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CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

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The Porvoo Common Statement

Text prepared by the Fourth Plenary Meeting held at Järvenpää, Finland, 9-13 October 1992

Foreword by the Co-Chairmen

Dramatic changes have swept across Northern Europa in recent years. Many new links of commerce, education, tourism and consultation on environmental matters are now being actively developed across the Nordic/Baltic and British/Irish region. In this fast changing scene the Anglican and Lutheran churches have a key rôle to play, and the present report offers the vision of twelve such churches - with a total membership of some 50 million Christians - entering into closer communion and joining in various forms of practical cooperation as they carry out their contemporary mission. It is a cause of great joy that the Anglican and Lutheran strands of Western Christendom which have so many common roots and display remarkably similar characteristics, have rediscovered one another in the present century and begun growing closer together.

The Porvoo Common Statement is the result of several major influences. The first was the series of theological conversations which took place between Anglicans and Lutherans in the Nordic and Baltic region during 1909-1951, and the agreements to which these talks gave rise. Secondly, acquaintance between these churches was greatly strengthened by other joint events not directly concerned with church unity negotiations, notably the series of Anglo-Scandinavian theological conferences (begun in 1929) and pastoral conferences (begun in 1978) which still continue. Thirdly, a new climate of theological debate was created at world level by the bilateral and multilateral ecumenical dialogues of the 1970s and 80s, as evidenced by the following reports in particular: Pullach 1973, Lima (*BEM*) 1982, Helsinki 1982, Cold Ash 1983 and Niagara 1988. This last report in

particular has thrown new light on old questions of Faith and Order.

The immediate stimulus to move beyond the earlier agreements came from the personal initiative of Archbishop Robert Runcie (Canterbury) and Archbishop Bertil Werkström (Uppsala), coupled with the efforts of those officers who set preliminary arrangements in hand: Canon Christopher Hill and Canon Martin Reardon (England), together with Dean Lars Österlin (Sweden) and Prof. Ola Tjørhom (Norway). We owe them a debt of gratitude for their vision and determination, which evoked a positive response in each participating country.

A further impulse was added by the Lutheran-Episcopal Agreement of 1982 in the USA and by the Meissen Common Statement of 1988 between the Church of England and the Evangelical Churches in East and West Germany. Each of these agreements led to mutual eucharistic hospitality, a limited degree of sharing ordained ministry, occasional joint celebrations of the Eucharist and a commitment to common life and mission. Representatives who had been involved in both these ventures told us about them at first hand.

Four plenary sessions of official theological conversations were held during 1989-92, interspersed by meetings of a small Drafting Group. We take this opportunity of thanking members of the Drafting Group, especially Bishop Stephen Sykes (Ely), Bishop Tord Harlin (Uppsala) and Dr. Lorenz Grönvik (Finland), who gave their time unstintingly in carrying this extra burden. We also wish to record our appreciation and warm thanks to other particular persons: those who generously provided accommodation and hospitality during our meetings; our consultants and ecumenical observers for their sensitive encouragement and constructive advice; Director Gunnel Borgegård for her work in coordinating the Nordic translations; all those involved in making this report available in other languages; and those staff members who contributed their theological and administrative skills: Dr Mary Tanner, the Reverend Geoffrey Brown, Mr Colin Podmore and the Reverend Kaj Engström.

The aim of these conversations was to move forward from our existing piecemeal agreements towards the goal of visible unity. By harvesting the fruits of previous ecumenical dialogues we hoped to express a greater measure of common understanding, and to resolve the longstanding difficulties between us about episcopacy and succession. We found that we had similar histories and faced similar challenges in contemporary society, and that there were no essential differences between us in the fields of faith, sacramental life or ministry (each church already being episcopal in structure). We became convinced that the way was now open to regard one another's churches, each with its own distinctive character, as sister churches. The time was ripe to move closer together and to implement a practical agreement which would be relevant to laity and clergy alike in carrying out our common mission.

This purpose proved so attractive to Anglicans and Lutherans in neighbouring countries that our membership was extended. The original participants came from the five Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) together with Latvia, Estonia and England. From the outset and at every stage of the conversations full information was shared with church representatives in Lithuania as well as Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Their attendance and full membership was encouraged by Archbishop George Carey who, before his translation to Canterbury, had been one of the original English delegates, and was warmly welcomed when it came about.

The final text was agreed unanimously on Tuesday, 13 October 1992 at Järvenpää, and entitled the Porvoo Common Statement after the name of the Finnish city in whose cathedral we had celebrated the Eucharist together on the previous Sunday. Indeed, the context of worship in which Anglicans and Lutherans shared the Eucharist and daily morning and evening prayer throughout these meetings played an important rôle in bringing us, under God, to a common mind.

As regards the structure and content of this report we offer the following brief commentary:

Chapter I sets the scene, both historically and today, and anchors the ensuing doctrinal discussions firmly in the context of the Church's mission. In this respect it follows the perspective of The Niagara Report.

Chapter II spells out our agreement on the nature of the Church and the goal of visible unity. Especially crucial to the later argument are paragraphs 20 and 28.

Chapter III records in brief compass the substantial areas of belief and practice which Anglicans and Lutherans have in common. The twelve sections of paragraph 32 draw on the doctrinal agreements reached in earlier dialogues.

Chapter IV begins by identifying in paragraph 34 the major problem to be resolved: namely, episcopal ministry and its relation to succession. The report then breaks new ground, signposted in paragraph 35. The sections which follow deserve close attention. In seeking to unlock our churches from limited and negative perceptions, this chapter spells out a deeper understanding of apostolicity, of the episcopal office, and of historic succession as "sign." This theological argument is again linked in paragraph 54 to a mission context, and its conclusions are summarized in paragraphs 56-57. Since this part of the report arises from the empirical reality of church life in twelve different countries, we refer the reader to the series of twelve short historical essays on *Episcopacy in our Churches* and Canon Christopher Hill's *Introduction to the Essays on Church and Ministry in Northern Europe*. Regarding the Lutheran understanding of ordination in the Nordic and Baltic churches, Anglican readers will be helped by Canon John Halliburton's analysis of the ordinals in current use. Local similarities and differences over the ministry of deacons and initiation and confirmation are described and evaluated in further essays. In mentioning these materials we add our grateful thanks to all the writers, and especially to Canon Hill for his work as editor of the Essays.

Chapter V contains in paragraph 58 the Porvoo Declaration which will be laid before the appropriate decision-making bodies of each church for approval. Clause b(v) makes clear

that the interchange of ordained ministers must be "in accordance with any regulations which may from time to time be in force." This implies a realistic acceptance of certain restrictions which already apply within our communions, for example, regarding the ministry of women bishops (and those ordained by them) or women priests in particular places, the requirements of reasonable fluency in the local language, appropriate professional qualifications, State employment regulations, taking of customary oaths, among others.

We now offer this report to the participating churches for their scrutiny. The text is being translated into each of the languages concerned, but the English text remains definitive. As paragraphs 60 and 61 make clear, these proposals do not conflict with existing ecumenical relationships. Yet we are clear that this report does have implications for other churches too, and we would urge that advisory responses be sought from our ecumenical partners during the process of response. The method adopted by this report is, in principle, one which could be applied between other ecumenical partners. To them, as well as to our own church authorities, we submit these proposals with humility.

We have a keen hope that all the participating churches will approve the Porvoo Declaration. If so, this will be a very significant contribution towards restoring the visible unity of Christ's Church. As soon as one of the Anglican churches and one of the Lutheran churches has approved the Declaration, its provisions can begin operating between them, subject to any necessary changes being made by each church to its own laws or regulations. Only in the course of time will the full consequences of the Declaration be able to be gauged. It is envisaged that public celebrations to mark our new relations will not take place until all the participating churches have made their response.

During the Eucharist in Porvoo Cathedral on the final Sunday of our conversations we were reminded by the preacher that to rejoice in our Anglican and Lutheran traditions is not enough. If the gospel is to be allowed to define and shape the life of our communities, this requires us not only to be faithful to the tradition which we have inherited, but also to be responsive to new issues. A special challenge faces those who belong to

national churches: to exercise a critical and prophetic rôle within the life of their own nation, and also to witness to a unity in Christ which transcends national loyalties and boundaries. We believe that the insights and proposals contained in this report offer a way to bring us closer together in answering that challenge, and in enabling our churches to bear effective Christian witness and service not only within their particular nations and cultures but also within a broader European setting.

+DAVID GRIMSBY, The Right Revd. David Tustin, Bishop of Grimsby

TORE FURBERG, The Right Revd. Dr. Tore Furberg, Former Bishop of Visby

Johannesburg, February 1993

I. Setting the Scene

A. A New Opportunity

1. Through the gracious leading of God Anglicans and Lutherans all over the world are sharing together in mission and service, and discovering how much they have in common. In Europe our churches have lived side by side in separate nations for centuries. For a considerable time our churches have maintained in each other's countries chaplaincies, which are of growing significance with the increased mobility of population between the churches. Where both church traditions are present in the same place, as in North America and Southern and East Africa, new relationships have developed and new local agreements have been made. At the same time there is a growing closeness between European Anglicans and Lutherans, which convinces us that the time has come for us to review and revise the existing agreements.

2. These agreements, which make possible differing degrees of communion, have been only partially implemented. For example, the political situation of the Baltic states hindered effective implementation for fifty years from 1939 to 1989. The agreements differ widely because in the past Anglicans have distinguished

between the different Lutheran churches, principally on the criterion of the historic episcopate. However, the Nordic and Baltic churches have always enjoyed eucharistic communion. Moreover, the Nordic countries are increasingly regarded as one region and the churches now cooperate closely with one another and within the Nordic Bishops' Conference and the Nordic Ecumenical Council. Political change in Eastern Europe has given new hope to the churches of the Baltic countries. They are now developing their own life and are increasingly making their contribution to the wider fellowship. Cooperation with them becomes more important in a rapidly changing situation offering new possibilities for the churches.

3. The Nordic and Baltic churches wish to relate to the Anglican churches in Britain and Ireland, not only as separate national churches, but also as groups of churches. The Commission is glad of new links with the Lutheran Church in Lithuania. It believes that the possibility of a new agreement, which will not differentiate between our churches, is opening up before us.

4. We are encouraged in this belief by an evident theological convergence in several Anglican-Lutheran conversations. Furthermore, the official acceptance of the Meissen Common Statement by the Church of England and the Evangelical Church in Germany indicates a growing common understanding of the Church.

5. Anglicans and Lutherans are also helped by the broader ecumenical convergence, to which Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant churches have contributed, on the doctrines of the Church, the ministry and the sacraments. This convergence has enabled us to move beyond both ways of thought and misunderstandings which have hindered the quest for unity between Anglicans and Lutherans. Of particular importance is the understanding of the mystery of the Church as the body of Christ, as the pilgrim people of God, as fellowship (*koinonia*), and also as participation through witness and service in God's mission to the world. This provides a proper setting for a new approach to the question of the ordained ministry and of oversight (*episcope*).

6. Above all, we face a common challenge to engage in God's mission to the people of our nations and continent at a time of unparalleled opportunity, which may properly be called a *kairos*.

B. Our Common Ground as Churches

7. The faith, worship and spirituality of all our churches are rooted in the tradition of the apostolic Church. We stand in continuity with the Church of the patristic and medieval periods both directly and through the insights of the Reformation period. We each understand our own church to be part of the One, Holy, Catholic Church of Jesus Christ and truly participating in the one apostolic mission of the whole people of God. We share in the liturgical heritage of Western Christianity and also in the Reformation emphases upon justification by faith and upon word and sacrament as means of grace. All this is embodied in our confessional and liturgical documents and is increasingly recognized both as an essential bond between our churches and as a contribution to the wider ecumenical movement.

8. Despite geographical separation and a wide diversity of language, culture and historical development, the Anglican and Lutheran churches in Britain and Ireland and in the Nordic and Baltic countries have much in common, including much common history. Anglo-Saxon and Celtic missionaries played a significant part in the evangelization of Northern Europe and founded some of the historic sees in the Nordic lands. The unbroken witness of successive bishops in the dioceses and the maintenance of pastoral and liturgical life in the cathedrals and churches of all our nations are an important manifestation of the continuity of Christian life across the ages, and of the unity between the churches in Britain and Ireland and in Northern Europe.

9. Each of our churches has played a significant role in the social and spiritual development of the nation in which it has been set. We have been conscious of our mission and ministry to all the people in our nations. Most of our churches have had a pastoral and sometimes a legal responsibility for the majority of the population of our countries. This task is today increasingly being carried out in cooperation with other churches.

C. Our Common Mission Today

10. Our churches and their nations are today facing new tasks and opportunities, in the context of many ideological, social and political changes in Europe.

These include:

(a) a growing awareness by the European nations of their interdependence and mutual responsibility, and the need to rectify injustices resulting from the European wars of many centuries, but especially the twentieth century, which have affected the whole world;

(b) new opportunities which are especially dramatic in the Baltic context for evangelism, re-evangelism and pastoral work in all our countries, and the challenge to restate the Christian faith in response to both a prevalent practical materialism and a yearning among many people for spiritual values;

(c) a need to react to the vacuum arising from the collapse of a monolithic political system in Eastern Europe and to the increasingly pluriform character of society in Britain and Ireland and in the Nordic countries;

(d) opportunities to work for peace, justice and human rights, to diminish the imbalance between the prosperous nations and those impoverished and suffering from undue economic dependency, and to protect the rights and dignity of the poor and desolate in particular, migrants, refugees and ethnic minorities;

(e) an ecological debate within and between the countries of Northern Europe, to which the churches have begun to bring a positive theology of creation and incarnation according permanent value to the earth and life in all its forms;

(f) a need for dialogue and understanding with people of other races, cultures and religious traditions as partners and fellow-citizens of a new Europe.

11. All the major European churches are now consulting together about these issues, especially in the follow-up to the European Ecumenical Assembly (Basel, 1989), co-sponsored by the Conference of European Churches (CEC) and the Council of Catholic Bishops' Conferences in Europe (CCEE). We are committed to encouraging this process of consultation and to playing an active part in the initiatives arising from it. Through such joint efforts in witness and service we shall build upon the unity we already enjoy, and contribute to a deeper unity which lies ahead of us.

12. Within the wider relationship of the Lutheran World Federation and the Anglican Communion our churches have become aware of the necessity of facing problems and undertaking tasks in a global perspective.

13. In the face of all the questions arising from our common mission today, our churches are called together to proclaim a duty of service to the wider world and to the societies in which they are set. Equally, they are called together to proclaim the Christian hope, arising from faith, which gives meaning in societies characterized by ambiguity. Again they are called together to proclaim the healing love of God and reconciliation in communities wounded by persecution, oppression and injustice. This common proclamation in word and sacrament manifests the mystery of God's love, God's presence and God's Kingdom.

II. The Nature and Unity of the Church

A. God's Kingdom and the Mystery and Purpose of the Church

14. Our times demand something new of us as churches. Our agreement, as set out in this text, about the nature of the Church and its unity has implications for the ways in which we respond to the challenge of our age. We have come to see more clearly that we are not strangers to one another, but "fellow-citizens with God's people, members of God's household . . . built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone" (Ephesians 2:19-20 REB). By the gift of God's grace we have been drawn into the sphere of God's will to reconcile to himself all that he has made and sustains (2 Corinthians 5:17-19), to liberate the creation from every

bondage (Romans 8:19-22) and to draw all things into unity with himself (Ephesians 1:9-10). God's ultimate purpose and mission in Christ is the restoration and renewal of all that he has made, the coming of the Kingdom in its fullness.

15. To bring us to unity with himself, the Father sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world. Through Christ's life, death and resurrection, God's love is revealed and we are saved from the powers of sin and death (John 3:16-18). By grace received through faith we are put into a right relationship with God. We are brought from death to new life (Romans 6:1-11), born again, made sons and daughters by adoption and set free for life in the Spirit (Galatians 4:5, Romans 8:14-17). This is the heart of the gospel proclamation of the Church and through this proclamation God gathers his people together. In every age from apostolic times it has been the purpose of the Church to proclaim this gospel in word and deed: "It is this which we have seen and heard that we declare to you also, in order that you may share with us in a common life (*koinonia*), that life which we share (*koinonia*) with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ" (1 John 1:3 REB).

16. Faith is the God-given recognition that the light has come into the world, that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us and has given us the right to become children of God (John 1:1-13). Faith, as life in communion with the triune God, brings us into, and sustains and nourishes us in, the common life of the Church, Christ's Body. It is the gift of forgiveness which delivers us from the bondage of sin and from the anxiety of trying to justify ourselves, liberating us for a life of gratitude, love and hope. By grace we have been saved, through faith (Ephesians 2:8).

17. Into this life of communion with God and with one another (*koinonia*), we are summoned by the gospel. In Baptism the Holy Spirit unites us with Christ in his death and resurrection (Romans 6:1-11; 1 Corinthians 12:13); in the Eucharist we are nourished and sustained as members of the one Body by participation in the body and blood of Christ (1 Corinthians 10:16-17). The Church and the gospel are thus necessarily related to each other. Faith in Jesus, the Christ, as the foundation of the reign of God arises out of the visible and audible proclamation of the gospel in word and

sacraments. And there is no proclamation of the word and sacraments without a community and its ministry. Thus, the communion of the Church is constituted by the proclamation of the word and the celebration of the sacraments, served by the ordained ministry. Through these gifts God creates and maintains the Church and gives birth daily to faith, love and new life.

18. The Church, as communion, must be seen as instrumental to God's ultimate purpose. It exists for the glory of God to serve, in obedience to the mission of Christ, the reconciliation of humankind and of all creation (Ephesians 1:10). Therefore the Church is sent into the world as a sign, instrument and foretaste of a reality which comes from beyond history – the Kingdom of God. The Church embodies the mystery of salvation, of a new humanity reconciled to God and to one another through Jesus Christ (Ephesians 2:14, Colossians 1:19-27). Through its ministry of service and proclamation it points to the reality of the Kingdom; and in the power of the Holy Spirit it participates in the divine mission by which the Father sent the Son to be the saviour of the world (1 John 4:14, one may compare John 3:17).

19. The Holy Spirit bestows on the community diverse and complementary gifts. These are for the common good of the whole people and are manifested in acts of service within the community and to the world. All members are called to discover, with the help of the community, the gifts they have received and to use them for the building up of the Church and for the service of the world to which the Church is sent.

20. The Church is a divine reality, holy and transcending present finite reality; at the same time, as a human institution, it shares the brokenness of human community in its ambiguity and frailty. The Church is always called to repentance, reform and renewal, and has constantly to depend on God's mercy and forgiveness. The Scriptures offer a portrait of a Church living in the light of the Gospel:

it is a Church rooted and grounded in the love and grace of the Lord Christ;

it is a Church always joyful, praying continually and giving thanks even in the midst of suffering;

it is a pilgrim Church, a people of God with a new heavenly citizenship, a holy nation and a royal priesthood;

it is a Church which makes common confession of the apostolic faith in word and in life, the faith common to the whole Church everywhere and at all times;

it is a Church with a mission to all in every race and nation, preaching the gospel, proclaiming the forgiveness of sins, baptizing and celebrating the Eucharist;

it is a Church which is served by an ordained apostolic ministry, sent by God to gather and nourish the people of God in each place, uniting and linking them with the Church universal within the whole communion of saints;

it is a Church which manifests through its visible communion the healing and uniting power of God amidst the divisions of humankind;

it is a Church in which the bonds of communion are strong enough to enable it to bear effective witness in the world, to guard and interpret the apostolic faith, to take decisions, to teach authoritatively, and to share its goods with those in need;

it is a Church alive and responsive to the hope which God has set before it, to the wealth and glory of the share God has offered it in the heritage of his people, and to the vastness of the resources of God's power open to those who trust in him.

This portrait of the Church is by no means complete; nevertheless, it confronts our churches with challenges to the fidelity of our lives and with a constant need for repentance and renewal.

B. The Nature of Communion and the Goal of Unity

21. The Scriptures portray the unity of the Church as a joyful communion with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ (1 John 1:1-10), as well as communion among its members. Jesus prays that the disciples may be one as the Father is in him and he is in the Father, so that the world may believe (John 17:21). Because the unity of the Church is grounded in the mysterious relationship of the persons of the Trinity, this unity belongs by necessity to its

nature. The unity of the Body of Christ is spoken of in relation to the "one Spirit . . . , one hope . . . , one Lord, one faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all" (Ephesians 4:4-6). Communion between Christians and churches should not be regarded as a product of human achievement. It is already given in Christ as a gift to be received, and "like every good gift, unity also comes from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit."

22. Viewed in this light, disunity must be regarded as an anomalous situation. Despite our sins and schisms, the unity to which we are summoned has already begun to be manifested in the Church. It demands fuller visible embodiment in structured form, so that the Church may be seen to be, through the Holy Spirit, the one Body of Christ and the sign, instrument and foretaste of the Kingdom. In this perspective, all existing denominational traditions are provisional.

23. Visible unity, however, should not be confused with uniformity. "Unity in Christ does not exist despite and in opposition to diversity, but is given with and in diversity." Because this diversity corresponds with the many gifts of the Holy Spirit to the Church, it is a concept of fundamental ecclesial importance, with relevance to all aspects of the life of the Church, and is not a mere concession to theological pluralism. Both the unity and the diversity of the Church are ultimately grounded in the communion of God the Holy Trinity.

24. The maintenance of unity and the sustaining of diversity are served by bonds of communion. Communion with God and with fellow believers is manifested in one Baptism in response to the apostolic preaching; in the common confession of the apostolic faith; in the united celebration of the Eucharist which builds up the one body of Christ; and in a single ministry set apart by prayer and the laying on of hands. This unity is also manifested as a communion in love, implying that Christians are bound to one another in a committed relationship with mutual responsibilities, common spiritual goods and the obligation to share temporal resources. Already in the Acts of the Apostles we can discern these bonds: "Those who received [Peter's] word were baptized. . . . And they devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the

prayers... And all who believed were together and had all things in common" (Acts 2:41, 42, 44).

25. In the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles this sharing in a common life is served by the apostolic ministry. We are given a picture of how this ministry fosters the richness of diversity while also maintaining unity. Through the mission of the apostles Peter and Paul, the Gentiles also are baptized. In the face of the threat of division, this radical decision is ratified by the coming together of the Church in council (Acts 15). Here is illustrated the role of apostolic leaders and their place within councils of the Church.

26. Such an understanding of communion has been described in the following terms:

> The unity of the Church given in Christ and rooted in the Triune God is realized in our unity in the proclaimed word, the sacraments and the ministry instituted by God and conferred through ordination. It is lived both in the unity of faith to which we jointly witness, and which together we confess and teach, and in the unity of hope and love which leads us to unite in fully committed fellowship. Unity needs a visible outward form which is able to encompass the element of inner differentiation and spiritual diversity as well as the element of historical change and development. This is the unity of a fellowship which covers all times and places and is summoned to witness and serve the world.

27. Already in the New Testament there is the scandal of division among Christians (1 Corinthians 1:11-13, 1 John 2:18-19). Churches not outwardly united, for reasons of history or through deliberate separations, are obliged by their faith to work and to pray for the recovery of their visible unity and the deepening of their spiritual fellowship. Set before the Church is the vision of unity as the goal of all creation (Ephesians 1) when the whole world will be reconciled to God (2 Corinthians 5). Communion is thus the fruit of redemption and necessarily an eschatological reality. Christians can never tolerate disunity. They are obliged not merely to guard and maintain, but also to promote and nurture the highest possible realization of communion between and within the churches.

28. Such a level of communion has a variety of interrelated aspects. It entails agreement in faith together with the common celebration of the sacraments, supported by a united ministry and forms of collegial and conciliar consultation in matters of faith, life and witness. These expressions of communion may need to be embodied in the law and regulations of the Church. For the fullness of communion all these visible aspects of the life of the Church require to be permeated by a profound spiritual communion, a growing together in a common mind, mutual concern and a care for unity (Phil. 2:2).

III. What We Agree in Faith

29. Anglicans of Britain and Ireland and Lutherans of the Nordic and Baltic lands have at no time condemned one another as churches and have never formally separated. But a deeper realization of communion is certainly desirable, and now seems possible, without denying that proper and fruitful diversity which has developed, in course of time, into a distinctive way of confessing and expressing our faith. Anglicans have tended to stress the importance of liturgy as expressing the faith of the Church. Lutherans, whilst not denying this, have tended to lay more emphasis on doctrinal confession. Both, however, see *lex orandi* and *lex credendi* as closely related. The Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion were produced in different circumstances to meet different needs, and they do not play an identical role in the life of the churches. They contain much common formulation and bear common witness to the faith of the Church through the ages. Building on this foundation, modern ecumenical contact and exchange have substantially helped to clarify certain residual questions, bringing out with greater precision the degree to which we retain a common understanding of the nature and purpose of the Church and a fundamental agreement in faith. We are now called to a deepening of fellowship, to new steps on the way to visible unity and a new coherence in our common witness in word and deed to one Lord, one faith and one Baptism.

30. To this end, we set out the substantial agreement in faith that exists between us. Here we draw upon *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (the Lima text) and the official responses of our churches

to that text. We also draw upon previous attempts to specify the range and nature of Anglican-Lutheran agreement. These include the Pullach Report of 1973, the Helsinki Report of 1983, the Cold Ash Report of 1983, Implications of the Gospel of 1988, the Meissen Common Statement of 1988 and the Niagara Report of 1988. These texts all testify to a substantial unity in faith between Anglicans and Lutherans. We have benefited from the insights from these texts as a contribution to our agreement in faith. Furthermore, we have made considerable use of the results of the respective Anglican-Roman Catholic and Roman Catholic-Lutheran dialogues.

31. The agreement in faith reached in the Anglican-Lutheran texts was affirmed in a resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1988, where it is stated that the Conference

> recognises, on the basis of the high degree of consensus reached in international, regional and national dialogues between Anglicans and Lutherans and in the light of the communion centred around Word and Sacrament that has been experienced in each other's traditions, the presence of the Church of Jesus Christ in the Lutheran Communion as in our own.

There is a parallel affirmation in a resolution of the Eighth Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Curitiba in February 1990:

> This Assembly resolves that the LWF renew its commitment to the goal of full communion with the churches of the Anglican Communion, and that it urge LWF member churches to take appropriate steps towards its realization . . . that the LWF note with thanksgiving the steps towards church fellowship with national/regional Anglican counterparts which LWF member churches have been able to take already and that it encourage them to proceed.

