word of God and music were combined, there the Holy Spirit worked faith. "For Luther, music was always the *viva vox evangelii*, the living voice of the gospel, a gift of God to be used in all its fullness in Christian praise and prayer."[6] In his "Preface to the Burial Hymns," Luther stated:

> We have put this music on the living and holy word of God in order to sing, praise, and honor it. We want the beautiful art of music to be properly used to serve her dear Creator and His Christians. He is thereby praised and honored and we are made better and stronger in faith when His holy word is impressed on our hearts by sweet music. God the Father with Son and Holy Spirit grant us this. Amen.[7]

Luther was certainly not dispassionate about the use of music in proclaiming the word. Some of his paraphrases of the psalms were, in fact, the most effective means available of proclaiming the truths of the Reformation to others—in that these hymns would be sung by all the people, not merely a chosen few. The restoration of the universal priesthood of believers to ecclesiastical doctrine was a gift which Christ had always intended to bestow on His church. Now the church would be proclaiming all the gifts of God in song *en masse*.

Martin Luther commented on a few of the verses of Psalm 12

already in his first series of lectures on the Psalms, delivered between 1513 and 1515. Within a decade Luther's study of this psalm would lead to the composing of a paraphrase heralding the truth of the word of God in the vicissitudes of the Reformation. Even in his early lectures Luther already saw the gospel of Christ in verse six ("The words of the Lord are pure words, like silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times"):

> Thus the gospel is called "silver," first, because it is precious, not according to the flesh, but because it makes the soul precious in the sight of God; second, because it is solid, that is, because it makes people solid and full, not like an empty reed and a carnal letter . . .; third, because it is heard far and wide. Thus the sound of the gospel has gone out through all the world (Psalm 19:4), and it makes the disciples sonorous and eloquent. Fourth, it is weighty, because it does not contain fables or superficial things, and it makes men serious and mature . . . Fifth, it is white and shining, because it is modest and chaste and teaches modesty; it speaks modestly.[8]

In Luther's view heresy was caused by a hierarchy of recalcitrance, and the only hope of countering this heinous and contagious cancer was the verity of the pure and unadulterated word of God. In his explanation of Psalm 12:6 Luther, even before his discovery of the true nature of the gospel, perceives the effects of the gospel and even states that, so far from being weakened by "trying" and "testing," the gospel "is rather clarified and strengthened by the controversies of the heretics."[9]

In 1523 Luther wrote at least eight, and possibly nine, hymn-texts. "O God, from Heaven Look Down" is unfortunately eclipsed in fame by such hymns as "Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice" and "From Trouble Deep I Cry to Thee" and certainly by the most popular of all his hymns, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." To make matters worse, the only Lutheran hymnbook in current usage containing "O God, from Heaven Look Down" is *The Lutheran Hymnal*.[10] This unfortunate turn of events, however, should not dissuade the church from reintroducing such a sententious and powerful "battle hymn." There is, indeed, no excuse for allowing such a statement of faith to

remain in obscurity; for, when the people of God sing together of the promises contained in the word of God, then *Frau Musica* engages with them in the battle of the church against false teaching.

Oliver Rupprecht has written aptly as follows in a previous volume of this journal:

> With a depth of understanding born of personal experience and with a strength of imagination envisaging the collective cry of the beleaguered church, Luther paraphrases Psalm 12 as an intense plea by the persecuted church, answered by the glorious reply of her compassionate and omnipotent Lord. The stanzas of "O Lord, Look Down from Heaven, Behold" (Psalm 12), like those of other psalm hymns, have a remarkably modern ring. "Heresy" and "false doctrine" refer to the contemporary denial (in his day and ours) of Luther's "pure doctrine." And the beautiful statement about the divine word—"Its light beams brighter through the cross"[11]—is a modern refinement of a basic biblical teaching. To sing the six stanzas of . . . [this hymn] is to experience deepening thought and profound emotion but, above all, a reassurance of God's supremacy and His power—active through His word.[12]

No additional attestation to the richness of this hymnic treasure is necessary.

II. A General Outline of Bach's View of Scripture and Its Use in His Cantatas

Johann Sebastian Bach has come to be known as "The Fifth Evangelist" because of his unabashedly confident declarations of faith through his music.[13] It is fashionable in today's post-Christian secularized world to attempt to explain away Bach's vigorous faith by regarding him as an opportunist or, at most, a professional musician whose main concern was his career. Humanistic scholars and everyday agnostics desire, of course, to conform Bach to their own image. The evidence, however, simply will not allow this opinion to stand.

Bach was, in fact, a convinced Lutheran of orthodox stripe,

devoted to his Lord and his Lord's church. Felix Mendelssohn recognized this conviction when, in 1829, he discovered the score to Bach's *Passion According to St. Matthew* virtually one hundred years after it had been composed. We today, of course, owe Felix Mendelssohn a profound debt of gratitude. For not only did Mendelssohn rediscover the score of the aforesaid passion, but he also conducted the first performance of the work in approximately a century and aided in bringing Bach's music the international acclaim which it deserved.[14]

Johann Sebastian Bach was a servant of Christ, a servant of his church, and a servant of his fellow-men. During his own lifetime, however, he was recognized mainly as an organist. His sons were better known and more popular composers than their old-fashioned father. But Johann Sebastian, unlike the artists who emerged during the ages of rationalism and romanticism, did not question his role as a servant. His goal was simply to "advance the music in the divine service toward its very end and purpose, a regulated church music in honor of God."[15] Martin Naumann continued as follows in describing J. S. Bach:

> His character as a Lutheran becomes evident . . . by his musical confessions. The Lutheran Confessions like all true confessions of the church are in praise of God. This praise of God contains both the confession of sins and the confession of faith. Bach's works are usually bracketed by the letters J. J. and S. D. G. At the beginning he asks: "*Jesu, Juva*: Jesus Help!" And at the end he says: "*Soli Deo Gloria*: To God alone be glory."[16]

These abbreviations are found in a multitude of his manuscripts—not only in his music for the church, but in many of his so-called "secular" works as well.[17] Bach celebrated God's gift of salvation through faith in Christ in every arena of his existence. Gunther Stiller speaks of Bach as follows:

> Doubts as to whether his music was sacred or not existed for him as little as they did for Luther and his church. For both of them there existed only one music which became sacred or profane through the spirit in which it was per-

> formed.[18] Bach lived and worked "in an existence that was not yet split into sacred and secular divisions but was internally united and nourished from the center of the faith of the Lutheran Reformation." This is the same as saying that "Bach's ties to the Lutheran liturgy also signify the right and the duty to become active in the extra-liturgical, the secular, area," obviously because "Martin Luther does not limit the concept 'worship' to the liturgical practice of a congregation gathered around word and sacrament but describes the entire life and activity of a Christian as an act of worship."[19]

Within the context of this faith, Bach served as *Kapellmeister* in Leipzig from 1723 until his death in 1750. It was here that he wrote the majority of his cantatas, and it was in these works designed for the Divine Service of word and sacrament that some of the most profound conjoining of the word of God and the music of Johann Sebastian Bach occurred.

The ecclesiastical cantata had been employed in Lutheran worship for some time. The main goal of the cantata was the proclamation of the word of God. In Bach's day these musical settings were presented "between the reading of Scripture and the sermon." Naumann elaborates in this way:

> As a rule a well-known chorale or hymn was chosen. Usually the text of the first stanza was used at the beginning and the final stanza at the end without textual change, but the intermediate stanzas were altered to fit the movements. Again Bach realized that his work must serve the word of God. He treated the gospel or epistle of the Sunday, not only according to the text of the chorale used, but according to his understanding of and faith in the words read and preached.[20]

Bach had the theological insight to convey in these cantatas, both in musical language and symbolism, such doctrinal emphases as law and gospel. Robin Leaver describes the general procedure in a previous volume of this journal:

> Many cantatas have a similar ground plan. In the opening

> chorus the problem is stated, that is, the demands of the law; a recitative and aria draw out some of the implications; then, approximately midway through the cantata, the problem is resolved, that is, the gospel is proclaimed; a note of joy in the gospel is heard in the following aria or arias; and the cantata concludes with the chorale, which underscores the message of the gospel with a statement of faith.[21]

Bach's proclivity to orthodox Lutheran doctrine will be evident to anyone who engages in any study at all of his cantatas. Besides the aforementioned doctrine of the proper distinction between law and gospel, Bach's scores enunciate such other Lutheran emphases as the theology of the cross, the *simul iustus et peccator*, and the *finitum capax infiniti* so essential to Lutheran christology.[22]

Bach's devotion to the word of God is also evident in the symbolism which he employs in his cantatas. The elements of symbolism in general and of his numerical symbolism in particular in the music of J. S. Bach (both in that composed for the church and in that composed for the court) are connected with consistency to his understanding of Scripture.[23] Jaroslav Pelikan, in *Bach among the Theologians*, quotes Friedrich Smend in discussing the importance of the word of God for the composer:

> Bach's cantatas "are not intended to be works of music or art on their own, but to carry on, by their own means, the work of Luther, the preaching of the word and of nothing but the word."[24]

It is a matter of record that Bach acquired a significant theological library. In this library were two complete sets of the works of Martin Luther and a number of other exegetical volumes and devotional books.[25]

One of the major components in this fifty-two volume collection was the three-volume *Biblia Illustrata* of Abraham Calov, now the valued possession of the library of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri. This Bible, affectionately referred to as "Bach's Bible," is unquestionably the most significant witness to the nature of Bach's theological outlook.[26] It is most likely that Bach purchased this Bible in 1733 at the age of forty-eight. Its pages abound in

annotations which show that Bach was a thoughtful and convinced Christian who studied and treasured the word of God. Presumably Bach consulted this three-volume commentary frequently in studying the biblical texts which he set to music. Leaver concurs with Werthemann:

> Bach's basic reverence and respect for the Bible is reflected in the librettos he chose for his cantatas, since "the decisive task of the cantatas consists not in narration or dramatic presentation of the events, but in an always new relation of this event to the men of the present."[27]

This approach evinces a decidedly Lutheran view of biblical exegesis when viewed in conjunction with the other techniques which Bach employed in his texts and settings.

The relation of the biblical "event to the men of the present" is an essential feature of proclamation. Bach held to the eternal truths of Scripture but spoke anew to his time. It is clear that it was precisely the God-given ability which Bach possessed to this end which has accorded him universal recognition beyond the period in which he lived.[28] Bach, the servant of the divine word, employed his talents to the glory of God; and his music, which was considered antiquated in his own day and was forgotten for almost eighty years after Bach's death, was rediscovered in the 1820's and still continues to astonish today. J. S. Bach, in fact, has been called countless times the only truly "modern composer."

To understand Bach, then, one must appreciate his role as expositor and preacher of the word of God. In his cantatas, oratorios, and passions the biblical elements are woven together in a fabric which would exceed the expectations of a homiletician.[29] Bach saw the significance of every aspect of his *Gottesdienst* and never underestimated the role of his own contribution to the whole, while always retaining a deep sense of reverence and humility. Peter Brunner's description of that which occurs when the gospel and the Holy Spirit are at work is relevant and reminds one of Luther's concept of *Frau Musica*:[30]

> Where the gospel and the Holy Spirit are at work, man now already receives a bit of the joy that is no longer of this

> world. In this joy, saying turns into singing. In this joy even the linguistic form of the proclaiming and the praying word will exhibit that wonderful unity of melody and word which is characteristic of the psalm song of the *ekklesia* ... The victory over the death-dealing law through the gospel, the reception of salvation in Christ, the liberation through the Spirit, the anthropological, cosmological, and plan-of-salvation place in which the church's worship takes place on earth, the New Testament pneumatic character of Christian worship, the eternal praise of divine glory, which has its beginning in worship—all of this together makes the form of the word in worship turn into song and hymn.[31]

In the music of Bach we do, indeed, find "the word in worship turn into song and hymn." Such is the case largely because Bach's faith was rooted in the theology of Lutheran orthodoxy which "perceived music as an *explicatio textus*—a means of interpreting God's word— and as a *praedicatio sonora*—a resounding sermon. Both Martin Luther and Johann Sebastian Bach shared this musical experience."[32] Paul Minear gives Bach this commendation:

> Bach's exegetical expertise . . . entitles us to apply to his work a technical term that has become popular in recent years: narrative-theology. He thought theologically by telling a story. For him and his music, "doctrinal verities and a human story are one." With its diachronic succession of notes in time, Bach's music establishes a forward-moving momentum that enables his hearers to accompany the gospel story from step to step . . . However, the vocational drive was stronger [for Bach] than the professional. He had a life-time calling from God to create forms of music appropriate to God's praise. His love for the Bible and the church was translated into a passion to fuse faith and music, theology and liturgy, perhaps we should say, to choreograph "the dance of God."[33]

What emerges, then, from a study of Bach is a portrait of a serious believer. He was a pious man, but not pietistic. He was a devout Lutheran, embracing a confessional orthodoxy which was by no means, however, a cold (much less dead) orthodoxy. His

theological zeal pervades the very fabric of his music. In his desire to serve his Lord he simply proclaimed to the people of God that which was proclaimed to him in the word of God.[34]

III. Bach's Setting of "O God, from Heaven Look Down"[35]

Bach's cantata, "O God, from Heaven Look Down" (*BWV* 2), was written for the Second Sunday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity. The cantata, "with its lament on man's turning away from God, is well matched to the gospel reading, the parable of the Great Supper (Luke 14:16-24)."[36] It is based, as previously stated, on Luther's paraphrase of Psalm 12.

The structure of Luther's paraphrase is a hymn of six stanzas. Stanza one expounds verse one of the Psalm; stanza two, verse two; stanza three, verses three and four; stanza four, verse five; stanza five, verse six; and stanza six, verses seven and eight.[37] Bach builds a six-movement cantata around the framework of these stanzas with the outer stanzas taken from Luther word for word and the inner stanzas slightly modified, "though not without incorporating more or less literal quotations from Luther's hymn."[38] It is interesting to note, before analyzing the work, that this cantata is replete with references to Scripture or its attributes, such as "word," "truth," and "Bible." This hymn deserves its place with "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" as one of the most influential hymns of the Reformation.

1. Chorus (translated literally):
   O God, look down from heaven,
   And let Thy mercy be aroused!
   How few are Thy saints,
   We poor ones are forsaken:
   Thy word is not acknowledged,
   Faith has become quite extinct
   Among all mankind.

In the first movement of the cantata Bach employs the motet form with its imitative contrapuntal texture,[39] emphasizing not only the imploring nature of the text ("O God, look down from heaven"), but also the dark character of the Hypo-Phrygian mode used in the melody of this chorale.[40] It is this mode which is responsible for the

foreboding sense of impending assaults on the word of God and Christian faith by false teachers. Also of note is the use of the darker alto voices, not the brighter sopranos, in presenting the chorale melody. Interestingly, it is on *Wort* ("word") that we find Bach focusing as he develops the contrapuntal material of the phrase, "Thy word is not acknowledged." What is present in this opening section, therefore, is a plea for mercy and then a complaint to God that His word has not been properly acknowledged. Bach, the musical expositor, emphasizes Luther's statement of the results of turning away from the divine word—"faith becomes extinct" (the negative side, in other words, of the Lutheran belief in the saving efficacy of Scripture).

2. Tenor Recitative (translated literally):
They teach a vain and false cunning
Which is against God and His truth;
And what their own wits have thought up—
O misery which grievously harms the church—
This must take the place of the Bible.
The one chooses this, the other that;
Foolish reason is their compass.
They are like those graves of the dead
Which, even though beautiful from outside,
Contain only stench and decay
And have nothing but filth to show.

The second movement of the cantata, allotted to a tenor, begins with a direct statement of the first line of the chorale melody punctuating and accentuating the text, "They teach a vain and false cunning," followed by a recitative emphasizing the word, "truth."[41] Bach's setting conveys the tragedy of false teaching, which constitutes blasphemy against the truth of God's word. One recalls Jesus, who refers to Himself as the way, the truth, and the life (John 14:6), imploring the aid of the Father in His high-priestly prayer: "Sanctify them by Thy truth. Thy word is truth" (John 17:17).

In the second section of the movement Bach returns to a direct melodic statement of the fifth line of the stanza—"The one chooses this, the other that"—which brings the listener back to the original tone of this and many other psalms in which a believer cries out to

God in complaint. In this portion of the recitative Bach provides foreboding melodic and harmonic color to the words "graves of the dead," "stench," and "decay." Throughout this movement the main harmonic component is the use of various diminished seventh chords,[42] which provide an unstable chromaticism.[43] One is reminded of Jesus' parable of the foolish and the wise builders (Matthew 7:24-27) when the tenor says of heretics that "foolish reason is their compass." When the *usus magisterialis* of reason replaces the word of God as the *principium cognoscendi*, the building is doomed to destruction.

3. Alto Aria (translated literally):
Destroy, O God, the doctrines
That pervert Thy word!
Restrain heresy
And all the rabble spirits;
For they say without hesitation:
Defy Him who would be our master!

The third movement of the cantata is the only one in a major key, contributing to a totally contrasting atmosphere. An almost naive confidence is conveyed through Bach's use of an imitative texture involving basso continuo, violin, and alto.[44] One recalls the assurance of David in Psalm 27 (verse 1):

> The Lord is my light and my salvation.
> Whom shall I fear?
> The Lord is the strength of my life.
> Of whom shall I be afraid?

In this tuneful aria the alto sings her request of God in a tone which is almost carefree:[45] "Destroy the doctrines that pervert Thy word!" Once again Bach places the emphasis on "word," which is the highest point of contour in the melody of the first section.