32. Here we declare in summary form the principal beliefs and practices that we have in common:

a. We accept the canonical scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments to be the sufficient, inspired and authoritative

record and witness, prophetic and apostolic, to God's revelation in Jesus Christ. We read the Scriptures as part of public worship in the language of the people, believing that in the Scriptures as the Word of God and testifying to the gospel eternal life is offered to all humanity, and that they contain everything necessary to salvation.

b. We believe that God's will and commandment are essential to Christian proclamation, faith and life. God's commandment commits us to love God and our neighbour, and to live and serve to his praise and glory. At the same time God's commandment reveals our sins and our constant need for his mercy.

c. We believe and proclaim the gospel, that in Jesus Christ God loves and redeems the world. We "share a common understanding of God's justifying grace, that is, that we are accounted righteous and are made righteous before God only by grace through faith because of the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and not on account of our works or merits. . . . Both our traditions affirm that justification leads and must lead to 'good works'; authentic faith issues in love." We receive the Holy Spirit who renews our hearts and equips us for and calls us to good works. As justification and sanctification are aspects of the same divine act, so also living faith and love are inseparable in the believer.

d. We accept the faith of the Church through the ages set forth in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan and Apostles' Creeds and confess the basic trinitarian and christological dogmas to which these creeds testify. That is, we believe that Jesus of Nazareth is true God and true man, and that God is one God in three persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This faith is explicitly confirmed both in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, and in the Augsburg Confession.

e. We confess and celebrate the apostolic faith in liturgical worship. We acknowledge in the liturgy both a celebration of salvation through Christ and a significant factor in forming the *consensus fidelium*. We rejoice at the extent of our "common tradition of spirituality, liturgy and sacramental

life" which has given us similar forms of worship and common texts, hymns, canticles and prayers. We are influenced by a common liturgical renewal and by the variety of expression shown in different cultural settings.

f. We believe that the Church is constituted and sustained by the Triune God through God's saving action in word and sacraments. We believe that the Church is a sign, instrument and foretaste of the Kingdom of God. But we also recognize that it stands in constant need of reform and renewal.

g. We believe that through Baptism with water in the name of the Trinity God unites the one baptized with the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, initiates into the One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and confers the gracious gift of new life in the Spirit. Since we in our churches practise and value infant Baptism we also take seriously our catechetical task for the nurture of baptized children to mature commitment to Christ. In all our traditions Baptism is followed by a rite of confirmation. We recognise two practices in our churches, both of which have precedents in earlier centuries: in Anglican churches, confirmation administered by the bishop; in the Nordic and Baltic churches, confirmation usually administered by a local priest. In all our churches this includes invocation of the Triune God, renewal of the baptismal profession of faith and a prayer that through the renewal of the grace of Baptism the candidate may be strengthened now and for ever.

h. We believe that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, distributed and received under the forms of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper (Eucharist). In this way we receive the body and blood of Christ, crucified and risen, and in him the forgiveness of sins and all other benefits of his passion. The eucharistic memorial is no mere calling to mind of a past event or of its significance, but the Church's effectual proclamation of God's mighty acts. Although we are unable to offer to God a worthy sacrifice, Christ unites us with himself in his self-offering to the Father, the one, full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice which he has offered for us all. In the Eucharist God himself acts, giving life to the body

of Christ and renewing each member. Celebrating the Eucharist, the church is reconstituted and nourished, strengthened in faith and hope, in witness and service in daily life. Here we already have a foretaste of the eternal joy of God's Kingdom.

i. We believe that all members of the church are called to participate in its apostolic mission. All the baptized are therefore given various gifts and ministries by the Holy Spirit. They are called to offer their being as "a living sacrifice" and to intercede for the Church and the salvation of the world. This is the corporate priesthood of the whole people of God and the calling to ministry and service (1 Peter 2:5).

j. We believe that within the community of the Church the ordained ministry exists to serve the ministry of the whole people of God. We hold the ordained ministry of word and sacrament to be an office of divine institution and as such a gift of God to his Church. Ordained ministers are related, as are all Christians, both to the priesthood of Christ and to the priesthood of the Church. This basic oneness of the ordained ministry is expressed in the service of word and sacrament. In the life of the Church, this unity has taken a differentiated form. The threefold ministry of bishop, priest and deacon became the general pattern in the Church of the early centuries and is still retained by many churches, though often in partial form. "The threefold ministry of bishop, presbyter and deacon may serve today as an expression of the unity we seek and also as a means for achieving it."

k. We believe that a ministry of pastoral oversight (*episcope*), exercised in personal, collegial and communal ways, is necessary as witness to and safeguard of the unity and apostolicity of the Church. Further, we retain and employ the episcopal office as a sign of our intention, under God, to ensure the continuity of the Church in apostolic life and witness. For these reasons, all our churches have a personally exercised episcopal office.

1. We share a common hope in the final consummation of the Kingdom of God, and believe that in this eschatological perspective we are called to work now for the furtherance of justice, to seek peace and to care for the created world. The obligations of the Kingdom are to govern our life in the Church and our concern for the world. "The Christian faith is that God has made peace through Jesus 'by the blood of his cross' (Colossians 1:20), so establishing the one valid centre for the unity of the whole human family."

33. This summary witnesses to a high degree of unity in faith and doctrine. Whilst this does not require each tradition to accept every doctrinal formulation characteristic of our distinctive traditions, it does require us to face and overcome the remaining obstacles to still closer communion.

IV. Episcopacy in the Service of the Apostolicity of the Church

34. There is a long-standing problem about episcopal ministry and its relation to succession. At the time of the Reformation all our churches ordained bishops (sometimes the term superintendent was used as a synonym for bishop) to the existing sees of the Catholic Church, indicating their intention to continue the life and ministry of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. In some of the territories the historic succession of bishops was maintained by episcopal ordination, whereas elsewhere on a few occasions bishops or superintendents were consecrated by priests following what was believed to be the precedent of the early Church. One consequence of this was a lack of unity between the ministries of our churches and thus a hindrance to our common witness, service and mission. The interruption of the episcopal succession has, nevertheless, in these particular churches always been accompanied by the intention and by measures to secure the apostolic continuity of the Church as a Church of the gospel served by an episcopal ministry. The subsequent tradition of these churches demonstrates their faithfulness to the apostolicity of the Church. In the last one hundred years all our churches have felt a growing need to overcome this difficulty and to give common expression to their

continuous participation in the life of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

35. Because of this difficulty we now set out at greater length an understanding of the apostolicity of the whole Church and within that the apostolic ministry, succession in the episcopal office and the historic succession as a sign. All of these are interrelated.

A. The Apostolicity of the Whole Church

36. "In the Creed, the Church confesses itself to be apostolic. The Church lives in continuity with the apostles and their proclamation. The same Lord who sent the apostles continues to be present in the Church. The Spirit keeps the Church in the apostolic tradition until the fulfilment of history in the Kingdom of God. Apostolic tradition in the Church means continuity in the permanent characteristics of the Church of the apostles: witness to the apostolic faith, proclamation and fresh interpretation of the Gospel, celebration of Baptism and the Eucharist, the transmission of ministerial responsibilities, communion in prayer, love, joy and suffering, service to the sick and needy, unity among the local churches and sharing the gifts which the Lord has given to each."

37. The Church today is charged, as were the apostles, to proclaim the gospel to all nations, because the good news about Jesus Christ is the disclosure of God's eternal plan for the reconciliation of all things in his Son. The Church is called to faithfulness to the normative apostolic witness to the life, death, resurrection and exaltation of its Lord. The Church receives its mission and the power to fulfil this mission as a gift of the risen Christ. The Church is thus apostolic as a whole. "Apostolicity means that the Church is sent by Jesus to be for the world, to participate in his mission and therefore in the mission of the One who sent Jesus, to participate in the mission of the Father and the Son through the dynamic of the Holy Spirit."

38. God the Holy Spirit pours out his gifts upon the whole Church (Ephesians 4:11-13, 1 Corinthians 12:4-11), and raises up men and women, both lay and ordained, to contribute to the nurture of the community. Thus the whole Church, and every member, participates in and contributes to the communication of

the gospel, by their faithful expression and embodiment of the permanent characteristics of the Church of the apostles in a given time and place. Essential to its testimony are not merely its words, but the love of its members for one another, the quality of its service of those in need, its use of financial and other resources, the justice and effectiveness of its life and its means of discipline, its distribution and exercise of power, and its assemblies for worship. All these are means of communication which must be focused upon Christ, the true Word of God, and spring from life in the Holy Spirit.

39. Thus the primary manifestation of apostolic succession is to be found in the apostolic tradition of the Church as a whole. The succession is an expression of the permanence and, therefore, of the continuity of Christ's own mission in which the Church participates.

40. Within the apostolicity of the whole Church is an apostolic succession of the ministry which serves and is a focus of the continuity of the Church in its life in Christ and its faithfulness to the words and acts of Jesus transmitted by the apostles. The ordained ministry has a particular responsibility for witnessing to this tradition and for proclaiming it afresh with authority in every generation.

B. Apostolic Ministry

41. To nourish the Church, God has given the apostolic ministry, instituted by our Lord and transmitted through the apostles. The chief responsibility of the ordained ministry is to assemble and build up the body of Christ by proclaiming and teaching the Word of God, by celebrating the sacraments and by guiding the life of the community in its worship, its mission and its caring ministry. The setting aside of a person to a lifelong ordained office by prayer, invocation of the Holy Spirit and the laying on of hands reminds the Church that it receives its mission from Christ himself and expresses the Church's firm intention to live in fidelity to and gratitude for that commission and gift. The different tasks of the one ministry find expression in its structuring. The threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons became the general pattern of ordained ministry in the

early Church, though subsequently it underwent considerable change in its practical exercise and is still developing today.

42. The diversity of God's gifts requires their co-ordination so that they enrich the whole Church and its unity. This diversity and the multiplicity of tasks involved in serving it calls for a ministry of co-ordination. This is the ministry of oversight, *episcope*, a caring for the life of a whole community, a pastoring of the pastors and a true feeding of Christ's flock, in accordance with Christ's command across the ages and in unity with Christians in other places. *Episcope* (oversight) is a requirement of the whole Church and its faithful exercise in the light of the Gospel is of fundamental importance to its life.

43. Oversight of the Church and its mission is the particular responsibility of the bishop. The bishop's office is one of service and communication within the community of believers and, together with the whole community, to the world. Bishops preach the word, preside at the sacraments, and administer discipline in such a way as to be representative pastoral ministers of oversight, continuity and unity in the Church. They have pastoral oversight of the area to which they are called. They serve the apostolicity, catholicity and unity of the Church's teaching, worship and sacramental life. They have responsibility for leadership in the Church's mission. None of these tasks should be carried out in isolation from the whole Church.

44. The ministry of oversight is exercised personally, collegially and communally. It is personal because the presence of Christ among his people can most effectively be pointed to by the person ordained to proclaim the gospel and call the community to serve the Lord in unity of life and witness. It is collegial, first because the bishop gathers together those who are ordained to share in the tasks of ministry and to represent the concerns of the community; secondly, because through the collegiality of bishops the Christian community in local areas is related to the wider Church, and the universal Church to that community. It is communal, because the exercise of ordained ministry is rooted in the life of the community and requires the community's effective participation in the discovery of God's will and the guidance of the Spirit. In most of our churches today this takes synodical

form. Bishops, together with other ministers and the whole community, are responsible for the orderly transfer of ministerial authority in the Church.

45. The personal, collegial and communal dimensions of oversight find expression at the local, regional and universal levels of the Church's life.

C. The Episcopal Office in the Service of the Apostolic Succession

46. The ultimate ground of the fidelity of the Church, in continuity with the apostles, is the promise of the Lord and the presence of the Holy Spirit at work in the whole Church. The continuity of the ministry of oversight is to be understood within the continuity of the apostolic life and mission of the whole Church. Apostolic succession in the episcopal office is a visible and personal way of focusing the apostolicity of the whole Church.

47. Continuity in apostolic succession is signified in the ordination or consecration of a bishop. In this act the people of God gather to affirm the choice of and pray for the chosen candidate. At the laying on of hands by the ordaining bishop and other representatives with prayer, the whole Church calls upon God in confidence of His promise to pour out the Holy Spirit on his covenant people (Isaiah 11:1-3, one may see *Veni Creator Spiritus*). The biblical act of laying on of hands is rich in significance. It may mean (among other things) identification, commissioning or welcome. It is used in a variety of contexts: confirmation, reconciliation, healing and ordination. On the one hand, by the laying on of hands with prayer a gift of grace already given by God is recognized and confirmed; on the other hand it is perfected for service. The precise significance or intention of the laying on of hands as a sign is determined by the prayer or declaration which accompanies it. In the case of the episcopate, to ordain by prayer and the laying on of hands is to do what the apostles did, and the Church through the ages.

48. In the consecration of a bishop the sign is effective in four ways: first it bears witness to the Church's trust in God's faithfulness to his people and in the promised presence of Christ

with his Church, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to the end of time; secondly, it expresses the Church's intention to be faithful to God's initiative and gift, by living in the continuity of the apostolic faith and tradition; thirdly, the participation of a group of bishops in the laying on of hands signifies their and their churches' acceptance of the new bishop and so of the catholicity of the churches: fourthly, it transmits ministerial office and its authority in accordance with God's will and institution. Thus in the act of consecration a bishop receives the sign of divine approval and a permanent commission to lead his particular church in the common faith and apostolic life of all the churches.

49. The continuity signified in the consecration of a bishop to episcopal ministry cannot be divorced from the continuity of life and witness of the diocese to which he is called. In the particular circumstances of our churches, the continuity represented by the occupation of the historic sees is more than personal. The care to maintain a diocesan and parochial pattern of pastoral life and ministry reflects an intention of the churches to continue to exercise the apostolic ministry of word and sacrament of the universal Church.

D. The Historic Episcopal Succession as Sign

50. The whole Church is a sign of the Kingdom of God; the act of ordination is a sign of God's faithfulness to his Church, especially in relation to the oversight of its mission. To ordain a bishop in historic succession (that is, in intended continuity from the apostles themselves) is also a sign. In so doing the Church communicates its care for continuity in the whole of its life and mission, and reinforces its determination to manifest the permanent characteristics of the Church of the apostles. To make the meaning of the sign fully intelligible it is necessary to include in the service of ordination a public declaration of the faith of the Church and an exposition of the ministry to which the new bishop is called. In this way the sign of historic episcopal succession is placed clearly in its full context of the continuity of proclamation of the gospel of Christ and the mission of his Church.

51. The use of the sign of the historic episcopal succession does not by itself guarantee the fidelity of a church to every aspect of the apostolic faith, life and mission. There have been schisms in the history of churches using the sign of historic succession. Nor does the sign guarantee the personal faithfulness of the bishop. Nonetheless, the retention of the sign remains a permanent challenge to fidelity and to unity, a summons to witness to, and a commission to realise more fully, the permanent characteristics of the Church of the apostles.

52. Faithfulness to the apostolic calling of the whole Church is carried by more than one means of continuity. Therefore a church which has preserved the sign of historic episcopal succession is free to acknowledge an authentic episcopal ministry in a church which has preserved continuity in the episcopal office by an occasional priestly/presbyterial ordination at the time of the Reformation. Similarly a church which has preserved continuity through such a succession is free to enter a relationship of mutual participation in episcopal ordinations with a church which has retained the historical episcopal succession, and to embrace this sign, without denying its past apostolic continuity.

53. The mutual acknowledgement of our churches and ministries is theologically prior to the use of the sign of the laying on of hands in the historic succession. Resumption of the use of the sign does not imply an adverse judgement on the ministries of those churches which did not previously make use of the sign. It is rather a means of making more visible the unity and continuity of the Church at all times and in all places.

54. To the degree to which our ministries have been separated all our churches have lacked something of that fullness which God desires for his people (Ephesians 1:23 and 3:17-19). By moving together, and by being served by a reconciled and mutually recognized episcopal ministry, our churches will be both more faithful to their calling and also more conscious of their need for renewal. By the sharing of our life and ministries in closer visible unity, we shall be strengthened for the continuation of Christ's mission in the world.

E. A New Stage

55. By the far-reaching character of our agreement recorded in the previous paragraphs it is apparent that we have reached a new stage in our journey together in faith. We have agreed on the nature and purpose of the church (Chapter II), on its faith and doctrine (Chapter III), specifically on the apostolicity of the whole Church, on the apostolic ministry within it, and on the episcopal office in the service of the Church (Chapter IV).

56. On the basis of this agreement we believe

that our churches should confidently acknowledge one another as churches and enter into a new relationship;

that each church as a whole has maintained an authentic apostolic succession of witness and service (IV A);

that each church has had transmitted to it an apostolic ministry of word and sacrament by prayer and the laying on of hands (IV B);

that each church has maintained an orderly succession of episcopal ministry within the continuity of its pastoral life, focused in the consecrations of bishops and in the experience and witness of the historic sees (IV C).

57. In the light of all this we find that the time has come when all our churches can affirm together the value and use of the sign of the historic episcopal succession (IV D). This means that those churches in which the sign has at some time not been used are free to recognise the value of the sign and should embrace it without denying their own apostolic continuity. This also means that those churches in which the sign has been used are free to recognise the reality of the episcopal office and should affirm the apostolic continuity of those churches in which the sign of episcopal succession has at some time not been used.

V. Towards Closer Unity

A. Joint Declaration

58. We recommend that our churches jointly make the following Declaration:

THE PORVOO DECLARATION

We, the Church of Denmark, the Church of England, the Estonian Evangelical-Lutheran Church, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Iceland, the Church of Ireland, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Latvia, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Lithuania, the Church of Norway, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Church of Sweden and the Church in Wales, on the basis of our common understanding of the nature and purpose of the Church, fundamental agreement in faith and our agreement on episcopacy in the service of the apostolicity of the Church, contained in Chapters II-IV of The Porvoo Common Statement, make the following acknowledgements and commitments:

(i) we acknowledge one another's churches as churches belonging to the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ and truly participating in the apostolic mission of the whole people of God;

(ii) we acknowledge that in all our churches the Word of God is authentically preached, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are duly administered;

(iii) we acknowledge that all our churches share in the common confession of the apostolic faith;

(iv) we acknowledge that one another's ordained ministries are given by God as instruments of his grace and as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also Christ's commission through his Body, the Church;

(v) we acknowledge that personal, collegial and communal oversight (*episcope*) is embodied and exercised in all our churches in a variety of forms, in continuity of apostolic life, mission and ministry;

(vi) we acknowledge that the episcopal office is valued and maintained in all our churches as a visible sign expressing and serving the Church's unity and continuity in apostolic life, mission and ministry.

b. We commit ourselves:

(i) to share a common life in mission and service, to pray for and with one another, and to share resources;

(ii) to welcome one another's members to receive sacramental and other pastoral ministrations;

(iii) to regard baptized members of all our churches as members of our own;

(iv) to welcome diaspora congregations into the life of the indigenous churches, to their mutual enrichment;

(v) to welcome persons episcopally ordained in any of our churches to the office of bishop, priest or deacon to serve, by invitation and in accordance with any regulations which may from time to time be in force, in that ministry in the receiving church without re-ordination;

(vi) to invite one another's bishops normally to participate in the laying on of hands at the ordination of bishops as a sign of the unity and continuity of the Church;

(vii) to work towards a common understanding of diaconal ministry;

(viii) to establish appropriate forms of collegial and conciliar consultation on significant matters of faith and order, life and work;

(ix) to encourage consultations of representatives of our churches, and to facilitate learning and exchange of ideas and information in theological and pastoral matters;

(x) to establish a contact group to nurture our growth in communion and to co-ordinate the implementation of this agreement.

B. Liturgical Celebration

59. We recommend that this agreement and our new relationship be inaugurated and affirmed by three central celebrations of the Eucharist at which all our churches would be represented. These celebrations would be a sign of:

our joyful acceptance of one another;

our joint commitment in the faith and sacramental life of the Church;

our welcome of the ministers and members of the other churches as our own;

our commitment to engage in mission together.

These celebrations would include:

the reading and signing of the Porvoo Declaration;

a central prayer of thanksgiving for the past and petition for the future, offered by Lutherans for Anglicans and Anglicans for Lutherans;

the exchange of the Peace;

a jointly celebrated Eucharist;

other verbal and ceremonial signs of our common life.

C. Wider Ecumenical Commitment

60. We rejoice in our agreement and the form of visible unity it makes possible. We see in it a step towards the visible unity which all churches committed to the ecumenical movement seek to manifest. We do not regard our move to closer communion as an end in itself, but as part of the pursuit of a wider unity. This pursuit will involve the following:

strengthening the links which each of our churches has with other churches at local, national and international level;

deepening relationships within and between our two world communions and supporting efforts towards closer communion between Anglican and Lutheran churches in other regions, especially in relation to agreements being developed in Africa and North America;

developing further existing links with other world communions, especially those with whom we have ecumenical dialogues and agreements;

supporting together our local, national and regional ecumenical councils, the Conference of European Churches and the World Council of Churches.

61. The common inheritance and common calling of our churches, spelt out in this agreement, makes us conscious of our obligation to contribute jointly to the ecumenical efforts of others. At the same time we are aware of our own need to be enriched by the insights and experience of churches of other traditions and in other parts of the world. Together with them we are ready to be used by God as instruments of his saving and reconciling purpose for all humanity and creation.

The Porvoo Declaration in Confessional Perspective

A Joint Report by the Departments of Systematic Theology of the Saint Louis and Fort Wayne Seminaries, in Response to a Request from the Reverend Doctor Alvin Barry, President of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod

1. What It Is

In October, 1992, the delegates of the Anglican churches of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Nordic and Baltic Lutheran churches gathered in the cathedral of Porvoo, Finland, to celebrate a joint Eucharist. The occasion was the adoption that month by these delegates of the text of an agreement to be submitted for ratification by the participating churches. This "Porvoo Declaration," together with the explanatory "Porvoo Common Statement," was the end result of negotiations which had begun in 1989. The effect of its adoption by the churches in question would be the creation of one single ecclesial communion straddling northern Europe from Iceland to the Baltics.

In the event, the Declaration was adopted by the Anglican churches of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and by all the Nordic and Baltic Lutheran churches except Denmark and Latvia. Formal signing was to take place at three eucharistic celebrations planned for Trondheim (Norway), Riga, and London. Tallinn (Estonia) had to be substituted for Riga when the Latvian church postponed action on the matter. The first signing ceremony took place in the Trondheim Cathedral on 1 September 1996, the second on 8 September in Tallinn, and the third on 28 November in Westminster Abbey, where Queen Elizabeth II signed the document in person.

The actual "Porvoo Declaration" itself—as distinct from the longer "Common Statement" reporting on the discussions—comprises not quite two printed pages. It embodies six "acknowledgments" and ten "commitments." The former provide, for instance, "that in all our churches the Word of God is authentically preached, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are duly administered," and "that the episcopal office is valued and maintained in all our churches as a visible sign . . ." The ten participating churches further "commit" themselves "to

welcome one another's members to receive sacramental and other pastoral ministrations" and "to regard baptized members of all our churches as members of our own."

The clear effect of Porvoo is to merge the ten Anglican and Lutheran churches into one communion and church. The Archbishop of Canterbury, George Cary, got it exactly right when he announced: "Now we're married."[1]

2. Some Theological Issues

On the seven-point fellowship scale devised by the Faith and Order Conference (Lund, 1952), and ranging from 1. Full Communion to 7. Closed Communion, the Porvoo arrangement rates a full 1: the commitment "to share a common life in mission and service . . . and to share resources," goes well beyond point two of the Lund scale ("Intercommunion and Intercelebration").

But what is the basis for this close union and communion of Anglican and Lutheran churches? To answer this question, it is necessary first to appreciate the considerable differences in principle between the Anglican and the Lutheran outlooks on the nature and basis of the true unity of the church. This involves fundamentally different understandings of doctrine or confession, and of its proper place in the Christian scheme of things. Then, secondly, it will be necessary to take special notice of two crucial theological specifics, the sacramental presence of the Lord's body and blood, and the so-called "apostolic succession."

(a) The Anglican and the Lutheran Ecumenical Platforms

The Anglican Lambeth "Quadrilateral" of 1888 comprises Holy Scripture, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, "the two Sacraments" of Baptism and the Holy Supper, and the "Historic Episcopate." If we compare these four points with the two requirements of Augsburg Confession VII ("that the gospel be unanimously preached in its pure understanding, and that the sacraments be administered in accord with the divine Word"), certain relationships become apparent: (1) At first there appears to be a

[1]*Lutheran World Information*, number 17 (5 September 1996).

large degree of overlap. (2) Closer examination shows that the Lutheran insistence on the *purely* preached gospel (spelt out as "agreement in the doctrine and in all its articles," in Formula of Concord, SD X, 31) has no counterpart in the Anglican document, which is satisfied instead with Holy Scripture as "the rule and ultimate standard of faith" and the two creeds "as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith." (3) Unlike the Augsburg Confession, which insists that the sacraments be administered "in accord with the divine Word," the Quadrilateral is satisfied with the *formalism* of "the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him." Also, Lutherans do not dogmatize the number of sacraments, certainly allowing sacramental status also to Holy Absolution. (4) While the first three Anglican points at least cover the same general ground as the two Lutheran essentials, gospel and sacraments, the "historic episcopate" is something quite different. It clearly belongs among the "human traditions or rites and ceremonies, instituted by men," in which, according to Augsburg Confession VII, uniformity is "not necessary" for the true unity of the church.

Here lies the crucial difference between the Anglican and the Lutheran churches. It is true that "the Anglican and Lutheran churches in Britain and Ireland and in the Nordic and Baltic countries have much in common, including much common history."[2] It is also true that the Anglican and the Lutheran are the only two *liturgical* churches that issued from the Reformation. Yet they are liturgical in very different senses. The Anglican Church puts "order" (specifically the "historic episcopate") on a par with "faith." For the Lutheran confession questions of order are in principle "adiaphora" – things neither commanded nor forbidden by God, and therefore not to be treated as necessary to the true unity of the church or church fellowship (In the modern Lutheran context one must add at once that it is various liturgical *details* that are adiaphorous, not the nature of New Testament worship itself, which rather is confessed at some length in Article XXIV of both the Augsburg Confession and its Apology).

Under the title *The Genius of the Church of England*, a lecture by

[2]Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 8.

Canon Charles Smyth of Westminster tellingly described:

> the dual principle of maintaining a decent uniformity in the external worship of God according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, as the basis and condition of a wide liberty of theological speculation. You can afford variety in the pulpit so long as you have uniformity at the altar. . . The Anglican principle is here the direct antithesis of the Roman: The Church of Rome encourages an almost luxuriant variety of devotion, but insists on theological uniformity: the Church of England embraces many shades of theological opinion, but desires liturgical uniformity.[3]

The "antithesis" to the Lutheran confession runs deeper still, as Herman Sasse shows:

> Our church is in its essence a confessional church in a sense in which the [Roman] Catholic and the Reformed churches are not. For all these churches have beside their confession still something else which shapes their distinctive characteristics and holds them together, namely their constitution, their liturgy, their discipline, or whatever. The Lutheran church has none of that. It belongs to her understanding of the divine Word, to the differentiation of Law and Gospel, that she finds in the New Testament no laws about church constitution, church discipline and liturgy. She can live in episcopal, presbyteral, or congregational forms of constitution. Her liturgical possibilities extend from Swedish high-churchism all the way to Wuerttemberg's lack of liturgy. She has only her confession. If gospel and sacrament are the *notae ecclesiae*, by which we recognize the presence of the Church of Christ, then the *nota ecclesiae Lutheranae*, the distinguishing mark by which we recognize whether a church is Lutheran or not, is the Lutheran confession.[4]

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[3]Charles Smyth, "The Church of England in History and Today," in *The Genius of the Church of England* (London: S.P.C.K., 1958), 33-34.

[4]Hermann Sasse, "Über die Einheit der Lutherischen Kirche," in *In Statu Confessionis*, F. W. Hopf, editor (Berlin: Die Spur, 1976), 2:247.

The difference between Anglicanism and Lutheranism therefore lies not in the specific divergences between the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Augsburg Confession, but in the two communions' totally different attitudes towards their confessional documents. The Augsburg Confession meant to insist on concrete doctrine and sacraments, which could be and were spelt out at whatever length necessary, for instance in the Smalcald Articles and the Formula of Concord. The Anglican Articles seem to have fallen short of the status of strict dogmatic definitions even before the softening of the subscription formula in 1865 and its total abolition (in England) in 1975. A. E. J. Rawlinson, then Bishop of Derby, put it like this: "Even before 1865 . . . [the Thirty-Nine Articles] were found to leave room for variations of emphasis, and to be capable of being taken in more senses than one. Whether intentionally or not, they are, in effect, highly ambiguous; and we may be thankful that this is so."[5] And the U.S. Anglican Reginald H. Fuller notes that the Thirty-Nine Articles "are on their way to becoming what they are now in many branches of the Anglican Communion—including this one—relegated to the status of historical documents of the past."[6]

The Porvoo Common Statement hints rather gently at the underlying difference:

> Anglicans have tended to stress the importance of liturgy as expressing the faith of the Church. Lutherans, whilst not denying this, have tended to lay more emphasis on doctrinal confession. . . . The Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion were produced in different circumstances to meet different needs, and they do not play an identical role in the life of the churches.[7]

If the modern Lutheran tragedy is the wholesale surrender of what is officially confessed as pure doctrine in the Book of Concord, the Anglican tragedy is the devastating absence of

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[5] A. E. J. Rawlinson, "Theology in the Church of England," in *The Genius of the Church of England* (London: S.P.C.K., 1958), 12.

[6] *Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue*, second series 1976-1980 (Cincinnati: Forward Movement Publication, 1981), 97.

[7] Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 29.

compelling doctrinal criteria: "And now abideth Scripture, Tradition, and Reason, these three. In what some would claim is typically Anglican fashion, we stubbornly refuse to say which of them is the greatest! We give much lip service to the first, but when we do theology our efforts at harmony have a way of coming out in three-part form."[8]

(b) The Sacramental Presence of the Lord's Body and Blood

On the basis of the "common understanding of the nature and purpose of the Church, fundamental agreement in faith and our agreement on episcopacy . . . contained in Chapters II-IV of the Porvoo Common Statement," the Porvoo Declaration provides: "(ii) we acknowledge that in all our churches the Word of God is authentically preached, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are duly administered; (iii) we acknowledge that all our churches share in the common confession of the apostolic faith."

Section III of the Porvoo Common Statement is entitled "What We Agree in Faith," and ends thus: "33. This summary witnesses to a high degree of unity in faith and doctrine. Whilst this does not require each tradition to accept every doctrinal formulation characteristic of our distinctive traditions, it does require us to face and overcome the remaining obstacles to still closer communion." Paragraph 32h draws upon various previous ecumenical agreements, including *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry*, in offering the following agreed language about the Holy Supper:

> We believe that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, distributed and received under the forms of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper (Eucharist). In this way we receive the body and blood of Christ, crucified and risen, and in him the forgiveness of sins and all other benefits of his passion. The eucharistic memorial is no mere calling to mind of a past event or of its significance, but the Church's effectual proclamation of God's mighty acts. Although we are unable to offer to God a worthy sacrifice, Christ unites us with himself in his self-offering to the Father, the one, full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice which he has offered for us

[8]J. O. Hoffman, Jr., *Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue*, 70.

> all. In the Eucharist God himself acts, giving life to the body of Christ and renewing each member. Celebrating the Eucharist, the Church is reconstituted and nourished, strengthened in faith and hope, in witness and service in daily life. Here we already have a foretaste of the eternal joy of God's Kingdom.[9]

The woolly language about *sacrifice* here is a masterpiece of studied ambiguity. It will allow anyone to say anything. The intent no doubt is to allow plenty of scope for the accommodations reached in various dialogues with Roman Catholicism. The wording ("Christ unites us with himself in his self-offering") could mean simply that Christ pleads for us on the basis of his substitutionary sacrifice (along the lines of Luther's "A Treatise on the New Testament, That Is, the Holy Mass")—or that he makes us co-offerers of his sacrifice.[10]

On the *sacramental presence* the language seems at first sight less ambiguous. The words "truly present, distributed" echo the Augsburg Confession's "*vere adsint et distribuantur*" verbatim. But then the twenty-eighth of the Anglican Thirty-Nine Articles also speaks of the Bread being "a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." Yet that Article adds: "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith." The very next Article (29) is entitled "Of the Wicked, which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." This reference to the Thirty-Nine Articles is not meant to prove that Anglicanism is today committed to Calvinism, since it has been acknowledged above that the Articles do not officially determine an Anglican confessional stance. It is meant rather to illustrate the point that language which seems to affirm the Real Presence of Christ's body may in fact not do so at all. This is not to deny that many

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[9]*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry,* Faith and Order Paper no. 111 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982).

[10]Martin Luther, "A Treatise On the New Testament, That Is, The Holy Mass," in *Luther's Works,* American Edition, Helmut T. Lehman, editor (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960), 35:79-111.

Anglicans agreeing with the Porvoo Statement and other ecumenical documents do teach the Real Presence. But it should be realized that denials of the Lutheran doctrine also exist in the Church of England, among others. See, for example, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought in the Church of England*, by Christopher Cocksworth, in which the Lutheran teaching is called "spatial speculation" and "scholastic schematizing."[11]

So then the oral reception of Christ's body and blood and the reception by unworthy communicants (*manducatio oralis, manducatio indignorum*) are expressly rejected in the original Anglican standards. Yet these are the very points which the Formula of Concord (Article VII) takes to be the litmus-test distinguishing the confession of Christ's sacramental presence from its denial. If the body and blood of Christ are not received with the mouth and also by the unworthy, then they are simply not in the Sacrament at all in any honest sense. In other words, the argument was never about the "how," or the "mode" of the real presence—as is sometimes pretended today[12]—but solely and alone about the "that," the very fact of that presence. In the Formula of Concord (SD VII:33) the Church of the Augsburg Confession makes Luther's judgment her own:

> I reckon them all as belonging together (that is, as Sacramentarians and enthusiasts), for that is what they are who will not believe that the Lord's bread in the Supper is his true, natural body, which the godless or Judas receive orally as well as St. Peter and all the saints. Whoever, I say, will not believe this, will please let me alone and expect no fellowship from me. This is final.[13]

It is true that "Anglicans of Britain and Ireland and Lutherans of the Nordic and Baltic lands have at no time condemned one

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[11]Christopher J. Cocksworth, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought in the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 202-203.

[12]James E. Andrews and Joseph A. Burgess, editors, *An Invitation To Action: The Lutheran-Reformed Dialogue*, third series 1981-1983 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 114-115.

[13]Theodore G. Tappert, translator and editor, *The Book of Concord. The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 575.

another as churches and have never formally separated."[14] But this does not mean that these Anglicans and Lutherans are free now to rush into communion without further ado. In the first place, even the Book of Concord is at pains to make clear—in response precisely to the concerns represented so energetically by the emissaries of Queen Elizabeth I—that its condemnations are not meant to cover "entire churches inside or outside the Holy Empire of the German Nation."[15] Secondly, however, prominent among the positions which the Formula rejects and condemns, because they "are contrary to the expressed Word of God and cannot coexist with it," are just those Calvinistic theories about the Sacrament which the Anglican Articles embrace.

Although scholars naturally differ on many details, it can hardly be denied that the Anglican "articles on sacramental matters bore a Swiss/Calvinist tone, although differing on many points in expression,"[16] and that the pivotal figure of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was shaped largely by Zwinglian-Calvinist influences: "The Lutheran phase, if there was one, did not last. Cranmer arrived at an understanding of the Eucharist that excluded the Lutheran *manducatio indignorum* [eating by the unworthy] just as firmly as the Roman church's transubstantiation. Only faith receives the body and blood of the Lord; the wicked receive the sign, but not the thing signified."[17]

At least until the rise of the Tractarian Movement just before the accession of Queen Victoria (1837) the Anglican Church inclined largely to Reformed theology. Dr. Tom Hardt of Stockholm, in a dialogue in Latvia with Canon Christopher Hill regarding Porvoo, quoted the famous Anglican Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher (1581-1656) as having said: "I do profess that with like affection I should receive the blessed Sacrament at the hands of Dutch ministers if I were in Holland, as I should at the hands of the French ministers if I were in Charentone" (the

[14]Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 29.

[15]Preface, Tappert, 11.

[16]Guy Fitch Lytle III, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, Hans J. Hillerbrand, editor, 4 volumes (Oxford University Press, 1996), 1:82.

[17]Brian A. Gerrish, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, Hans J. Hillerbrand, editor, 4 volumes (Oxford University Press, 1996), 2:78.

leading Calvinist church in Paris).[18] Hardt also reports that Archbishop Wake of Canterbury established "in 1717 a formally recognized church fellowship between the Church of England and the Reformed Church of Zurich."

Given this history, a few general sentences about the Sacrament, without specific rejections of erroneous doctrine, cannot create even a semblance of a responsible basis for Anglican-Lutheran inter-communion, let alone the ambitious consolidation envisaged in Porvoo.[19]

The Porvoo arrangements are part and parcel of a larger global strategy expressly invoked in the concluding paragraphs 60-61, "Wider Ecumenical Commitment." The North American developments are instructive. The official report on the Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue, Second Series (1976-1980) explains under "theological methodology":

> Both communions affirm the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Lord's Supper, but they express this faith somewhat differently. Lutherans (especially strongly confessional Lutheranism as represented by the Missouri Synod) tend to assert the Real Presence by doctrinal statement, as in the classical affirmations of *manducatio impiorum* and *manducatio oralis*. Although Article XXIX refers to these questions, and takes a somewhat different stand on them from that of classical Lutheranism, Anglicans today have no interest in these particular doctrinal affirmations. Rather, they tend to express their belief in the Real Presence in ceremonial action, by the reverence with which they treat the consecrated elements outside of Communion.[20]

The actual "Joint Statement on Eucharistic Presence" stated:

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[18]Thom G. A. Hardt, "Church Fellowship in the Ancient and in the Lutheran Church," unpublished lectures, 20-21 May 1996.

[19]*Lutheran World Information* (number 16 [22 August 1996], 3) exulted: "Lutheran and Anglican churches in northern Europe are preparing to declare themselves a regional communion of churches in which they will share a common sacramental life served by a single ministry."

[20]*Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue*, second series, 16-17.

> . . . For [Lutherans], this implied a two-fold eating of the sacrament, spiritually and orally (*Formula of Concord*, Solid Declaration VII:60-61). Anglicans, on the other hand, followed the Reformed emphasis on the spiritual eating by faith, thus denying that the wicked and unbelievers partake of Christ (*Articles of Religion* 28-29). It was Richard Hooker (1554-1600) who gave Anglicanism its normative approach to eucharistic doctrine by teaching that the elements of bread and wine are the instruments of participation in the body and blood of Christ. In more recent times, biblical studies and liturgical renewal have led Lutherans and Anglicans to recognize a convergence on the essentials of eucharistic faith and practice.[21]

If Hooker's teaching is to be considered Anglicanism's normative approach, then

> the Anglican Church, when it speaks of the elements as instruments of participation in the body and blood of Christ, must be understood to mean, with Hooker (and Calvin), that "Christ is personally present, albeit a part of Christ is corporally absent."[22]

But there are also many defenders of the Real Presence in Anglicanism.

The grounding of the new "convergence" in "biblical studies" is particularly troublesome in view of two features expressly adduced in the "theological methodology" section: (1) "In most contemporary exegesis the words 'body' and 'blood' are interpreted increasingly not as substances but as saving event (*Heilsereignis*)."[23] (2) ". . . a renewed emphasis on the pluralism of the biblical witness and the time-conditioned character of its language and conceptuality (one may compare Käsemann among Lutherans and Dennis Nineham among Anglicans)."[24] On premises like these, consensus about anything is easily attained,

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[21]*Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue*, second series, 25-26.

[22]Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (New York: Harper, 1899), 1:608, 649.

[23]*Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue*, second series, 17.

[24]*Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue*, second series, 18.

but it is meaningless.

To accept diplomatic treaty-texts like Porvoo as evidence of a doctrinal consensus and as a proper basis for pulpit and altar fellowship is to surrender the Lutheran confession in general and the Sacrament of the Altar in particular. One must not blame the Anglicans here. Porvoo does not in the least compromise their sacramental theology. "The ambiguous wording of the [Book of Common Prayer] has permitted the coexistence of a variety of doctrines in the [Church of England]."[25] Many Anglicans in fact have a better grasp of the Sacrament than many Lutherans. But it is the Lutherans who give up their confession in such schemes. The equivalence of altars on the basis of ambiguous formulas means opening the borders between the confession of the Sacrament and its denial. Robbed of the Sacrament of the Altar, the Church of the Augsburg Confession ceases to exist. Its place is taken by a bureaucratic alliance of altars, under whatever name, which can no longer tell where, if anywhere, the Lord's body and blood are really present and given, and where not.

(c) "Apostolic Succession"

On the one hand it is argued that the thirty-sixth of the Thirty-Nine Articles "is in fact a vital defense of the traditional Catholic structure of the threefold ordained ministry (bishop, priest, and deacon) and a claim that the English episcopate remains in apostolic succession."[26] On the other hand the American Lutheran-Anglican dialogue concluded: "It was not until the Anglo-Catholicism of the nineteenth-century Tractarian movement that serious argument was heard within the Church of England for the historic episcopate being of the essence (*esse*) of the Church in a way that tended to 'un-Church' non-episcopal churches."[27]

The Malines Conversations (1921-1925) conducted by a group of Anglican and Roman Catholic theologians had agreed "that

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[25]E. A. Livingstone, editor, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford University Press, 1990), 179.

[26]Lytle, *Oxford Encyclopedia*, 1:82.

[27]*Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue*, 35.

Episcopacy is by Divine law."[28] But the Church of England's official response to *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* stated: "This estimate of the threefold order was not prescribed by Holy Scripture and yet desirable for unity is a position members of the Church of England will welcome. It is in line with the reflections of the Doctrine Commission of 1938."[29]

The Anglican "Study Guide" to the Porvoo papers refers to Chapter IV (Episcopacy) as "the most crucial and also the most difficult chapter."[30] The Porvoo Common Statement's approach is lenient in holding that an "authentic apostolic succession of witness and service" has been maintained by all participating churches, even by those that did not retain the "sign" of "the historical episcopal succession;" and that this "sign" may now be re-embraced "without denying [such a church's] past apostolic continuity."[31]

Traditionalist Anglicans rightly suspect compromise and concession here. Thus John Hunwicke warns against the implications for relations with British Free Churches, and questions the adequacy of the Danish episcopate's "succession" via "superintendent" Bugenhagen: "If the outpouring of the Spirit in the Episcopal Consecration is done sacramentally through representative members of the world-wide Episcopal Collegium so as to maintain and uphold the local Church in the communion of the *Una Sancta* and so that its new bishop's ministry is inserted into the Catholicity of the Church of God, then Bugenhagen, frankly, has lost his trousers."[32]

On the other hand, Bishop Richard Holloway of the Scottish Episcopal Church, said in his sermon in Trondheim Cathedral on the occasion of the signing of the Porvoo Declaration: "If we are going to be honest about the episcopacy today, we have to

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[28]*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 318.

[29]Max Thurian, editor, *Churches Respond to BEM*, 6 volumes (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1988), 3:53.

[30]*The Porvoo Declaration: Reference to the Diocesan Synods and Study Guide*, Memorandum by the Standing Committee and Study Guide by the Council for Christian Unity (London, 1994), 14.

[31]Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 52.

[32]John Hunwicke, "Porvoo or not Porvoo?" *New Directions* 1 (July 1995): 8.

acknowledge that some of us have treated it as an idol that justified us," adding, "which is why so many churches have rejected episcopacy."[33]

What then is one to make of this "sign" in light of the Book of Concord? Two issues must be kept distinct. The three-fold division into bishop, presbyter, and deacon, is one thing. Theories about "unbroken" lines of succession from the apostles in terms of who laid hands on whom are quite another.

In and of itself the threefold ministry is an adiaphoron, a venerable tradition. The Apology expresses "our deep desire to maintain the church polity and various ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, although they were created by human authority" (XIV,1). The Smalcald Articles state: "If the bishops were true bishops and were concerned about the church and the gospel, they might be permitted (for the sake of love and unity, but not of necessity) to ordain and confirm us and our preachers, provided this could be done without pretense, humbug, and unchristian ostentation" (III/X/1).

The so-called "apostolic succession" is another matter. On this score the Church of Sweden's credentials are if anything even better than those of the Church of England. Yet in responding to the Lambeth Conference's 1920 overture, Archbishop Soederblom and the Church of Sweden minced no words: "God has instituted *ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta*—our Church cannot recognize any essential difference, *de jure divino*, of aim and authority between the two or three Orders into which the ministry of grace may have been divided, *jure humano*, for the benefit and convenience of the Church."[34]

Comparing the New Testament variety with the bishop-led structure assumed by early Anglicanism and the still later notions of "apostolic succession," D. L. Edwards concluded:

> When the 1662 Prayer Book states that the existence of the three orders of bishops, priests and deacons since the

[33]*Lutheran World Information*, number 17 (5 September 1996).

[34]Vilmos Vajta, editor, *Church in Fellowship: Lutheran Interchurch Agreements and Practices* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1963), 183.

> apostles' time is "evident unto all men" who are diligent students of the matter, it is stating an untruth. When the advocates of the apostolic succession theory deduce from this false premise that the apostles' powers were transmitted to bishops who are therefore the essential ministry on which all other ministries are dependent, they are turning bad history into dangerous theology. . . . The inevitable conclusion seems to be that the episcopate emerged out of the presbyterate by a natural development, varying from place to place in speed and detail.[35]

Hermann Sasse's classic study likewise shows that the notion of an "unbroken" line of episcopal ordinations is in fact an "ecclesiastical myth" and a "soap bubble, on which no church can be built."[36] One must distinguish apostolicity of origin, of doctrine, and of succession. "For Lutherans certainly everything depends on the question: 'Where today is the doctrine of the apostles?'"[37] "Apostolic succession" is no mere innocent tradition if it is meant to compensate for lack of consensus in the pure gospel and sacraments, or if it is taken to imply that something more than such dogmatic-sacramental consensus is necessary for the true unity of the church.

But even if "apostolic succession" were a mere adiaphoron, the principle would hold that in a case of confession, that is, when the truth of the gospel and Christian liberty are at stake, nothing is an adiaphoron. In such a situation one may not yield even in matters which would otherwise be adiaphora (Formula of Concord X). Does the assertion in paragraph 57 in the Porvoo Statement that "those churches in which the sign has at some time not been used . . . should embrace it" indicate an obligation to do so? If so, the confessional Lutheran must inquire after the basis of the obligation. When paragraph 48 states that the sign "transmits ministerial office and its authority in accordance with God's will and institution," what is said here to be God's will—the transmission of the office, or the sign? And is it correct to say that

[35]D.L. Edwards, *Not Angels But Anglicans* (London: SCM Press, 1958), 27-28.

[36]Herman Sasse, "Apostolic Succession," in *We Confess the Church*, translated by Norman Nagel (St. Louis: Concordia, 1986), 105, 102.

[37]Sasse, "Apostolic Succession," 88.

the adiaphorous sign transmits anything?

The Porvoo Common Statement admits: "The use of the sign of the historic episcopal succession does not by itself guarantee fidelity of a church to every aspect of the apostolic faith, life, and mission."[38] That is rather an understatement. With a few honorable exceptions, of what help has the whole Anglican-Nordic-Baltic episcopate been in the crisis over that palpable abandonment of apostolicity, the ordination of women?

The trouble is that the endless quest for the "sign"[39] has effectively obscured and swallowed up real concern about the apostolic truth, of which the "sign" is supposed to remind us. When human "order" is put on a par with divine "faith," the latter is lost. The Lima paper *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* is a good illustration. The section on the ministry, with its episcopal "sign," takes up more space than do the sacraments put together—and their treatment waffles on all dogmatic issues.

If it is true, for instance, as Loyola University Philosophy Professor Thomas Sheehan wrote in the 14 June 1984 *New York Review of Books*, that the dominant "liberal consensus" in Roman Catholic seminaries is that "Jesus of Nazareth did not assert any of the messianic claims that the gospels attribute to him and that he died without believing that he was Christ or the Son of God," then what is the point of discussing the niceties of episcopal forms and structures? In this time of unparalleled dogmatic dissolution, can we afford the luxury of wasting time on trivia? Why bother about a "sign" when it is the substance that needs recovering?

3. Global Confessional Implications

The significance of Porvoo lies not in its novelty—its approach is not new—but in the scope and clarity with which it exemplifies the ruling "ecumenical" paradigm.

Most of the Nordic and Baltic Lutheran churches already had various arrangements for intercommunion and even

[38]Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 51.

[39]*Porvoo Study Guide*: "the most crucial and also the most difficult chapter"!

intercelebration with Anglican and other churches. This piecemeal clutter is now being replaced by a tidy and elegant uniformity.

Purely as a historical development the Porvoo pact makes perfect sense. Its member-churches have similar histories as Reformationally transformed remnants in northern Europe of the Constantinian establishment. As ecclesiastical appendages of modern secularized societies and states, their very existence is anomalous.[40] The church is undoubtedly hidden also under these bureaucratic structures ("spiritual police-districts" Sasse called them), but the structures as such have for the most part long ceased to be or to behave as confessional churches. Why should they not join together, as the British Study Guide puts it, "at a time when Europe is growing together socially, politically and economically"?[41]

What is simply taken for granted is that "visible unity" is paramount. The symptom, "the scandal of division among Christians (1 Corinthians 1:11-13, 1 John 2:18-19)," is taken to be the ultimate evil, while the real trouble—apostasy or heresy—is blithely ignored.[42] Texts like Romans 16:17 or Galatians 1 are beyond the document's horizon. There is only the steady drumbeat for union: "Christians can never tolerate disunity."[43] Very well, but can they tolerate falsehood and doctrinal compromise and pretense?

The question of truth is addressed, or rather evaded, in terms of "unity" and "diversity," in other words, precisely according to the Lutheran World Federation's (1977) ecumenical recipe of "Reconciled Diversity." That means that everyone keeps his confession, only the differences are no longer considered divisive. The Porvoo application is that there will be unity in externals, above all in "The Historic Episcopal Succession as Sign," while differences over doctrinal substance can be accommodated as

[40]One may see John Kent, *End of the Line? The Development of Christian Theology in the Last Two Centuries* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982).

[41]*Porvoo Study Guide*, 9.

[42]Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 27.

[43]Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 27.

legitimate "diversity." In this way the purity of the gospel and sacraments is made to trade places with adiaphora. The essential has become the peripheral, and vice versa. Total confessional relativism rules if it is true that "all existing denominational traditions are provisional."[44]

Already looming directly ahead is the next step: a dramatic gesture—now delayed—originally planned to coincide with the 450th anniversary of the Council of Trent's Decree on Justification (1547). The Lutheran World Federation hoped at its assembly in Hong Kong in 1997 to adopt a joint declaration with the Vatican regarding justification, which would have mutually withdrawn the sixteenth-century condemnations as no longer applicable.[45] There was, however, the awkward possibility of a one-handed handshake, if the expected official Vatican confirmation were withheld. Again, the clear and unambiguous confession of the gospel would be set aside in favor of compromise formulas for the sake of a semblance of unity. With justification out of the way as a stumbling-block to reunion with Rome, and the sacramental presence renegotiated with Canterbury and then Geneva, the way will be clear for "full communion" everywhere, and whatever anyone may choose to make of the gospel and sacraments, it will all be fully warranted as apostolic by the "sign" of a joint episcopate.

Where what the Book of Concord confesses about the church as an article of faith is heeded, there the glass beads of illusions and counterfeits will not be allowed to pass for the real treasures of the church. That is the ecumenical stand Lutherans are called upon to take humbly, soberly, and globally. The life-giving truth of Christ must take precedence over everything else—and the very gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

On the Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord, 1997

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[44]Porvoo Common Statement, paragraph 22.
[45]*Lutheran World Information*, number 17 (5 September 1996).

The Holy Spirit in the Augsburg Confession: A Reformed Definition

Richard A. Muller

Following an introductory perspective on the relationship between the Augsburg Confession, this study deals first with points of ecumenical agreement on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. A second section considers confessional differences on the Spirit and the means of grace. The final portion is a systematic perspective on divergence and debate over the work of the Spirit.

Introduction: The Augsburg Confession and the Reformed—A Perspective

Given that a reasonably thoughtful perusal of the Augsburg Confession ought to yield, among other results, the impression that the person and work of the Holy Spirit was a prominent concern of confessional Lutheranism, reflection on "the Holy Spirit in the Augsburg Confession," is easily justified. The subject is, moreover, highly significant inasmuch as the confessional churches of the present day are sometimes accused by various kinds of American evangelicals of lacking a strong sense of the present work of the Spirit—and inasmuch as those who press this point often seem to be unaware of precisely what the great tradition of the church and, one could add, Scripture itself, has identified as the *primary* work of the Spirit. Lutherans—and Protestants generally—in any era have much to learn on this subject from their foundational confessions.

On initial reflection, however, one might question the significance of a "Reformed" or "Calvinist" perspective on the contents and implications of the Augsburg Confession. Reformed or Calvinist theology has not typically been regarded as instructive in Lutheran circles. The title of one of the essays in *Our Great Heritage*, issued in 1991 by the publishing house of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, is "Calvinism: its Essence and its Menacing Impact upon American Lutheran Doctrine and

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Practice."[1] Perhaps it is worth noting that the essay immediately following addresses the subject of "Heaven and Hell."

If, however, we are willing to look beyond mutual recriminations and polemical stereotypes that never quite fit the historical data but that nevertheless have plagued four centuries of relationship between the Lutheran and Reformed confessional families, it becomes obvious that there is a substantial common ground upon which we stand. There is no intention at all, in speaking thus, to advocate a naive Calixtine "unionism" that stresses agreement on "constituent articles" and a rather blithe agreement to disagree on "consequent articles." That was a disastrous proposal in the era of orthodoxy and not a particularly useful one for our time. The confessional differences remain; we can be clear about what they are and what they are not—and let us recognize that we are unlikely to settle them before the Second Coming. We can, however, also recognize that the far greater danger to us today comes from a generic American conservative religion that has little respect for and even less interest in the tradition of the Reformation, whether it is found in the liturgy, in the hymnody, or in the confessions of the Reformation.

Rather than advocate a bland ecumenism, we ought to return to our roots and reacquaint ourselves with the confessions and the confessional differences—in the interest not of polemic but of affirming and deepening our own confessionality. Among other things, an examination of the differences and of the reasons for them will serve to reinforce our sense of the importance of the confessional issues and of the integrity of our own faith. There are, moreover, fewer differences between us on the topic of the Holy Spirit than there are in the areas of usual debate, namely, election, christology, and the Lord's Supper.