In the second section the now minor key creates a lugubrious atmosphere as Bach melismatically prolongs the word "all," entreating God to "restrain heresy and *all* the rabble spirits."[46] Then, returning to the first line of the movement and also returning to the major key, Bach attaches a chromatic melisma to the word "pervert,"[47] which may signify the distress of believers when observing

the ways of the wicked in distorting and perverting the word of God. The childlike confidence, however, which was heard initially returns before the aria is completed.

4. Bass Recitative (translated literally):
The poor ones are troubled;
Their sighs—their anxious lamenting
At so much affliction and distress,
Through which the enemies torment pious souls,
Penetrates the gracious ear of the Most High.
Therefore, God speaks: I must be their Helper!
I have heard their imploring.
The dawn of help,
The bright sunshine of pure truth shall,
With new strength that brings comfort and life,
Revive and delight them.
I will have mercy on their distress,
My healing word shall be the strength of the poor ones.

The fourth movement of the cantata is a bass recitative, the first part of which describes the plight of the "poor ones," those who are going through much affliction because of their faith as they observe the ways of the unrighteous. Bach, however, in the second portion of this recitative, supplies an arioso of sorts as God speaks His words of comfort: "I must be their Helper!" Bach's musical gesture, a melodic motif ascending with undeterred purpose, brings several thoughts in succession to the listener's mind. One begins with the parable of the pharisee and publican: "for everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted" (Luke 18:14).[48] The listener is then, of course, drawn to the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The listener may then go on to think of these words of Jesus: "For I have come down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him who sent Me. This is the will of the Father who sent Me, that of all He has given Me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day. And this is the will of Him who sent Me, that everyone who sees the Son and believes in Him may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up on the last day" (John 6:38-40).

God hears the prayers of His people, and Bach's setting here

encourages trust in the protection afforded by God. The eternal God, in the incarnation, has come down from heaven to become as we are, so we may become as He is (2 Corinthians 5:21). He will lift us up. This is our confidence and joy. He is our Helper. But in this world we are not assured of a life without conflict. In fact, "we must through much tribulation enter the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:22). Jesus prayed to the Father: "I do not pray that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil one" (John 17:15).

There is one additional matter of theological and musical interest in this movement. When, in the midst of this recitative, the arioso commences with God speaking ("I must be their Helper!"), one finds Bach using a device similar to that which he employed in his *Passion According to St. Matthew.* There, in every occurrence of the words of Jesus (except in the case of "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?"), Bach orchestrated the utterance with the use of sustained violin tones which are intended to signify the incarnation. In the fourth movement of the cantata "O God, from Heaven Look Down," the composer uses the violins, technically speaking, in a virtually identical manner; Bach is now describing God, in this case, as looking down from heaven and so preparing to raise up His people from their affliction and distress (in accord with Luke 18:14). While this similarity could be interpreted in differing ways, the reference is presumably to the restorative powers of the word of Christ, as such word is both spoken and attached by Him to substantial elements in His sacraments—to water in holy baptism and to His own body and blood (as well as bread and wine) in the sacrament of the altar ("with new strength that brings comfort and life"). The healing word of Christ constantly offers solace and strength to the "poor ones" as they undergo *tentatio.*[49] The theology of the cross—so much a part of Psalm 12, Luther's paraphrase, and Bach's cantata—clearly appears in germ, then, in this fourth movement of the cantata; where there is trouble and affliction the Christian will come to know his God and Savior more fully. This idea will, however, be articulated and developed more explicitly in the ensuing movement.

5. Tenor Aria (translated literally):
Silver is made pure through fire,
The word is proved true through the cross.
Hence a Christian shall at all times
Be patient in affliction and distress.

Embodied in this fifth movement is the main theological emphasis of the cantata. Here the theology of the cross is presented in its fullness. The words "word," "cross," "affliction," and "distress" are given special musical attention; and "the word is proved true through the cross" constitutes the central phrase in the aria. In the setting of this phrase "word" is highlighted in its first enunciation, and in its repetition "cross" is stressed. Bach engages in melismatic elongation of the words to expound the way in which they encourage Christians to bear their crosses patiently. It is this patience which is elaborated in the second section of this aria; the Christian thereby finds meaning in his struggles and sufferings. The Christian must see his cross in relation to the cross of Christ, for it is through his own sufferings that the Christian is drawn to rely more completely upon the sufferings of his Lord on behalf of His people. He already experienced all the suffering which all others combined could possibly know (Hebrews 4:15).

It is through the trials of Christians, then, "that the genuineness of faith, being much more precious than gold that perishes, though it is tested by fire, may be found to praise and honor and glory at the revelation of Jesus Christ" (1 Peter 1:7). The analogy which Psalm 12:6 employs to describe the word of God states the basic principle: "The words of the Lord are pure words, like silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times." The libretto of the cantata before us applies this principle to the Christian life: "Silver is made pure through fire, the word is proved true through the cross." In the most authentic and profound sense, the word of God (both the threats of the law and the promises of the gospel) was proven true in the first instance in the cross of Jesus Christ,[50] but it necessarily follows therefrom that the word of God is likewise found true in the lives of believers in the cross of Jesus Christ. Significantly, the last occurrence of the word "cross" here is extended not simply melismatically, but by use of a chromatic succession downward as well.

Perhaps there is an allusion to the incarnation itself.

6. Chorale (translated literally):
This [word], God, mayest Thou preserve pure
Before this wicked race;
And let us be commended unto Thee,
That they may not mix among us.
The godless mob is found all around,
Wherever such heretics are
Exalted among Thy people.[51]

The text of this chorale, deriving *in toto* once more from Martin Luther, is again a faithful paraphrase of Psalm 12. Yet Luther adds at least one important feature to the original wording. He implores God that the wicked might "not mix among us." This cry against heterodoxy, and ultimately heresy, gives the chorale its special significance to the orthodox Christian in Luther's day, in Bach's era, and in our own period of history. The urgency of this petition proceeds from observing the uniform consequence of allowing the exalting of false teachers among God's people. Such exaltation, states Luther, always attracts a "godless mob" loyal to the teachers concerned. The yearning, still, of the people of God to be rid of the wicked who "mix among us" remains in this chorale a prayer; it arises, then, not from a theology of glory, but rather the theology of the cross. For it will not be until the last day that the wheat and the tares will be separated. The Lord Jesus declared: "Let both grow together until the harvest, and at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, 'First gather together the tares and bind them in bundles to burn them, but gather the wheat into my barn'" (Matthew 13:30). Although, then, the Christian will defend the orthodox faith to the death, there is no guarantee against the exaltation of perverse teachers in the external church. On the last day, however, they will be humbled, while the genuine people of God will be exalted.

The closing chorale contains some of the most disturbing harmonic conflict in the entire cantata before us. Bach "mixes" modes as he contrasts orthodoxy and heresy. As sturdy and confident as this cantata is, the chorale ends with a negative statement placing dramatic emphasis on the continuing *tentatio* in the life of every true believer, paralleling directly Psalm 12:8, "The

wicked prowl on every side, as vileness is exalted among the sons of men." Thus concludes one of Bach's most descriptive, important, and exemplary cantatas.

Conclusion

Today one may find many theologies which are, in fact, simply surveys of human opinion as opposed to the one theology which is based on truth, the truth revealed in the word of God. The world, of course, despises this truth, but for the believer it is a precious treasure which brings salvation and eternal life with God. In his *Summaries of the Psalms* of 1531 Luther described Psalm 12 as follows:

> It laments over the teachers who are always inventing new little discoveries and filling up God's kingdom everywhere with these new services to God. For where human doctrines once go in, there is no stop or end to them, but they increase more and more. They load down the poor conscience beyond all limit and work so that few true saints may remain. Against all this, the psalm comforts us that God will awaken His salvation, that is, His word, which confidently storms against this work of straw. He will free the imprisoned conscience. This does not happen, however, without cross and agony. As silver is purified in the fire, so they also must suffer in the meantime, and by this means become ever more pure and perceive the truth so much more clearly. This psalm belongs in the second and third commandments and the first and second petitions.[52]

Psalm 12 has, indeed, much to give both clergy and laity not only by way of exhortation but also by way of consolation. The sixth verse, once more, states: "The words of the Lord are pure words, like silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times." Then comes the most important verse (7): "Thou shalt keep them, O Lord; Thou shalt preserve them from this generation forever."

Martin Luther, theologian and musician, was and remains a voice in his time and ours proclaiming the necessity and verity of the word of God to a corrupted and despairing church. The Bride of Christ,

of course, responded and will in the end emerge victorious over all her foes, but not without grave struggles and temptations. The Lord was and is and always will be gracious.[53]

Bach, the composer and theologian, also was and remains a voice in his time and ours bearing witness to the truth. Unrecognized and seemingly unappreciated by his own as a composer, he continued to produce his music in the context of God's service. His very motivation for composing was the grace of God given him in baptism. As Bach served his Lord Jesus Christ, he composed work after work as means of proclaiming the truth of Scripture. In an age of Pietism and Rationalism, Bach held to Lutheran orthodoxy because of his confidence in the word of God. Yes, he loved the word of God and, therefore, set its words of eternal life to the greatest music which has ever been composed by any man in history. And all this work of his he did, indeed, to the glory of God alone—*soli Deo gloria.*

Appendix

"Ah God, from Heaven Look Down"

(*Ach Gott, vom Himmel Sieh Darein*)
Martin Luther's Paraphrase of Psalm 12 (1523)
(as translated by George MacDonald and Ulrich Leupold)

Ah God, from heaven look down and view;
Let it Thy pity waken;
Behold Thy saints how very few!
We wretches are forsaken.
Thy word they will not grant it right,
And faith is thus extinguished quite
Amongst the sons of Adam.

They teach a cunning false and fine,
In their own wits they found it;
Their heart in one doth not combine,
Upon God's word well grounded.
One chooses this, the other that;
Endless division they are at,
And yet they keep smooth faces.

God will outroot the teachers all
Whose false appearance teach us;
Besides, their proud tongues loudly call
"What care we? Who can reach us?
We have the right and might in full;
And what we say, that is the rule;
Who dares to give us lessons?"

Therefore saith God: "I must be up;
My poor ones ill are faring;
Their sighs crowd up to Zion's top,
My ear their cry is hearing.
My healing word shall speedily
With comfort fill them fresh and free,
And strength be to the needy."

Silver that seven times is tried
With fire, is found the purer;
God's word the same test will abide,
It still comes out the surer.
It shall by crosses proved to be;
Men shall its strength and glory see
Shine strong upon the nations.

O God, we pray, preserve it pure
From this vile generation
And let us dwell in Thee, secure
From error's infiltration.
The godless rout is all around
Where these rude wanton ones are found
Against Thy folk exalted.[54]

Endnotes

1. Picander was the pseudonym of Christian Friedrich Henrici who also collaborated with Bach on *The Passion According to St. Matthew* in 1729. Readers may see Gerhard Herz, *Essays on J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), pp. 57-58, 274. Picander's authorship, to be sure, of *BWV* 2 is less than certain, but his probable authorship has been inferred from comparisons with other cantatas for which Picander definitely

provided the texts as well as *The Passion According to Saint Matthew*. Readers may compare the notes included with the recording published as volume 1 of *Das Kantatenwerk* (Telefunken 6.48191, 1971). The cantata retains the exact wording (in the original German) of the first and sixth stanzas of Luther's hymn. Picander's name is conjoined with movements two through five inclusive.

2. Luther composed the text of *Ach Gott, vom Himmel Sieh Darein* in 1523. It was subsequently published in the *Achtliederbuch* in Wittenberg and the *Enchiridion* in Erfurt in 1524.

3. Readers may refer back to note 1 for information regarding the text.

4. For an interesting discussion of orthodoxy, pietism, and Bach, readers may see Robin A. Leaver's article, "Bach and Pietism: Similarities Today," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 55 (1991), pp. 5-21.

5. Peter Brunner, *Worship in the Name of Jesus* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), p. 137.

6. Readers may see Carl Schalk, *Luther on Music* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987), p. 30.

7. The translation derives from Paul Zeller Strodach, revised by Ulrich S. Leupold, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 53 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), p. 328.

8. *First Lectures on the Psalms*, I, *Psalms 1-75*, trans. Herbert J. A. Bouman, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 10 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1974), p. 103. At this juncture in his life, of course, the young Luther was still using the medieval method of allegorical interpretation.

9. Ibid.

10. Readers may see *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), Hymn 260.

11. Readers may refer below in Section III to Bach's compositional treatment of this phrase as it occurs in the cantata: "The word is proved true through the cross."

12. Readers may see Oliver C. Rupprecht's article, "Timeless Treasure: Luther's Psalm Hymns," *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 47 (1983), p. 137.

13. For an ambiguous discussion of Bach and this designation, readers may see John Ogasapian's article, "Bach: The 'Fifth Evangelist'?" *Journal of Church Music*, 27:3 (March 1985), pp. 13-16.

14. It is also the trend today to discredit the authenticity of Mendelssohn's faith. It is edifying, however, to read the essay, "Mendelssohn's First Great Oratorio," by German scholar and musicologist Hans Christoph Worbs, who states, "A Jew by birth, but a Christian by choice, Mendelssohn [1809-1847] was writing a piece of personal history into his oratorio about the converted Saul [*Paulus*] . . . Unquestionably, *Paulus* dramatizes Mendelssohn's own conflicting experiences. Baptized into Christianity, he grew up in the Christian faith and, in contrast to many Jews, who purchased the baptismal certificate as an 'entrance ticket to European culture' (to quote Heinrich Heine), he was a Christian by conviction." This essay may be found in the notes to the compact-disc recording of *Paulus* by Philips (420 212-2, 1986), p. 20. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that Mendelssohn was a young man just twenty years of age when he unearthed and subsequently conducted the momentous performance of Bach's *Passion According to St. Matthew* in Berlin in 1829.

15. Readers may see Martin J. Naumann's article, "Bach the Preacher," in *The Little Bach Book* (Valparaiso: Valparaiso University Press, 1950), pp. 17-18.

16. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

17. Bach, like Luther, differed from the mode of distinction between the "sacred" and the "secular" which one finds in modern thinking.

18. Readers may see Herz, *Essays on J. S. Bach*, p. 4.

19. Gunther Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984), translated by Robin A. Leaver, p. 206. Stiller is quoting Friedrich Smend in the first instance, *Bach in Cothen* (Berlin, 1951), and in the second case is quoting Christhard Mahrenholz, *Musicolog-*

ica et Liturgica: Gesammelte Aufsätze, ed. K. F. Muller (Kassel, 1960).

20. Naumann, *The Little Bach Book*, p. 18.

21. Leaver, "Bach and Pietism: Similarities Today," p. 17.

22. For a general overview of Bach's theological aptitude, readers may see *God's Composer, Bach*, issued as one of the "Living Faith Series Adult Studies" (Philadelphia: Parish Life Press, 1984).

23. A study of symbolism, including numerical symbolism, in Bach's music will reveal a strong theological and devotional attitude as well as a good knowledge of Scripture. In volume 1, for example, of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, one finds in the Fugue in C Minor a main subject which forms the shape of a cross turned sideways; and in the *Mass in B Minor*, one discovers, in the "Agnus Dei," a pregnant pause at measure 33, representing the significance of the "eternal sacrifice" in the atonement. For further insights into Bach's symbolism and his use of numerical symbolism, readers may see Christa Rumsey, "Symbolism in the Music of J. S. Bach," *Lutheran Theological Journal*, 25 (March 1991).

24. Jaroslav Pelikan, *Bach among the Theologians* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p. 26.

25. Readers may see Karlfried Froehlich, "Luther's Hymns and Johann Sebastian Bach," *The Lutheran Theological Seminary Bulletin*, 66:1 (Winter 1986), p. 16.

26. For a thorough and illuminating study of "Bach's Bible," readers may see Robin A. Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture: Glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985).

27. Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture*, p. 27, quoting H. Werthemann, *Die Bedeutung der alttestamentlichen Historien in Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantaten* (Tübingen, 1959), p. 31.

28. Bach was a true theologian in the sense of adhering to a *habitus practicus theosdotos*. Bach learned his theology through repetition. He engaged himself with God's word, imbibing it through constant and disciplined study. He also saw his theology

as practical. His music reflects this goal in that it seeks to bring men to conversion and salvation and the enjoyment of God. And finally, his theology was God-given. He recognized this truth in the course of his composing by constantly imploring the Lord for help (J.J., i.e., *Jesu Juva*) and giving the glory to God alone (S.D.G., i.e., *Soli Deo Gloria*). (A discussion of true theology as a *habitus practicus theosdotos* may be found in Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics* [St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House], I., pp. 46-51.)

29. Perhaps those of critical spirit could find examples of language or conceptualization which would be considered awkward today. One would, however, be hard-pressed to find more than a few examples of uninformed or careless exposition of Scripture in the cantatas of Bach. He had an uncanny insight into the proclamation of the word of God.

30. Readers may refer back to the relevant discussion in section I.

31. Brunner, *Worship in the Name of Jesus*, p. 269.

32. See Joanne Eva Lindau, "Luther's Influence on Bach: Musical Theologian and Theological Musician," *Crux*, XXII:3, p. 17.

33. Readers may see Paul S. Minear, "Bach and Today's Theologians," *Theology Today*, 42 (July 1985), pp. 205-206. Minear, Professor Emeritus of New Testament in Yale University Divinity School, quotes from Wilifred Mellers, *Bach and the Dance of God* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), p. 87. While Mellers is an avowed agnostic, he concedes that Bach was one who had genuine religious beliefs and demonstrates the same by analyzing various instrumental and choral works of Bach and their symbolism, including the *Mass in B Minor*, the *Solo Cello Suites*, and *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*. Mellers' postulation is that one may find intrinsically embedded in the music, in the very notes which Bach composed, the "Dance of God."