We ought first to recognize that the sixteenth-century acceptance of the Augsburg Confession by many of the Reformed was quite sincere—as sincere as the heavy reliance on Luther's theology evident in the 1536 edition of Calvin's *Institutes*. And when we recall the disaster of the Marburg Colloquy of 1529,

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[1]*Our Great Heritage*, ed. Lyle W. Lange, 3 volumes (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1991): 3:604-649.

when Luther met face to face with Zwingli, we must also remind ourselves of the very different result achieved by Martin Bucer's visit to Wittenberg in 1536. Bucer had been initially drawn to the cause of the Reformation by Luther's arguments in the Heidelberg Disputation of 1516. Bucer also had stated for the church of Strasburg, in the Tetrapolitan Confession presented to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, that Christ gives us "His *true body* and *true blood* to be *truly eaten and drunk* for the food and drink of souls."[2] This assertion occurs in a major Reformed confession, issued in the year and at the same place as the Augsburg Confession. Bucer, moreover, accepted the Schwabach Articles virtually without qualification. The two major sixteenth-century confessions of the English church, the Edwardine Articles and the Thirty-Nine Articles, both usually identified as belonging to the Reformed family, were based in large part on the Augsburg Confession and frequently reflect it at a rather precise verbal level. It is also the case that the Augsburg Confession in its unaltered form, albeit often juxtaposed with the Variata, the Saxon Confession of 1551, and the Württemberg Confession of 1552 were included in the Reformed Harmony of Confessions of 1581.[3]

It should be noted also that the Tetrapolitan Confession (1530), the First Confession of Basel (1534), and the First Helvetic Confession (1536) stand outside of the Zwinglian paradigm and have some affinity with the Lutheran perspective on the centrality of justification. Very much like the Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1530) and the Smalcald Articles (1537), but in some distinction from the purely Zwinglian confessions, the First Helvetic Confession announces that justification by grace alone

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[2]Tetrapolitan Confession, xviii, cited from Arthur C. Cochrane, editor, *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), emphasis added. Citations of the Tetrapolitan Confession, the First Confession of Basel, the First Helvetic Confession, and the Confession of Faith [Geneva, 1536] are from Cochrane; citations of all remaining Reformed confessions are from Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 volumes, sixth edition, (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983).

[3]*Harmonia Confessionum Fidei Orthodoxarum et Reformatarum Ecclesiarum . . . Quae Omnia, Ecclesiarum Gallicarum et Belgicarum Nomine, Subjiciuntur Libero et Prudenti Reliquarum Omnium Judicio* (Geneva, 1581).

through faith is "the primary and principal" article of the church's teaching and adds, in the German text, that this doctrine ought to be announced "in all preaching" and "impressed on the hearts of all people"[4]

We need to keep in mind, therefore, that the churches of the Reformation in the sixteenth century recognized a more variegated spectrum of theological opinion than that represented by the simple opposition of Lutheran and Reformed or of Luther and Zwingli. The Lutheran faith itself cannot be defined simply in terms of the contrast of Luther and Melanchthon: to borrow some controverted words from Philip, theologians like Rhegius, Brenz, Amsdorf, Flacius, Major, and the Spangenbergs, father and son, were not "stocks and blocks" in the work of shaping later Lutheranism. Even so, on the other side of the question, there are significant differences in formulation and direction between Bucer and Zwingli, Bullinger, Calvin, Musculus, and Vermigli. Then, too, there is Andreas Hyperius of Marburg, still claimed by Lutherans and Reformed alike. We are not dealing here with confessional monoliths, but with the views of many thinkers and, on the Reformed side, with many confessions. We are dealing not with simple oppositions but with a highly complex and varied spectrum of opinion.

Beyond these points, we now move to consider a particular *genre* of theological and churchly document, the confession, which in its fundamental intention, transcends the theology of the individual, no matter how significant that individual may be. Confessions, of their vary nature and in their fundamental intention state both more and less than any individual theologian might wish to state—more, because they speak for the broader community of belief, less because they transcend the individual or idiosyncratic ideas of the theologian. As Robert Kolb has observed, the confessions of the Reformation—and the Augsburg Confession *par excellence*—are not merely documents. They are

[4]First Helvetic Confession, xii; one may compare the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, IV; Smalcald Articles, II.i. All citations of the Lutheran Confessions are from the *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, German-Latin-English* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921).

documentations of the heart-felt confession of the corporate faith of the church in times of crisis.[5] They are declarations of the faith of the believing community that transcend the interests of the individual—and in so doing provide a declaration of faith for a sizeable portion of a theological spectrum, not simply for a single individual.

At the same time, as Leif Grane has pointed out, the Augsburg Confession is also a document set into a highly charged political context, with political ramifications.[6] The princes and the cities affixed their signatures together with the names of the theologians and pastors; the confession reaches out beyond the study of the theologian, beyond the immediate hearing range of the pulpit into the society at large. It is not a document in which theologians and pastors impose theology on the laity, but a document confessed by clergy and laity alike as reflecting the faith of the entire community in the context of a specific polemic and a specific churchly apologetic.

In the context of this understanding of confessions, the Reformed acceptance of the Augsburg Confession takes on a somewhat different significance. Three levels, moreover, of historical exchange between Lutheran and Reformed should be distinguished: the level of the ecumenical creeds, the level of the churchly confessions, and the level of theological systems. At the first level, that of the ecumenical creeds, there was a consistently acknowledged consensus between Lutheran and Reformed, even in the context of the most polemical encounters (for example, the Montbéliard Colloquy). There is still considerable agreement, together with various points of difference and divergence, at the second or confessional level, between the Lutheranism of Augsburg and one side of the Reformed tradition, namely, the Bucerian and Calvinian side. And, of course, there is a strong disagreement, softened by far fewer points of contact, between the Lutheranism of Augsburg and the other side of the Reformed confessional tradition, namely, the Zwinglian. The point of

[5]Robert Kolb, *Confessing the Faith: Reformers Define the Church, 1530-1580* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991), 15-29.

[6]Leif Grane, *The Augsburg Confession: A Commentary*, translated by John H. Rasmussen (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987), 19.

reference for a third level of discourse between Lutheran and Reformed, the theological system, no matter how "confessional" in spirit, is a genre distinct from the confession. As a perusal of theological systems indicates, the major differences between Reformed and Lutheran on the particular theological issue of the Holy Spirit become clear only when the greater detail and amplification of the systems is examined—and here again, more consistently on the Zwinglian than on the Bucerian and Calvinian side of the Reformed tradition.[7]

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit: Points of Ecumenical Agreement

There are, of course, several significant references to the Holy Spirit in the Augsburg Confession before the confession's development of the work of the Spirit in Article V. The first reference belongs to the category of ecumenical or credal consensus and it finds explicit parallel, even in nuance, in the early Reformed confessions. Article I of the Augsburg Confession indicates that the Lutheran churches "with common consent, do teach that the decree of the Council of Nicaea, concerning the unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the Three Persons, is true and to be believed" over against the various ancient trinitarian heresies and Islam. Parallel affirmations are found in the earliest Reformed confessions, notably the Tetrapolitan Confession.

Of more interest still, should be the comment of the Augsburg Confession that "the term 'person'" is to be understood "as the Fathers have used it, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which subsists of itself." This statement most probably reflects not only the profound catholicity of the early reformers but also their hesitance to move beyond the language of Scripture and their need to explain their normative use of even the most

[7]One may compare Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 3 volumes (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950-1953; plus index volume, 1957), 3:146-153, with Archibald Alexander Hodge, *Outlines of Theology* (1879; reprinted, Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976), 447-451 and Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3 volumes (1871-1873; reprinted, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing House, 1975), 3:498-508.

standard language of the tradition. Thus, the first edition of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* (1521) polemicized against the introduction of non-biblical categories such as trinitarian vocabulary into the fundamental *loci* of Christian theology. Calvin felt the need in the first edition of the *Institutes* (1536) to defend the use of non-scriptural terms such as *persona* and *essentia* on the ground of their utility in the defense of biblical doctrine against the "barking" of the heretics.[8] Similar reflection on the use of traditional trinitarian language is found in Bucer's generally positive reaction to the Schwabach Articles,[9] and is implied in the comment of the Tetrapolitan Confession that the Reformed "agree . . . [with] what the church of Christ has hitherto believed about the Trinity."[10]

In confessions that opposed the normative status of "human traditions" as strongly as the Augsburg Confession and the Tetrapolitan Confession, some definition of the character of acceptance of traditional dogmatic terms was necessary.[11] This acceptance, however, in both confessions, is far more than a simple attestation of the catholicity of the Reformation; it represents the profound recognition that the doctrine of the Trinity, albeit formulated in the tradition of the church, is a profoundly biblical teaching, a teaching foundational to all further expression of Christian doctrine. Maurer thus recognizes

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[8]John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1536 edition (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1995), II.8.

[9]*Bucer's Critique of the Schwabach Articles*, in Michael Reu, *The Augsburg Confession: A Collection of Sources with an Historical Introduction* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1930), *49-*50: "Doctor Luther thinks that the word *trinitas* should not be used; others object to the word *persona* because the ordinary man—to the offense of the Jews and all others who have not yet joined our religion—uses the word 'person' in the ordinary sense and speaks of the three Persons as though they were three separate beings (an error which is also suggested by the word 'trinity'). It is also known how many quarrels have arisen over the *processionibus* and *notionibus* which are not mentioned in the Scriptures at all. Now it would be proper to speak of such a high and incomprehensible mystery in the clearest, that is, most scriptural manner; this would be the best way of preventing godless quarrels."

[10]Tetrapolitan Confession, II.

[11]One may compare Augsburg Confession, II.7 (28), with Tetrapolitan Confession, XIV.

of Luther and of the Augsburg Confession that "the terms used here are not word for word the same as those used in the official confession of the ancient church." There is, Maurer argues, "a shift . . . within the trinitarian statements" resting on the fact that "Luther is a biblical theologian who accepts the dogmatic tradition at those points where he can interpret it biblically."[12]

There is a common thread here that must not be ignored: neither Luther nor Bucer confessed the faith of the church because it was the faith of the church. *Fides implicita* in the Roman Catholic sense is utterly ruled out. In the trinitarian statements of the Augsburg Confession and the Tetrapolitan Confession, the trinitarian faith of the church is confessed because it is the biblical faith—and then, beyond mere statements of the truth, the trinitarian faith pervades and governs all further doctrinal statements in the confessions. And, indeed, the Augsburg Confession and the Tetrapolitan Confession were confessed by the Reformers because and only because they were biblical. In their dogmatic reflection on the doctrine of the person of the Spirit in relation to the traditional language of the Trinity, to the fundamentally biblical character of trinitarian teaching, and to the broad implications of a biblical trinitarianism for Christian teaching as a whole, the Lutheran and the Reformed confessions at Augsburg stand on common ground. A similar point, albeit reflecting a far less subtle relation of exegesis and tradition, can be made even of Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio*, also presented at Augsburg.[13]

The second reference, also reflected in many of the Reformed confessions, is the statement of Article II that original sin would "even now condemn and bring eternal death upon those not born again through Baptism and the Holy Ghost."[14] On this basic

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[12]Wilhelm Maurer, *Historical Commentary on the Augsburg Confession*, translated by H. George Anderson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 249.

[13]Ulrich Zwingli, *Fidei Ratio* (1530), translated as *An Account of the Faith of Huldreich Zwingli Submitted to the German Emperor Charles V, at the Diet of Augsburg*, in *On Providence and Other Essays*, edited for Samuel Macaulay Jackson by William John Hinke (Philadelphia: Heidelberg Press, 1922; reprinted, Durham, North Carolina: Labyrinth Press, 1983), 33-61.

[14]Augsburg Confession, I.ii (ii).

point, we find little disagreement between Reformed and Lutheran: deliverance from original sin through Baptism—and, in intimate relation with the churchly act of Baptism, the work of the Holy Spirit—is taught by the Reformed as well as by the Lutheran confessions. The classic divergence, of course, arises when one asks the question of the precise relationship between the outward act of Baptism and the gracious inward work of the Spirit. But, for the moment, we may look at the substantial agreement on the point of Article II.

The main thrust of the article is to declare the natural and hereditary character of human sin, that "all men begotten in the natural way are born with sin." Each and every human being, specifically, lacks the fear of God and fails to trust in God; and such is the case because of an inborn distortion or privation in the affections, namely concupiscence, defined by the confession as a "disease" and a "vice of origin." As we learn from the elaboration of the point in the Apology, this "evil inclination within . . . does not cease as long as we are not born anew through the Spirit and faith."[15] This teaching the Augsburg Confession poses against the "Pelagians" and any others who "deny that original depravity is sin" or who assume that human beings can justify themselves before God through their "own strength and reason."[16]

As in the Reformed confessions of the era, the Augsburg Confession takes as the common catholic or ecumenical ground the Augustinian view of original sin as developed in the Pelagian controversy of the early fifth century, and poses this fundamentally catholic teaching against the abuses of the late medieval church. The point of the article, even in this positive section of the confession, is to set aside a false teaching of the time and not merely to separate Lutheran teaching from an ancient heresy. The Tetrapolitan Confession stands on precisely the same ground, with even more explicit reference to the problems of the age: "since for some years," it declares, "we were taught that man's own works are necessary for his justification, our preachers have taught that this whole justification is to be ascribed to the

[15]Augsburg Confession, I.ii(ii); Apology of the Augsburg Confession, II (I).
[16]Augsburg Confession, I.ii (ii).

good pleasure of God and the merit of Christ, and to be received by faith alone."[17] Citing 1 Corinthians 2:14, the confession insists that "the natural man receives not the things of the Spirit of God" and that salvation therefore is available only through the work of the Spirit, simultaneous with the preaching of the Gospel.[18] When other of the major (and minor) Reformed confessions of the era are examined, similar and frequently nearly identical statements are found, some with explicit reference to the "Pelagianism" of the age.

The Spirit and the Means of Grace: Confessional Differences

The next two references to the Spirit in the Augsburg Confession can be taken together. In Article III we read that Christ, after his ascension, has "sanctified all them that believe in him, by sending the Holy Spirit into their hearts, to rule, comfort, and quicken them, and to defend them against the devil and the power of sin." This assertion is surely to be taken together with the declaration of Article V concerning the means by which salvation is accomplished in the office of ministry: "through Word and Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given, who works faith, where and when it pleases God, in them that hear the gospel." Significantly, this positive statement is paired with a condemnation of "the Anabaptists and others who think that the Holy Ghost comes to men without the external word, through their own preparations and works."[19]

The context of the confessional statement is critical to its right understanding: what is explicitly condemned here is the teaching of various Enthusiasts—*Schwärmer*—who claim spiritual gifts for

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[17]Tetrapolitan Confession, III.

[18]Tetrapolitan Confession, III; one may compare First Confession of Basel (1534), II: "through [the] fall the whole human race was corrupted and made subject to damnation" and "our nature . . . [is] so inclined to sin that, unless it is restored by the Spirit of God, man neither does nor wants to do anything good of himself"; Confession of Faith [Geneva, 1536], iv, vi, viii: "man is naturally deprived and destitute in himself of all light of God. . . . Jesus Christ has done and suffered for our redemption . . . by His Spirit we are regenerated into a new spiritual nature."

[19]Augsburg Confession, I.iii, v (iii, v).

themselves and who claim to be infused with a spiritual form of salvation that is distinct from and perhaps higher than the salvation of the baptized hearer of the Word who participates regularly in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.[20] And, indeed, the confession continues its anti-Pelagian (or semi-Pelagian) polemic by specifically singling out those who emphasize an individualized saving work of the Spirit "through their own preparations and works" rather than through the appointed means of Word and Sacrament. Thus, the Anabaptists, who postpone Baptism and regard it as a response to the work of the Spirit in an adult, are the opponents noted here. The Second Helvetic Confession, likewise, insists that the sacraments are "effectual," and it condemns those who view the sacraments as "superfluous."[21]

The sending of the quickening Spirit of Christ into the hearts of believers for the sake of their comfort and sanctification is central to both of the confessional traditions here in view. The statement, too, that "the Holy Ghost is given, who works faith, where and when it pleases God, in them that hear the gospel" offers no difficulty at all to the Reformed. These words of the Augsburg Confession, certainly, militate against an *ex opere operato* understanding of preaching, much in the way that Roman Catholicism understands the sacraments.[22] In other words, the

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[20]One may compare Maurer, *Historical Commentary*, 349.

[21]Second Helvetic Confession, XIX.10.

[22]The earliest references in medieval theology to an *opus operatum* belong to controversies over simony in the twelfth century, in which the action (*actio*) of the unworthy agent (*opus operans*) was distinguished from the sacramental act (*actus*) or work performed (*opus operatum*). Peter of Poitiers, a student of Lombard, subsequently used the distinction with reference to the actions of the Jews in crucifying Christ and the objective work or act of Christ on the cross, but it is equally the case that this reference to the merit or work of Christ is not what is implied in the scholastic teaching that *sacramenta operantur ex opere operato*, that is to say, that "sacraments operate (or are effective) by the work performed." One may see A. Michel, "Opus Operatum, Opus Operantis," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 11:1, 1084-1187. In the sacramental application of the phrase, the work performed or *opus operatum* refers, in the words of Ludwig Ott, to "the completed sacramental rite." He states that any interpretation of the sacramental language *ex opere operato* to equal *ex opere a Christo operato* . . . is historically

Augsburg Confession itself may indicate a point of distinction between the outward work of preaching the Word and the inward work of the Spirit—not a positive distinction, as if the Spirit might work apart from the Word, but a negative one, so as to say that our hearing of the Word or our celebration of the sacrament, insofar as it is something that we do, carries no benefit. The Spirit works according to the divine good pleasure—as truly promised in Word and Sacrament—which alone offers comfort and assurance.

This reflection, of course, raises a more systematic problem: *cur alii, alii non?* ("Why some and not others?)." This question the Lutheran dogmaticians, from the era of orthodoxy down to the present, as witnessed by Francis Pieper, have seen to be the source of a distortion of the Gospel or of a rationalization of the problem that leads either to Calvinism on the one side or to Semi-Pelagianism on the other.[23] Granting, of course, that the Reformed dogmaticians are frequently more willing to answer the question on the ground of divine election, they are also consistently wary of using the doctrine as an answer to pastoral questions of assurance.[24]

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false; for the scholastic term does not purport to indicate the source (*causa meritoria*) of the sacramental grace, but the nature and manner of the sacramental operation of grace." This specific reference of the language to the efficacy of the performance of the rite is, moreover, the dogma of the Council of Trent, against which the Reformers, both Lutheran and Reformed objected. One may see for instance, Ludwig Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, translated by Patrick Lynch (Cork: Mercier Press, 1962), 329-330; and again, Michel, "Opus Operatum," 1086, who also singles out the claim that the term *ex opere operato* refers to the source of "the power and grace of the sacraments" in Christ's merit. This claim, Michel notes, is an error; the intention of the church is to indicate the sacramental rite itself in its objective accomplishment.

[23]Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 1:94-95.

[24]Some Lutheran theologians have noted a similar pastoral motive, grounded in the problem of the assurance of salvation, in the Formula of Concord, where election is defined without any movement toward the potential synergism of the later *intuitu fidei*. We could, moreover, draw out a spectrum of Reformed teaching on election spanning views from the supralapsarian tendencies of a Theodore Beza to the cautious infralapsarianism of a Heinrich Bullinger and find there some point of contact with confessional Lutheranism.

Because of this pastoral question—and, certainly, because of a recognition that the dogmatic *loci* do not stand in a neatly deductive series—the Reformed confessions, and the Reformed orthodox dogmaticians as well, only infrequently press the doctrine of election at this point in their discussion of Word and Sacrament. When the confessions and catechisms of the Reformed churches do include a doctrine of predestination, they do not at all argue it through the various doctrinal *loci* with any precision.[25] Rather, they tend to indicate that the Word is the primary and necessary means of grace, while the sacraments are subordinate to the Word and are to be understood as means, certainly, but as means that "confirm" or "seal" the grace given in and through the Word.[26]

By way of contrast, we learn from Article IX of the Augsburg Confession that Baptism is "necessary to salvation" inasmuch as "through baptism is offered the grace of God."[27] On the first of these points, the necessity of Baptism, we encounter some difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed. On the latter point, the assumption that Baptism is a means of grace, we encounter full divergence—not, however, between Lutheran and Reformed, but between Lutherans and some Reformed, on the one hand, and portions of the spectrum of Reformed theology, notably the Zwinglians, on the other hand.

Some elaboration of the point is appropriate, and it is, perhaps, useful to begin at the widest point of divergence, that between the Augsburg Confession and Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio*. The *Fidei Ratio*, one should recall in the first place, was a personal, not a corporate confession and never had a normative confessional status among the Reformed. Zwingli writes:

> I believe, indeed, I know, that all the sacraments are so far from conferring grace that they do not even convey or dispense it. In this matter, most powerful Emperor, I may

[25]The catechisms frequently include no discussion of the doctrine of predestination; the Geneva Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism are cases in point.

[26]Heidelberg Catechism, question 65; Belgic Confession, XXXIII.

[27]Augsburg Confession, I.ix (ix).

> seem to you perhaps too bold. But my opinion is firm. For grace comes or is given by the Divine Spirit . . . so this gift pertains to the Spirit alone. Moreover, a channel or vehicle is not necessary to the Spirit, for He Himself is the virtue or energy whereby all things are sustained, and has no need of being sustained; neither do we read in the Holy Scriptures that visible things, as are the sacraments, carry certainly with them the Spirit, but if visible things have been borne with the Spirit, it has been the Spirit, not the visible things that has done the bearing.[28]

The immediate response to such teaching would most certainly be that, if it were true, then sacraments would be quite purposeless and, therefore, unnecessary and dispensable. This is an objection that Zwingli had heard from both sides, the Roman Catholic and the Anabaptist, the former to deny the point and the latter to drive it to its most radical conclusion. He offers a partial answer:

> The sacraments are given as a public testimony of that grace which is previously present to every individual. . . . Baptism does not convey grace but the church certifies that grace has been given to him to whom it is administered. I believe, therefore, O Emperor, that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing, i.e., of grace that has been given. I believe that it is a visible figure or form of the invisible grace, provided and bestowed by God's bounty, i.e., a visible example which presents an analogy to something done by the Spirit.[29]

Nor was Zwingli one to draw the conclusion that all those who receive the sacrament and are thus certified by the church will be saved. Sacrament and Spirit are, thus, effectively separated. The reason for Zwingli's definition, quite clear in the text and context of his confession, is the problem of the medieval doctrine of the *ex opere operato* character of the sacrament—that the sacrament, in its churchly exercise, conveys grace if there is no impediment. For the sake of pointedly denying medieval Roman Catholic doctrine, Zwingli argues virtually the opposite position.

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[28]Zwingli, *Fidei Ratio*, 46.
[29]Zwingli, *Fidei Ratio*, 47-8.

Here, of course, is ground for disagreement and, indeed, polemic, between Lutherans and Reformed. The claim has consistently been that the Reformed deny that the sacraments are means of grace and sever the bond between the sacraments and the work of the Spirit; and in the case of Zwingli, this judgment is certainly quite correct. Something which we also see here is the basis for the complaint, found in much later debate, that the Reformed emphasis on the traditional definition of a sacrament as a visible sign of an invisible grace was insufficient to the attainment of a right definition of the sacraments.[30] The problem, of course, was not in the definition itself—it can be traced back at least as far as Augustine and had, during the Middle Ages, been associated with the strongest language of sacraments as means, even with definitions of sacramental efficacy as functioning *ex opere operato*. The problem, and the root of the debate, lies in Zwingli's reinterpretation of the definition.

We find, however, a notably different accent in many, if not most, of the other Reformed confessions. Bucer's Tetrapolitan Confession affirms the Augustinian definition without elaboration and then declares of Baptism "that by it we are buried into Christ's death, are united into one body and put on Christ; that it is the washing of regeneration, that it washes away sins and saves us." The Tetrapolitan Confession, thus, approaches far closer to the Augsburg Confession than it does to Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio*. The First Helvetic Confession, drawn up in 1536 by Bullinger, Grynaeus, and Myconius, similarly declines to take Zwingli's radical view of the separation of the sign and the thing signified and, in fact, takes up a more traditional Augustinian understanding of the language. Sacraments, the confession declares, "are not mere, empty signs, but consist of the sign and the substance." Thus, "in baptism, water is the sign, but the substance and spiritual thing is rebirth and admission into the people of God."[31] Even Bullinger, Zwingli's successor, whose

[30]One may see John Calvin, "Final Admonition to Westphal," in *Tracts and Treatises*, three volumes, translated by Henry Beveridge, historical notes and introduction by Thomas F. Torrance (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1958), 2:491.

[31]First Helvetic Confession, XX.

sacramental theology stands somewhere between Zwingli and Calvin (or if a Lutheran signpost be desired, between Zwingli and Melanchthon), insists that the sacramental signs are not "bare signs" but rather signs "which take upon themselves the names of things signified, and are not still called bare water, bread, or wine; but that the water is called 'regeneration' and 'washing of the new birth.'"[32] In the Heidelberg Catechism we read that "the Holy Spirit works in" us "by the Gospel," that "the Holy Spirit teaches us in the Gospel, and by the sacraments assures us, that our whole salvation stands in the one sacrifice of Christ," and, with specific reference to Baptism, "Christ has appointed this outward washing with water, and has joined therewith this promise, that I am washed with His blood and Spirit . . . as certainly as I am washed outwardly with water."[33] What Zwingli put asunder the later Reformed confessions appear to have joined together.

Although none of the major Reformed confessions argues the necessity of Baptism in the manner of the Augsburg Confession, many of the major confessions contain the teaching that Baptism belongs so intimately to the divinely ordained order or means of salvation that it dare not be set aside. "Therefore," the Belgic Confession concludes its argument on the definition and efficacy of Baptism, God "has commanded all those who are His to be baptized with pure water . . . thereby signifying to us, that as water washes away the filth of the body . . . so the blood of Christ, by the power of the Holy Spirit, internally does the same to the

[32]Bullinger, Second Helvetic Confession, XIX.10; one may compare Belgic Confession, XXXIII: God "hath joined [the sacraments] to the Word of the Gospel, the better to present to our senses, both that which He signifies to us by His Word, and that which he works inwardly in our hearts. . . . For they are visible signs and seals of an inward and invisible thing, by means of which God works in us by the power of the Holy Spirit (*moyennant lesquels Dieu opère en nous par la vertu du Saint-Esprit*)"; Thirty-Nine Articles, XXV: "the sacraments ordained by Christ are not only signs of Christian profession, but are rather certain testimonies, and effectual signs of grace (*efficacia signa gratiae*) of God's good will toward us, by which He works invisibly in us, and does not only enliven but also confirms our faith"; Gallican Confession, XXXIV: they are "outward signs through which God operates by His Spirit, so that He may not signify anything to us in vain."

[33]Heidelberg Catechism, questions 21, 65; 70; 69.

soul, sprinkling it and cleansing it from its sins. . . ." So too, the confession declares "everyone who is earnest to obtain eternal life ought to be but once baptized" and "this baptism does not only avail us at the time when the water is poured upon us and received by us, but also through the whole course of our life."[34] The Heidelberg Catechism, similarly, argues that infants, no less than their parents, are to be baptized in as much as thereby they are "ingrafted into the Christian church."[35]

Despite all the common ground, to be sure, one point of difference still remains between all of the Reformed confessions and the Lutheran confessional tradition. It is, however, certainly not as vast a divergence as our polemics have sometimes indicated. The Reformed (with the exception of Zwingli), affirm either that sacraments are means of grace or that grace is certainly made available through the work of the Spirit as signified by the sacramental elements. The former view, associated with Calvin, argues a clear sacramental instrumentality; the latter, associated with Bullinger, argues a covenantal parallelism between the outward administration of the signs and the inward work of the Spirit.[36] Again, with the exception of Zwingli, the Reformed confessions and theologians never claim that the Spirit is so free of Word and Sacrament that seemingly "extraordinary" paths to salvation become ordinary.[37] Between Calvin and Bullinger there remained a difference over the language of sacramental instrumentality, given that Bullinger tended to argue a parallel work of the Spirit with the administration of the sign, while Calvin held for the operation of the Spirit in and through the administration of the signs. Certainly, in Bullinger's case, the

[34]Belgic Confession, XXXIV.