34. Readers may see the introduction to *Lutheran Worship* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982), p. 6.

35. Readers may see Psalms 12 and 2, the translation of Bach's Cantata *BWV* 2 provided in the course of this article, and the appendix which provides a translation of the text of Luther's paraphrase of Psalm 12.

36. Alfred Durr, in the notes included in the record-album of volume 1 of *Bach: Das Kantatenwerk* (Telefunken 6.48191, 1971). The reference to Luke 14:16-24 is appropriate, considering the overall message of Psalm 12, Luther's paraphrase, and Bach's cantata. Those who expect to be "invited" to the final supper will in fact be rejected. Jesus was dealing with the Pharisees, who in their role of authority were guilty of false teaching. The poor, lame, and blind, whom the Pharisees despised because of their "sin," would instead take their places at the great feast.

37. Readers may see J. Geoffrey Scheffenhelm, "Luther, the Hymn-writer," *The Bride of Christ*, VII:4 (November 1983), p. 10.

38. Durr, *Bach: Das Kantatenwerk*, volume 1.

39. The phrase "imitative counterpoint" is used to describe a layered texture of sound produced by successive entrances of the same melodic material. Simple forms would include the "round"; increasingly complex techniques would include the "canon" and "fugue." Bach frequently used this technique to emphasize a particular word or phrase.

40. A "mode" (deriving from the Latin *modus*, meaning "manner" or "tune") is a patterned order of successive ascending and descending pitches used in medieval church music. The Western major and minor "scales" (deriving from the Latin *scalae*, meaning "ladder") are two varieties of mode. Each mode has a characteristic flavor depending on how wide or narrow is the distance between the pitches in any given ascending or descending sequence. Some modes, therefore, are considered bright (e.g., the Lydian) and others dark (e.g., the Phrygian and the Locrian).

41. A "recitative" is a text sung in a conversational manner without measured pulses and rhythms.

42. Diminished seventh chords are "slippery" in that they cause the tonal center to fluctuate.

43. The term "chromaticism" indicates the use of close successive half-steps or semi-tones. In the period in which Bach composed chromaticism could symbolize anything from death to the devil.

44. The "basso continuo" in the baroque ensemble normally included a keyboard instrument with solo cello and sometimes a double bass. In the case of church music, the keyboard instrument was

the organ. The organist typically improvised the music from a given bass line and series of numbers called a "figured bass," which indicated the sequence of chords and suspensions which occurred in the music.

45. The word "aria" means an "air" or, one may say, a song.

46. A fascinating musical representation appears in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*. In Act II, Scene 28, the two armoured men sing what amounts to a hymn to Isis. The tune employed is nothing other than the chorale *Ach Gott! vom Himmel Sieh Darein!* The opera is replete, of course, with Masonic imagery; and the text provided by Mozart's librettist, Emanuel Schikaneder, exudes the spirit of the very heresies which Psalm 12, Martin Luther, and Johann Sebastian Bach identify as perversions of the true word. The text runs as follows: "Whoever walks along this path so full of troubles is purified by fire, water, air, and earth. If he can conquer the fear of death, he will soar from the earth up to heaven! Enlightened, he will then be able to devote himself wholly to the mysteries of Isis" (the translation deriving from the notes included with the compact-disc by Philips [422 543-2, 1984, 1991]). The direction is noteworthy: man soars up to heaven (to be like God) instead of God coming down to man. The use of the accompanying chorale-tune is irony indeed.

47. A "melisma" emphasizes a word by way of elongating various syllables in a sequence of pitches.

48. Another conception of exaltation occurs in the final chorale of the cantata (the sixth movement of *BWV* 2).

49. It is important to keep in mind that Bach knew the significance of the place of his cantatas within the context of the Divine Service. The cantata was generally presented after the readings and before the sermon. The cantata, therefore, most frequently pointed to the preaching of the word of God and the sacramental meal within the context of Lutheran worship.

50. John, after the crucifixion, said of himself: "his testimony is true" (John 19:35).

51. The translation derives from Alfred Durr, *Bach: Das Kantatenwerk*, volume 1, with only minor alterations.

52. *Psalms with Introductions by Martin Luther*, trans. Bruce A. Cameron (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), pp. 18-19.

53. Hebrews speaks of "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever" (Hebrews 13:8).

54. The translation derives from George MacDonald, revised by Ulrich S. Leupold, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 53, pp. 226-228.

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Three Overtures of the Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary

Article III of the Constitution of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (III.3) lists as one of the objectives of its existence the training and continuing growth of its pastors, and the synod has committed this responsibility, above all, to the two seminaries of the church. The synodical bylaws, in a related way, include the faculties of the institutions of education of the synod among those entities from which overtures may be received by a synodical convention (*Handbook of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1992 Edition*, 3.19.a.2). The *Faculty Handbook* of Concordia Theological Seminary stipulates, accordingly, that the faculty "by its very nature considers it a duty as well as a privilege" to provide the synod with advice by means of its overtures—as well as by other means (1990: 2.04.2).

In the course, therefore, of its meeting of 9 March 1995 the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne resolved to address to the synod in convention the three memorials printed on the pages which follow. (While these two introductory paragraphs are the private composition of the undersigned, his signature as secretary represents, as in the *Convention Workbook*, the requisite testimony to the action of the faculty stated here and below.) The Resolution 3-01B to which the first overture refers in its first whereas-clause was entitled "To Adopt Recommendations of Lay Worker Study Committee Report as Amended" and may be found on pages 111-114 of the *Convention Proceedings: Fifty-Seventh Regular Convention: The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod: Wichita, Kansas, July 7-14, 1989*. The overtures below, then, have already been submitted to the Fifty-Ninth Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod which has been summoned to assemble in Saint Louis (Missouri) in July (15-21) of this year. All three proposals, in consequence, will appear, of course, in the forthcoming *Convention Workbook* in the several locations allotted them by the secretary of the synod. The overtures of the faculty are, however, hereby (as on previous occasions) submitted in addition to the consideration and evaluation of the esteemed readers of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly*.

Douglas McC.L. Judisch
Secretary of the Faculty
Concordia Theological Seminary

I. AN OVERTURE CONCERNING THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AND CERTIFICATION OF LAYMEN LICENCED TO PERFORM FUNCTIONS OF THE PASTORAL OFFICE

Whereas Resolution 3-05B of the Fifty-Seventh Regular Convention of the synod authorized district presidents to license certain laymen to perform functions belonging to the pastoral office—preaching, leading in public worship, and administering the sacraments—under the supervision of an ordained pastor in circumstances where no pastor is available; and

Whereas any man who is performing functions of the pastoral ministry should be called by any congregation which he is serving and ordained into the pastoral office (or, as in the case of field-workers, vicars, or special colloquy students, he should be preparing to receive such call and ordination); and

Whereas laymen licensed to perform functions belonging to the pastoral office desire and should receive the theological education necessary to carrying out these duties; and

Whereas the seminaries of the synod are prepared and desirous to provide these men with such theological education and so to prepare and certify them to be called and ordained into the pastoral ministry of the synod; therefore be it

Resolved that any layman who is now licensed to perform pastoral functions under the guidelines of said Resolution 3-05B be required (if he wishes to continue preaching and leading in public worship) to apply for admission into the pastoral ministry of the synod in accordance with the following process:

> (1.) the applicant follows a procedure similar to that outlined for colloquy applicants in Bylaw 6.93 of the synodical handbook with the additional requirements (a.) that he receive endorsement from the congregation which he is serving and (b.) that he and his district president or supervising pastor attend a preliminary interview with a committee (specifically designated for the oversight of the training and theological examination of such applicants) of the

seminary to which he applies—to determine his present theological and pastoral ability and his further educational needs;

(2.) the seminary committee establishes a specific course of study (tailored to the needs in theological education of the applicant) to be completed through ministerial experience, academic training (the majority of which could be conducted through extension classes), and a student-mentor relationship with the supervising pastor;

(3.) the applicant continues to serve (where appropriate) his congregation or mission-station as a vicar with the same responsibilities and restrictions which other vicars, field-workers, and special colloquy candidates have in similar situations—this service running concurrently with and for the duration of his educational program;

(4.) upon completion of the prescribed program of theological education (or in some cases at an earlier time deemed appropriate by the seminary committee and the supervising pastor) the seminary committee interviews the vicar, focusing on theological orthodoxy and ministerial competence; after passing the interview, the vicar is certified for admission to the pastoral ministry by the seminary faculty and so becomes eligible to receive a call and ordination;

(5.) it is recommended (and in some cases required) that the new pastor continue taking courses offered by the seminary in a program of continuing education; and be it further

Resolved that one or both of the seminaries establish a program of theological education which would enable a layman licensed to perform functions of the pastoral office to be trained and certified for a pastoral call and ordination without unnecessary interruption of ministerial responsibilities in his congregation or mission-station; and be it finally

Resolved that any layman now licensed to perform pastoral functions who declines to apply for admission into the pastoral ministry be commended for his dedication by his district president,

that his decision be honored, and that accordingly his license be allowed to lapse.

II. AN OVERTURE CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION OF THEOLOGICAL DISPUTES

Whereas since 1992 the dispute resolution panels described in chapter 8 of the synodical handbook are, when an opinion of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations on "a specific question of doctrine or doctrinal application" has been obtained, bound to that opinion, so that it "must be followed" in the final ruling or decision (*Convention Proceedings: Fifty-Eighth Regular Convention: The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 10-17, 1992*, p. 144; *Handbook of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1992 Edition*, Bylaw 8.21.i); and

Whereas the Church of the Reformation recognizes no infallible spokesmen able *ex officio* to issue doctrinal pronouncements, but rather is solemnly pledged "to regulate all religious controversies and their explanations" according to the divine biblical truth as confessed in the Book of Concord (Preface to the Book of Concord; *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. and trans. Theodore G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959], p. 14); and

Whereas the chief purpose of "proper judicial process" in the church is to safeguard sound evangelical teaching and practice, and without this vital function "the churches are not able to remove impious teachings and impious forms of worship, and countless souls are lost generation after generation" (Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope, 51; *Book of Concord*, p. 329); and

Whereas the summary and divided action of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations in a sensitive and controversial matter, as published in the *Reporter: News for Church Workers* of December 1994, does not improve the case for even occasionally exempting the opinions and decisions of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations from critical examination in the light of Scripture and confession; therefore be it

Resolved that Bylaw 8.21.i of the synodical handbook of 1992 be

amended to make it clear that dispute resolution panels may receive and consider any theological advice they wish, but are, individually and collectively, bound to decide only according to that "single, universally accepted, certain, and common form of doctrine which all our evangelical churches subscribe and from which, because it is drawn from the Word of God, all other writings are to be approved and accepted, judged and regulated" (Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration, Rule and Norm, 10; *Book of Concord*, p. 506).

III. AN OVERTURE CONCERNING THE CONTINUING EDUCATION OF PASTORS

Whereas the circumstances and needs of people in our congregations and parish communities are far more diverse and subject to rapid change than ever before, requiring pastors who can communicate the gospel and care for souls under many conditions, while developing and employing all their God-given gifts; and

Whereas a good deal of pastoral understanding and skill is acquired through a combination of formal instruction and experience in the parish (course-work, field-work, and vicarage already being integral parts of education in the seminary); and

Whereas our pastors, nevertheless, frequently encounter new circumstances and perceive lacunae in their competencies for ministry; and

Whereas our pastors can, therefore, profit from continuing education employing various methods of formal instruction and mentoring contacts with fellow-pastors, district personnel, and others, in order to sharpen their skills and adapt to new cultures and circumstances; therefore be it

Resolved that the Standing Committee for Pastoral Ministry of the synod study the matter of continuing post-seminary education; and be it further

Resolved that said committee present to the convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in 1997 a plan designed to involve relevant resources (e.g., local pastors, district personnel, and seminary faculty) in a program of continuing post-seminary education.

Books Received

Marie Meyer, Marva J. Dawn, Dot Nuechterlein, Elizabeth A. Yates, and Richard T. Hinz. *Different Voices-Shared Vision: Male and Female in the Trinitarian Community.* Delhi, New York: ALPB Books, 1992. 96 pages. Paper. $5.00.

Tucker, Ruth A. *Women in the Maze: Questions and Answers on Biblical Equality.* Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1992. 276 pages. Paper.

Miriam Therese Winter. *Woman Witness: A Feminist Lectionary and Psalter. Women of the Hebrew Scriptures.* Part Two. New York: Crossroad Books, 1992. xii + 372 pages. Paper. $16.95.

Walter Wangerin, Jr. *Reliving the Passion: Meditations on the Suffering, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus as Recorded in Mark.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992. 156 pages. Cloth.

James L. Bailey and Lyle D. Vander Broek. *Literary Forms in the New Testament: A Handbook.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 219 pages. Paper. $14.95.

Thomas C. Oden. *Two Worlds: Notes on the Death of Modernity in America and Russia.* Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1992. 175 pages. Paper.

Paul Barnett. *Behind the Scenes of the New Testament.* Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1990. 247 pages. Paper.

John Wenham. *A Fresh Assault on the Synoptic Problem: Redating Matthew, Mark, and Luke.* Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1992. xxviii + 319 pages. Paper.

Robert M. Bowman, Jr. *Orthodoxy and Heresy: A Biblical Guide to Doctrinal Discernment.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 128 pages. Paper.

Lucy Bregman. *Death in the Midst of Life: Perspectives on Death from Christianity and Depth Psychology.* Christian Explorations in Psychology. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 248 pages. Paper.

H. Newton Malony, editor. *Psychology of Religion: Personalities, Problems, Possibilities.* Psychology and Christianity. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 628 pages. Paper.

Hendrika Vande Kemp, editor. *Family Therapy: Christian Perspectives.* Christian Explorations in Psychology. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 214 pages. Paper.

Susan Power Bratton. *Six Billion and More: Human Population Regulation and Christian Ethics.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 225 pages. Paper. $12.95.

O. Carl Simonton and Reid M. Henson with Brenda Hampton. *The Healing Journey.* New York: Bantam Books, 1992. xiii + 256 pages. Cloth. $22.50.

Theological Observer

THE "NEW" MISSIOLOGY

The *Inter-Connections* of August 1994, issued in St. Louis by the Office of Campus Ministry of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, carried an article entitled "Campus Ministry—Nigerian Style." The article describes and solicits support for Victory Chapel, the "Protestant Chapel" at the University of Uyo in Nigeria. This Protestant Chapel is one of three such major entities, the other two being the Roman Catholic Campus Parish and the Muslim Community. The author of the article cited is the resident Protestant Chaplain himself, Dr. Udo Etuk, who is also the Nigerian Lutheran Hour speaker. He writes:

> The members of Victory Chapel are drawn from the Anglican Church, the Assemblies of God, the Baptist Church, the Church of Christ, the Full Gospel, the Fourth Ground, the Lutherans, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Qua Iboe Church, the Revival Valley Ministries, the Mount Zion Church—Christians literally from A to Z!

The chaplain explains his ministry in this way: "We are conservative with the gospel of Jesus but modernists in our modes of worship. We are all things to all students—to paraphrase our Brother Paul—if by God's grace we might win some."

The practice is just what these descriptions would lead us to expect: "Preachers are usually the very best from among the ministers, preachers, and evangelists who can deliver the message with power. The liturgy followed is very simple: hymn singing, prayers, praise worship, plenty of choruses (short, simple, spiritual songs) accompanied by dancing, drumming, clapping, and loud hallelujahs!" For baptisms "we set out to the river-side." Additional remarks include the following: "Speaking in tongues is not discouraged in our worship services. 'Deliverance' is an important though not a central feature of this campus ministry. Whenever we have powerful and charismatic men of God to preach our worship venue is usually jam-packed."

The editors of *Inter-Connections* regard this depiction as a "fresh and exciting description of Lutheran campus ministry" and recommend that checks earmarked for Victory Chapel be made out to LCMS World Missions. Only one slight qualification is offered: "You may sense that some things are very different in Africa and would not necessarily be appropriate in the U.S. and yet some of the problems sound all too familiar."

What does it mean that "things are very different in Africa"? Do

Baptists there believe in the regenerating power of holy baptism, and do they baptize babies? Do other Protestants in Africa confess that the body and blood of the Lord are verily received with the mouth and by all communicants, regardless of worthiness? Are African Methodists and revivalists not synergists, and Pentecostalists not sectarian emotionalists? Or, if they all agree with their co-religionists elsewhere, are these things contrary to Holy Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions in Europe and America, but not in Africa? Or is the unionistic mixing up of different confessions God-pleasing in Africa, but not "necessarily . . . appropriate" here? Or are they not "appropriate" because of our "old-fashioned" perceptions here? Was it perhaps for this reason that North America had to be formally declared a "mission-field," so that we might copy here the "mission" practices accepted in more enlightened parts of the globe? Or perhaps holy baptism, holy absolution, and the holy supper belong to the core of the gospel only in Europe and America, but are peripheral extras in Africa?

The plain fact is that there is nothing particularly "African" about confessional promiscuity. The latter is simply the course of least resistance and has been thoroughly "mainstream" in Europe and America for some time. There are, on the other hand, confessional churches as much in Africa as everywhere else. The demeaning fiction that Africa is confessionally "different" was most likely dreamt up by non-Africans to save themselves extra effort, expense, and inconvenience. When the Missouri Synod began its missionary work in India in the last century, it was in conscious opposition to the confessional laxity of the Leipzig Mission. Nor were things "very different" only in Europe and in India then. In North America, too, the mood of pietistic "American Lutherans" was very much in favor of "cordial and active cooperation with other evangelical churches in the great work of extending the Redeemer's kingdom" (F. Bente, *American Lutheranism* [St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1919], volume II, p. 129).