[35]Heidelberg Catechism, question 74.

[36]One may see Paul Rorem, "Calvin and Bullinger on the Lord's Supper," *Lutheran Quarterly* 2 (1988): 155-184, 357-389.

[37]Zwingli did, in one of his oddest statements, claim that the patriarchs, apostles, and saints would be accompanied in heaven by Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, the Catos, and the Scipios, together with all good men "from the beginning of the world to the end." One may see *A Short and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith*, X, in *On Providence and Other Essays*, edited for Samuel Macaulay Jackson by William John Hinke (Philadelphia: Heidelberg Press, 1922; reprinted, Durham, North Carolina: Labyrinth Press, 1983), 271-272.

basis for his argument was the lingering fear of an *ex opere operato* view of sacramental efficacy. Bullinger continued to insist that grace necessarily preceded faithful participation in the sacraments.[38] The major Reformed theologians and the Reformed confessional tradition nonetheless insisted that there could be no salvation apart from the Word; and, certainly, salvation apart from Baptism would be viewed by the Reformed confessions and any theological elaboration upon them as extraordinary in the very strict sense of being outside of what has been ordained by God as the norm.[39]

Even, indeed, with regard to the necessity of Baptism, the Reformed confessions, without elaborating the issue, only deny that the beginnings of regeneration may be mechanically attached to outward human acts. The pressure here, in accord with the insistence of the Augsburg Confession on that God giving his spirit "where and when he pleases," against any notion of human control of the divine, not to the extreme of Zwingli's teaching, but more pointed than that of the Augsburg Confession. The absence of the word "necessary" in the Reformed confessions stands as an implied critique of just this one aspect of the Lutheran teaching—not to allow any sacraments to be omitted, but only to find the Lutheran statement less than quite clear enough in its rejection of the *ex opere operato*.

It is worth remembering, moreover, that the Augsburg Confession asserts the necessity of Baptism in opposition, specifically, to the teaching of the Anabaptists, "who reject the Baptism of children and say that children are saved without Baptism."[40] The confession does not, in other words, single out for debate a view of Baptism that identifies the sacrament as suitable for children as well as for adults but falls just short of defining it as necessary. The polemic against the Anabaptist view is,

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[38]One may see Rorem, "Calvin and Bullinger," 174-176.

[39]Heinrich Heppe, *Reformed Dogmatics Set Out and Illustrated from the Sources*, revised edition, foreword by Karl Barth (London: Allen and Unwin, 1950), 623-24.

[40]Augsburg Confession, I.ix (ix).

moreover, echoed quite strongly in the Reformed confessions.[41] Nor, indeed, do the Reformed confessions explicitly oppose any Lutheran statements on this issue.

By way of summarizing the difference here, we may observe the way in which Ursinus explains the answer to question sixty-five of the Heidelberg Catechism, recognizing, however, that the explanation rises to a level of detail not found in the Reformed confessions or catechisms themselves. The catechetical question asks from whence faith proceeds, and the answer is, "From the Holy Ghost, who works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the gospel and confirms it by the use of the sacraments." Ursinus explains the question and answer thus:

> This question points out the connection which holds between the doctrine of faith and the sacraments. The Holy Ghost ordinarily produces faith . . . in us by the ecclesiastical ministry, which consists of two parts, *the word and the sacraments*. The Holy Ghost works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the gospel and cherishes, confirms, and seals it by the use of the sacraments. The Word is a charter to which the sacraments are affixed as the seals of the divine will. Whatever the Word promises concerning our salvation through Christ, that the sacraments, as signs, and seals annexed thereto, confirm unto us more and more for the purpose of helping our infirmity. It is proper, therefore, that we should now speak of the sacraments, the seals of faith, appended to the gospel.[42]

Ursinus' central point is that Sacrament cannot be separated from Word, a teaching shared by Reformed and Lutherans. The reading of Scripture and preaching may occur legitimately

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[41]One may compare Second Helvetic Confession, XX.6: "we condemn the Anabaptists, who deny that young infants, born to faithful parents, are to be baptized"; Belgic Confession, XXXIV: "we detest the error of the Anabaptists, who . . . condemn the baptism of the infants of believers, who, we believe, ought to be baptized and sealed with the sign of the covenant."

[42]Zacharias Ursinus, *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*, translated G. W. Williard, introduction by John W. Nevin (Columbus, Ohio, 1852; reprinted Phillipsburg, New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1985), 340.

without the administration of the sacraments, but there may be no administration of the sacraments without the reading and exposition of Scripture, specifically for the sake of identifying the visible elements as signs and means of grace.[43]

Ursinus then comes, in a somewhat scholastic form of exposition, to an "objection" to one aspect of his definition: "But it is said that the Holy Ghost and the Word produce faith in us, and that the sacraments strengthen it. In what, therefore, do these three differ from each other?" The "three" are, of course, the Spirit, the Word, and the Sacraments. Ursinus responds as follows:

> Answer. They differ very much. (1.) The Holy Ghost works and confirms faith in us as the efficient cause, whilst the word and sacraments do this as instrumental causes. (2.) The Holy Ghost can also work faith in us independent of the word and the sacraments, whilst these, on the other hand, can effect nothing independent of the Holy Ghost. (3.) The Holy Ghost works effectually in whomsoever He dwells, which cannot be said of the word and sacraments.[44]

Ursinus further articulates the difference between Word and Sacrament in his explanation of the answer to a subsequent question sixty-seven of the catechism:

> The word is sufficient and necessary for the salvation of adults; for "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God" (Romans 10:17). The sacraments, however, are not positively or absolutely necessary for all, neither are they in themselves sufficient for salvation independent of the word.[45]

The Word is necessary, moreover, because it is the means by which the Spirit "commences and confirms" faith in believers.

These remarks, taken in isolation, do not fully explain why Ursinus indicated so pointedly that "the Holy Ghost can also work faith in us independent of the word and the sacraments."

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[43]Ursinus, *Commentary*, 353.
[44]Ursinus, *Commentary*, 340.
[45]Ursinus, *Commentary*, 352.

The independence of the Spirit from the sacraments is clear enough; the sacraments themselves depend on the Word, and the Word is the prior and absolutely necessary means of grace for adults. There is no attempt here, such as is adumbrated by Zwingli, to separate the work of the Spirit from means. Nor does Ursinus look to the eternal decree of election as an explanation. There is, on the other hand, the problem of infant Baptism, which Ursinus juxtaposes with his definition of faith. Faith consists both in knowledge and assurance that the knowledge is true, together with "an assured confidence by which we apply to ourselves the merit of Christ"—*notitia, assensus,* and *fiducia* (knowledge, assent, and trust).[46] The definition, particularly the Protestant assumption that faith *must* include *notitia* and *assensus* over against the Roman Catholic notion of an implicit faith understood simply as the absence of an impediment to grace, appears to militate against the doctrine of infant Baptism.

Infants do not hear and understand the Word and, therefore, they cannot grasp the prerequisite to the administration of the sacrament—the read or preached Word that must precede and identify the sacramental signs. Here is the only place that the Reformed argue a departure from the "ordinary" or ordained pattern of the production of faith through the means offered by the office of ministry: "the case is different," Ursinus writes, "in regard to infants in the church: for in them the Holy Spirit neither begins, nor confirms faith by means of the word; but by an inward working; and that because they are also included in the covenant and promise of God, being born in the church."[47] And even this operation of the Spirit is grounded in the Word understood as promise: the promise is to believers and their children (Acts 2:39); the water of Baptism ought not to be refused to any who have received the grace of the Spirit (Acts 10:47), and it is not ours to say which, if any, of the children eligible for Baptism, are or are not recipients of the grace of God.[48] Here again there is the promise that the effective grace of the Spirit

[46]Ursinus, *Commentary,* 110.
[47]Ursinus, *Commentary,* 352.
[48]Ursinus, *Commentary,* 366-368.

accompanies the outward signs or means, but there is no allowance for an *ex opere operato* understanding of the sacrament.

The Systematic Perspective: Divergence and Debate over the Work of the Spirit

In looking to the *Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism* by Ursinus for a clear statement of the Reformed position and, therefore, of the divergence between Reformed and Lutherans, we have already stepped past the pale of the confessions into the realm of dogmatics. That step, in itself, conveys a lesson: the underlying problem of the traditional debate between Lutherans and Reformed over the work of the Holy Spirit, at least from the perspective of a historian, lies in the systematizing and harmonizing character of dogmatic dispute, in which the variety of formulations and the spectrum of opinion found in history tend, especially in polemics, to be collapsed into two opposing systems, a monolithic Reformed and a monolithic Lutheran system. By examining a series of Reformed confessions we have seen that the divergence between the two confessional families is less than has sometimes been supposed, and we have also defined the divergence somewhat more precisely.

What remains, now, is to offer a few points of what was initially called "a Reformed definition." Here, to be sure, no more can be offered than a set of queries. First, and with due respect to the systematic theologians and dogmaticians of our respective confessional communities, there may well be wisdom in not attempting to press for normative definition beyond the ground offered by the confessions. Despite their differences over the use of the language of "necessity" relative to Baptism and over the issue of the precise relationship of the work of the Spirit to the outward celebration of the rite, both confessional families seek primarily to distance themselves from the Roman Catholic concept of *ex opere operato*, and both reserve their explicit condemnations for the theology and practice of the Anabaptists. This is a salutary point to remember in these days of confessional and liturgical erosion. Both Lutherans and Reformed have a strong doctrine of the work of the Spirit, a doctrine that is well defined both in a positive and in a negative sense. Old unsettled battles notwithstanding, the greater danger today is from the

proponents of vague spirituality, of excessively affective piety, and of a Holy Spirit who "comes to men without the external word" and with undue emphasis on gifts not so great as faith, hope, and love.

Next in order is necessity of Baptism. Given what has been said concerning the work of the Spirit, the divine ordination of the sacraments as means, and the dependence of the efficacy of the sacrament not on the celebrant or the recipient but on God, who works when and where he wills, we must ask the level of necessity implied. Does the confession refer to what, from our perspective, is an absolute necessity on, to use the scholastic term, a consequent necessity? What of the child of believers who dies prior to Baptism? Or what of the adult believer who has grown to maturity on the assumption that he has been baptized, but who in fact has not? Or, again, what of the adult believer—and this would be a case unlikely in either a Lutheran or a Reformed context—who, because of the political circumstances of his life, has not been baptized and who recognizes the fact? Or does the word "necessary" indicate the divinely given order of things and the command that we observe the order—without constraining the operation of grace: this latter view, of an "ordinate" rather than an "absolute" necessity was the view of Gerhard and Hollazius.[49]

The Reformed answer is that Baptism is the ordained or ordinary means of incorporation into the community, but that there are also extraordinary circumstances under which the Spirit works "the circumcision made without hands" apart from the usual means.[50] Even the Westminster Confession, written a century after the era of the Reformation and more detailed in its exposition of doctrine than virtually any other Reformed confession, does not press the issue to utter closure. It states that infants also "are to be baptized" and then notes that, "although it is a great sin to condemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace

[49]Gerhard and Hollazius are cited in Heinrich Schmid, *Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore, 1876), 554; one may compare the corresponding statements of the Reformed in Heppe, *Reformed Dogmatics*, 624.

[50]Second Helvetic Confession, XIX.4, citing Colosians 2:11-12.

and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all who are baptized are undoubtedly saved."[51] What remains necessary, in the absolute sense, is the faith of the Christian who has heard the Word of God. That faith is itself the work of the Spirit, the fruit of God's promise. In the case of the infant, the Reformed insist (as also some Lutheran dogmaticians argue) that infants, who cannot be influenced directly by the Word, are regenerated by grace in their Baptism and given, thereby, the foundation of their faith.[52]

The issue of infant Baptism, given the absence of prior response to the Word, leads to a third issue or query, related to doctrine of the covenant of grace. Here, the Reformed confessions are explicit about the parallel between circumcision and Baptism and the identification of Baptism as the sign and seal that we are "enrolled, entered, and received into the covenant and family, and so into the inheritance, of the sons of God."[53] Baptism, writes Bucer, "is the sacrament of the covenant that God makes with those who are His."[54] Some Lutheran dogmaticians do note the covenantal character of Baptism.[55] However, from a Reformed perspective, the absence of a strong covenantal declaration at the confessional level weakens the doctrine of infant Baptism by pressing the issue of efficacy back upon the external act rather than directing it toward the work of God in his establishment of the church throughout all ages and toward the way in which the grace of God, given through the appointed means of Word and Sacrament, continues to operate in the life of the believer when and where those means are not immediately offered. Here the Reformed do argue the operation of the Spirit in distinction from the presentation of means.

The fourth observation or point of definition, therefore, must press the more systematic question: in the context of the ministry

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[51]Westminster Confession, XXVIII.5.

[52]One may compare Heppe, *Reformed Dogmatics*, 620-622, with Schmid, *Doctrinal Theology*, 546-549.

[53]Second Helvetic Confession, XX.2; one may compare XIX.4, 7.

[54]Tetrapolitan Confession, XVII; one may compare *Westminster Confession*, XXVIII.1.

[55]Gerhard and Brochmand, as cited in Schmid, *Doctrinal Theology*, 538, 548.

of the church, of the means of grace, the Word and the Sacraments, why some and not others—*cur alii, non alii*? This is not a question that can be taken lightly because it presses us beyond our grasp toward the ultimate mystery of God's promise and its extent. Baptism holds forth the promise of God's covenant and, within the covenant, of God's grace; but Baptism does not confer grace on all who receive it, any more than the preaching of the Word is effective in all who hear it. Inasmuch as all have sinned and none can grasp for themselves the grace of God, the doctrine of divine election stands as the final explanation of the limitation of salvation to some and not others, while at the same time the cause of damnation remains the sin of the individual. The gracious gift of regeneration—indeed, of faith—to infants is among the surest signs that our sin belongs entirely to us, while grace is of God alone.

From a Reformed perspective, moreover, we cannot, even when the doctrine of election is invoked, identify which individuals are elect any more than we can identify precisely where and when God works his proper will. For this reason, the doctrine of election is not invoked at this point in the confessions and catechisms. Yet, of course, from the perspective of the larger body of doctrine, it does hover behind the question even as, the Reformed dogmaticians would add, election hovers behind the message of salvation throughout Scripture, as also it hovers behind the doctrine of Word and Sacrament in many of the Reformed confessions. Some people, in this fallen mass of humanity, are indeed chosen by God to be the vessels of his mercy and others, because of their sin, both original and actual, are justly passed over and set aside as vessels of wrath. And we must believe that the God, who gives His Spirit "where and when [he] pleases," knows those who are his and ordains the means of his grace for them.

In the mystery of the divine working, we are to believe that the provision of Word and Sacrament, in and through the ministry of the church, is the way in which God ordinarily works his will. This, finally, is the fundamental confession that, despite differences, Reformed and Lutherans share and in which both oppose the Anabaptists, the *Schwärmer*, who existed at the time of

the great confessions, but not nearly in the numbers and variety in which they exist today. These pose, surely, a far greater threat to Lutherans and Reformed alike than such pose to each. Because, beyond the undermining of the confessions, liturgy, and hymnody of both Lutherans and Reformed, the *Schwärmer* thereby also undermine the form of the proclamation of the Gospel as the promise of justification by grace, through faith alone, in Christ alone, apart from the works of the law.

A Lutheran Professor Educated at Westminster Theological Seminary Looks for Similarities and Dissimilarities

Richard E. Muller

This article opens with some comments on theological education at Westminster Theological Semianry, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in the late 1960s. It then outlines the general Reformed or Calvinistic approach to the topic of the Holy Spirit: The Person of the Holy Spirit; The Work of the Holy Spirit; The Holy Spirit and Scripture; The Holy Spirit and Sanctification; and The Holy Spirit and Soteriology. Each section will consider briefly the similarities and dissimilarities between Reformed theology and Lutheran theology. Finally, the concluding portion of the article will consist of a few comments in response to Dr. Richard A. Muller's fine article, "The Holy Spirit in the Augsburg Confession: a Reformed Definition."[1]

Theological Education at Westminster

Westminster in the 1960s espoused an authentic Calvinistic Reformed theology. It blended the British Puritan tradition with the Five Point Dutch T-U-L-I-P Calvinism and emphasized strongly the Sovereignty of God. In short, what it taught was consistent with how the Reformed have traditionally done theology—from the fixed point of the Sovereignty of God and the decrees of God, including the secret or hidden decrees. In contrast Lutherans do theology by focusing on the Crucified God, or the Cross of Christ and the revealed knowledge of God. This author

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[1]At the Eighteenth Annual Symposium of the Lutheran Confessions in January 1995 I responded to Dr. Richard A. Muller's "The Holy Spirit in the Augsburg Confession: A Reformed Definition." I was chosen for this task because of the similarity of our names (to the best of our knowledge we are not related) and more importantly because I received my basic theological education at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from which I graduated in 1967.

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never felt at ease with, what Luther and his followers refer to as, "the theology of glory."

The practical ramifications of this approach are enormous. Some professors at Westminster taught that one could not tell a group consisting of Christians and non-Christians that Christ died for their sins. One could only tell them that Christ died for their sins *if* they were of the elect. This was an application of the infamous "L" in the Calvinistic T-U-L-I-P—the "limited atonement" theory. Such a theology changes the comfort the Gospel is designed to provide for the sinner into a spiritual problem of considerable magnitude which confronts the sinner. Under the "limited atonement" concept a basic shift takes place in doing theology. The *Deus Revelatus*, the Eternal Word through whom the Father creates and reveals, and which culminates with the death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, is exchanged for that of the *Deus Absconditus* or the eternal and, therefore, hidden God of the "secret decrees." According to Deuteronomy 29:29 the "secret decrees" are God's secret possession and one therefore dare not do theology on the basis of them. Theologians ought not work in the area of archetypal theology, or God's knowledge of himself, but must be totally dependent upon ectypal theology, or God's revealed knowledge of himself.

With this distinction in mind between the Revealed God and the Hidden God, or between the Word of God and the Will or Decrees of God, let us now consider specifically the place of the Holy Spirit in the Reformation perspective of Calvinism and of Lutheranism and search for similarities and dissimilarities.

The Person of the Holy Spirit

In considering the Third Person of the Holy Trinity, theologians distinguish between the person of the Holy Spirit and the work of the Holy Spirit. In regard to the person of the Holy Spirit there is more similarity than dissimilarity between confessional Calvinism and confessional Lutheranism. Both the Reformed and Lutheran traditions, coming as they do from the sixteenth century, hold to the full and unqualified deity of the Third Person. This similarity is based not only on agreement with the

testimony of Holy Scripture, but also on the common acceptance of the ancient ecumenical creeds.

While there is admittedly a significant dissimilarity in the Calvinistic and Lutheran understanding and confession of the person of Christ, especially the *genus maiestaticum,* this is not true of the confession of the person of the Holy Spirit.[2] The only point at issue in a confession of the person of the Holy Spirit is that of his full deity, and here the Calvinists and Lutherans agree.

Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* while not technically a confession, functions practically as the foundational document upon which all Reformed Confessions are set and judged. In the *Institutes,* Calvin says the following in regard to the person of the Holy Spirit:

> Because he is circumscribed by no limits, he is excepted from the category of creatures; but in transfusing into all things his energy, and breathing into them essence, life, and movement, he is indeed plainly divine.[3]

> In short, upon him, as upon the Son, are conferred functions that especially belong to divinity. . . . Paul, therefore, very clearly attributes to the Spirit divine power, and shows that He resides hypostatically in God.[4]

> Nor, indeed, does Scripture in speaking of him refrain from the designation, 'God.'[5]

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[2]Of course, the confession of the person of the Spirit is far less complex and complicated than that of the Christ since only the Christ was incarnate. The whole issue of the mysterious relationship of the two natures to the one person, which received its classical formulation in Chalcedon in 451, does not apply to the Third Person.

[3]*Institutes,* I.XIII.14, 138. All references are to John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* edited by John T. McNeill, translated by Ford Lewis Battles, The Library of Christian Classics volumes 20-21 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).

[4]*Institutes,* I.XIII.14, 139.

[5]*Institutes,* I.XIII.15, 139.

The same testimony is found also in the Westminster Larger Catechism.[6]

> Question #9. How many persons are there in the Godhead?
>
> Answer — There be three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one true, eternal God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory; although distinguished by their personal properties.

So also the Westminster Confession, Chapter II.III:

> In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. I John 5:7; Matt. 3:16-17; 28:19; II Cor. 13:14.

The Work of the Holy Spirit

While I find no specific difference in the Reformed and Lutheran Confessions regarding the person of the Holy Spirit the same does not hold for the work of the Holy Spirit.

The first thing to note is that in neither the twenty-eight chapters of the Augsburg Confession, nor in the four books or eighty chapters of Calvin's *Institutes*, nor in the thirty-three chapters of the Westminster Confession is there to be found a chapter devoted exclusively to a consideration of the Holy Spirit.

The Augsburg Confession, Article I (God), deals with the Person of the Holy Spirit.

> . . . there are three persons in this one divine essence, equal in power and alike eternal: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.[7]

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[6]This quotation and the one following may be found in *The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms with the Scripture Proofs at Large Together with the Sum of Saving* Knowledge (Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1967).

[7]*The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, edited and translated by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959): 27, hereafter referred to as Tappert.

> The word "person" is to be understood as the Fathers employed the term in this connection, not as a part or property of another but as that which exists of itself.[8]

The Work of the Holy Spirit is factored into the confession in Article II (Original Sin).

> Moreover, this inborn sickness and hereditary sin is truly sin and condemns to the eternal wrath of God all those who are not born again through Baptism and the Holy Ghost.[9]

In Article III of the Confession (The Son of God) the work of the Holy Spirit in sanctification is mentioned.

> That he [Jesus] may eternally rule and have dominion over all creatures, that through the Holy Spirit he may sanctify, purify, strengthen, and comfort all who believe in him. . .[10]

Again in Article V (The Office of the Ministry) the reference to the Holy Spirit is to soteriology and the means of grace.

> Through these [Gospel and sacraments], as through means, he [God] gives the Holy Spirit, who works faith, when and where he pleases, in those who hear the Gospel.[11]

The same treatment of the Third Person can be seen in the Westminster Confession, Chapter X.II—"Effectual Calling."

> This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from any thing at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein, until, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it.[12]

The person of the Holy Spirit is dealt with under the discussion of the Trinity and his work is discussed in reference to the

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[8]Tappert, 28.
[9]Tappert, 29.
[10]Tappert, 30.
[11]Tappert, 31.
[12]"The Westminister Confession of Faith," in Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 volumes (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1877), 3:624-625.

application to the sinner of the saving work accomplished and finished by Christ in his death and resurrection. In other words, in considering the work of the Holy Spirit, some essential dissimilarities between Calvinism and Lutheranism may be identified in regard to soteriology understood as the application by the Spirit of the finished work of Christ to the sinner.

In Calvin's *Institutes* there is a direct reference to the Holy Spirit in the heading of only two of the eighty chapters—Book I, Chapter VII and Book III, Chapter I. The title of Book I, Chapter VII is: "Scripture Must Be Confirmed by the Witness of the Spirit. Thus May Its Authority Be Established as Certain; and It Is a Wicked Falsehood that Its Credibility Depends on the Judgment of the Church." Here the Work of the Holy Spirit is seen in conjunction with the phenomenon of Scripture. Note the swipe taken by Calvin at the Roman Church, which saw itself as the one authorized guardian of the true teaching of the Scripture. For Calvin, Rome arrogates to itself a teaching function which belongs properly to the Holy Spirit alone.

The title of Book III, Chapter I, of the *Institutes* is, "The Things Spoken Concerning Christ Profit Us by the Secret Working of the Spirit." Here the work of the Holy Spirit is seen in conjunction with "The Things Spoken Concerning Christ (i.e., the Gospel)." For Calvin two major categories identify the work of the Holy Spirit. First, the work of the Spirit is seen in relation to the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God. For Calvin the Holy Spirit is the agent by whom the Scriptures are inspired (one may see such classical *sedes* as 2 Timothy 3:16, 2 Peter 1:21, and 1 Corinthians 2:10-16), and, therefore, also the agent by whom they are illuminated, opened, taught and placed into man's heart. Second, the work of the Spirit is seen in relation to Christ and his Gospel. For Calvin it is the Holy Spirit who takes the finished work of Christ and applies it, in a regenerating way, into the hearts of specific individuals.

The Holy Spirit and Scripture

In reference to the work of the Holy Spirit in the inspiration and illumination of Scripture, both a similarity and a difference

between the Lutheran confession and the theology of John Calvin exists.

The similarity is in the formal principle or the nature of Holy Scripture. It is the God-breathed or inspired Word of God and therefore authoritative for all Christian faith and practice.[13] On the other hand a dissimilarity becomes apparent in the function of Holy Scripture. Historically both Calvinists and Lutherans would agree with Paul when he tells Timothy (2 Timothy 3:16-17 [NASB]): "All Scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be adequate, equipped for every good work." But how does the Bible carry out this function of equipping the man of God for every good work? It is at this point that the distinction between the second use of the law and the third use must be considered. I suggest that Calvinism conceives of the Bible in terms of its regulating character – the rule for the Christian life. As H. Henry Meeter, a twentieth-century Calvinist, writes:

> The Calvinist holds the authority of the Bible to be absolute. . . . The Bible is for him an absolute rule before which he must bow unfailingly. It dictates to him what he must believe and what he must do. It comes to him with commanding force. Calvin was very insistent on this point. If the Bible had spoken, there was only one thing to do – obey.[14]

For Lutheranism the Bible has primarily a declarative function and only secondarily a regulative function in the Christian life. Therefore, Lutheranism emphasizes the second use of the law, which drives the Christian continually back to Christ and to the Gospel by way of repentance. When the Lutheran turns to the Bible he wants to hear again the declaration that his sins are forgiven. The Bible comes with full divine force because it declares God's forgiveness, not just as a directive to be obeyed.

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[13]See also "Of the Holy Scriptures," chapter one in the Westminster Confession (3:600-606), where this same "high view" of Scripture is confessed.

[14]*The Basic Ideas of Calvinism*, fourth edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Grand Rapids International Publications, 1956), 45-46.

The Holy Spirit and Sanctification

The position that the living of the Christian life occupies in a given theological system largely determines the meaning given to the term "sanctification."