No, truth and confessional integrity cannot be bounded by mere continents. A would-be "Lutheran" missiology which purrs and burbles generically whenever "mission" is mentioned, but lacks the backbone to insist on building truly confessional churches with the pure gospel and sacraments of Christ, is not merely in crisis. It is bankrupt.

Kurt Marquart

THE REFERENCE TO ORDER IN LUKE'S PREFACE

Writing of Luke's account of the shipwreck (Acts 27), Brian M. Rapske states the following:

> Those methods must be considered suspect which, in quest of pattern, genre, or typicality, forbid consideration of or trivialize the remarkable display of accurate geographical and maritime knowledge throughout this episode and which ignore the real witness to frequent shipwrecks both in marine archaeology and in the Pauline autobiography (2 Corinthians 11:25).

Rapske's remarks concerning literary methods which discount Luke's geographical and maritime knowledge apply equally to methods which overlook his accuracy as a historiographer. The essay by Rapske and a number of other contributions to the new series called "The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting" (edited by Bruce W. Winter, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993-1994) are a welcome corrective in the modern exegetical scene.

The methods we use in our interpretation of Luke's writings depend to some degree on how we handle a key word in the Gospel's preface, the adverb *kathexēs* ("orderly," Luke 1:3). The issue is not translation; most English versions agree that Luke's purpose was to write "an *orderly* account." Where we find divergence is in the assessments by commentators of the kind of order Luke had in mind. Did he set out to write an account that followed chronological order? Or was he concerned merely for literary order? Does the choice matter?

Donald Guthrie's *New Testament Introduction* asserts: "Luke meant to write a historical account . . . *kathexēs* would seem here to mean chronological and historical order." In response to claims that Luke's purpose was dominated by a theological motive, he writes: "No one would deny that Luke's purpose is theological. But this is quite different from saying that the history has been conformed to the theology, an approach which had its origins in the Tübingen school of thought" (pp. 106-107). I. Howard Marshall and the Lutheran commentators, William Arndt and R. C. H. Lenski, concur that Luke has at least a broad chronological sequence in mind. To these may be added the judgment of the standard lexicon in English that Luke meant to "write someth[ing] for someone in orderly sequence" (Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich; second edition, revised by F. Wilbur

Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1979], p. 388).

Joseph Fitzmyer takes the opposite view. He questions William Ramsay's opinion that Luke was "a historian of the first rank." As for the evangelist's claims that his account will possess the qualities of being thorough, traced from the beginning, orderly, and accurate, Fitzmyer believes "they can scarcely be pressed." He finds inaccuracies in dating and geography, concluding that "on many of these issues Luke's information was not the best." Luke's "historical concern was "subordinate to a theological one." Fitzmyer finally adds a parenthetical note explaining to Roman Catholic readers how his "skeptical attitude" may be squared with traditional teachings on biblical inspiration. Against this background it is not surprising that his exegetical notes rule out the possibility that *kathexēs* could mean chronological and geographical order. Fitzmyer fixes on "literary" order, *id est*, "a systematic presentation."

Luke Timothy Johnson's contribution to the series entitled *Sacra Pagina* occupies the middle ground. His section on the gospel's "Genre and Purpose" begins with a recognition of Luke's gifts as a storyteller, his sense of "the importance of plot and characters." To what literary genre, then, do the Lucan writings belong? Johnson goes on to state that there are incontrovertible reasons for placing Luke-Acts in the genre of Hellenistic history. He refers to Luke's use of sources and personal research, his attempt to write a "sustained and sequential" narrative (*kathexēs*), and his concern to anchor events in world history. While not doubting Luke's serious purposes as a historian, Johnson thinks we can only give a "mixed" answer to the question of Luke's factual accuracy. Luke must be mistaken on the timing of the census and the appearance of messianic pretenders, because he disagrees with other ancient sources. On the other hand, "his account of Paul's movements . . . is not far out-of-line." Johnson concludes that on the whole "Luke seems reasonably accurate." When it comes to determining the meaning of *kathexēs* in the prologue, Johnson is unable to make up his mind: "Does it mean only 'in succession'? . . . Or is there special emphasis on the order in which events are related, as in Acts 11:4?"

Is Luke's purpose, then, chiefly historical-theological? Or are his interests mainly to be found in literary-theological artistry? While it would undoubtedly be an over-simplification to suggest that this question may be settled by studying one word in the preface, a concordance study of *kathexēs* and its synonym *hexēs* does throw light on the issue. Word-

studies sensitive to the context will always have an important place in exegesis. In the case of *kathexēs*, the task is relatively straightforward. This vocable is a peculiarly Lucan word, occurring just five times (Luke 1:3; 8:11; Acts 3:24; 11:4; 18:23). *Hexēs* is clearly a synonym. ("I fail to see any difference between the two words," says Fitzmyer.) *Hexēs* is also peculiar to Luke, occurring another five times (Luke 7:11; 9:37; Acts 21:1; 25:17; 27:18).

The easiest place to begin is *hexēs*. In four of its five occurrences it appears in the phrase *tē(i) hexēs hēmera* (Luke 9:37) or the abbreviated form *tē(i) hexēs* (Acts 21:1; 25:17; 27:18). Our versions uniformly translate "on the next day." The fifth occurrence, Luke 7:11, is a variant, *en tō(i) hexēs* (scilicet *chronō(i)*), meaning "not long afterwards" (J. B. Phillips). This phrase is clearly equivalent to *en tō(i) hexēs* (scilicet *chronō(i)*) a few paragraphs later, in Luke 8:1. Thus we have seen six instances in which *hexēs* and *kathexēs* clearly refer to chronology.

We come now to two highly significant uses of *kathexēs*. The first is in the preface itself. The succeeding context soon gives strong indications of how Luke meant the word to be understood. His infancy narrative (Luke 1-2) is related in a clear chronological sequence and Gabriel's visit to Zechariah and then to Mary, Mary's visit to Elizabeth, the birth of John, the census, the birth of Jesus, and so on. Then in chapter 3 the opening of John's ministry is given a precise historical anchorage. Another exceptionally clear case seems to be Acts 11:4, "Peter began to explain it to them, step by step . . ." (New Revised Standard Version). The word *kathexēs* introduces Peter's recounting, in chronological order, of the events leading up to the baptism of Cornelius and his household (verses 5-17).

This process leaves only Acts 3:24 and 18:23. Acts 3:24 reads: "All the prophets . . . from Samuel and *tōn kathexēs* ("those after him" in the NRSV) "also predicted these days." This phrase can only mean the prophets who followed Samuel in their historical sequence. According to 18:23, Paul passed through Galatia and Phrygia *kathexēs* ("one place after the other in Galatia and Phrygia," according to Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker). Some kind of chronological and geographical order is implied. To understand this phrase of literary order makes no sense.

Thus a careful concordance study leaves us with the overwhelming impression that the evidence supports Guthrie's verdict that *kathexēs* means chronological and historical order. Why, however, would one offer such an exegetical study in the section of the *Concordia Theological*

Quarterly called "Theological Observer"? It seems that we need to underline again the importance of historical-grammatical exegesis at a time when there has been an enormous "shift in emphasis and interest to the literary and theological aspects" (Fitzmyer) of the Lucan and other biblical writings. The techniques of rhetorical criticism and other forms of literary-theological analysis are very much in vogue. We may, indeed, learn something from such analysis if the inspired text is still given an attentive hearing. At the same time, as Rapske has reminded us, those methods must be considered suspect which forbid serious consideration of Luke's remarkable care in matters of geography and history. It is appropriate that Lutherans remind themselves of the extraordinary fruitfulness of their own traditional emphasis on taking seriously both biblical grammar and biblical history, in keeping with the central biblical theme of the Word-become-flesh.

Gregory J. Lockwood

THE WEDDING SERMON

A. The Setting of the Wedding Sermon

The essential tone is to be spiritual, not ostentatious. The focal point is the altar, not the bride or bridal party. The setting is to be a service of worship, not a production in the style of Lawrence Welk. The wedding may take place at an appropriate point in the Divine Service, Matins, Vespers, or another liturgical office. The Christian wedding is held in the church in the presence of the Christian community.

B. Theses on the Wedding Sermon

1. The cardinal content of the wedding sermon (regardless of the text) is to be the forgiveness of sins through Jesus Christ. For the key call of the Old Testament prophets and John the Baptist, the heart of the sermons in the Book of Acts, and our Lord's final climactic word to His disciples were calls to repentance *to* the forgiveness of sins (Acts 2:42 and the verses following).

2. A variety of texts will need to be developed by the preacher, however, since his hearers will hear him on many occasions in the same church. Here R. R. Caemmerer's "Biblical Modes of the Atonement" will be helpful and may be found on pages 330-331 of his *Preaching for the Church* (as listed below) as well as on pages 32-34 of volume 55 of this journal—in the midst of an essay by the present author which could also be consulted, namely, "The Plague of Generic Preaching" (*Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 55 [January 1991], pages 23-42).

3, Depending on the nature of the wedding party and worshipping congregation, the unique focus of the hearers' needs (counterbalanced by the more important question of what *they* need to hear) will be determined carefully.

4. The preceding considerations mean that the preacher's concerns are certainly, first of all, the following:

    a. The situation of the couple is unique.
    b. The congregation, however, is also involved (the *Sitz im Leben*).
        (1.) The parents *have* released each person to a new relationship ("a man shall leave his father and mother . . .").
        (2.) The people of God are making public witness and affirmation of this pledge.
        (3.) The congregation, moreover, as *ekklesia* (as in

a baptismal rite) are, in effect, pledging a corporate nurture of this marriage and its progeny from womb to tomb, from cradle to casket.

c. An appraisal of the (Christian or non-Christian) identity of any visitors is also critical.

5. The preceding considerations also mean that, even if a wedding couple suggests a specific text, the preacher still has to meet certain indispensable theological and homiletical criteria. The liturgy of the agendas to *The Lutheran Hymnal* and *Lutheran Worship* provide numerous theological cues to the appropriate application of law and gospel.

6. The introduction to the wedding sermon is particularly crucial. Especially if the bride and groom are standing eyeball to eyeball with the pastor, the first sentences of the preacher's words should set them at ease. Such words indicate *personal* address to them. Inept use of humor at this point—or anywhere else in the sermon—should be studiously avoided. Humor often distances the speaker from one's hearers in this kind of setting (although the self-convinced "Cheshire cat" fails to realize it). The couple (ideally) want to remember this wedding as a *sacred* moment, not as a "town meeting."

7. The particular circumstances will dictate the *length* of the sermon. The norm is ten minutes beyond the rite itself. If the couple is seated during the sermon and the pastor preaches from the pulpit, fifteen minutes is not too long. Here again there is an opportunity to evangelize those who are not as yet members of the Body of Christ.

C. Concluding Remarks

The *summa* is that Christ is the third partner in this marriage. It is a triangle, but He is the cornerstone. Christ crucified and risen is the heart of every wedding sermon.

Considering the limitations of time on the sermon, all the concerns noted above can never perhaps be fully met. But the thoughts which any visitors, especially non-Christians, may take away from this service is a sensitive theological issue. The law and the gospel, therefore, certainly need to be the heart of every wedding sermon.

For contextual data about the wedding service and whom the Christian pastor may marry, readers are referred to the author's *Myths About the Lutheran Church* (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1991). Recourse may be had particularly to "Myths about Christian Marriage" and "Myths about Christian Weddings" on pages 27-34.

D. Additional Resources

The following publications are not necessarily recommended for their theological or homiletical excellence, but they may trigger some viable ideas for the perspicacious preacher:

John M. Braaten. *Together Till Death Us Do Part.* Lima, Ohio: C. S. S. Publishing Company, 1987.

Richard R. Caemmerer. *Preaching for the Church.* St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1959; slightly revised, 1964. This classic work has just been reprinted by Concordia Publishing House in 1995.

Christian Marriage. Office of Worship for the Presbyterian Church (USA) and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986.

Arthur Homburg, ed. *A New Wedding for You.* Lima, Ohio: C. S. S. Publishing Company, 1985.

Paul W. Nesper. *Biblical Texts.* Columbus, Ohio: Wartburg Publishing House, 1952. This classic work has been reprinted by Concordia Theological Seminary Press, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46825.

Rings, Roses, and Rejoicing. Lima, Ohio: C. S. S. Publishing Company, 1990.

Liam Swords, ed. *Marriage Homilies.* Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1985.

Ernst H. Wendland, ed. *Sermon Texts.* Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1984.

Donald L. Deffner

THE AUGUSTANA AND PSALM 119:46

There are, certainly, many ways in which the hymnal sanctioned most recently by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, *Lutheran Worship* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982), falls short of the older *Lutheran Hymnal* (1941), which rightly retains its official status in the synod. One of the positive elements, on the other hand, of *Lutheran Worship* and the materials associated with it is the restoration to the ecclesiastical year of the Feast of the Augustana, which had, indeed, been celebrated by Lutherans of more confessional times but had fallen into desuetude in the course of the twentieth century. In 1995 June 25 falls on a Sunday, and the opportunity is thereby afforded of involving a larger number of parishioners than usual in celebrating the Feast of the Presentation of the Augsburg Confession and the Publication of the Formula of Concord. The following data are being offered, consequently, as resources which may be of some use in preparing a service in commemoration of the confessions which, solidly built on the foundation of Holy Writ, define the very structure of the Lutheran Church.

1. Liturgical Notes

The propers listed on pages 109-110 of *Lutheran Worship* seem, in general, quite appropriate to the occasion being discussed. The collect is the same as the collect already connected with the Festival of the Reformation and may, therefore, be found as well (in more traditional English) on page 84 of *The Lutheran Hymnal.* The ensuing formulation, however, could serve as an additional collect in the prayers of matins or vespers or following the sermon in the eucharistic service: "O Almighty God, by whose grace Thy saints confessed on this day before princes and peoples the pure doctrine of Thy word, keep us too, we pray, always steadfast in Thy truth and defend Thy church from all foes of Thy word, so that the gospel of Thy Son may be proclaimed to the salvation of sinners in all the world; through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, age on age without end. Amen."

Lutheran Worship suggests, in addition, readings from the Old Testament (Isaiah 55:6-11) and the epistles (Romans 10:5-17) which resonate with clarity to the distinctive notes of a commemoration of the Augustana. The same may be said as well of the verses of Psalm 46 appointed as the body of the introit (46:1-3, 7) and the two verses of the Psalter conjoined as the gradual (146:5; 149:4). Psalm 46, of course, was the biblical fountainhead of the so-called "Battle-Hymn of the Reforma-

tion" ("A Mighty Fortress") and would logically serve as well as the main psalm in any service of matins or vespers on the Feast of the Augustana. The choice of the gospel (John 15:1-11) is presumably due less to any specific connection with the Augustana than to the sharing of the same propers with the commemoration of doctors of the church. Remaining within the words of our Lord at the Last Supper, the High-Priestly Prayer in John 17 (especially verses 6-8 and 14-21) would seem to afford verses fitting more closely the distinctive pattern of June 25.

A provision, on the other hand, of peerless propriety in *Lutheran Worship* is the appointing of Psalm 119:46 as the antiphon to the introit: "I will speak of Thy testimonies before kings, nor shall I be ashamed" (to provide a more accurate translation than the one which appears in *LW*). The historical connection between this verse and the Augsburg Confession rests on the words of the Blessed Reformer of the Church which are cited in the homiletical material printed below.

2. Exegetical Notes

a. Isagogical Considerations

Psalm 119 is called the Giant Psalm by virtue of being by far the longest in the Psalter—with 176 verses (as is reflected already in the title of Raymond F. Surburg's "Observations and Reflections on the Giant Psalm" [*Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 42 (January 1978), pp. 8-20], which may be consulted on additional points related to this psalm). It is also called the Golden Alphabet of the Christian by reason of its elaborate acrosticism; its twenty-two stanzas relate successively to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and all of the eight verses within each stanza begin with this same consonant. The theme of the whole is the significance of Holy Scripture in the life of the Christian, and to this end seven words or verbal duos, with differing nuances of meaning, are used of Scripture and its contents on a recurring basis, namely (as traditionally translated), law, word, utterance, statutes, precepts, commandments plus judgments, and testimonies (combining, in the final case, the two closely related cognates which are treated below). The listing, to be sure, of the vocables so employed in Psalm 119 varies considerably among the many commentators thereon; and the specific enumeration made here may be unique in some respects, but in others it agrees with the predication of "the use of eight terms for the Law" by Briggs and Briggs (Charles Augustus Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, II [The International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1907], p. 415).

Each of the stanzas of the Golden Alphabet treats one particular aspect of the general theme of the psalm. Verse 46 is the sixth verse in the sixth stanza, in which each verse begins with the letter *waw*; the particular concern of the strophe is the Christian confession of the contents of Holy Writ. In liturgical usage the various stanzas of Psalm 119 were divided among the minor offices of daytime (prime, terce, sext, and nones) to be prayed in continual recurrence by those exercising themselves in the same devotional discipline as the psalmist himself practised, as he indicates especially in verses 164, 97, 147-148, 55, and 62 (Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., *The Psalms in Christian Worship* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1976], pp. 58-59).

The author was clearly a figure of national renown (verses 74, 79, 99, 100), whom we should, then, expect to meet in the course of the historical books of the Old Testament; and of any the options available the prophet Jeremiah would seem to correspond most closely to the psalmist's intimations of experience and personality. For he had already as a young but learned man (verses 9, 99, 100) suffered persecution by many, including princes (verses 61, 83, 109, 141, 23, 46, 161). (The psalmist's personality is compared to Jeremiah's by Derek Kidner, *Psalms 73-150* [London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1975], p. 422.)

The closure of the canon of the Old Testament by Ezra and associates (as stated in the author's *Canonics of the Old Testament*) excludes the Maccabaean dating of the psalm asserted by Hitzig and Delitzsch (Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament*, V: *Psalms*, trans. Francis Bolton [Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975 (1867)], III, pp. 244-245). Nor is Leupold at all convincing in allotting the composition of the psalm to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Herbert C. Leupold, *Exposition of the Psalms* [Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1959], pp. 822-823). The actual connection with Ezra lies in his production of a definitive edition of the Old Testament as a whole, which required, in turn, the completion of the Psalter by gathering into a fifth and final book the remaining remnants of inspired hymnody (as depicted in the author's *Introduction to the Poetical Books of the Bible*). A major feature, of course, of the compilation of Book 5 of the Psalter was the inclusion therein of the Golden Alphabet.

b. Verse 46a

The conjunction beginning verse 46 is a weak *waw* which, however, is pointed with pathach by virtue of the undesirability of two vocal shewas in succession. The initial *waw*, in consequence, assumes the vowel which

is combined with shewa in the hateph-pathach under the ensuing *aleph*. Here, in fact, the conjunction, rather than ascribing temporal or logical consequence to an ensuing preterite, conjoins the psalmist's determination to *confess* his faith with the determination to lead a life of faith expressed in the previous two verses: "Wherefore I will keep Thy teaching continually unto eternity and evermore; and I will walk in openness, for Thy precepts have I sought" (verses 44-45).

The usual piel of the verb *dbr* occurs here in the elongate aspect (which is usually called the cohortative) of the first person (with the suffix which is often called a voluntative *he*). The specific force of the elongate here is emphatic (rather than cohortative), expressing determination (the most common use of the elongate in the first person singular). This force corresponds, clearly, to the same use of the elongate forms beginning the previous two verses. In each case, therefore, the proper translation in English is "I will" (expressing determination) rather than "I shall" (the ordinary future of the first person singular).

The *beth* attached to the noun following *dbr* can indicate instrumentality, locality, or even hostility; but here it clearly specifies the object of the speaking involved, as in Deuteronomy 6:7 and 11:19, 1 Samuel 19:3-4, and Psalm 87:3 (Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* [abbreviated BDB; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1906], pp. 180b [piel 4c], 90b [IV.e]; Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and M. E. J. Richardson, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* [abbreviated KBR], I [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994], p. 210b). The conception is presumably tantamount to speaking "with regard to" someone or something—or even (in Deuteronomy and here) "in terms of" something, namely, the words of God (enunciating, expounding, and applying them).

c. The "Testimonies" of God

Specifically, the object of the speaking here is the feminine noun *'ēdhāh*, which occurs only in the plural and is synonymous with its more common cognate *'ēdhūth* or *'ēdhuth* (BDB, p. 730a). They are two of several words involving testimony which derive from the root *'wd*, which is presumed to have "go about"—and so "return" and "repeat"—as its basic idea and is used in the piel to mean "surround" in Psalm 119:61 (BDB, p. 728b). The same verb, though rare itself, is also the source of the very common *'ōdh*, which—signifying properly "a going round"—is used adverbially to express such concepts as continuation, persistence, and repetition, often becoming "again" in English translations (BDB, pp. 728b-

729b).

The four feminine nouns of the family of *'wd* which mean "testimony" in some way apparently derive from the ultimate root by way of the masculine *'ēdh* (meaning "witness") or its denominative verb *'wd*, meaning "bear witness" and specifically "testify" (BDB, pp. 729b-730a; Carl Schultz, "*'wd*," *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* [abbreviated TWOT], ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke [Chicago: Moody Press, 1980], II, pp. 648a-650a). The semantic relationship assumed by students of the language is that "a witness is one who by reiteration emphatically affirms his testimony" (TWOT, p. 648b; similarly BDB, p. 729b). The lexicographers cited above distinguish as two separate words the *'ēdhāh* of Psalm 119, said to be found only in the plural, and the singular *'ēdhāh*, which is defined as "witness, testimony" and appears but four times in the TaNaK. The singular is apparently seen as the feminine counterpart of *'ēdh* and the plural as a variant of *'ēdhūth* (or as no more, indeed, than the artificial creation of the massoretes) (BDB, pp. 729b-730a). The scope of the plural is restricted to such "laws" as are regarded "as divine testimonies or solemn charges"; the singular is applied exclusively to objects which are grammatically feminine—of "seven ewe-lambs" in Genesis 21:30, of a "stone" erected as a memorial in Joshua 24:27 (where the word occurs twice), and of a "pillar" (a stone again erected as a memorial) in Genesis 31:52 (where *'ēdh* is applied in parallel fashion to a masculine word meaning a heap of stones).

The undersigned remains unconvinced at this time of the necessity of making a distinction between two disparate words, but the plural of *'ēdhāh* is, to be sure, restricted to the oracles of God (as, says Schultz [p. 649b], is true also of *'ēdhūth*). The absolute form occurs only in Deuteronomy 4:45 and 6:20, where it is conjoined in the same way with *ḥuqqīm* ("statutes") and *mishpāṭīm* ("judgments"); while the plural with suffix is conjoined with "statutes" and *miṣwōth* ("commandments") in Deuteronomy 6:17. All the remaining instances of the plural of *'ēdhāh* are contained in the Psalter, namely, in Psalms 25:10, 78:56, 93:5, 99:7, 132:12, and 119 (*Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae*, ed. Solomon Mandelkern, ninth edition [Tel-Aviv: Schocken Publishing House, 1974], II, p. 830c-d).

The majority, actually, of the occurrences of *'ēdhāh* fall within the bounds of the Giant Psalm itself—fourteen times out of a total of twenty-two or twenty-six (depending on whether or not one distinguishes two

distinct words spelled *'ēdhāh*). The plural form with a third masculine singular possessive suffix (referring to God) occurs in verse 2 of Psalm 119: "O the blessedness of them that preserve His testimonies." The form in all the remaining thirteen cases (as in Psalm 93:5) is *'ēdhōthekhā*, using the second masculine singular possessive suffix (in addressing God), namely, in verses 22, 24, 46 (now before us), 59, 79, 95, 119, 125, 138, 146, 152, 167, and 168 (Mandelkern, II, p. 830c). The close cognate *'ēdhūth* occurs, in addition, nine times in Psalm 119, once in the singular as "the testimony of" God's "mouth" (verse 88) and eight times in the plural (verses 14, 31, 36, 99, 111, 129, 144, 157) (Mandelkern, II, pp. 830d-831a).

The NIV, then, quite misses the special nuance of the first noun in Psalm 119:46 when it speaks there of the "statutes" of God (*The Holy Bible: New International Version*, International Bible Society, 1984). Koehler, meanwhile, ascribes to the word (which he treats as no more than a form of *'ēdhūth*) the equally unsatisfactory meanings of "reminders" and "exhortations" (Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958], p. 683 a-b). The purpose, in actuality, of using the word *'ēdhōthekhā* is to describe the very words of God as the testimonies in which He Himself serves as witness to Himself, iterating and reiterating His works and will to mankind. Nor can we restrict the scope of the word specifically to the laws of God as is generally done (so BDB, p. 730a).

Such a restriction rests partially on the misconception of the Old Testament represented thus by Schultz (despite the validity, properly understood, of the first sentence): "The law of God is his testimony because it is his own affirmation relative to his very person and purpose. While in the OT the written words constitute the testimony, it is the proclamation of the gospel which is the essence of the testimony of the NT" (Schultz, p. 650a). Strathmann evinces the same misunderstanding in speaking of the plural of *'ēdhāh* as corresponding to "the concrete statutes of the divine attestation from which the Mosaic Law proceeded" in the form of "commandments" and "legislation" (H. Strathmann, "*martus, martureō, marturia, marturion*," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, volume 4, ed. Gerhard Kittel, ed. and trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley [Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1967], p. 486).

The singular *'ēdhūth*, to be sure, is applied in the Pentateuch to the decalogue, which is itself, however, not totally law (the gospel as well

appearing in Exodus 20:6 and in the Lord's self-designation as "thy God"). The plurality, moreover, of *'ēdhūth* all but once in the Giant Psalm and the predominance of the much less common *'ēdhāh* both serve to place some distance between the "testimonies" of Psalm 119 and any connotation of law adhering to the singular *'ēdhūth* by virtue of its previous usage by Moses (as is, indeed, already the likely purpose of Moses himself in using *'ēdhāh* in Deuteronomy 4 and 6).

Worthy of note, along these lines, is the parallelism involved in the first occurrence of *'ēdhāh* in Psalm 119. The "testimonies" of verse 2 clearly stand parallel to the *tōrah* of verse 1 by virtue of the same introductory formula: "Oh the blessedness!" This formula obviously reflects, indeed, the preface to the Psalter as a whole which is constituted by Psalm 1. The first three verses of Psalm 119 are with verse 115 the only ones addressed to anyone else than God, and they seem calculated to remind the church paraphrastically of the two opening verses of the Psalter. The thesis of Psalm 1, which is virtually identical with the theme of Psalm 119, is stated positively by connecting verse 2 with the initial words of verse 1: "Oh the blessedness of the man . . . whose delight is in the law of the Lord and in His law museth by day and by night."

The word *tōrah*, of course, means not "law" as opposed to gospel, but rather "teaching"; and in Psalm 1:2, clearly, it refers to the total teaching of God Himself in writing, which is to say in Holy Scripture. It is only in the form, after all, of the canon consisting in His own words that the teaching of God, directly speaking, can be read and pondered by day and night in the fashion of Psalm 1:2. The word *tōrah* is used in the same sense in Psalm 119, and the divine "testimonies" are, therefore, coterminous with the "law" of God which comprehends both law and gospel and has, indeed, the gospel as its goal and central theme. Nestle and company, indeed, see an allusion, with good reason, to Psalm 119:46 in Romans 1:16; but, whether allusion or no, the apostle is speaking, in any case, of the purpose and defining principle of the "testimonies" cited here: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation . . ."

d. Verse 46b

The verb *bwsh* appears a hundred and nine times in the Old Testament and gives birth as well to two *hapax legomena* (meaning "shame" and "pudenda"), a noun used four times to mean "shame," and the more common *bōsheth*, likewise meaning "shame." Although the verb or one of its derivatives occurs a hundred and fifty-five times altogether, all but

twenty-five of these occurrences are found in the Psalter or the prophetic books (twenty of them in Isaiah and a full thirty-eight in Jeremiah). The NIV translates the second half of Psalm 119:46 in this way: "and will not be put to shame." Such a rendition accords more, however, with the idea of the hiphil of *bwsh* than with that of the qal found here. The Authorized Version and the NKJV translate more correctly, "and will not be ashamed," while the most accurate rendition is found in the NASB: "and shall not be ashamed" (*The Holy Bible: The New King James Version*, Thomas Nelson, 1982; *The New American Bible*, The Lockman Foundation, 1977).

There is, to be sure, some overlapping in meaning of the two binyanim in question, but the basic idea of the qal, as here, is actually "be ashamed." Thus, Brown gives "be ashamed" as the general meaning of the root and lists the meanings of the qal as follows: firstly, used absolutely, "feel shame"; secondly, with ensuing *min*, "be ashamed of, i.e. disconcerted, disappointed by reason of" something; and thirdly, with ensuing infinitive, "be ashamed to" do something (BDB, pp. 101b-102a). Richardson defines the qal as "be ashamed" in bold print before "be put to shame" in ordinary print (KBR, I, pp. 116b-117a).

Oswalt, too (or the editorial staff of the TWOT), gives "be ashamed" as the first meaning of *bwsh* (John N. Oswalt, "*bwsh*," TWOT, I, 97b-98b). He likewise includes among the five ways in which he sees *bwsh* as being used in the Old Testament "a feeling of guilt from having done wrong" (TWOT, p. 98b). In the meantime, however, he describes the most common usage as "expressing the disgrace which is the result of defeat at the hands of an enemy, either in battle or in some other manner." Seeing the thinking in this usage as being directed particularly to "the awful shame of being paraded as captives," he gives this explanation: "Involved here are all the nuances of confusion, disillusionment, humiliation, and brokenness which the word connotes" (TWOT, p. 98a).

More basically, and rightly enough (if properly understood), Oswalt describes the primary meaning of the root as "fall into disgrace, normally through failure, either of self or of an object of trust" (TWOT, p. 97b). He sees, nevertheless, "somewhat" of a contrast between "be ashamed" and *bwsh* "in that the English stresses the inner attitude, the state of mind, while the Hebrew means 'to come to shame' and stresses the sense of public disgrace, a physical state" (TWOT, p. 97b). There is, to be sure, some validity to both this distinction and the related statements quoted above; and Oswalt is speaking, as he says, of a difference in emphasis and

not in basic significance. Yet the reference to a "physical state" (although appropriate to some occurrences) surely goes beyond the pale of the general denotation of the word; an "objective state" would be more satisfactory terminology.

Qualifications are also required to the description of the disgrace involved as being specifically public. Even where, firstly, a specifically "public disgrace" is in view, the situation ordinarily involves as well, by virtue of the participation of all in a truly "public" phenomenon, a feeling of shame in the object of disgrace. Secondly, however, using such an adjective as "objective" or "external" to modify "disgrace" would again do more justice to the general connotation of *bwsh*. For the objectively existing disgrace which is entwined with a feeling of shame in such passages as the one at hand can only be understood as disgrace in the eyes of the Lord. For the believer in God, after all, is always the object of the scorn of this world precisely by virtue of his faith, whereas the world pays its own, of course, the homage which is rightly due the Lord.

Those of this world who in this life come to be ashamed of the sins which they see are (objectively) shameful in the eyes of God can then be consoled with the assurance of divine salvation. As to those, on the other hand, who remain in impenitence in this life, it is specifically in the ensuing judgment of God that the shame of each will be exposed to all—including himself. Also in this case, then, the disgrace begins with the objective determination of God and then necessarily extends to personal feelings of shame; the accusations of the divine judge echo unceasingly in the galvanized conscience of the man found guilty of impenitence.

Seebass, too, despite his critical presuppositions, stresses the centrality of the deity to the usage of *bwsh* in the Psalter (Horst Seebass, "*bwsh*," *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* [abbreviated TDOT], ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. John T. Willis, II, revised edition [Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977], pp. 50-60). His formulation of the basic meaning, to be sure, lacks any reference to the spiritual—and, indeed, divine—dimensions of *bwsh* (TDOT, p. 52): "an experience in which" someone's "former respected position and importance were overthrown." He speaks rightly, nevertheless, of Psalm 25:2 (and such related passages as 22:6 [MT; EV 5], 25:20, and 31:2 [MT; EV 1])—"in Thee have I trusted; let me not be ashamed" (although he translates "put to shame")—when he locates the emphasis in the psalmist's relationship to the Lord:

"This relationship to God is always the important thing in the petition, and if it is not established his soul is humiliated even unto Sheol" (TDOT, p. 59).

Conversely, Seebass observes, "It is the importance of this relationship to God that makes one's desire that his enemy be put to shame intelligible" (TDOT, p. 59). Such a conclusion is clearly to be endorsed in all those cases in which the psalmists are requesting the eschatological shame of human enemies. In other words, rather than being motivated by a desire for revenge, the psalmist desires nothing more than the public manifestation of his God. For, in the end, the truth of God can be seen to be truth only when the falsehood of this world is shown to be falsehood.

As to instances outside the Psalter which demonstrate the theological-spiritual dimensions of *bwsh*, this study has space to cite but three. An example from Jeremiah (6:15) would be appropriate in view of his using the word-group involved more than anyone else as well as his authorship of Psalm 119 suggested above. The first word of Jeremiah 6:15 is a form of *bwsh* in the hiphil, while the sixth and eighth words are forms of *bwsh* in the qal, namely, the infinitive absolute (providing intensive force and so translated "in no way") and the plural imperfect respectively: "They have acted shamefully, for they have wrought abomination; yet were they in no way ashamed nor knew they to blush." (The argument here is unaffected by the decision of others to take the first clause of this verse as a question: "Were they ashamed when they committed abomination? Nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush" [AV].)

Two examples from Ezra would likewise be apropos in view of his relation to Psalm 119 by way of his editorship, already asserted, of the Psalter in general and of Book V in particular. The emphasis is clearly on a feeling of shame in the priestly scribe himself in 8:22, but 9:6 is especially revealing of the usage of *bwsh* (the binyan employed in both cases being the qal): "O my God, I am ashamed and blush to raise my face to Thee, O my God; for our iniquities have multiplied above our heads, and our guiltiness had grown up to the heavens."

Psalm 119 itself contains six instances of the verb *bwsh*, more than any other psalm (Mandelkern, I, pp. 181c, d, 182a). The hiphil is used (with negative jussive force) in verses 31 and 116, and the third plural of the qal (as a positive jussive) in 78. Most closely related, however, to verse 46 are verses 6 and 80, where the identical form *'ēbhōsh* occurs and following in the same way the negative *lō'*. Verse 6 is logically

subordinated to 5 by means of the initial adverb *'āz*: "Oh that my ways may be established to keep Thy statutes! Then shall I not be ashamed when I look upon all Thy commandments." In verse 80 the imperfect acquires a final force (indicating purpose) from the preceding conjunction *lma'an*: "May my heart be blameless in Thy statutes, so that I may not be ashamed." Shame would, in these cases, clearly result from the sinner's conviction by the law of God—firstly in the eyes of the Lord and then also, in consequence, in the human conscience.

The use of *bwsh*, then, in verse 46, as the contrary of confessing the truth, corresponds in application to the dominical use of *epaischunomai* in Mark 8: "Whosoever, therefore, shall be ashamed of Me and of My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the holy angels" (verse 38). The relevance of Romans 1:16 has already been noted above.