One of the differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism on the one hand, and Romanism on the other is that for the former justification as a completed act or verdict logically precedes the Christian life of sanctification. In the latter, however, sanctification and the use the Christian makes of the grace given him determines his eventual justification. Whether justification is antecedent to or consequent to sanctification determines, to a great extent, the very nature of a theological system and the relative place of law and Gospel in that system.[15]

A similar comparison may be made between Lutheranism and Calvinism in reference to the primary use of the law in the life of the Christian. If the primary use of the law is that of regulating the life of the Christian (that is, the third use or the law as a guide) rather than that of driving the Christian continually back to the cross or to his Baptism (that is, the second use or the law as a mirror), a different model emerges. If the Christian life is basically using the law in order to live to the glory of God, a distinct picture of the Christian and Christianity comes into view. If the Christian life requires the use of the law primarily to drive us back to the cross, to our Baptism and to the Gospel, another image of the Christian life and Christianity comes forth. Here I believe Calvinism and Lutheranism develop two distinct and dissimilar pictures of Christianity, the Christian, and the Christian life. The former focuses on the sovereignty of God and his law, while the latter stresses the suffering of God and his Gospel.

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[15]Even in the new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Liguori, Missouri: Liguori Publications, 1994), the first official catechism for the entire Roman church published since Tridentine Catechism of 1566, the following definition appears (482): "Justification is not only the remission of sins, but also the sanctification and renewal of the interior man."

The Holy Spirit and Soteriology

Finally, and most importantly, I believe there are significant dissimilarities between the Calvinists and the Lutherans in their understanding of the relationship between the work of Christ and the application of that work through the ministry of the Holy Spirit—that which we call soteriology or the application of the benefits of Christ's work (in distinction from the person and work of Christ) to an individual.

To work out the details of this distinction is beyond the scope of this article. Attention must, however, be given to an interesting, and somewhat programmatic, statement of Calvin in Chapter One of Book III of the *Institutes*. Book III bears the title: "The Way in Which We Receive the Grace of Christ: What Benefits Come to Us from It, and What Effects Follow." Chapter One of Book III is entitled: "The Things Spoken Concerning Christ Profit Us by the Secret Working of The Spirit." And, the first paragraph, from which I quote, is headed: "The Holy Spirit as the bond that unites us to Christ." The quotation reads as follows:

> I have said, all that [Christ] possesses is nothing to us until we grow into one body with him. It is true that we obtain this by faith. Yet since we see that not all indiscriminately embrace that communion with Christ which is offered through the gospel, reason itself teaches us to climb higher and to examine into the secret energy of the Spirit, by which we come to enjoy Christ and all his benefits.[16]

It seems to me that this statement offers a different understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in applying to the sinner the benefits of the finished work of Christ. These dissimilarities follow. First, there is a difference between how the Calvinist and the Lutheran understand the relationship between justification and union with Christ. Is there a sense in which justification, as the finished work of Christ, is prior to union with Christ, or is union with Christ, as the work of the Holy Spirit, always an antecedent necessity for justification to exist? Is

[16]*Institutes*, III.I.1,537.

justification also a universal accomplishment prior to and distinct from the application of its benefits? The momentous question raised here is whether the finished work of Christ stands complete on its own merits or whether it requires the appropriation of its benefits by faith in an individual in order to stand complete. Does man's conversion depend upon Christ's atonement or does Christ's atonement depend for its reality upon man's conversion?

Second, there is a difference in the degree of coordination entertained between special revelation and natural revelation. The Reformed seem to be more at home with philosophy and the things of God provided through nature, such as law and reason. On the other hand the Lutheran emphasis on the proper distinction between Law and Gospel sets natural and special revelation farther apart. While neither tradition can be charged with the Barthian denial of natural revelation nor with a Thomistic flirtation with natural revelation, the Reformed seem to accommodate their theology more to the demands of the laws of reason and logic than do Lutherans. Lutherans are more comfortable with paradox.

Third, probably because of the strong emphasis on the sovereignty of God in Reformed theology, there seems to be a temptation for Reformed theology to factor in the secret, hidden, and eternal divine decrees in working out its theological system. Here Lutheran theology, taking its cue from Luther, seems more inclined to live with the definite line of distinction, found in a text such as Deuteronomy 29:29, between the hidden things and those things which are revealed. This may account in part for the Reformed inclination to accept the data of empirical reality as an indicator pointing us to God's "hidden will." For instance, because we see that not all accept the Gospel it must, therefore, be God's secret will that he never intended all to do so. Hence the "limited atonement" doctrine.

Fourth, there is a difference in the Lutheran emphasis on justification and the second use of the law over against the Reformed emphasis on sanctification and the third use of the law. Such a difference in emphasis seems to lead Lutherans to relate the work of the Spirit more intimately to the work and Word of

the Son and results in a greater appreciation of the objective means of grace in Word and Sacraments. The Reformed emphasis, which stresses the renewal of sinful life-patterns, is more inclined toward the possibility of an immediate operation of the Spirit, especially in soteriology. Connected with this point is the whole discussion of whether the third use of the law applies to the Christian *per se*, or only to the Christian in so far as his life is still affected by the pre-redemptive sinful nature inherited from Adam.

Fifith, the following question may summarize the basic dissimilarity between Calvinism and Lutheranism in the matter of the Spirit's application of the work of Christ to the individual sinner. Do we need the Spirit's saving presence that we may apprehend the work of Christ or do we need the work of Christ that we may receive the Spirit's presence? Does the work of the Third Person depend upon the finished work of the Second Person or does the work of the Second Person depend upon the work of the Third Person? What is the relationship between the finished work of Christ and the benefits of that work? This is a major dividing point between Lutheran and Reformed theology.

Finally, we note also the correlation between Calvin's reference to reason and observation: "we see that not all indiscriminately embrace that communion with Christ which is offered through the gospel." The empirical observation referred to here has a direct influence on Calvin's doctrine of the atonement. Lutherans, while undoubtedly capable of making a similar observation, hesitate to delimit the extent of the atonement thereby. For Lutherans it is exactly at this point that a strong *sola scriptura* doctrine, even apart from our exposure to empirical reality, needs to be maintained.

Comments on Richard A. Muller's Article

In examining Dr. Muller's article a word of commendation is due first of all. This article is not only a well-balanced presentation and rings true to basic Calvinistic theology, but it also gives ample evidence of the author's intimate acquaintance with both Lutheran and Reformed confessional writings and the theological systems those writings inspired. Dr. Muller's candor

and his familiarity with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theology are welcomed by this author, and he also appreciates the honesty in Dr. Muller's statement: "The confessional differences remain; we can be clear about what they are and what they are not—and let us recognize that we are unlikely to settle them before the Second Coming."[17]

Indeed, significant differences remain. Dr. Muller quotes Martin Bucer's position on the Lord's Supper from the Tetrapolitan Confession of 1530 as indicating that Christ gives us "His true body and true blood to be truly eaten and drunk for the food and drink of souls."[18] The problem with this statement, as with the Wittengberg Concord of 1536, is that it fails to identify what causes or brings about this true presence. Is the true presence effected by the Word of Christ apart from faith in the participant or by the faith of the believing participant in the Word of Christ? This is a significant difference.

In reference to the theological issue of the Holy Spirit Dr. Muller takes the popular position that Martin Bucer and John Calvin have moved away from the more extreme position of Ulrich Zwingli and, therefore, moved toward Confessional Lutheranism.[19] Lutherans tend not to be too optimistic of the results of such movement. The 1577 Formula of Concord labels both the Zwinglian and the Calvinist positions as "sacramentarian," with the former receiving the adjective "crass" and the latter "subtle."[20] The implication seems to be that the gap between Zwingli's "the Holy Spirit needs no vehicle" and Calvin's stress on the sovereignty of God is not really as great as it may appear at first sight. We also note that the subtle form is understood to be the much more dangerous form for Lutheranism.

In his carefully worded and documented section on "The Spirit and the Means of Grace: Confessional Differences," Dr. Muller

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[17]Page 54. References in this section are to Richard A. Muller's article printed in this number of the *CTQ*.

[18]Page 55.

[19]See especially pages 55-58, 67-68.

[20]Tappert, 482.

quotes from the Augsburg Confession, Article V: "through Word and Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Spirit is given, who works faith, where and when it pleases God, in them that hear the Gospel." He understands these words to "militate against an *ex opere operato* understanding of preaching, much in the way that Roman Catholicism understands the sacraments."[21] Such considerations lead to the further problem of *cur alii, alii non* ("Why some and not others?") and to the attendant matter of assurance.[22] When Lutheranism deals with such a concatenation of theological articles, it comes to a different evaluation and identification of the sacraments than the Reformed. For Lutherans the sacraments are identified with the Gospel or the Word of God in the sense, for example, of the Word being joined to water. Reformed theology tends to separate the Spirit from the Word in the Zwinglian sense. It also separates the Word from the sacraments, as Dr. Muller indicates when he writes: "Rather the (Reformed) confessions and catechisms tend to indicate that the Word is the primary necessary means of grace, while the sacraments are subordinate to the Word and are to be understood as means, certainly, but as means that 'confirm' or 'seal' the grace given in and through the Word."[23] For Lutherans the sacraments do more than "confirm" or "seal." They convey the Word since they are the Word.

Again, Dr. Muller refers to the "Reformed emphasis on the traditional definition of a sacrament as a visible sign of an invisible grace. . . ."[24] Yet Luther in the Lutheran Confessions defines a sacrament in reference to the Word by quoting Augustine's definition of a sacrament as the Word joined to an earthly element.[25]

Throughout Dr. Muller's article one senses that the Reformed shy away from the Lutheran identification of Word and Sacrament for fear that such identification could lead to the *ex opere operato* teaching of Rome. In reference to the necessity of

[21]Page 63.
[22]Page 64.
[23]Page 65.
[24]Page 67.
[25]Tappert, pages 310.1, 438.18, 448.10

Baptism he notes: "The absence of the word 'necessary' from the Reformed confessions stands as an implied critique of just this one aspect of the Lutheran teaching—not to allow any sacraments to be omitted, but only to find the Lutheran statement less than quite clear enough in its rejection of the *ex opere operato.*"[26] Lutheranism avoids a view of Baptism that puts the sacramental emphasis on the *act* performed. Rather it emphasizes the Word, which is applied in the sacrament. Dr. Muller himself refers to Baptism as "the churchly act of Baptism."[27] Lutherans would understand such a phrase not as a churchly act apart from the Word of God but a churchly act applying the Word of God.[28]

In conclusion, the basic issue separating the Reformed and Lutherans in reference to the Holy Spirit is, as Dr. Muller indicates in his article, the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the means of grace. Toward the conclusion of his article Dr. Muller notes that "the grace of God, given through the appointed means of Word and Sacrament, continues to operate in the life of the believer when and where those means are not immediately offered."[29] Here, certainly, the Reformed do argue the operation of the Spirit in distinction from the presentation of means." Lutheran theology does not, of course, limit the operation of the Holy Spirit to the sphere of salvation, but also confesses the creative and providential work of the Spirit. Yet in reference to the saving work of God, the Holy Spirit always works through the Word of the Gospel. To the extent that the Word is identified with Jesus—either his person or his work—the denial of the Spirit always working through the Word would infringe upon the orthodox understanding that the *opera divina ad extra* are always indivisible. Where the Reformed fear an *ex opere operato* defection Lutherans fear a tendency toward mysticism when the Holy Spirit's saving operations are separated from the Word of God.

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[26]Page 70.

[27]Page 61.

[28]Again he refers to the celebration of the sacrament, insofar as it is something that we do (on page 64). He also quotes Zwingli, though not approvingly, as saying that Baptism does not convey grace but the Church certifies that grace has been given to him to whom it is administered (pages 65-66).

[29]Page 76.

Cum Patre et Filio Adoratur: The Spirit Understood Christologically

David P. Scaer

Scriptures, Tradition, and the Confessions

The Lutheran Confessions are not autonomous, self-contained documents. Rather their authority is derived from and reflects the authority of the Scriptures, which they interpret. They point behind themselves by inviting us to submit to the Scriptures as the final judge in all church teaching. The confessions share in the brilliance of the Scriptures. As the moon does not reflect the sun's full splendor, so the confessions do not pretend to speak on every issue. They are not of the same substance as the Scriptures. While a derived authority is subordinate, still the confessions are fixed in the theological heavens. Recognizing the Scriptures as ultimate authority does not leave us with mere biblicism. Scriptures are interpreted within the tradition in which they arose and of which they remain a part. Ignore this tradition and "confessionalism" can be as much a form of "fundamentalism" as "biblicism." Confessions are canonized tradition, and both determine the climate in which the biblical documents are to be read. Interpreting the Scriptures apart from tradition (confessions) fails to see the life of Jesus, the apostles, and the Church as a continuum in which the Holy Spirit is guide.

Belief in the Church affirms that what God began in Jesus, through his conception by the Spirit, he continues in the Church by the gift of the same Spirit to the apostles. In the Creed what the Church confesses about Christ anticipates what she confesses about herself. Ecclesiology embraces christology. This point is essential to Paul's imagery of the Church as the body of Christ.

The pericope of Peter's confession (Matthew 16:16-19) involves several revelations about Jesus and the Church. First, his confession that Jesus is the Christ came from the Father (16-17), through the preaching of Jesus (even if he was then unaware of it). Second, Peter knew this truth through a further revelation

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from Jesus (17). Third, Peter learned from Jesus that he would be part of the Church that would successfully storm Satan's citadel.[1]

The humility of Jesus and of the Church are only temporary husks covering hidden mysteries.[2] If Jesus was tempted to disarm himself of his humility to exercise his glory (Matthew 4:3), so the Church is tempted to despise her humility to impress the world. Unbelief among her members consists in accepting the world's assessment that she is weak and of no value. She repudiates her history and despises her tradition as ignoble. This unbelief contradicts her own self-confession that she is elect and holy. Distrust of tradition discloses an intellectual arrogance and more importantly a less than full understanding of the Church as the Spirit's work.

We may consider how the debate on women's ordination is handled. Pauline prohibitions are an appropriate starting point (the Protestant argument from *sola scriptura*). Unfortunately, though, the argument that this practice was unknown until recent times (the catholic argument) is ignored as of little value. The Protestant argument leaves us at the mercy of exegetical opinion on this or that passage.[3] Symptomatic distancing of the Church from her own history is an obsession with modernity. We confess an apostolic (historic) Church, but we cry for an up-to-date one, as if the Church in the twenty-first century were not the Church

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[1]See W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1991), 2:632-634.

[2]Melanchthon connects the victory with the preaching and faith. One may see, for example, Tappert, 195. Ap IV, 260. The comparison between the humility of Christ and the Church is made in Ap VII-VII, 18. Tappert, 171, 18. All references to the Lutheran Confessions are taken from the Book of Concord, translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959). The source is cited simply as Tappert. The abbreviations are: Augsburg Confession is AC; Apology is Ap; Small Catechism is SC; Large Catechism is LC; Treatise is Tr; Smalcald Articles is SA; Formula of Concord is SD.

[3]Avery Dulles discusses this problem in regard to the Catechism of the Catholic Church in "The Challenge of the Catechism," *First Things* 49 (January 1995): 51.

of the first century. One Church (*una ecclesia*) is not two. Like adolescents we disown our parents.

Apostolic Tradition and Creeds

The confessions stake out for themselves a place in the apostolic and post-apostolic tradition by commitment to the creeds whose earlier forms arguably predated the New Testament which preserved them.[4] By citing ancient sources the Augsburg Confession and the Apology see themselves standing in the catholic tradition.[5] By citing the earlier Lutheran Confessions the Formula of Concord adds them to this tradition. Claiming that the catholic creeds cannot demand our allegiance (the Protestant principle) fails to recognize that they share in biblical substance and expression and that they rose within the apostolic churches (the catholic principle). As much as liberal and neo-evangelical Protestants each find their nemesis in the other, both have an aversion to creeds. In contrast, for Lutherans they are distillations of the Church's faith and the means by which we share in her history.[6] Martin Chemnitz, who contributed to the Formula and was instrumental in assembling the *Concordia,* provided from the ancient Church many testimonies to the Lutheran position in his *Catalogue of Testimonies.* In his *Examination of the Council of Trent* he demonstrated that the Lutheran faith continued thecatholic tradition. Recent Evangelical, Anglican, and Lutheran transfers to the Roman and Orthodox communions can be

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[4]See J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds,* third edition (London: Longman, 1972), 13. The *Romanum,* which forms the core of the Apostles's Creed, is arguably traceable to the two great apostles, Peter and Paul, and may have been in place before some New Testament documents were written. The division of the second article into the humuliation and glorification (Philippians 2:5-11) corresponds with Jesus' predictions of his death and resurrection (Matthew 16:21).

[5]Tappert, 47.

[6]Evangelicals can appreciate the creeds and confessions, but ultimately are critical of them and find them wanting. See Gerald Bray, "Scripture and Confession: Doctrine as Hermeneutic," in *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture,* 221-235, edited by Philip E. Satterwaite and David F. Wright (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1994).

explained by a desire to take the historical continuity of the Church more seriously.

The Spirit, the Scriptures, the Church: One Cloth

Lack of a detailed article on the Spirit's person in the confessions reflects the Lutheran understanding of the Church as his work. While biblical inspiration is important, Luther's explanation of the Third Article of the Creed says nothing about it. Had Luther been using the Nicene Creed, he might have said something. There belief in the Holy Spirit who "spoke through the prophets" is closely followed by belief "in one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church."[7] Luther's concept of the holiness of the Church is derived from the Spirit's working through the Word, and thus inspiration is the premise for sanctification. Everything that Christ has done is "offered to us and bestowed on our hearts through the preaching of the gospel by the Holy Spirit."[8] For Luther the Word is not exhausted by the Scriptures but certainly includes them. The Spirit does not work alongside of the Word (as Calvin says), but belongs essentially to the Word. It not only informs the intellect (*contra* Calvin) but converts the heart. Where there is no Word, there is no Spirit! Where there is no Church, there is no Spirit! "For where Christ is not preached, there is no Holy Spirit to create, call, and gather the Christian Church, and outside it no one can come to the Lord Christ."[9] Universalism is impossible for Luther, who attaches the Spirit's work to the Church. "Until the last day the Holy Spirit remains with the holy community or Christian people."[10] Through the Church the Holy Spirit "gathers us, using it to teach and preach the Word."[11] The Spirit is holy because he makes believers holy in bringing them to faith, but Luther can speak of the Church as the means through which her own holiness is increased.[12] This holiness is acquired

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[7]This reference finds its roots in 2 Peter 1:21: "For no prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men speak from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit." Kelly, 341. It remains a standard passage.

[8]Tappert, 414. LC, Creed, 38.

[9]Tappert, 416. LC, Creed, 45.

[10]Tappert, 417. LC, Creed , 53.

[11]Tappert, 417. LC, Creed, 53.

[12]Tappert, 415. LC, Creed, 36; Tappert, 418. LC, Creed, 57-59.

"through the Christian Church."[13] Sanctification is not acquired through the law but through the Word (the gospel).[14] What Luther attributes to the Word in one breath, he attributes to the Church in another and to the Holy Spirit in still another. The second article looks at christology in the person of Jesus, and the Third Article looks at christology as what the Spirit does in the Church.[15] The Word, the Church, and the Spirit offer and apply the work of Christ.[16] Sanctification is nothing other than Christ in action through the Spirit in his Church.[17] "Therefore to sanctify is nothing else than to bring us to the Lord Christ to receive this blessing, which we could not obtain by ourselves."[18] Without Christ the Spirit cannot sanctify.[19] Sanctification devoid of christology leaves a moralism, which Luther condemned in the papacy and now is characteristic of Arminianism and Wesleyanism.[20]

The use of "Christian" for "catholic" in describing the Church was already in place by the fifteenth century.[21] For Luther it reflected the importance of christology for his understanding of the Spirit and the Church. Christ is the only head of the Church.[22] The word *catholica* was retained in the Latin versions of the creeds

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[13]Tappert, 415. LC, Creed, 35-37.

[14]Tappert, 420. LC, Creed, 68: "Therefore the Ten Commandments do not by themselves make us Christian, for God's wrath and displeasure still remain on us because we cannot fulfill his demands."

[15]Alan Ludwig analyzes Luther's explanation of the Creed as follows ("Preaching and Teaching the Creed: The Structure of the Small Catechism's Explanations as Guides," *Logia* 3 [Reformation/October 1994]: 21): "Likewise, Christ is not mentioned in the explanation of the First Article, but is the subject of the Second and the object of faith in the Third. The explanation of the Third Article leads back to the person and work of Christ in the Second; the Father of Jesus Christ in the Second is then recognized as the Father of the Christian in the First."

[16]Tappert, 415. LC, Creed, 38.

[17]Credit for this phrase goes to Harold L. Senkbeil, *Sanctification: Christ in Action* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 1989).

[18]Tappert, 415-416. LC, Creed, 39.

[19]Tappert, 416. LC, Creed, 43-46.

[20]Tappert, 416. LC, Creed 43.

[21]Tappert, 18, note 2.

[22]Tappert, 417. LC, Creed, 51.

and Luther's *Formula Missae*. No denial that the Church was catholic or universal was implied when "christian" was used instead. Calling the Church "Christian" affirms Luther's understanding that Christian consciousness first experiences Christ within the historical reality of the Church before becoming aware of the Spirit as the creator of the faith. The Holy Spirit *"first* leads us into his holy community, placing us upon the bosom of the Church, where he preaches to us and brings us to Christ."[23] The Spirit reveals Christ, remaining himself unrevealed. Luther's assertion that "the Holy Spirit reveals and preaches the Word" is immediately preceded by his assertion the Church "is the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God."[24] Through the Church the Holy Spirit "speaks and does his work."[25] Luther calls "the Christian Church and the forgiveness of sins" the two means through which the Holy Spirit "begin[s] and daily increase[s] holiness on earth." The Holy Spirit, the Church, and forgiveness are for Luther inextricably interrelated. Apart from Christ "we see nothing but an angry and terrible Judge. But neither could we know anything of Christ, had it not been revealed by the Holy Spirit."[26] In the Apology the Church is called the Church of the prophets because of their testimony to Christ.[27] The Church may be called "prophetic" or "apostolic" because prophets and apostles both testified to Christ. Remove christology from the definition of the Church and the Holy Spirit is removed. Ideas of a *Weltgeist* or the Spirit preparing converts before and apart from the gospel is alien and inimical to Lutheran thinking.[28]

The Holy Spirit, the Catechisms, and the Liturgy

Luther's Large and Small Catechisms are nothing else than explanations of the liturgy of the Church—*lex orandi lex credendi*. His catechisms are liturgical hermeneutics, interpreting the

[23]Tappert, 415. LC, Creed, 37.
[24]Tappert, 416. LC, Creed, 42.
[25]Tappert, 419. LC, Creed, 65.
[26]Tappert, 419. LC, Creed, 65.
[27]Tappert, 227. Ap XX,2.
[28]Calvin sees an operation of the Spirit in all creatures (*Institutes* III, 1, 2) and sees him as activating the Word by faith in the heart (III, 2, 33-34).

teachings (doctrines) of the Church first confessed in the liturgy and then explained by the pastor or the head of the household. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper are things that that people hear, say, or do in the Church (the liturgy). The Large Catechism consists of sermons based on what the people experienced in the liturgy. The liturgy does not originate in individual piety (as Pietism and Schleiermacher argued), but the Word and Sacraments give birth to the Church.[29] Even the Ten Commandments are not isolated morals hanging on the walls of public schools, but form the basis of the confession for the absolution.[30] Unless the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Holy Communion belong to the regular life of the Church (the liturgy), there is little purpose in asking Luther's question, "What does this mean?"

Better Late Than Never

Our attachment to the confessions of the sixteenth century required that 1981 be commemorated as the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, arguably the most theologically developed confession from the early period of the Reformation (*circa* 1529-1537). Our preoccupation prevented us from seeing that it was also the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the Nicene Creed as it came down to us from the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381). Its place in the Eucharist makes it the most *catholic* of documents.[31] Nicea (A.D. 325) provided christological definitions and Constantinople fleshed out the Holy Spirit's relation to God: he is glorified with the Father and the Son.[32] Lack of developed

[29]Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, translated by H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 532: "The Christian Church takes shape through the coming together of regenrate individuals to form a system of mutual interation and cooperation."

[30]In the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Anglican communion, the Ten Commandments are part of the preparation for the Holy Communion. This is presupposed in Luther's SC, "How Plain People Are to Be Taught to Confess," 20: "Reflect on your condition in the light of the Ten Commandments."

[31]Kelly, 396, 348-357.

[32]Kelly, 342.

attention to the Spirit in earlier creeds was not due to an absence of awareness.[33] They spoke of forgiveness, presumably through Baptism, communion of the holy things (in the Eucharist), and the resurrection.[34] By the second century the Holy Spirit was confessed as the cause of the conception of Jesus by the Virgin.[35] Thus he appears first in connection with the person of Christ and later with what he does in the Church. The response of the salutation, "and with thy spirit," may point to his leading the Church in confessing Christ (1 Corinthians 12:2). he also had a place in the Eucharist.[36] The Apostolic Constitutions and other ancient liturgies use the Pauline phraseology, "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the communion [*koinonia*] of the Holy Spirit" (2 Corinthians 13:13), or similar forms of the anaphora (the preface to the liturgy of the communion), where it may have originated.[37] While Paul explicitly calls this sacrament "the Lord's Supper" (1 Corinthians 11:20), which is to say the meal provided by Jesus, it was never understood in exclusively christomonistic terms. Rather the holy things of the sacrament were given to the holy people, the Church, through the Holy Spirit's participation. The Formula of Concord affirms the presence of the Holy Spirit in the sacrament, but condemns the view that his presence displaces that of Jesus.[38] The sacramental life of the Church is, in fact, nothing else than the Spirit at work. From earliest times the Spirit was on all sides of the liturgical (sacramental) formula.

One could convincingly argue that, because of later and current aberrations in regard to the Spirit, the Creed of Constantinople needs expansion. Dispensationalism and charismatic movements have from time to time proclaimed the arrival of the age of the

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[33]Kelly, 348-357.

[34]Kelly, 152-166.

[35]Kelly, 146-47.

[36]One may see John W. Fenton, "Where is the Spirit in the Mass?" *The Bride of Christ* 21 (January 1997): 3; and Timothy C. J. Quill, "And With Your Spirit: A Study of the Response to the Ancient Greeting *Dominus Vobiscum*," unpublished research paper, 1994.

[37]R.C.D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, third edition (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 90-104.

[38]Tappert, 571, FC, SD, VII, 11.

Spirit. The Arians regarded him as a creature, and Schleiermacher, a child of the Enlightenment, depersonalized him by transforming him into the common "Spirit of the community."[39] All "Spirit-movements" find him apart from the Word or Christ. Charismatics may hold to a formal view of biblical inspiration, but for them the Spirit reaches his full potential in direct communication with believers apart from the Word. In divorcing him from Christ and the Church, charismatic and liberal agendas merge.

The *Filioque*

Considering the turmoil arising from the *filioque* (the phrase "and the Son" in the Third Article of the Nicene Creed), the western (Latin) communions may secretly wish that the Council of Toledo (A.D. 589) had never happened.[40] This is the impression given by the current pontiff, who wants to heal the breach with the east before the next millennium.[41] The late John Meyendorff, a prominent spokesman for the Eastern Orthodox communions in America, held out an olive branch in conceding that "there was a sense in which both sides would agree to say that Spirit proceeds 'from the Son.'"[42] Before the controversy reached full throttle the phrase was not unknown among the eastern fathers. The schism of A.D. 1054, on the other hand, was a separation waiting to become a divorce, and the *filioque* was a readily available excuse. Removing the *filioque* may only be cosmetic and is unlikely to bring about the peaceable kingdom where pope and patriarch lie down with Anglicans.[43] One proposed solution is

[39]Kelly, 340; Schleiermacher, 569-574.