3. Homiletical Material

The following outline is offered as a possible aid in beginning the preparation of a sermon on Psalm 119:46 in the context of a celebration of the Augsburg Confession. Suggestions are also made in many cases of ways in which the outline could be amplified in the form of a finished sermon. The stipulated applications, however, of law and gospel to the life of the contemporary church—and, indeed, to the specific hearers being addressed—are, understandably, left completely to the formulation of the preachers themselves. The readers of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* will understand that ordinary homiletical usage has required some exceptions on these pages to the conventions of scholarly style which are normally upheld in this journal—allowing, above all, the use of the first person singular by the preacher and the use of the second person in addressing the congregation. Quotations of the Lutheran confessors are drawn from F. Bente's *Historical Introductions to the Book of Concord* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965; originally published in the *Concordia Triglotta*, 1921) or from *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert and others (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959; abbreviated *BC*).

A Godly Testimony

I. The Background of the Testimony of the Day

We celebrate today, on June 25, the Feast of the Presentation of the Augsburg Confession and Publication of the Book of Concord. For it was on June 25 in the year 1530 that the Lutheran princes and cities of Germany presented a summary of the Lutheran faith to the imperial diet of the Holy Roman Empire. The regal assembly to whom this summary was read aloud on this day was meeting then in the city of Augsburg or Augusta, and so we call this basic testimony of the Lutheran church the Augsburg Confession or the Augustana.

During the following half-century the Blessed Martin Luther himself and various followers, in response to several needs, drew up six other statements which the Lutheran church came to regard as authoritative confessions of its faith along with the three creeds of the ancient church (the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian). Of the seven confessions of the sixteenth century the one which you know best is, of course, the Small Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther, which we have all studied prior to confirmation in the faith and communion in the sacrament of the altar.

In the year 1580 the Lutheran princes and cities of Germany gathered together the three creeds and the seven confessions of the Reformation into one volume which they called the Book of Concord or Concordia. And since then this volume defines the word "Lutheran." This congregation is Lutheran because it recognizes and asserts the Book of Concord as a true exposition of Scripture. Your pastors are Lutheran because we have studied the Bible and we have studied the Book of Concord and we are convinced that the Book of Concord is a true exposition of the Bible. Therefore we have pledged ourselves in our ordination oaths to teach and conduct ourselves in continuous conformity to the Scriptures and the Book of Concord. Thus, the Book of Concord still remains to the present day the public testimony of the Lutheran church. There we enunciate, along with our fathers, the faith which "we unanimously hold and teach," the faith which "we believe, teach, and confess," and there "we reject and condemn" all errors to the contrary—to use phrases here again which echo like refrains first in the Augsburg Confession and then in the rest of the Book of Concord.

In a letter of July 6, 1530, Dr. Martin the Reformer wrote the following words concerning the recent presentation of the Augsburg Confession to the imperial diet: "I rejoice beyond measure that I have lived to see the hour in which Christ has been publicly glorified by such great confessors of His, in so great an assembly, through this most beautiful confession. The word has been confirmed, 'I will speak of Thy testimonies before

kings'; and the ensuing word will also be confirmed, 'I shall not be ashamed.' For the Lord Jesus said, 'Whosoever confesses Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father who is in heaven.'" The words of Psalm 119:46 which the Blest Reformer quoted in this letter have, appropriately enough, appeared as a superscription on all subsequent copies of the Augsburg Confession: "I will speak of Thy testimonies before kings, nor shall I be ashamed."

II. The Characteristics of the Testimony of the Day

No words, indeed, could serve more aptly than these of Psalm 119 as the motto of the Augustana of the Lutheran Church. For the confessors of Augsburg clearly shared fully the desire which the psalmist expresses so eloquently in this verse and in the strophe in which it occurs, namely, the desire to make a good confession, to give a godly testimony. We should do well on this festive occasion to review three characteristics of the godly testimony mentioned in stanza 5 of Psalm 119.

A. Sola Scriptura

1. Biblical Fidelity in Psalm 119

Firstly, to be godly a testimony must be biblical, that is, it must have Holy Scripture as its basis and norm. The psalmist begins the stanza before us with this assertion: "Thy faithful love will come unto me . . . according to Thine utterance" (verse 41). In the following verses he avers: "I have trusted in Thy word" (verse 42), "I have waited for Thy judgments" (verse 43), "I will keep Thy teaching continually unto eternity and evermore" (verse 44), "Thy precepts have I sought" (verse 45), "I will speak of Thy testimonies" (verse 46), "I shall delight myself in Thy commandments which I have loved" (verse 47), "I shall lift up my hands unto Thy commandments which I have loved" (verse 48a), and "I will muse on Thy statutes" (verse 48b). After all, the theme of Psalm 119 as a whole is the significance of the word of God in the life of the Christian. By means of one term or another, indeed, reference is made to the word of God in virtually all of the 176 verses of this giant psalm. It is especially in verse 43, however, that the psalmist makes the point that a confession is good only if its sole source and norm be the inspired word which, for us today, is Scripture alone: ". . . take not the word of truth from my mouth in any way."

2. Infidelity to Scripture Today (Application of the Law)

3. The Biblical Fidelity of the Confessors

In opposition, however, to all the deviations of today the Lutheran confessors of the sixteenth century frequently call the Holy Bible the word of God in the sense of its consisting in the very words of God Himself; and they continually insist on Scripture *alone* as the source and norm of any testimony pleasing to God. It was, in fact, on the basis of Scripture alone that the Lutheran confessors composed the Book of Concord and pledged themselves to teach and to act in complete accord with the confessions which comprise it. Thus, the confessors state in the Preface to the Book of Concord: "We have in what follows purposed to commit ourselves exclusively and only, in accordance with the pure, infallible, and unalterable Word of God, to that Augsburg Confession which was submitted to Emperor Charles V at the great imperial assembly in Augsburg in the year 1530. . . ." (*BC*, pp. 8-9).

B. Godly Boldness

1. Boldness in Psalm 119

A second essential characteristic of a godly testimony is uncompromising boldness in the face of all opposition. The psalmist is determined to speak of the testimonies of God even in the presence of kings hostile to this witness. Elsewhere he observes, "Princes sat and spoke against me" (verse 23). Again, indeed, does he declare "Princes have persecuted me without a cause" (verse 161).

2. The Boldness of the Confessors

Such boldness was likewise a characteristic of the Lutheran princes and city-representatives who presented the Augsburg Confession to the imperial diet of 1530. The Emperor Charles V, after all, had attempted to suppress Lutheranism nine years earlier with the Edict of Worms, declaring Martin Luther himself an outlaw; but the evangelical princes of Germany had continued to protect the Reformer of the Church and to promote the Reformation. Now the emperor had summoned these princes to Augsburg to present a summation and defense of their faith.

In the imperial coronation several days following the issuance of this summons, the pope had laid on Charles the duty of defending the papal church against all enemies of the faith; and Charles had promised, in response, to be the perpetual defender of the Church of Rome. Nevertheless, in the course of the initial events of the Diet of Augsburg in June of 1530 the Lutheran princes refused to compromise their beliefs by kneeling

to receive the blessing of the papal legate or by bowing to the monstrance carried in procession. Margrave George of Brandenburg told the emperor quite frankly, "Rather than allow the Word of the Lord to be taken from me, rather than deny my God, I would kneel down before Your Majesty and have my head cut off." Despite imperial pressure, moreover, the Lutherans insisted on reading their confession aloud to the assembly and on reading it in German so that everyone present could understand.

Thus, the confessors of Augsburg truly spoke of God's testimonies before kings. They spoke His word loudly to the electors, princes, and city-representatives of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and to Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia. Yes, they spoke His word loudly to Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, King of Spain and the Two Sicilies, sovereign of the Netherlands, Mexico, and other lands in Europe, Africa, and America—in short, the most powerful man in the world and a man dedicated to the medieval idea of uniting all of Christendom in a common allegiance to emperor and pope. Before such kings did the confessors of Augsburg speak of God's testimonies with uncompromising boldness. Years later when one of these men, John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, was imprisoned by the emperor and threatened with death, he still calmly refused to compromise his confession in order to gain his freedom or save his life. At one point the captive prince wrote to the emperor, "I cannot refrain from informing Your Majesty that . . . by diligently searching the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures I have . . . learned to know and . . . unswervingly to adhere in my conscience to this, that the articles composing the Augsburg Confession and whatever is connected therewith are the correct, true, Christian, pure doctrine confirmed by, and founded in, the writings of the holy prophets and apostles."

The confessors of 1580 showed the same determined boldness as their predecessors when they presented the Book of Concord to all the world as the public testimony of the Lutheran faith. Thus, the princes and city-officials who published the Book of Concord declare in its preface: "We have ordered the incorporation of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 into the Book of Concord that follows . . ., so that everyone may see that we were not minded to permit any doctrine in our lands, churches, and schools other than" the truth of Holy Scripture "in the form in which it was once confessed at Augsburg in the year 1530" (*BC*, p. 9).

3. The Need of Boldness Today (Application of the Law)

C. Sola Gratia Sola Fide

The question, then, is how can we confess the truth with boldness in a present which is depressing and in a future which looks even more menacing? How can we follow the intrepid examples of the psalmist in the Old Testament and of the Lutheran confessors in the sixteenth century—who spoke of the testimonies of God before even hostile kings? The answer can be found only in the third and most essential characteristic of a godly testimony, namely, in the grace of God through faith in Jesus Christ.

1. Grace Through Faith in Him Who Was to Come

The psalmist shows the source of his special boldness in verses 41-43 of Psalm 119: "Thy faithful love will come unto me, O Lord, even Thy salvation, according to Thine utterance. So shall I answer a word to him that reproacheth me, for I have trusted in Thy word. So take not the word of truth from my mouth in any way, for I have waited for Thy judgments," which is to say, "I have hoped in Thy judgments." Thus, the psalmist's confidence arises from the salvation of his soul to which God, purely by virtue of His fatherly mercy, has committed Himself in His word. In other words, it is his faith in the promised Messiah as his Saviour that makes the psalmist bold enough to speak of the testimonies of God before commoners and kings.

2. Grace Through Faith in Him Who Has Come

It was from the same source, too, that the Lutheran confessors of the sixteenth century received the courage which they needed to proclaim the word of truth in the presence of a hostile emperor and empire—except that the confessors, like us, have much more reason for confidence than had the ancient psalmist. For the Messiah has now come and fulfilled the promises of God and effected salvation. It was, as the Apostle Paul writes, "Jesus Christ who in His testimony before Pontius Pilate made the good confession" (1 Timothy 6:13 RSV). Even in His silence, indeed, Christ Jesus made the good confession. For by remaining silent in the face of all the accusations brought against Him in the course of His trial, He confessed His guilt. No, to be sure, He never committed a single sin Himself. Yet He knew that He was guilty of every sin which had ever been committed or ever would be committed in the history of the world—by virtue of God's imputation of the guilt of all us sinners to Him—and Him alone. The Son of God, in consequence, did not protest His agonizing death on the cross or even His temporary desertion by His

Father. By arising from the dead, however, He declared all men righteous—by virtue of God's imputation of His holy innocence to all and each of us. These are the judgments to which the psalmist looked ahead in verse 43—"I have hoped in Thy judgments"—the judgment of condemnation on the Messiah and so the judgment of acquittal on all of us.

When He had accomplished salvation, the Lord sent His church into all the world with the testimony of His gospel—to confess the good news of salvation. Soon, to be sure, incredible as it may seem, the church fell under the spell of the false teachers whose coming the prophets and apostles had predicted. The pastors and professors of the church themselves proceeded to corrupt its testimony in many and various ways. In general, however, all the deviations involved served to give a part to man in his salvation, thereby detracting from the unique glory of Jesus Christ as Saviour on His own.

But then, likewise in accord with the prophecy of Scripture, God raised up the Blessed Martin Luther, as Reformer of the Church, to proclaim anew to all the world the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ in all its truth and purity. So it is that the Lutheran Confessions of the sixteenth century consistently emphasize salvation by grace alone through faith alone as the central article of Christian doctrine. At Augsburg in 1530 the Lutheran princes of Germany testified before the Holy Roman Emperor, "The conscience cannot come to rest and peace through works, but only through faith, that is, when it is assured and knows that for Christ's sake it has a gracious God . . ." (Augustana XX:15; *BC*, p. 43).

3. Grace Through Faith Today
(Application or Elaboration of the Gospel)

III. The Summation of the Testimony of the Day

Thus, it is only through faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ that we too can confess the truth of the word of God with uncompromising boldness in the face of all opposition in the present or the future. Only the gospel of Jesus Christ can enable us to make our own those intrepid words of the confessors of 1580: "By the help of God's grace we too intend to persist in this confession until our blessed end and to appear before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ with joyful and fearless hearts and consciences" (*BC*, p. 9).

Douglas McC.L. Judisch

Book Reviews

LOCI THEOLOGICI. By Martin Chemnitz. Translated by J. A. O. Preus. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1989.

Shortly after the Pittsburgh Convention of the Missouri Synod I visited my brother, Jacob A. O. Preus, at Barnes hospital in St. Louis. He had suffered a slight stroke just before the convention and had been unable to attend. He was his old jovial self, alert but tired, a state that would mark the rest of his life. He commented briefly on the election of a new president of the Missouri Synod and then nostalgically reverted to personal reminiscences and to an assessment of his own eventful presidency of the Missouri Synod, a subject to which he would often return before his death in August of 1994.

We discussed questions such as these: How would history regard him? What would be his legacy to the Lutheran Church? What was his major contribution to the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod? Would it be his deft politico-ecclesiastical leadership in a synod enmeshed in doctrinal and personal controversy? Would it be his strong and capable support of missions and his remarkable success in achieving, almost single-handedly and in spite of an obtuse board of missions, the preservation, by God's grace, of a tenuous fellowship of the LCMS with all the overseas sister-churches which had so often been diverted from their original theology and mission by the politics of a paternalistic and unionistic board of missions or the gift-bearing advances of the Lutheran World Federation? Would it be the investigation of the theology of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, a bold move, which although it was a policy upheld and practised by Chemnitz and the other Lutheran confessors (as indicated in the Preface to the Book of Concord), was unprecedented in our time, an action which in God's infinite grace brought the LCMS back to its confessional Lutheran moorings? No, none of these conspicuous accomplishments would give J. A. O. Preus his name in the history of the Lutheran Church, he maintained, but something far less dramatic. He would go down in history as the one who translated the *Loci* of Martin Chemnitz into English for the Lutheran Church today and in the future.

Certainly this translation was no small achievement. But surely it was not my brother's greatest claim to fame. He is too modest, I thought, when he first made this assertion. Others felt as I did. But he was right. He had a keener and longer view of history than others. In his later years, while he was continuing his translating of Chemnitz in retirement, he saw what more of us failed to see: much of what he as president had done to restore the Missouri Synod to its faithful confessional position would not last, just as Chemnitz might have seen the future in the days of glory immediately after 1580. He would be remembered by virtue of what he wrote, not by virtue of what he did. As events transpired, in fact, the

synod's advance toward a clearly confessional Lutheranism began to wane after J. A. O. Preus left the presidency. With the enthusiastic, if ineffectual, support of Fundamentalists, Evangelicals, and pietists the Missouri Synod under Preus had retained the organic principle of her theology, the *sola scriptura*. With the eager support of these same friends, as well as crypto-adherents of Fundamentalism, Evangelicalism, and pietism in her own ranks, the synod may well be losing, imperceptibly, the material principle of her theology, the *sola fide* and the *sola gratia*, the theology of the cross. J. A. O. Preus saw this development taking place even in the last term of his presidency. And he spoke of the situation often and tried belatedly to address it, but with little success. The pastors and people, even his strong supporters, did not understand his provident concerns. Attacks on the *solus Christus*, while more serious, are seldom as overt and raucous as those on the *sola scriptura*. After his retirement he never tried to interfere in the affairs of his successors to stem the tide. Instead he did what was more important and fruitful. He finished his legacy to the church which he served. He translated into English the greatest dogmatics-book ever written by a Lutheran, the *Loci Theologici* of Martin Chemnitz.

The *Loci Theologici* of Chemnitz is an exceptionally important book and was very popular in its day. Based upon the outline of the more brief *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon, it was first published in 1591, after the death of Chemnitz, and by 1600 had gone through six editions. It is the longest book which Chemnitz wrote. It discusses extensively all the important *loci* (themes) of theology, except the person of Christ and the Lord's Supper, topics on which Chemnitz had already written before. Dogmatics to Chemnitz was a combination of church history (including patristics) and exegesis. Since exegesis was both interpretation and application, a dogmatics-book presented both evangelical doctrine and evangelical practice. In those days what we call pastoral theology today was included within dogmatics. Thus, the *Loci Theologici* of Chemnitz became a popular and useful book in the library of the ordinary pastor in those days. It became a valuable aid in dogmatics, exegesis, pastoral theology, and homiletics.

An illustration may help to show how the *Loci* of Chemnitz filled all these functions. His classic treatment of the article of justification put much weight on word-studies dealing with all the concepts appertaining to the article of justification, such as faith (knowledge, certainty, trust, *et cetera*), grace (mercy, love, compassion, forgiveness), justification (forgiveness, regeneration), *et cetera*. The work of Christ (propitiation,

reconciliation, salvation, redemption, *et cetera*) is subsumed, in fact, under the article of justification. Chemnitz, accordingly, made justification in this broad sense the integrating *praecipuus locus* in his dogmatics, just as Luther and Melanchthon had done before him. By understanding all these concepts and their relationship to justification, the reader can understand, appreciate, and apply the doctrine of justification more faithfully. The semantic and conceptual studies of Chemnitz, while less complete, are as practical and helpful as the exhaustive word-studies in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich). They are in a sense more helpful because the *TDNT* offers only an analytical study of *words*, whereas Chemnitz presents a synthesis of the concepts making up the biblical *doctrine* of justification and other articles of faith.