[40]A more biblically, theologically, and historically detailed presentation of the *filioque* was made by Avery Dulles at the Eigtheenth Annual Symposium on the Lutheran Confessions, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 19 January 1995 under the title, "The *Filioque*: What Is at Stake?" The paper was later published in *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 59 (January-April 1995): 31-47. See especially page 42.

[41]Paul Wilkes, "The Popemakers, "*New York Times Magazine* (December 11, 1994): 65.

[42]*Byzantine Theology* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), 91-94.

[43]John C. Bauerschmidt, an Episcopalian clergyman, goes against the common opinion of his Church in opposing its elimination. His arguments are generally taken from the earliest Anglican divines. "'Filioque' and the

having the Spirit "proceed through the Son." Known by both eastern and western fathers such phraseology might be taken in an Arian sense, making the Son an instrumental or incidental cause.[44] The eastern argument, based on the absence of the *filioque* from John 15:26, is gaining converts. It may be argued, furthermore, that any honor thereby attributed to the Son is already in place without the *filioque*.[45] Like the Father, the Son is creator—as the one through whom all things are made (*per quem omnia facta sunt*). Concessions, however, may be motivated by the rush to an ecumenical paradise. In addition, the argument based on the absence of the precise phrase may demonstrate a biblicism that adherents for its exclusion might later find embarrassing. Does anyone really dispute Karl Barth's argument that this matter can hardly be resolved by one passage or that the absence of the phrase requires absence of the idea? We should put to rest any idea that by the *filioque* the west claimed two parallel or converging sources (*dua principia*) within God for the procession of the Spirit, one from the Father and the other from the Son. The Father was *principaliter*.[46] There is no idea of a "Nestorian" Spirit who derives his deity and personhood from two unrelated or separate sources.

Fundamental in Barth's argument in favor of the *filioque* is the traditional distinction of *opera ad extra* (how God reveals himself), and the *opera ad intra* (what he is in himself). God's revelation reflects his essence.[47] What he does is determined by what he is. Unless this were so, we would be faced with sheer agnosticism.[48]

Episcopal Church," *Anglican Theological Review*, 73 (Winter 1991): 1-25.

[44]Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, translated by G. T. Thompson (Edinburgh: T. And T. Clark, 1936), I, 1:551. All subsequent references to Barth will be to this volume and part.

[45]Even without this addition that the Spirit proceeded from the Son, the Third Article of the Constantinopolitan Creed does not have an insufficient christology or pneumatology. The Spirit was confessed as Lord, that is, *kyrios (dominus)*, the *Adonai* of Israel, the principle of spiritual life *(vivificantem)*. Kelly (342) points out that the Creed only endorses the doxology: Glory to be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

[46]Barth, 557.

[47]Barth, 548.

[48]In the same way works reveal faith, though I am not sure that the correlation has been set forth in this way.

Barth convincingly argues that the Son's sending the Spirit presupposes that the Spirit also belongs to the Son. The Son cannot give what he does not eternally and essentially have. Without the *filioque* the sending of the Spirit "stands merely [as] temporal truth without eternal ground,"[49] an argument offered in the sixteenth century by Lutheran Tuebingen theologians in their correspondence with the patriarch of Constantinople.[50] The Son's sending the Spirit is *not* identical with the *filioque* but presupposes and reveals it. The Lutheran dogmatician Johann Andreas Quenstedt (1617-1688) said it earlier: "The temporal sending of the Holy Spirit presupposes that the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds from the Son as he does from the Father. Sending the Spirit is a declaration and manifestation of the process."[51] Passages speaking of the Spirit of the Son belong to the debate. They cannot be interpreted away by referring to the Spirit's relationship within time to the Son, for example, Pentecost.[52] In breathing the Spirit on his disciples, Jesus expressed his essence as the Father's Son (John 20:22). Proceeding and "being breathed" refer to the same trinitarian process and the Son is *spirator Spiritus*.[53] Jesus in sending the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, was giving the Church what belonged to him eternally and essentially and not accidentally or temporally. Just as the Holy Spirit is not incidentally but essentially the Spirit of the Son (*filioque*), so the Father is the Father of the Son and the Son is the Son of the Father not only in revelation but essentially.

Inevitably a discussion on the relationship of the *opera ad extra* to the *opera ad intra* will be found to be obscure, having little to do with practical church life. With impatience over what appears to be so much theological wrangling, the norm of Church life has shifted from Scripture to pragmatism—from divine revelation to

[49]Barth, 550.

[50]George Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople* (Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthdox Press, 1982), 118.

[51]Quensedt, *Theologia didactio-polemica sive systema theologicum*, cited in Barth, 550: "Missio haec temporalis (Spiritus sancati) praesupponit aeternum illum Spirtius sancti (aeque a Filio atque Patre) processum estque eius declaratio et manifestatio."

[52]Barth, 549.

[53]Barth, 554.

"what works." Instead of talking about God, we talk about people. Here the *pro nobis* principle has gone awry and the tail wags the dog. Even if proponents of feministic theology have never heard of the *ad extra/ad intra* distinction, it is fundamental to their demand that God be spoken of as both "he" and "she." If women image God in the same way men do (*ad extra*), then God is as much "she" as "he" (*ad intra*). This is offered as an illustration to show that the Son's sending of the Spirit in time (*ad extra*) must be related to the *filioque*, his eternal relationship to the Son (*ad intra*).

We make no attempt to tread into the mystery of the Holy Trinity, but only to confess it. St. Augustine pleaded ignorance in distinguishing the begetting from the proceeding.[54] Francis Pieper was content with *quid sit nasci, quid processus, me nescire sum professus*.[55] Thomas Aquinas, without unraveling the mystery, made the distinction that procession involves both Father and Son, and the begetting only the Father.[56]

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[54]Augustine, *Contra Maximinum Haereticum Arianorum* Episopum II, 14, 1, cited in Barth 543: "Distinguere inter illam generationem et hanc processionem nescio."

[55]"I confess that I do not know how the generation and procession takes place." Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 1:418.

[56]Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV, 137. The argument of Aquinas should not be dismissed out of hand. If the Son is begotten of the Father and the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, identified as the monopatrist position by Avery Dulles, it then becomes difficult to say in what way "being begotten" differs from "proceeding." We can and perhaps should leave it at the level of mystery, as Augustine, Quenstedt, and Pieper do. There is the rare occurrence of the Spirit identified as the Son in the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Of course, the biblical terminology never comes close to suggesting or allowing this in any sense. While theologians do not use "begetting" of the Father's relationship to the Spirit, they do use "proceeding" to explain in general terms that both Son and Spirit have their origin in the Father. Dulles does just this when he writes ("The Filioque: What Is At Sake?" 42): ". . . the procession of the Son and the Spirit [does not] subordinate them to the Father." Here procession is used for "coming" and simply means that both Son and Spirit have their origin in the Father. There is no suggestion that the Son proceeds in the same sense that the Spirit does. We have neither two "Sons" nor two "Spirits." The *filioque* serves the very useful pupose of removing any confusion since the Spirit is of both the Father and the Son, and so the Spirit is distinct from the Son.

The *Filioque* and the Consequence of Universalism

Absence of the *filioque* has been seen as a cause of universalism. Barth claimed, perhaps rightfully so, that without it our relationship to God would be "more or less expressly naturalistic, unethical [in] character," that is, of a creature to a Creator.[57] In the end his views on Christ as the only revelation (gospel) and election brought him to universalism.[58] The Roman Church, which also has the *filioque*, allows for salvation apart from the Church, but this can hardly be equated with the classical universalism.[59] Even though the eastern church speaks of the sanctification of nature, without the *filioque* it explicitly denies universalism.[60] How one stands on the *filioque* should have an affect on how one stands on universalism. Yet, this is not supported by practice. This does not mean, however, that the *filioque* lacks significance in other questions, for example, inspiration and feminism. After all, the Spirit proceeds from the Son and not the "Daughter."

God: The Most Fundamental Issue

Meyendorff, who is not unsympathetic to the idea of the *filioque* as an attempt to establish Nicene orthodoxy firmly, sees the debate at another level.[61] Is God known first in unity or in his

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[57]Barth, 550.

[58]R. B. Kuiper, *For Whom did Christ Die? A Study of the Divine Design of the Atonement* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans 1959), 44-61. The chapter is entitled "Barthian Universalism."

[59]One may see the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* ([Liguori, Missouri: Liguori Publications, 1994], 222-224): "Those 'who believe in Christ and have been properly baptized are put in a certain, although imperfect, communion with the Catholic Church.'" Special relationships are allowed for the Jews, who still have sonship, and for Moslems, who "adore the one, merciful God." The Roman church also sees itself as "the place where humanity must rediscover its unity and salvation." Reviewers of this catechism have taken it to allow salvation outside of Christ. This may be implied, but to this reviewer is not explicit.

[60]Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 134-136; 163.

[61]Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 92.

persons?[62] For the west the tendency is to know God first as unity (*unitas in trinitate*). Barth feared that the eastern position of *trinitas in unitate* was potentially tritheistic.[63] The western position has actually led to unitarianism. The *unitas* has not been followed in every case by *in trinitate*. Consider prayers offered to "God" without reference to the divine persons. Luther's gracious God in Christ seems to favor the eastern view of first confronting Jesus (the Son) through whom alone we find God as Father: *trinitas in unitate*.

A Case for the *Filioque*: Christ, Spirit, Scripture

Louis Igou Hodges has described inspiration as "part of the very essence of Christianity as well as the *sine non qua* of evangelical theology."[64] Lutherans can say this of other doctrines, but critical studies since the Enlightenment have put inspiration on center stage and made it a rallying point for conservative Christians. The Evangelical Theological Society and the Institute for Biblical Research require belief in it.[65] Its defense has created its own catholicity (ecumenicity).

The Greek word for inspiration, θεόπνευστος, means "God breathed" or "breathed by God." Used of the Old Testament (2 Timothy 3:16) and subsequently of the New, it is composed of words referring to the Father (θεός) and the Spirit (πνεῦμα) or what the Spirit does. "All Scripture is breathed [through the Spirit] by the Father." It is derived from the Father (God) through the Spirit and is divine. Hence they are *holy* Scriptures (2 Timothy 3:15). In a sense θεόπνευστος (inspired) could be used as a trinitarian word for the Spirit's relationship to the Father. He is

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[62]Meyendorff, *Bysantine Theology*, 94. "The question was whether tri-personality or consubstantiality was the first and basic content of Christian religious experience."

[63]Barth, 552.

[64]"Evangelical Definitions of Inspiration: Critiques and a Suggested Defintion," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 37 (March 1994): 99.

[65]Hardly in need of improvement is a 1994 statement issued by Evangelical and Catholics affirming "the divinely inspired Scriptures, which are the infallible Word of God." One may see "Evangelical and Catholics Together," *First Things* 43 (May 1994): 15-22.

breathed (*spiratio*) by God. He is the Breath or Spirit of God (יהוה רוח; τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ). Biblical inspiration reflects (*opus ad extra*) and is derived from the Father's eternal breathing (*spiratio*) of the Spirit (*opus ad intra*). The Spirit's being breathed (*spiratio*) by the Father is no different than his eternal proceeding (*processio*) from the Father. The Spirit is θεόπνευστος, breathed by God the Father in an eternal sense, namely, always going forth from the Father. The Scriptures (θεόπνευστος) are inspired by God in a temporal sense, namely, the Father working through his Spirit. *Spiratio*, "being breathed," is foundational for *inspiratio*, inspiration. He who by the Father is "inspired" himself inspires. In the Spirit's inspiring, we see that he is himself inspired, which is to say, that he is Holy Spirit. Consider the parallel in regard to the second person. According to Luther, he who is born (*geborn*) of his mother in time is born (*geborn*) of his Father in eternity.[66] Just as the temporal birth reflects the eternal birth, so the temporal inspiration reflects an eternal one.

Hodges provides nine definitions.[67] None includes christology, a factor essential in Lutheran doctrinal definition. Two characteristics of the classical Lutheran understanding of Scriptures should be pointed out: (1.) the christological factor is satisfied in seeing Christ as Scripture's content; (2.) a necessary continuity exists between the Spirit's inspiration of the Scriptures and his converting through the Word to which he is essentially joined, *contra* some Calvinists.[68] The Spirit does not have to be

[66]Tappert 345, Sc, Creed 4.

[67]Hodges (104-110): (1.) An activity of the Spirit on the readers and not the writers (Barth); (2.) Conveying the very words; (3.) Supernatural influence on the writer's hearts; (4.) Human words functioning as divine words; (5.) A supernatural influence assuring the accuracy of revelation of the Spirit's work on the heart; (6.) An influence governing their written and spoken words; (7.) A superintendence of the words; (8.) A divine guiding of the authors; and (9.) The Spirit's working "concurrently and confluently" with the writers (Hodges' own definition).

[68]Robert D. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970): "Second, the written and spoken Word derives it power from its content, Christ" (373); "Third, the written and spoken Word of God derives its power from the Holy Spirit, who is united with the Word and operative through it" (374); These theologians could speak of "the perpetual union of the Spirit with the Word of God" (374);

added to the Word. He is already there. Lutherans, however, did not correlate the christological content of the Bible with its inspiration.[69] Viewing the Scriptures within the trinitarian and christological perspectives may provide the correlation.

First, let us consider the trinitarian perspective. If the Spirit who proceeds from the Son (*filioque*) is the same Spirit who inspires the Scriptures (θεόπνευστος), then the Son belongs *ipso facto* to the definition of inspiration. If we cannot describe the mechanics of the process, we must still insist that the Son belongs to it. Ascribing inspiration to the Spirit and asserting that the Son—that is, Christ—constitutes the biblical content cannot mean that each divine person has a particular task not given to the other: *opera ad extra indivisa sunt*. Neither can the christological content of Bible be looked upon as an alien or familiar insertion into the inspired Word, as if the Spirit had any other choice but to testify to the Son. The Spirit's freedom or sovereignty is circumscribed by his being the Spirit of the Son who reveals himself in the gospel.[70] He who inspires is the Spirit of the Son (1 Peter 1:11) and thus inspiration flows out of the trinitarian mystery. Prophets witnessed to Christ because the inspiring Spirit within them was the Spirit of Christ. Thus the greater trinitarian mystery, through the christological mysteries of incarnation and atonement, shapes, forms, penetrates, and gives substance to the mystery of inspiration. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Jesus (Acts 16:7) and the Spirit of Jesus Christ (Philippians 1:19). Fundamental to classical Lutheran christology is that the Spirit is given through the human nature, that is, Jesus who is God and man.

Many Calvinists held that the Spirit only entered the Word sporadically and that his call was not always serious (376).

[69]Preus writes (374): "The Lutheran theologians refused to debate about how Christ is present in the word of Scripture and how Scripture brings Christ to us."

[70]Tappert, 31. AC 5, 2: "For through the Word and the sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Spirit is given, and the Holy Spirt produces faith, where and when it pleases God [*ubi et quando visum est Deo*], in those who hear the Gospel." One may compare John 3:8.

Second, correlating Christ and the Spirit in defining inspiration is required by the *opera ad extra/opera ad intra* distinction. What God does corresponds to what he is, as both Quenstedt and Barth insist. The Spirit who inspires the Scriptures is not only the Spirit of God (Father), but the Spirit of the Son (*filioque*). The Spirit of the Father who inspires the Scripture (θεόπνευστος) must also be the Spirit of the Son because the Father is Father only in regard to the Son. He is the Spirit of Christ both in a temporal and an eternal sense. In turn the Son is eternally *spirator Spiritus*. Jesus' words are not his but the Father's (John 14:24), and so the Spirit's words are not his but the Son's. In inspiration the trinitarian mystery manifested in the cross is revealed.

Third, the Spirit by whom Jesus is conceived (*incarnatus* [*conceptus*] *est de Spiritu Sancti*) is the same Spirit who speaks through the prophets (*locutus est per prophetas*). By the incarnation, atonement, and resurrection (christology), the Spirit of the Son comes in every case to us as the Spirit of Christ. This is essential to Luther's definition of the Creed's article on the Spirit. The Spirit is not only defined by the Son in eternity (*filioque*) but by the Son who takes on flesh (*incarnatus est de Spiritu sancti*). Christ's sending of the Spirit to the apostles completes the revelation of the trinitarian mystery (Luke 24:29; John 20:22; Acts 2:33). The Scriptures, inspired by the Spirit of Christ, are by the act of inspiration christological in content. Summing up our argument, the relationship of the Spirit to Christ in time also belongs to how inspiration is understood. This sending of the Spirit on the apostles is not incidental but reflects the more mysterious eternal breathing (*spiratio*), the proceeding (*procedens*) of the Spirit within God. The Spirit testifies to Christ not as a witness looking in from the outside, but as one whose being is defined both eternally by the Son (*filioque*)—*Spiritus Filii*—and as one whose work is determined in time by the cross—*Spiritus Christi*. He declares that which belongs to Jesus (John 16:13-15). The inspiration of the apostles originates in the cross, which shapes them as apostles, as well as what is inspired through them (John 19:30; Matthew 27:50). Paul can make the crucified Christ the substance of the message because the Father has sent upon him the Spirit of his Son. Inspiration finds its substance in incarnation and atonement. The Holy Spirit whom the Father sends in the name of Jesus will

"bring to remembrance all that [Jesus] said to [the apostles]" (John 14:26). The humiliation of Jesus (*homo factus est*) provides the content for what the Spirit says (*Spiritus Sanctus locutus est de prophetas*). Inspiration is not gnostic infusion but comes from the crucified Jesus who gives the Spirit to his apostles. Hence the inspired Word is the apostolic and inherently redemptive Word. Christ does not have to be added to the inspired Word, but belongs to its essence! Without this understanding, the Spirit who inspires would not be the Spirit of Christ.

There are consequences for hermeneutics (interpretation) and the Christian life in excluding the *filioque* and the *incarnatus de Spiritu sancti*, that is, christology, from the definition of inspiration. Remove Christ from the equation of inspiration and the Bible soon becomes a book of laws (principles for living). If the absence of the *filioque* can be said to lead to universalism (even if the evidence is unconvincing), how much more does its absence lead to a moralistic understanding of the Bible. Behind this issue is whether the Spirit is the Spirit of the Father (*trinitas in unitate*) or of God in general (*unitas in trinitate*). The latter view, which I suspect is the popular one, does not require that the Spirit testify to Christ but only to God in general. This lets the Bible be used for any number of non-christological purposes.

Luther could speak of the Spirit, the Word, and the Church all accomplishing the same thing, and in his theology the catholic principle of an historic Church and the Protestant principle of the Scriptures belong to the one operation of the Spirit. The giving of the Holy Spirit to apostles, the Church, the ministry, and the Scriptures all have their source in the one breathing of Jesus (John 20:22; one may compare 19:30).[71] The Spirit who forgives is the Spirit who inspires. Since the Church, the ministry, and the Scriptures are apostolic, they are the work and the working of the same Holy Spirit.[72] Jesus' command to his apostles to preserve his teachings (Matthew 28:20—catholic principle) has the same point of reference as the words the Spirit speaks through them (Matthew 10:20—Protestant principle). Apart from Church,

[71]Tappert, 81-82. AC 28,7.
[72]Tappert, 464. FC, Ep I, 1; AC 28,6.

ministry, and Scriptures we cannot look for the Spirit or define him. He who proceeds from the Father and the Son (*filioque*) and is given to the apostles "keeps [the whole Christian Church on earth] with Jesus Christ in the one true faith.[73] In the Church the Spirit forgives believers in Christ. The Spirit's witness in the apostolic Word (inspiration) converts by creating faith in Jesus (christology) and joins us to his Church where the trinitarian mystery (theology) is revealed and confessed.

The manner in which the Trinity actually comes to us reverses the expected order of Father-Son-Spirit. The Spirit points us to Christ who brings the Father. "No on can say that Jesus is the Lord except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Corinthians 12:3). "And no one knows the Father except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him" (Matthew 11:27). The biblical order is Spirit-Son-Father. The trinitarian revelation is found in the invitation of Jesus (the gospel) to come to him (Matthew 11:28).[74] Still the Father reveals all this through the preaching of Jesus (Matthew 16:17). Through this and this alone the Spirit establishes the Church. Luther's explanations of the Third Article in both Catechisms define the Spirit's work solely in applying Christ and his benefits to the Church.[75] The Spirit's life in the Church (sacraments) is derived from the life (history) of Jesus. No outline details these mysteries and no diagram can portray them. By faith we live within mysterious concentric circles, always in motion. Moving from one mystery we anticipate others and return to where we have been many times before. Always at the edge of comprehension, we are fully comprehended by them but never fully comprehend them.

Theology, the mystery we call God, is too often seen as an historical dinosaur to the pragmatic American mindset. Such an approach deprives us of tasting mysteries now that will completely envelop us later. In bringing people to faith in Christ as God's Son through Baptism, the Spirit "together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified" and the

[73]Tappert, 345. SC, Creed, 6.

[74]Tappert,:526-527. These citations are among others used in FC, SD, II, 25-27.

[75]Ludwig, "Preaching and Teaching the Creed," 18-22.

trinitarian mystery is revealed, moving us to confess: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and the Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son and who together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified."

Saint Polycarp of Smyrna: Johannine or Pauline Figure?

D. Richard Stuckwisch

Introduction

The question of whether the Blessed Saint Polycarp of Smyrna is a Johannine or Pauline figure is far more complicated than would appear at first. From Saint Irenaeus onward theologians of the church catholic have invoked Polycarp as *the* apostolic link between the first and second centuries. He has been identified as such almost entirely on the basis of a presumed association with the apostle John. Thus, one would readily assume that Polycarp is without a doubt preeminently a Johannine figure. However, the single extant epistle of Saint Polycarp tells another story. For though it does include a number of similarities to 1 John, it makes no reference whatsoever to that apostle, nor does it use any obvious material from the Word of Saint John. Saint Polycarp, rather, fills his letter with quotations from 1 Peter and from the various Pauline Epistles, with a fair number of borrowed phrases and ideas from 1 Clement and the epistles of Ignatius as well. How and why is it, then, that this venerable saint came to be recognized and known throughout the Church as a crucial link to Saint John? To what extent is he truly a "Johannine" figure? To what extent is he "Pauline"?

In order to answer these questions, we must first have in mind what it means to speak in terms of "Johannine" or "Pauline" characteristics. In this respect, we are hindered by the "assured results" of critical biblical scholarship. For though it is certainly true that Saint John and Saint Paul utilize different emphases and styles in their respective writings, the all too common slicing of the early Church into "Johannine," "Pauline," "Petrine," and "Jakobian" schools typically goes too far. Perhaps this is largely due to the late dating of the documents of the New Testament. For such divisions of the church into partisan groups were opposed by the apostles themselves in the New Testament (for

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example, by Paul in 1 Corinthians). The various authors, moreover, of the books of the New Testament are far more uniform in their theology than most modern scholars will admit.[1] For the purposes of this present study we will use the terms "Johannine" and "Pauline" to designate a specific use of the writings attributed to Saint John and Saint Paul, as well as a favorable attitude toward the apostles themselves.

Polycarp and his epistle to the Philippians are intimately connected to Ignatius, who had written letters both to Polycarp himself and to his church in Smyrna, and who had also stayed with the Philippians on his road to martyrdom in Rome. In paragraph thirteen of his epistle to the Philippians, Polycarp indicates that he is responding to a request from the Philippians for copies of the letters of Ignatius; he also asks for any information on the martyrdom of Ignatius. Since Ignatius was martyred in approximately A.D. 115, Polycarp's epistle must be dated at about the same time. Most scholars now agree with P.N. Harrison, who argued convincingly that the extant epistle of Polycarp was originally two separate letters; paragraph thirteen (and possibly fourteen) being a cover letter to the epistles of Ignatius, sent at the time of his martyrdom, and the other paragraphs being a letter sent some twenty or thirty years later.[2] Although most are willing to accept the two-letter theory, many scholars disagree with Harrison's late dating of the "second" epistle; only a few years at most might separate the two pieces of correspondence.[3]

Regardless of whether he wrote one letter or two, it is clear that in the first twelve paragraphs of the extant epistle Polycarp is

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[1]Martin Hengel, who might be called a "conservative-critical" scholar, notes the many similarities between the Johannine and Pauline writings. He argues for a similarity in their christology and soteriology that surpasses their differences in language. Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), 64 and following.

[2]P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936).

[3]For example, L. W. Barnard, "The Problem of Saint Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians," *The Church Quarterly Review* (October-December 1962): 421-430.

writing more than a cover letter. He is responding in the first place to a request from the Philippians that he comment on "righteousness" (paragraph 3). This request apparently comes in the context of at least two different crises confronting the church in Philippi: first, the doctrinal threat of a gnostic and docetic Christianity, similar to that opposed by 1 John and Ignatius (paragraph 7); and, secondly, the problem of a disgraced presbyter, Valens, probably orthodox in his doctrine, who with his wife had been guilty of some financial impropriety (paragraph 11).[4]

In general, a number of critical issues faced the orthodox church of the second century: Judaism, Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Montanism. Of these, Judaism and Gnosticism were threatening the church already in Polycarp's day (as indicated, for example, by the polemics of the Ignatian epistles). Neither Marcion nor the Montanists had yet emerged as arch-heretics when Polycarp wrote. If anything, Polycarp and most of Asia Minor were at a stage of "Paulinism" that made the church ripe for the rise of Marcion.[5] There are some indications that Polycarp (and those with whom he is associated) had some problems with the Jews and possibly the Jewish-Christians of Asia Minor. In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, for example, the Jews are portrayed as playing a prominent role in demanding his death (for example, Mart Pol 13:1 and 17:2). Ignatius also had trouble with "Judaizers" (for example Ign Philad 6:1 and 8:2). Likewise, the message in the Apocalypse to the angel of the church in Smyrna refers to those who claim to be Jews but are not (Revelation 2:8-9). It is certain that in the period between the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and the Second Jewish War *circa* A.D. 135, there was an increasing tension and animosity between the Jews and

[4]Robert M. Grant, *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary* (New York and Camden, New Jersey: T. Nelson, 1964-68), volume 5, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Palycarp, Fragments of Papias*, by William R. Schoedel, 16-17.

[5]Charles M. Nielsen, "Papias: Polemicist Against Whom?" *Theological Studies* 35 (September 1974): 529-535; Charles Nielsen "Polycarp and Marcion: A Note," *Theological Studies* 47 (June 1986): 297-399; Charles Nielsen "Polycarp, Paul and the Scriptures," *Anglican Theological Review* 47 (April 1965): 199-215.

Christians, which adversely affected the relationship of the church to the Jewish-Christian apostolic tradition of the Twelve. The rise of Marcion in the years following Polycarp's epistle required the orthodox to define their relationship to Judaism and the Old Testament more precisely, and to clarify the place of Jewish-Christianity within the fold of the church catholic. Likewise, the threat of Montanism required a clarification of the source of authority of the church—in the written record of the apostles, as opposed to an ongoing inspiration of the Spirit. In answer to both crises, the church balanced the epistles of Paul with the Words and epistles of the Twelve.