There is no way to commend adequately the *Loci Theologici* of Chemnitz today, except to urge readers who are interested in theology to buy and read it. The translation of J. A. O. Preus is an excellent one. The inelegant Latin of Chemnitz has been turned into understandable twentieth-century *koine* English. When my brother and I studied Latin at the University of Minnesota years ago, Professor Ogle, one of the prominent Latinists of the day, warned us emphatically against translating Latin words with English derivatives, since derivatives have a way of changing their meanings over the course of years. Precisely by virtue, however, of his understanding of the theology involved, the translator in this case realized that Professor Ogle's sound and staid rule had to be abandoned rather consistently. This deviation from normal canons of translation makes for great accuracy. The reader is assured that he is reading Chemnitz and not some revisionist paraphrase of Chemnitz. Yet the reader is able at the same time to read with easy understanding, which is, of course, an equally signal mark of a good translation.

If, however, my brother was right and this translation of Chemnitz is his chief legacy to the Lutheran church in America, will this legacy amount to anything? Will our busy pastors bother to read such a heavy theological work as the *Loci Theologici* of Martin Chemnitz? And will its reading by our pastors help their ministry and our Lutheran Church? There is, in fact, reason for optimism in this regard. More and more of our pastors—and especially the younger ones—are now returning to the reading of works of solid theology, based on the Bible and the Lutheran Confessions, as opposed to a mishmash of pop-psychology, pop-sociology, and the salesmanship of Madison Avenue. Shortly before his death my brother told me with great joy that his translation of *The Two Natures of*

Christ of Martin Chemnitz had sold over five thousand copies. Such a distribution indicates a renewed interest among Lutheran pastors in the reading of classic works on fundamental theological topics. The *Loci Theologici* which covers all the articles of the Christian faith should now be read with the same avidity. Its readers will certainly be rewarded and blessed—and so will the church at large. And J. A. O. Preus will be proven right. He will thereby have left a greater legacy to the Missouri Synod than any of its presidents since Francis Pieper.

Robert Preus

IS THERE A SYNOPTIC PROBLEM? By Eta Linnemann. Translated by Robert W. Yarborough. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1992.

The title is intended to be a rhetorical question and the answer is an unsurprising "no," although nearly all scholars, for the sake of their own theories, would disagree. The subtitle, "Rethinking the Literary Dependence of the First Three Gospels," is a drastic understatement. If Linnemann's theory is correct, this is not a rethinking but a revolution. Here is a detailed work by a reputable scholar of no mean consequence. Before going to Indonesia, Eta Linnemann was lecturer and honorary professor at the University of Marburg, the school associated with Bultmann, who worked out a complex system of interdependency in the gospels.

Beginning with its origins in the sixteenth century, Linnemann surveys biblical criticism up to Koester, Marxsen, and Zimmermann, who are found to be speculative and unscientific. Part 2 lays down five rules for examining interrelations of the gospels (pp. 71-72): (1.) determine material common to the synoptics; (2.) compare their sequence; (3.) locate differences between the common pericopes; (4.) determine the extent of agreement or difference of actual wordings of common pericopes and those with a similar wording; (5.) examine the vocabulary in them. Each task is the subject of a chapter. As to vocabulary, for instance, if Mark is the basis for Matthew and Luke, one would expect that Mark's vocabulary would be found in Matthew and Luke. It is not (pp. 131-143)—a clear case of non-dependency.

Linnemann presents all arguments with a devastating, razor-sharp logic. Virtually every synoptic pericope is linguistically dissected and compared. This autopsy removes similarities. The evidence is masterfully statistical, and only a determined scholar will sift through her overpowering data.

In part 3 she proposes memory and oral tradition as the basis of independent origins of the gospels. She does not put forth her own case as convincingly as she devastates her opponents. No mention is made of the theory—of an origin of the gospels in tradition without being dependent on each other—put forth by Bo Reicke in *Roots of the Synoptic Gospels* (Fortress Press, 1986). In chapter 11 Linnemann explains that the reason for four gospels lies in a desire to exceed the necessity of three legal witnesses (Deuteronomy 19:15) by providing four. This explanation is something of a *deus ex machina*, albeit a monotheistic one. At the end Linnemann develops a scheme with four circles, one for each evangelist, around the deeds, words, death, and resurrection of Jesus, with each of the evangelists leaning in the direction of two of these concerns. Matthew favors deeds and death; Mark, deeds and words; Luke, words and resurrection; and John, death and resurrection. Regardless of what Linnemann can demonstrate through the counting of words, her argument fails to convince. For example, Matthew's five discourses certainly put him in the category of "words." John's signs would entitle him to be listed under "deeds."

Linnemann, it must be noted too, defines literary dependency quite narrowly in looking exclusively for one-for-one equations among the gospels. Linnemann uses this narrow definition effectively in opposing much of modern scholarship. Literary dependency can, however, be given a much broader definition. Authors can be dependent on each other without directly copying, following the same sequences, or using identical vocabulary. Dependency can involve influence and simple awareness. Linnemann is right in showing the near impossibility of one evangelist actually copying other manuscripts into his own gospel. She has, however, so isolated the evangelists from each other that she has to introduce a supernatural force to help them shape complementary compositions. If the gospels are designed to serve worshipping congregations, a point Linnemann does not mention, then it is highly probable that one or the other of them helped shape the climate in which the others arose. In fairness to Linnemann, however, it must be said that she wants to take down temples without building her own. We can, therefore, be less than convinced by her proposals on the origin of the gospels without surrendering our enthusiasm for her scholarly iconoclasm in undermining the foundations of self-acclaimed scientific methods.

David P. Scaer

PERSIA AND THE BIBLE. By Edwin M. Yamauchi. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1990.

A knowledge of ancient Persia is crucial for understanding portions of Isaiah, Daniel, 2 Chronicles, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the majority of Ezra and Nehemiah, and all of Esther. Yet many students of the Old Testament have only a passing acquaintance with Persia for two main reasons. First, survey courses often run out of time before presenting a discussion of the Persians, who play an important role toward the end of Old Testament history. Secondly, since Robert North's *Guide to Biblical Iran* (1956) there has been a striking paucity of works written specifically to inform readers of Scripture about this Persian background.

Edwin Yamauchi's *Persia and the Bible* presents such information in admirable fashion. He treats his subject in a thorough and scholarly manner, in a way which will be understood and appreciated both by the expert and the student first learning about Persia. After an introduction, in which he describes the land and natural resources of Iran and provides a general outline of Iranian history and archaeology, Yamauchi in chapter one gives a history of the Medes. Next he deals with those Persians who ruled during the Old Testament era: Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I. Yamauchi then directs his attention to key cities in Persian history: Susa, Ecbatana, Pasargadae, and Persepolis. The subjects of the last four chapters are Persia and the Greeks, Zoroastrianism, the Magi, and Mithraism.

As is already evident from this listing of contents, Yamauchi covers more than pertinent biblical passages. Throughout his book he branches out into concise and helpful discussions of many topics not directly related to Scripture. These topics, nevertheless, are relevant to a proper understanding of Persia. This well-organized work will lead the reader to appreciate the significant role that Persia played in the history, culture, and religion of lands stretching from the Indus River to Rome from the ninth century B.C. into the Christian era.

With major topics in his book Yamauchi, when appropriate, reviews linguistic data, lists and comments on his written sources, and summarizes the evidence from archaeology. As Yamauchi himself indicates, the information he derives from various ancient authors must always be viewed critically and carefully weighed. These authors vary from one to another in the accuracy of their reporting, and at times they contradict each other. Indeed, there are variations of accuracy within the same author. Herodotus, for example, in many ways the most important

narrative source for the Persians, has been shown by recent archaeological discoveries to be reliable at several points, notably in his description of the Scythians and in his use of Persian sources. As Yamauchi points out, however, "Herodotus was above all a raconteur of entertaining stories. The fact that he himself did not believe the account did not deter him from relating an interesting tale" (p. 78). Conclusions, therefore, which are based solely on authors who are not always reliable, or on archaeological evidence which remains meager, must be viewed as tentative.

Edwin Yamauchi is to be highly commended for this very useful contribution to the field of biblical scholarship. He has done a great amount of research, assembling for the reader the fruits of his studies in a convenient reference work. Not hesitating to treat controversial points where scholars differ in interpretation, Yamauchi presents each side of the debate in a fair manner and then usually indicates which position he holds and why. The text of *Persia and the Bible* is complemented by numerous photographs, diagrams, and maps, as well as by extensive indices and a lengthy select bibliography.

Walter A. Maier III

THE MODERN PREACHER AND THE ANCIENT TEXT: INTERPRETING AND PREACHING BIBLICAL LITERATURE. By Sidney Greidanus. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988.

Dr. Greidanus, a professor of theology at the King's College in Edmonton (Alberta), has undertaken a bold task—to bridge in one volume, for two different audiences, the gap between two significant disciplines. As the title implies, *The Modern Preacher and the Ancient Text: Interpreting and Preaching Biblical Literature*, the book brings hermeneutics directly to bear on homiletics. It does so brilliantly. Its only failure is in reaching only one of two intended readerships.

The book is promoted as "a valuable resource for preachers as well as an ideal textbook for aspiring preachers." Frankly we would hesitate to call it a textbook, at least in the sense that one provides instruction to beginning students. Greidanus covers some of the homiletical basics, doing excellent work, for example, on the formulation of theme. But he offers little on outlining, illustrating, and other staples of preaching. The considerable worth of this work is, however, its service as a "text-book." It earns its purchase price by bringing the preacher into lively conversation with the text of Holy Scripture.

Greidanus develops the rich implications of the biblical text being the word *by* God. He holds to a solidly conservative view of the word, showing fallacies in the assumptions of historical criticism as propounded by Troeltsch and others (pp. 29-36). He sees minimal value for preaching in source-criticism and form-criticism as usually applied. He argues against any atomistic interpretation that isolates individual passages from their place in the canon. Scripture, he affirms, must interpret Scripture.

Yet appreciating the text as being by God, he reminds readers, demands an understanding of how God conveyed His message. Greidanus offers the reader-preacher particularly helpful insights into discovering and making use of the human author's theological purpose, chosen genres, and rhetorical devices. A chapter each is devoted to the specifics of preaching on Hebrew narratives, prophetic literature, the gospels, and the epistles. Greidanus advocates a holistic hermeneutic which examines the text according to its historical, literary, and theological facets.

Just as critically, Greidanus maintains, every preaching text must be recognized as the word *about* God. He bases his entire program of preaching on the kerygmatic nature of Scripture—that it proclaims what God has done and the coming of His kingdom (pp. 20, 266-268). He emphasizes that preaching must, therefore, be truly theocentric and christocentric, and he demonstrates how easily sermons can become man-centered instead. He shuns, in particular, biographical preaching, that is, using Bible characters as moral models (p. 117).

While he never discusses the law-gospel dynamic in preaching *per se*, Greidanus advances a proper balance throughout his book. On preaching the exhortations in the epistles, he writes: "This question is related to the broader question whether one may preach the imperative of exhortations without the indicative of what God in Christ has done for us. The danger of such preaching, clearly, is that it would lead to legalism. Moreover, it is striking that in the epistles the imperatives never function without the indicative. In fact, the indicative constantly precedes the imperative" (p. 326).

All of the above ingredients are essential, the author shows, for the sermon to be, indeed, the word *for* God. The preacher speaks with authority only when he speaks what the Lord speaks (p. 12). Toward that end Greidanus strongly advocates textual-thematic preaching, allowing text to determine form as well as content. He sees narrative preaching "coming into its own" (p. 148) as one option especially compatible with the wealth of narrative in Scripture.

While Greidanus has set his sights on broad horizons, his work is not superficial. It is thoroughly researched. He is obviously versed in the full range of biblical scholarship, and he draws effectively on leading contemporary homileticians such as Craddock and Buttrick. This book will not be a seminarian's primer on preaching. It is for preachers or very advanced students who know the basic points, who have some awareness of "what they are doing" when they preach, and who are ready to move to the next level. To these *The Modern Preacher and the Ancient Text* will be an extremely useful resource.

Carl C. Fickenscher II
Garland, Texas

ST. PAUL AT THE MOVIES: THE APOSTLE'S DIALOGUE WITH AMERICAN CULTURE. By Robert Jewett. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993.

While it is absurd on the face of it to look to the pop-culture for spiritual insights, Christians can apply the insights of Scripture even to Hollywood. To a Christian, everything can be seen through the lens of faith. Seeing a good film and talking about it often can lead to deep spiritual and even evangelistic discussions. If the Apostle Paul can quote Greek comedies, he presumably would not be above going to the cinema. As one who enjoys films themselves, the undersigned found himself also enjoying this book by Robert Jewett, a professor at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary. His attempt, however, to relate theology to film-criticism proves ultimately frustrating, both theologically and critically.

The book attempts to set up a "dialogue" between St. Paul in his cultural context and eleven popular films from our cultural context (*Star Wars*, *Amadeus*, *A Separate Peace*, *Tender Mercies*, *Grand Canyon*, *Tootsie*, *Ordinary People*, *Empire of the Sun*, *Pale Rider*, *Red Dawn*, and *Dead Poets Society*). Jewett is not studying the religious themes in the cinema as such. Rather, he starts with a text from St. Paul (such as the exhortation to be "soberminded" in Romans 12:3), then links it up to a film that illustrates this quality (in this case, Steven Spielberg's *Empire of the Sun*). The approach is not so much analytical as sermonic, expanding on a biblical text with an illustration from the cinema.

The author's preface relates what he is doing to contemporary hermeneutics and to the need to interpret St. Paul in terms of American culture. He wants "to free Pauline theology from the burdens of its traditional, Eurocentric formulation" and to develop "a fully indigenized

view of Paul's theology." The end-result amounts to an Americanized, politically-correct Apostle, preaching his gospel of "inclusiveness" to a sexist, racist, and violent society. The author has a very attenuated view of the authority of God's word, which has a way of hammering the superficialities of the pop-culture (and liberal theology) to smithereens.

Setting aside the theological problems, the author's readings of the cinema are often maddeningly off-target. Sometimes he uses the films as moral authorities (as with the gender-inclusiveness of *Tootsie*), and sometimes he censures them (as in the case of *Star Wars* with its Jedi Knights representing a violent and hierarchical society). He neglects the importance of symbolism in interpreting a work of art (missing the significance of the gun-slinging preacher's five wounds in *Pale Rider* and the apocalyptic imagery that points not to personal vigilantism but to divine judgment—not to the first half of Romans 12:9, as Jewett maintains, but to the second half).

Even in the case of films that deal seriously and explicitly with religious themes, the author often seems to miss the point. *Amadeus* is not so much about sin as about the unmerited grace poured out on Mozart—whose middle name "Amadeus" means beloved by God—as opposed to Salieri's hypocritical works-righteousness. *Tender Mercies*, by Horton Foote (a film-maker known for his religious themes), is a straightforward portrayal of Christian conversion. Jewett sees the film as being about the elusiveness of God and stresses how the camera never shows us God's mercy acting in the character's life. Yet the climax of the film is the character's baptism! What more could any camera show of spiritual regeneration than the visible means of grace connected with regeneration? Those interested in the cinema and those interested in developments in contemporary theology may well enjoy this book. Whether St. Paul would enjoy it is another question.

Gene Edward Veith
Mequon, Wisconsin

CHURCH AND MINISTRY: THE ROLE OF CHURCH, PASTOR, AND PEOPLE FROM LUTHER TO WALTHER. By Eugene F. A. Klug. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993.

For over thirty years Eugene Klug has been teaching systematic theology at Concordia Theological Seminary and especially the theology of Luther. An active participant in international congresses on Luther over the years, Professor Klug has also contributed to the world of

scholarship in articles and books, in which he has demonstrated the ongoing relevance of sixteenth-century Lutheranism. In *From Luther to Chemnitz on Scripture and the Word* (1971), for example, he addressed one of the most important (and contentious) issues of the day—the nature and authority of Scripture—from the perspective of the founders of Lutheranism in the hopes that this approach might help their contemporary followers to resolve current difficulties. And in his present work, Klug does it again by tackling another current issue, church and ministry.

In the sixties and seventies of this century the great debate of the day for the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod concerned the Bible—its inspiration, inerrancy, historicity, and the like. But today other questions are troubling the synod, among them, most notably, the doctrine of the ministry. What is a pastor, and what is his relation to the people he serves? How does a pastor receive his call, and when can a congregation terminate it? Why is it wrong to ordain women? Which of the pastor's tasks should laymen perform—reading lessons, teaching Bible classes, administering the sacraments? Are other church-workers, such as teachers, seminary professors, and district presidents, in the office of the ministry and in the same way a pastor is? The list goes on and on.

From a historian's perspective it is relatively easy to explain the emergence of such questions as the result of social change. The increased level of lay education helps to account for questions about expanding the responsibility of the laity in church-work. The collapse of traditional distinctions between the sexes explains the new questions about women in the ministry.

If, however, we want to find *answers* to such questions, we need theology—good theology. The virtue of Klug's new book is that it returns us to the first principles of church and ministry and so lays a foundation upon which we can address the multitude of questions facing us. Yet Klug's approach is also historical, since his argument is that the principles are not new but are rather the inheritance of the Lutheran Church, beginning with Luther himself. And, indeed, Klug's citations from the great Reformer are voluminous (over a hundred in the first chapter alone!) and from every period of his career, since Klug contends that the early and late Luther are in essential agreement on these issues.

Yet, as the subtitle suggests (*The Role of Church, Pastor, and People from Luther to Walther*), Klug's analysis depends also on Missouri's own C. F. W. Walther. Klug does so, indeed, in a very direct way by adopting Walther's theses on church and ministry, from his *Kirche und Amt*, as the

framework for his own treatment in the present work. Moreover, Klug both acknowledges this dependence and justifies it by contending that Walther was right: "I will be quick to state that I have found nothing in my research which would demonstrate that Walther either missed any of Luther's accents, or in any way left an incomplete or distorted picture. The facts are rather that one consistent theologian stood firmly on the shoulders of another, Walther on Luther" (p. xi). In other words, an important goal of Klug's book is to demonstrate the essential agreement between Luther and Walther on church and ministry.

But will everyone be convinced? Of course not, as Klug well knows; so he has gone the extra mile by including a special section entitled "Reflections," in which he recounts the reactions of over thirty European experts on Luther to theses in which Klug summarized his conclusions regarding Luther's teaching. For the most part, as Klug demonstrates, these scholars—including such well-known figures as Edmund Schlink, Heiko Oberman, and Gerhard Ebeling—agreed with Klug's statements regarding Luther's teaching. This is a fascinating part of the book and shows Klug's familiarity with the secondary scholarship as well as with Luther himself.

Although one hesitates to criticize a work of such obvious erudition, there are two points that need to be mentioned, both involving what Klug has not done rather than what he has. One is simply that this work hardly exhausts Lutheran theology on the locus of the church from Luther to Walther in spite of its subtitle. Klug does incorporate the work of other theologians (e.g., Melanchthon and Chemnitz) as a kind of chorus to confirm what Luther says, but really this is a work about Luther's theology. Other works will need to be written to see just how faithful Luther's followers have been to Luther's insights.

A second quibble has to do with the current points of tension regarding church and ministry. Klug does address some of them but perhaps not as thoroughly as the reader would like. A good example is his critique of the official position of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. On at least six different occasions, Klug registers disagreement with that position but he does so in the footnotes of his text and without actually quoting advocates of the doctrine of WELS. A more convincing approach may have been simply to write a brief excursus in one place for the airing of issues that Klug sees as serious points of contention between Luther's heirs in Wisconsin and Missouri on church and ministry. Here again Klug has left opportunities for others to take the theology of Luther and apply

it to the issues of our time.

In a sense, of course, such criticisms are really compliments to the work at hand, since good scholarship always raises questions in addition to the ones it has answered. Eugene Klug's *Church and Ministry* is an excellent example of such scholarship. Not only does it tell us a great deal about the thought of Martin Luther but it does so in a way that is immediately relevant to the challenges of the contemporary church. One could hardly ask for more.

Cameron A. MacKenzie

LANCELOT ANDREWES THE PREACHER (1555-1626): THE ORIGINS OF THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By Nicholas Lossky. Translated by Andrew Louth. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Although Lancelot Andrewes is not well known today, in his own times —as a bishop of the Church of England and as an advisor to the king—he was a very important figure, famous as a preacher and theologian, a defender of the established church against the great Jesuit polemicist, Robert Bellarmine. His most famous work is probably the *Preces Privatae*, a collection of prayers that has been translated and reprinted frequently since the time of their composition. His sermons have not enjoyed quite the same degree of popularity; nevertheless, they too have been periodically rediscovered and so reprinted—most recently, for example, in 1967 by G. M. Story. T. S. Eliot was second to none in his appreciation of Andrewes and said of his sermons that they "rank with the finest English prose of their time, of any time."

Not everyone would agree with Eliot. At the very least, Andrewes's sermons are an acquired taste, for they are a prime example of what is often called "metaphysical" preaching, fashionable in the seventeenth century and characterized by verbal cleverness—plays on words, paradox, overly meticulous analysis of the text, and copious quotations of the Latin and Greek. A notorious example of this method, cited by Lossky (p. 59), is Andrewes's comment which plays on the divine name, Immanuel: "And if without Him there—if it be not *Immanuel*, it will be *Immanu-hell*; and that and no other place will fall, I fear me, to our share." Andrewes goes on, however, to rejoice in the incarnation, as a result of which we have everything, "*Immanu-el* and *Immanu-all*."

Although Lossky himself can explain and defend such rhetorical

excesses, his main purpose is not to analyze Andrewes's style but his doctrine, to present "the great theological themes of Andrewes's preaching. . . . the most fundamental intuitions, around which all the rest are ordered" (p. 2). To that end, after a brief biographical sketch, Lossky presents successive chapters on Andrewes's sermons for Christmas, Lent, Easter, Whitsun, and the "political" festivals, such as Guy Fawkes Day. For each series of sermons, according to Lossky, there are certain doctrinal themes that Andrewes develops especially for that season of the ecclesiastical year. So, for example, in connection with the Christmas sermons, Lossky discusses the incarnation; with the Pentecost sermons, the Holy Spirit; and with the political sermons, the nature of a Christian state.

Lossky's work reveals a very close reading of Anrewes's sermons that makes persuasive a rather startling thesis, namely, that Lancelot Andrewes recaptured the heritage of the Greek Fathers as well as the Latin for his seventeenth-century English hearers. According, indeed, to Lossky's presentation, Andrewes's affinities for the East are often stronger than for the West. For example, in discussing Andrewes's soteriology, Lossky makes free use of the term "deification" and quotes copious examples of Andrewes's description of the divine exchange, "God has become man, that man might be able to become God" (p. 186). Similarly, with respect to original sin and free will, Lossky concludes that Andrewes is no Augustinian:

> Andrewes does not deny that human nature is corrupt, but he insists strongly at the same time on the freedom that man exercises in order to sin and on the will he must exercise in order to turn away from sin. . . . one sees that for Andrewes the end of the controversial verse from the Epistle to the Romans [5:12] . . . must be taken to mean "because all have sinned" and not as Augustine understood the Vulgate's . . . "in whom [Adam] all have sinned."

Lossky argues carefully, to be sure, and in a nuanced fashion, as in describing Andrewes's presentation of redemption as a "balanced" one between Anselm and "cosmic drama" (p. 182). Sometimes, nevertheless, one fears that the author is guilty of special pleading. The clearest example is Lossky's contention that, in spite of Andrewes's explicit affirmation of the *filioque* and his frequent identification the Holy Spirit with "the essential bond of love in the bosom of the Trinity" in the Pentecost sermons (pp. 229, 247), his doctrine of the Spirit is really closer to Athanasius than to the Carolingian or scholastic theologians or even to

Augustine. On this point Lossky's evidence is simply not so persuasive as he supposes.

There is one other weakness in Lossky's analysis that needs to be noted, namely, its lack of context in the seventeenth century. Although Lossky readily resorts to the Early Fathers for understanding Andrewes, he does not so readily cite Andrewes's contemporaries, such as John Donne and William Perkins. The former, of course, was himself a masterful preacher at the beginning of the seventeenth century; and the latter, a Puritan theologian at Cambridge, wrote an important preaching manual. In order fully to appreciate Andrewes's place in the story of Anglicanism, Donne and Perkins are perhaps more important witnesses than the Cappadocians.

What Lossky does, however, he does excellently; and the wealth of data he cites as well his close reading of Andrewes's sermons readily convinces the reader that in Andrewes one can see theological results from the patristic renaissance in sixteenth-century England. Anyone seriously interested in either the late English Reformation or the ongoing influence of the Early Fathers in church history will profit greatly from *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626).*

Cameron A. MacKenzie

PHILIP SCHAFF: CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR AND ECUMENICAL PROPHET. Centennial Biography for the American Society of Church History. By George H. Shriver. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1987.

Most readers of this journal should find the name of Philip Schaff familiar. His monumental collection, the *Ante-Nicene* and *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, remains an excellent avenue of access to the fathers of the church for English-speaking theologians. Yet the greatest contributions of Schaff to theology stem more from other aspects of his work. This biography offers an introduction to the life and thought of Schaff. It touches on all the major events of his brilliantly diversified career and outlines the general contours of his theology.

Shriver divides the life of Schaff into three sections: "Roots," "Body," and "Crown." The first section details the birth of Schaff in Switzerland and his education in Germany. The description by Shriver of Schaff's studies at the great universities of Germany, under the most illustrious professors, provides the reader with an overview of the chief theological schools of mid-nineteenth-century Germany, as well as their adherents and

ways of thinking. Tübingen exposed Schaff to the concept of the organic development of Christianity. Berlin, and especially Augustus Neander, instilled in him the idea of "evangelical catholicism." Other familiar names under whom he studied include F. A. G. Tholuck and E. W. Hengstenberg.

Schaff's move to Mercersburg Seminary (in Pennsylvania) and work there outline the second division of his life. It was during his time at Mercersburg that Schaff was most theologically creative, publishing his primary theoretical works (*The Principle of Protestantism, What Is Church History?*, and *History of the Apostolic Church*), in which he sought to introduce the United States to German theology. In the *Principle of Protestantism* he argued that Protestantism was neither a revolution nor a restoration to early Christianity; the church developed through the ages, and Protestantism evolved out of the medieval Roman Catholic Church. Schaff, with his colleague at Mercersburg, John W. Nevin, advocated this stance, which would later influence Lutheranism in America through Charles Porterfield Krauth. He also applied his theology through the liturgy of his church. Schaff believed in the axiom *lex orandi lex credendi* and felt that only through liturgical renewal would the Mercersburg Theology take root and positively affect the life of the church.

Shriver tells, finally, of the resignation of Schaff from Mercersburg and his move to New York City, first to head the New York Sabbath Committee and then to serve as Professor at Union Seminary. At Union Seminary he held four successive professorships, published twenty-eight books, including *Creeds of Christendom* and *History of the Christian Church*, and organized the meeting in 1873 of the Evangelical Alliance, the forerunner of the modern-day ecumenical movement.

Ultimately the reader gains a picture of Schaff as a scholar who worked indefatigably to actualize his idea of "evangelical catholicism." He remained firmly convinced to the end of his life that the study of church history would aid the ecumenical process. *Philip Schaff* is a marvelously captivating portrait that quickly tells the story of one of the most important church historians of the nineteenth century. One only wishes that the price of the book ($19.95) was not so restrictive. Still, it is a work that should appeal to a wide audience. Exposure to the life and ideas of Schaff can only work to increase one's appreciation of the importance of church history today to the pastor.

Lawrence R. Rast, Jr.
Nashville, Tennessee

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY. By Nathan O. Hatch. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.

The Democratization of American Christianity studies the "wave of popular religious movements that broke upon the United States in the half century after independence." Hatch treats five movements: Methodists, Baptists, Mormons, non-denominational "Christians," and independent African-American congregations. He finds that at the close of the American revolution these groups were scarcely present; fifty years later they had done "more to Christianize American society than anything before or since" (p. 3).

The purpose of Hatch is to determine why these groups grew quickly and simultaneously. He finds commonality in their new understanding of leadership. Hatch studies and emphasizes the work of the leaders, the "evangelical firebrands" who helped to bring about the democratized form of Christianity characteristic of the United States. In his view, religious leaders were the ones most responsible for the dynamic popular movements that arose in the first part of the nineteenth century. The leaders, however, were lay preachers, not the historic clergy, and they were the most effective agents in constructing a Christianity that appealed to both the revivalistic and republican sentiments of the people of this age.

It was in the churches, argues Hatch, that the people forged their fundamental ideas about the nature of individual responsibility. The preachers of the day stimulated this defining process by seizing for themselves the opportunity to lead. They expressed their leadership primarily through the organization of religious movements "from the ground up." The means they employed to achieve this end were vernacular sermons based on the life experiences of their hearers, popular literature and music, protracted meetings, and, perhaps most importantly, new ideologies that both denied the hierarchical structure of elitist religions and promised to exalt those of lower status to at least an equal level with their supposed superiors.

Freedom from the domination of the historic clergy required three steps. First, the new preachers refused to defer to the seminary-trained theologians. Secondly, they empowered the laity by taking seriously their religious practices, affirming and validating the experiences of the people. Finally, they exuded enthusiasm about the potential of their movements, and the people were drawn to the vision. "They dreamed that a new age of religious and social harmony would naturally spring up out of their efforts to overthrow coercive and authoritarian structures" (pp. 10-11).

Acceptance of the leaders by the people resulted from the challenge of the leaders to the ordinary folk to take their personal destiny into their own hands, to oppose centralized authority and hierarchical conceptions of society. They empowered the people by giving them a sense of self-trust that formal religions denied them. As the people learned to trust their religious impulses, they in turn spoke out boldly in defense of their experiences. The resultant transformation of the self-conception of the common people revolutionized the American church.

Yet, while Hatch seeks to show "how the ordinary folk came to distrust leaders of genius and talent and to defend the right of common people to shape their own faith and submit to leaders of their own choosing" (p. 14), one must question his dependence upon the leadership in drawing such conclusions. He states that the leaders came from the rank and file and that, although they were labeled outsiders, they were merely assertive common people. A problem presents itself here: When does one cross the line between doing history from above and from below? Hatch seems to want to have the best of both by claiming that the leadership was part and parcel of the common folk. The fact remains, however, that the ordinary people invested the leaders with their trust and a new status that set them above their hearers. As a result, the station of the leader differed qualitatively from those they represented. Methodists retained bishops, and Mormons were extremely patriarchal. Thus, while the work of Hatch offers excellent insights into the new democratic leadership, more work needs to be done to get down through these leaders to the beliefs of the common people.

The Democratization of American Christianity, however, is well worth its price and the time required to read it. It speaks directly to the situations faced by Lutheranism today. The polity of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod runs both with and against the grain of democratized Christianity as described by Hatch. This work can at least provide pastors in American congregations an idea of the historical background of the challenges which they presently face as Lutheranism confronts the American religious scene.

Lawrence R. Rast, Jr.
Nashville, Tennessee

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Cully, Kendig Brubaker, and Iris V. Cully. *Harper's Encyclopedia of Religious Education.* 2-3:222.

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The Grace of God, the Will of Man: A Case for Arminianism. By Clark H. Pinnock. 4:312-313.

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A Religious History of America. By Edwin Scott Gaustad. 1:41-42.

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A Theology of a Protestant Catholic. By Adrian Hastings. 1:51-52.

Books Received

Ernest Kurtz and Katherine Ketcham. *The Spirituality of Imperfection: Modern Wisdom from Classic Stories.* New York: Bantam Books, 1992. viii + 293 pages. Cloth. $22.50.

Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall, editors. *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship.* Downers Grove (Illinois) and Leicester (England): Inter-Varsity Press, 1992. xxv + 934 pages. Cloth. $34.95.

Dieter T. Hessel. *Social Ministry.* Revised Edition. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. xxii + 232 pages. Paper. $13.95.

Robert C. Fuller. *Ecology of Care: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Self and Moral Obligation.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 121 pages. Paper. $12.95.

W. Paul Jones. *Trumpet at Full Moon: An Introduction to Christian Spirituality as Diverse Practice.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 190 pages. Paper. $12.95.

Glen H. Stassen. *Just Peacemaking: Transforming Initiatives for Justice and Peace.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 288 pages. Paper. $16.95.

Liturgical Year: The Worship of God. Supplemental Liturgical Resource 7. Prepared by the Ministry Unit on Theology and Worship for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 428 pages. Paper. $14.95.

Edouard Massaux. *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus,* 1: *The First Ecclesiastical Writers.* Translated by Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht, edited and with an introduction and addenda by Arthur J. Bellinzoni. New Gospel Studies 5:1. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press; Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1990. xxvi + 172 pages. Cloth.

David L. Dungan. *The Interrelations of the Gospels.* A Symposium Led by M. E. Boismard, W. R. Farmer, F. Neirynck in Jerusalem (1984). Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, XCV. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press; Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1990. xxx + 672 pages. Paper. $75.00.

Roy B. Zuck, editor. *Sitting with Job: Selected Studies on the Book of Job.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 488 pages. Paper.

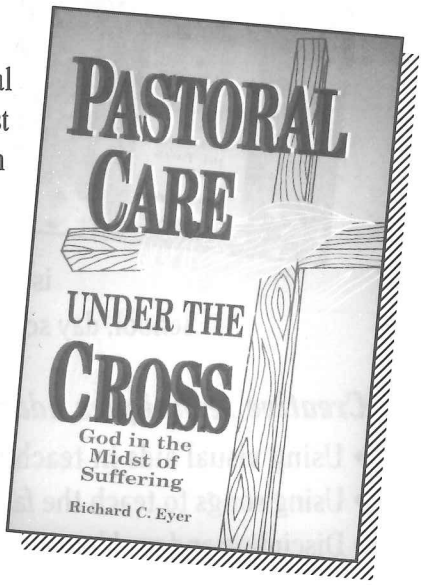
Francis J. Beckwith and Norman L. Geisler. *Matters of Life and Death: Calm Answers to Tough Questions about Abortion and Euthanasia.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 391 pages. Paper.

Additional lists of "Books Received" by the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* are to be found on pages 48 and 98 of this issue.

Pastoral Care Under the Cross

God in the Midst of Suffering

By Richard C. Eyer



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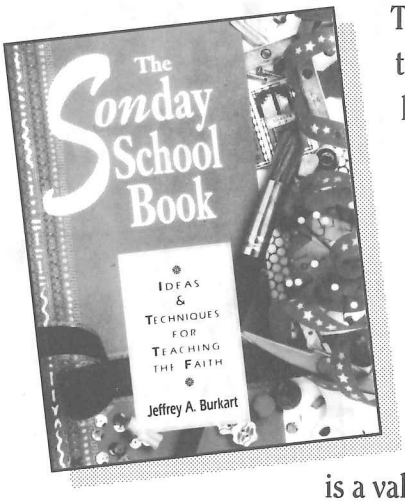

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