Along with these considerations, several other important factors must be addressed in determining whether Saint Polycarp is a "Johannine" figure or a "Pauline" figure: What connection, if any, does Polycarp have with Marcion? How decisive is the contribution of Irenaeus to the church's later image of Polycarp? What might be learned from the *Life of Polycarp* by Pionius, which is typically dismissed out of hand? Finally, and perhaps most importantly, what was the status of the "canon" of the New Testament in Polycarp's day? His preference, after all, for the Pauline writings over those of Saint John might simply reflect his usage of books that were already recognized (at least in his circles) as "Scripture."[6] Polycarp's relationship to the Apostle John—whatever it might have been—became important later in his life, and afterwards, when the traditions of Saint John (and of "Jerusalem Christianity" in general) became a source of canonized Scripture alongside Paul.

Polycarp as a Johannine Figure

Irenaeus of Lyons—and after him, Tertullian and Eusebius—indicate that Polycarp had known the Apostle John personally and had learned the Word from him (Eusebius, III.36, IV.14-15). If this information is correct, then one should expect a more "Johannine" flavor to Polycarp's epistle. There are, however, good reasons to question the identity of the "John" that

[6]Charles Nielsen argues ("Polycarp, Paul and the Scriptures") that Polycarp did regard the Pauline Epistles as Scripture.

Polycarp had known in his youth. If this man was not the Apostle John, but another John, then Polycarp's status as a "Johannine" figure becomes far more tenuous at best.

The question of another John, "the Elder," is raised by Eusebius, though not in connection with Saint Polycarp. Eusebius accepts the testimony of Ignatius that Polycarp had known the Apostle John, but he questions the similar relationship of Papias to Saint John. It seems likely that Eusebius was trying to discredit Papias, because he endorsed the notion of a millennial reign of Christ on earth, which Eusebius rejected. It is true, nevertheless, that Papias does seem to speak of both the apostle John *and* an Elder of the same name (Eusebius, III.39:1-7). Numerous modern scholars, including B. H. Streeter and Martin Hengel, are inclined to agree with Eusebius that there was indeed a John known as "the Elder" who was not the apostle John. This "other John" was apparently connected to his apostolic namesake; Streeter implies that the apostle John might have ordained John the Elder as the Bishop of Ephesus, and Hengel argues that John the Elder is the author of the Johannine Epistles.[7]

One of the documents that influenced Streeter in his conclusions regarding the Elder John is the *Life of Polycarp* by Pionius, a document normally dismissed as a pious legend.[8]

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[7]Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1929): 92-100; Hengel, *The Johannine Question*, 24 and following.

[8]Streeter writes (*The Primitive Church*, 276-277): "The question whether *The Life [of Polycarp]* was written by Pionius, who was martyred A.D. 250 in the Decian persecution and who is known to have had a special veneration for the memory of Polycarp, has been hotly debated since Lightfoot wrote. Corssen and others have maintained that the martyr was the author. Delehaye argues for a date *c.* A.D. 400. . . . At the close of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* there is a sentence which suggests that the letter of the Church of Smyrna, which we call the *Martyrdom*, was merely intended as an installment. . . . This looks as if, at the time of writing, the authorities of the Church of Smyrna contemplated writing something like a *Life of Polycarp*. If they carried out that intention, there is not the slightest reason why Pionius, who was a prominent member of the church of Smyrna and whose devotion to Polycarp was of the nature of a 'cult', should not have got possession of a copy. Be this as it may, the first part of *The Life* purports to be based on an ancient document. . ."

Streeter demonstrates that this so-called "legend" might have more to offer than fairy tales. Significantly, the *Life of Polycarp* never mentions the apostle John in Asia and seems to know of no connection between the him and Polycarp.[9] Perhaps the apostle John never did reside in Asia Minor; and, if so, the "John" known to Polycarp might well have been "the Elder." Thinking along these same lines, we note that, while manuscript evidence supports an early date for the Gospel of John, as also a broad availability, the Fourth Gospel shows up primarily in Egypt and North Africa, and not so much in Asia Minor. 1 John, on the other hand, is known and used more extensively—by Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias.

Having mentioned Papias a number of times already, we should also briefly note a theory set forth by Charles M. Nielsen. Nielsen argues that Papias wrote polemically against Polycarp, and generally against a growing "Paulinis" in Asia Minor, *circa* A.D. 125–135, just prior to the rise of full-blown Marcionism. He sees Papias as a representative of Jewish-Christianity and Polycarp as a significant figure among the many who were elevating Paul above the Twelve.[10]

Now, along with the items already raised, we must ask another question: *Why* might Polycarp have avoided the Gospel of John? Assuming that he was familiar with the Fourth Gospel, there might still have been good reason to avoid it. Several scholars have suggested recently that the Gospel of John was written primarily as a catechetical document for Jewish-Christians, prior to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. If such was the case, the increasingly gentile congregations of Asia Minor might have viewed the Gospel of John as "obsolete." Perhaps it was not yet (or no longer) identified with the *apostle* John, or simply not yet considered as "Scripture." John's Gospel is ignored, in fact, by virtually everyone prior to Irenaeus. It was considered by some to be a "gnostic" Word; and it is true that a number of Gnostic teachers did use the Fourth Gospel, though not exclusively nor

[9]Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, 271 and following.

[10]Nielsen, "Papias: Polemicist Against Whom?"; "Polycarp and Marcion: A Note."

even predominently so. Polycarp is certainly not alone among the orthodox in not using John's Gospel.

Interestingly, the popularity of John's Gospel and the connection of Polycarp with the apostle John both begin with Irenaeus. It is he who first relates how Polycarp "reported his living with John and with the rest of the apostles who had seen the Lord, and how he remembered their words, and what the things were which he heard from them about the Lord, and about His miracles and about His teaching, how Polycarp received them from eyewitnesses of 'the word of life,' and proclaimed them all in harmony with the Scriptures" (Eusebius, V.20). Irenaeus recalls all this from when he was "yet a boy," and it is entirely possible that he was mistaken about the "John" that Polycarp mentioned. If, by the time of Irenaeus, the apostle John and "the Elder" had already been confused, then Irenaeus might easily have jumped to the wrong conclusion. He was endeavoring to rescue John from the Gnostics by providing an orthodox interpretation of his Word, and it was clearly an advantage if he could claim the testimony of one who had presumably known the apostle personally. Tertullian and Eusebius both rely upon the writings of Irenaeus for their association of Polycarp with the apostle John, so they can hardly be regarded as corroborating his testimony.[11]

It is feasible, therefore, if not likely, that the supposed connection of Polycarp with the apostle John first originated with Irenaeus. We do not mean to suggest that Irenaeus was purposely deceptive; he was probably mistaken and, in his zeal to protect the church from heresy, he allowed himself to believe what he thought that he remembered. What, then, did Irenaeus gain by tying Polycarp to Saint John? What did he gain by tying Saint John to Polycarp? Perhaps Polycarp had become prone to accusations of Marcionism just as Saint John had become prone to accusations of Gnosticism. By tying the two men together, Irenaeus diffused both suspicions: Polycarp could hardly be accused of Marcionite tendencies if he had been a close associate of the apostle John; and one could, in turn, learn from Polycarp

[11]Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, 96-97.

the authentic, orthodox, anti-gnostic interpretation of John. Worth considering, too, is the similarity between the stories that Irenaeus relates about John's encounter with Cerinthus and Polycarp's encounter with Marcion. Whether or not these stories are true, Irenaeus no doubt includes them as a way of defending the Johannine tradition and Polycarp from accusations of Gnosticism and Marcionism. Irenaeus was able, in this way, to rescue the memories of John and Polycarp from Gnosticism and Marcionism while the church catholic struggled to adopt a canon that would include both Paul and the twelve apostles of the "Jerusalem tradition."

We have already indicated above that Polycarp does make use of 1 John; there are, consequently, elements of "Johannine" theology in his epistle.[12] Polycarp, for example, makes frequent comments about the "Truth" (Pol Phil 1:1, 2:1, 3:2, 4:2, 5:2; compared, for example, with 1 John 3:18–19). Polycarp's commendation of the Philippians for welcoming the "representations of the true love" and for helping on their way "those men confined by chains suitable for saints" (Pol Phil 1:1) is reminiscent of a similar commendation in 3 John 5–8. The most remarkable "quotation" of any book of the New Testament in Polycarp's epistle is found in chapter seven: "Everyone 'who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is the antichrist'..." (Pol Phil 7:1; compared with 1 John 4:2–3). Also suggestive of 1 John are the many references to the faith that was from "the beginning" (one may compare Pol Phil 3:2, 4:2, 7:2, and others with 1 John 1:1, 2:7,24). Polycarp's encouragements finally to "walk in the commandments of the Lord" are similar to exhortations in the Johannine Epistles (Pol Phil 2:2, 4:1, 5:2; compared, for instance, with 2 John 4–6).

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[12]Schoedel's translation of Polycarp's epistle footnotes the following Johannine references: Revelation 19:12 (Pol Phil 1:1), 1 John 4:6 and 2 John 7 (Pol Phil 2:1), 1 John 2:17 (Pol Phil 2:2), 1 John 1:7, 2:29, 3:9–11 (Pol Phil 3:3), 1 John 2:6, 4:11, and 2 John 6 (Pol Phil 5:1), 3 John 4 (Pol Phil 5:2), 1 John 2:16 (Pol Phil 5:3), John 4:2–3, 8:44, and 1 John 3:8, 4:3, and 2 John 7 (Pol Phil 7:1), 1 John 4:9 (Pol Phil 8:1), John 13:34, 15:12 and 17, and 3 John 8 (Pol Phil 10:1), Revelations 1:3, 22:7 (Pol Phil 12:1).

Clearly, then, Johannine thought and terminology are not alien to Polycarp; yet almost all of his allusions are taken from the Johannine Epistles, with very little if anything from the Gospel of John. Perhaps 1 John was viewed as the authoritative "orthodox" interpretation of the Word, as many have suggested. Or, maybe the Johannine Epistles were written by "the Elder John," who was known to Polycarp, whereas the Word was written by the apostle John, who was not. We may conjecture, in other words, that even though Polycarp probably did not know the apostle personally, as Irenaeus thought, he was associated with the so-called "Johannine school" through "the Elder." In this case, the Elder John would be the Johannine figure that Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Eusebius considered Polycarp to be—a bishop of the church, who was taught and ordained by the apostle John, and who served as a living link between the apostles and the post-apostolic church. The Elder John surpasses the popular image of Polycarp, however, in that he was himself an eyewitness of the Lord. As such, it would have been easy for the later church to confuse this apostolic elder with the apostle John himself.

Polycarp as a Pauline Figure

The predominance of Pauline thought and terminology in the epistle of Polycarp is a well-known and documented fact.[13] In addition to the proliferation of quotations and allusions from the Pauline Epistles, the person of Saint Paul is also highly regarded in the epistle of Polycarp (Pol Phil 3:2, 9:1, 11:3).[14] There are

[13]Albert E. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941), 170 and following; Boudewijn Dehandschutter, "Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, 275-291 (Leuven: University Press, 1989); Robert M. Grant, "Polycarp of Smyrna," *Anglican Theological Review* 28 (July 1946): 143 and following; Andreas Lindemann, "Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers," in *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990), 41 and following; Édouard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, 2 volumes (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1992), 2: 35 and following; Nielsen, "Polycarp, Paul and the Scriptures."

[14]Lindemann writes ("Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers," 28): "No other person from Christianity's beginnings is mentioned as often in the writings of the apostolic fathers as the apostle Paul. Peter is named four

numerous probable reasons for this heavy use of Paul. First of all, the church in Philippi was a Pauline congregation, a fact that Polycarp mentions more than once. Indeed, all of Asia Minor was, in a sense, "Pauline" territory. We may remember again the theory of Nielsen, that Polycarp lived in a pre-Marcionite "Paulinist" environment. Saint Paul was regarded as *the* apostle, especially in Asia Minor, up until the reaction against Marcion. And even after Marcion, Saint Paul did not by any means fall out of favor, but rather was balanced with the various "Jerusalem Apostles," Saint Peter and Saint John in particular.

Other reasons for Polycarp's use of the Pauline Epistles include the fact that Paul had addressed situations that were similar to those in Philippi. Certainly, the question of "righteousness" is, as Polycarp himself implies, a "Pauline" category of theological thought. Perhaps most importantly, moreover, the Pauline Epistles were already collected as "Scripture," as indicated by 2 Peter 3:15–16.

Excursus: Some Thoughts on Polycarp and 1 Peter

Alongside the Pauline Epistles, it is also a well-known fact that 1 Peter plays a prominent role in the epistle of Polycarp. 1 Peter is, in fact, the single most prominent writing of the New Testament in Polycarp. While this prominence might at first seem like an additional complication in determining whether Polycarp is a "Johannine" figure or a "Pauline" figure, it might in fact be a key to the solution. We note, on the one hand, the close association of Saint Peter and Saint John, especially in the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles (also Galatians 2:9). There is, on the other hand, an obvious similarity of "Petrine" thought (especially in 1 Peter) to that of Saint Paul. In the later history of the church, Saint Peter and Saint Paul are regarded together as the apostles, an image that really began with Paul himself (Galatians 2:7–8).

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times. Twice he is mentioned in conjunction with Paul. . . . Other than Paul and Peter, no woman or man from the first century—with the exception of Jesus' mother, Mary—is mentioned in the writings of the apostolic fathers, not even James, the brother of Jesus"

In a sense, the apostle Peter plays the role of a unifying "foundation" of the church catholic. He represents the Twelve, he is closely associated with John, and yet he paves the way for Paul. 1 Peter is specifically and appropriately referred to as a "catholic" epistle; it addresses the entire church.

1 Peter is readily evident, not only in Polycarp, but also in 1 Clement and Papias as well. 1 Peter was probably among the very first documents of the New Testament to be regarded as "Scripture"—alongside the Pauline Epistles and possibly 1 John. It is perhaps significant in this respect that 2 Peter—while not as widely or readily received or even used—takes the authoritative position and task of defending the Pauline Epistles, in much the same way that Saint Peter himself validated the Pauline mission in Acts. Again, the "Petrine tradition" represents the central and unifying tradition, which eventually emerged as the Rule of Faith in the church. Saint Peter is a popular figure in apocryphal works of the early centuries, he is prominent and positively portrayed in all four canonical Words, and he is favorably mentioned by Paul in several epistles. Even Paul's rebuke of Peter at Antioch (Galatians 2:11–14) demonstrates, albeit in a negative fashion, the centrality and importance of Saint Peter both for the church catholic and for the gentile mission specifically. All these points are in addition to the Petrine Epistles. Thus, it is no surprise that 1 Peter emerges in Polycarp's epistle in greater proportion than any other document of the New Testament. In a sense, this use of the "Petrine tradition" marks Polycarp as the figure he truly is—one who represents the unified tradition of both Paul and the Twelve, Jerusalem and Antioch and all of Asia Minor.

Conclusion

The following paragraphs present a tentative answer to the question of whether Polycarp is to be regarded as a Johannine figure or a Pauline figure. When Polycarp wrote to the Philippians, Saint Paul was regarded as *the* apostle, especially in Asia Minor among the congregations that he had founded. The climate was ripe for the rise of Marcionism, and even many orthodox theologians (like Polycarp) preferred the Pauline Epistles. The Old Testament was not disparaged, but the

apostolic writings had surpassed it. For this reason, and because of the circumstances that were to be addressed in Philippi, Polycarp relied heavily upon the Pauline Epistles, which had already been gathered together as a body of writings and were coming into their own as "Scripture." Likewise, Polycarp made use of 1 Peter (which was recognized as an authoritative writing from the start), as well as 1 Clement (which was regarded by many as "Scripture" in the early years of the church) and the letters of Ignatius (so fresh in the memories of both Polycarp and the Philippians). 1 John is also used, not only because it, too, was regarded as an authoritative writing, but especially because it addressed docetic heresies and internal strife similar to that being experienced at Philippi. The Gospel of John is avoided, on the other hand, because it had been abused in the hands of the Gnostics; both because it had been written primarily as a catechetical document for Jewish Christians and by the beginning of the second century had fallen out of common usage and because it did not circulate to any great degree in Asia Minor.

Irenaeus is responsible for tying Polycarp so closely to John. By doing so, he preserved Polycarp from any accusations of Marcionite tendencies, and he rescued Saint John and his Word from the Gnostics. Whether the "John" that Polycarp knew was the apostle John or simply a pious and apostolic elder, Irenaeus recognized the polemical value of identifying Polycarp as a living link between the apostles and the church of the second century. It would be a safeguard and defense, not only against the Marcionites and Gnostics, but also against the Montanists. A balancing, furthermore, of the Twelve and Saint Paul would also help to clarify the relationship of the Old and New Testaments of gentile and Jewish Christianity.

Polycarp is to be regarded as an apostolic link between the first and second centuries of the church, although not necessarily in the way envisioned by Irenaeus. The importance of Polycarp lies not so much in his supposed personal knowledge of Saint John or the other apostles (much less in the pious legend of his ordination at the hands of the apostles) as in his role as a bishop who consciously stood on the foundation of the apostles—Peter, Paul, and John—in addressing the theological questions and issues of

his day. It was not the only option available, and many others took a different route. Unlike Marcion, Polycarp did not choose one apostle over all the others, even if he did prefer Saint Paul. Unlike the Gnostics, he did not rely on a secret, personal knowledge supposedly passed down orally from the apostles. Unlike the Montanists, he did not look within himself for creative answers or new inspiration. Whether Polycarp had known any of the apostles personally or not, he chose to address the Philippians in very much the same way that pastors today must address their flocks—on the basis of the recorded word of the apostles. In doing so, he anticipated the orthodox solution to the major crises that faced the church throughout the second century. Perhaps it would be best, therefore, in the final analysis, to regard Polycarp as neither a "Johannine" figure nor a "Pauline" figure, but simply as the truly apostolic figure that he was.

Polycarp was indeed the "teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians" (Mart Pol 12:2), and despite the brevity of his epistle, he stands as a true apostolic father of the orthodox church catholic. In his epistle he binds himself to the witness of "Scripture," and as his life continued and the definition of the "New Testament" broadened, he also came to serve in his person as a vital link to the Johannine branch of the apostolic tradition, if not through the Apostle John, then certainly through John "the Elder."

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Miller, Roland E. *Muslim Friends: Their Faith and Feeling: An Introduction to Islam.* Concordia Scholarship Today. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995. 429 pages. Paper.

Moo, Douglas. *The Epistle to the Romans.* The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1996. xxv + 1012 pages. Cloth. $50.00

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Reimer, A. James. *Emanuel Hirsch und Paul Tillich: Theologie und Politik in einer Zeit der Krise.* Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995. xxi + 488 pages. Cloth. DM 198

Schwarz, Hans. *True Faith in the True God: An Introduction to Luther's Life and Thought.* Translated by Mark William Worthing. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1996. 158 pages. Paper.

Book Reviews

EMANUEL HIRSCH UND PAUL TILLICH: THEOLOGIE UND POLITIK IN EINER ZEIT DER KRISE. By A. James Reimer. Translated by Doris Lax. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995.

Emanuel Hirsch and Paul Tillich were among the most brilliant philosophical and theological minds of the twentieth century. Having become warm friends in their youth, they were gradually led apart by diverging theological, personal and ethical concepts, and especially by opposing political views, so that their ties were broken for twenty years. It was not until after World War II that they met again and renewed their early friendship.

Politically, Hirsch was a fervent nationalist and became a Nazi. Tillich was a Marxist and a socialist who was forced to leave Germany after Hitler's takeover. Both men came from Lutheran parsonages and were molded by philosophical idealism. In theology, Hirsch had been strongly influenced by the liberal Luther scholar, Karl Holl, and Tillich by the mediating theologian, Martin Kähler. In their differing views regarding the philosophy of religion, Hirsch stressed the transcendence of God, and Tillich his immanence.

From the standpoint of a conservative Lutheranism, both men were outspoken liberals and were very critical in their approach to the Scriptures and the Confessions. Hirsch was a Luther scholar in the sense of the intensive but rather one-sided Holl School. Even though this school of interpretation did not always yield acceptable conclusions to Missouri Synod Lutherans, Hirsch's involvement with Luther gave his work a much more positive stamp than did the work of Tillich. It also provided Hirsch with positive moral values and led him to rebuke Tillich's sexual promiscuity (pages 54-55). It was Tillich's political and moral radicalism that led to serious conflict with the Consistory of Brandenburg and Tillich's change from a theological to a philosophical chair (page 54).

Idealism lies dangerously close to enthusiasm, and both thinkers became caught in its web: Tillich with his notion of the proletariat as a divine manifestation, and Hirsch in his identification of law with God's law as understood by National Socialism (page 55). Reimer comments tellingly: "In [Hirsch's

letter to Tillich], it is ironical that Hirsch accused Tillich in 1921 with the 'sanctification' of the proletariat; ironically, in 1934 Tillich accused Hirsch of sanctifying the National Socialist movement" (page 55). In both cases something human was falsely deified. Hirsch bent idealism in the direction that God was separate from "spirit," whereas Tillich derived God out of an autonomous spirit (page 51).

Hirsch misrepresented Luther's "Two Kingdoms" doctrine. He opened with a flawed definition of the church as a "fellowship of consciences," and moved on to differentiate between the "visible" state and the "invisible" church. "The state and law belong in the earthly-natural life, the kingdom of God contrariwise is a spiritual quantity, the fellowship of consciences experienced as a quickening power. The separation of these two powers was the important recognition of Luther" (page 203). Hirsch thereby promoted a false dualism and helped dichotomize Luther's doctrine, diminishing the responsibility of the secular power toward God and moving the state toward moral autonomy. In the undersigned's judgment, it was this distortion of Luther, more than anything else that Hirsch wrote to support the National Socialists, that encouraged the totalitarianism, racism, and belligerence of Hitler's government. Like his teacher Karl Holl, Hirsch regarded morality *Sittlichkeit* as the essence of the Christian religion. This moralism hindered the proper distinction of Law and Gospel, which, again, undercut the doctrine of the two kingdoms.

In spite of Hirsch's blemishes, Reimer strives for impartiality. Rather than constantly denouncing Hirsch, he tries to be fair to his difficult subject and to understand why he wrote or acted in the way that he did. However, at times he becomes very critical of Hirsch (page 109). Even in his analysis of Hirsch's questionable position on the "Arian Paragraph," Reimer defends Hirsch from false charges, though he inexorably calls him to account for his errors (pages 116-118). Reimer even tries to be charitable toward Ludwig Müller, the hated Reichsbishop who made so much trouble for Wurm and Meiser. Considering the partisanship of many previous writers (W. Niemöller, Scholder, Cochrane, Hamm), who sought to destroy those whom they discussed, it is

refreshing that Reimer allows Hirsch's denial that he had joined the Thuringian German Christians to stand: "Always, the word of Emanuel Hirsch must remain the word of Emanuel Hirsch" (page 116). Such charity is instructive to other historians.

The occasional references to Paul Althaus by Reimer present a misleading picture of the noted Erlangen theologian. Reimer seems to have no independent knowledge of Althaus, but only mentions him in clichés. For example, Reimer uncritically follows the schematization of Klaus Scholder, who regularly lumps Althaus together with Hirsch, Gogarten, and Stapel (page 36). Reimer ineptly calls these all "political theologians." In fact, Stapel was not a theologian and Althaus was not a political theologian (although he wrote several articles and pamphlets on political ethics during the late 1920s and 1930s). Reimer is naive when he remarks, seemingly disparagingly, that "Hirsch and his comrades Kittel and Althaus had underneath an ambivalent attitude toward the Enlightenment" (page 149). That would, of course, be true of almost all theologians of all persuasions and not simply of these three men. Nor does this in itself make Kittel, Hirsch, and Althaus into "comrades." Reimer follows Ericksen's rather arbitrary grouping of these three theologians who supported Hitler, but goes farther and speaks of them as "Nazi theologians." This is incorrect, for Althaus was at no time a member of the Nazi party. In fact, Althaus belonged to the theological faculty at Erlangen, the only one in Germany that had neither Nazis nor German Christians among the regular professors and that remained "intact" until the collapse of Nazism in 1945. To the best of this reviewer's knowledge, the claim that Althaus joined the *Glaubensbewegung Deutsche Christen* in 1933, which Reimer borrows from Zabel, is without foundation and unreliable (page 91).

This book is recommended for readers who are interested in the experience of Germany under the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich and in the perception of those experiences as debated in the political ethics of Hirsch and Tillich. Both Hirsch and Tillich were giants of the twentieth-century theological scene. No doubt most Americans would prefer reading the book in its original English form (*The Emanuel Hirsch and Paul Tillich Debate: A Study in the*

Political Ramifications of Theology [Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989]) rather than in this translation into German. The advantage to using the German translation is that peculiarly German matters are described more precisely in the German language.

Lowell Green
Buffalo, New York

THE DESCENT OF GOD: DIVINE SUFFERING IN HISTORY AND THEOLOGY. By Joseph M. Hallman. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.

Hallman's work stands as a valuable contribution to theological study and as a provocative encouragement for other authors to bridge disciplinary boundaries. The subtitle of the work indicates the sweep of his survey: he traces the theme of divine suffering from Anaximander (*circa* 610-541 B.C.) to Alfred North Whitehead (A.D. 1861-1947). Hallman suggests that the "high" conciliar christology of Nicaea and Constantinople "seems irrelevant to contemporary Christian faith's concern for perfecting the human"; he proposes to trace a divergent, minority tradition that "attempted to adhere to the portrait of the biblical deity as one who suffers and changes" (pages xi-xii).

Hallman provides the reader with a stimulating anthology of readings from this "minority tradition." From the urgent plea of Augustine that we "imitate a humble God" to Whitehead's description of salvation as God saving "the world as it passes into the immediacy of his own life," the material here pleads with the reader to ponder anew the descent of God. It is hard to imagine a reader not approaching the question of divine suffering from a new perspective after having read this book. And yet, the strengths of the volume as an anthology point to its weaknesses as a survey.

Writers who have made significant contributions to the understanding of divine suffering are often all but omitted from the discussion. Martin Luther is mentioned only twice, almost in passing. This circumstance is disappointing for anyone who had hoped to find in this book either confirmation or refutation of

Marc Lienhard's claim that Luther's description of "the suffering of Christ on the cross certainly constitutes a break with tradition"; that no previous theologian had dared to attribute to Christ the *Anfechtungen* to which humans are exposed; that Luther "envisages in a radical fashion the feeling of abandonment and damnation in the consciousness of Jesus Christ" (*Luther: Witness to Jesus Christ* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1982], 116).

In his discussion of the patristic period, Hallman is guilty of a more serious omission. His examination of the suffering of God moves from father to father without adequate adjustment for differing models of godhead and personhood. The survey borders on misrepresentation when statements concerning the suffering of the Father or of the Logos are not evaluated within the often complicated and sophisticated theologies and christologies of the respective sources.

Hallman anthologizes with a purpose: in the end he suggests that incarnational christology might "live again" if divine perfection can be conceived of as "perfection in change" (page xiii). The question that now needs to be asked is whether a god who always changes is really all that different from a god who never changes—and whether either of these gods can be the God of the incarnation. The greatest contribution of Hallman may be in forcing us to ask that question again.

Jeffrey A. Oschwald
Taiwan

ADOLF SCHLATTER: A BIOGRAPHY OF GERMANY'S PREMIER BIBLICAL THEOLOGIAN. By Werner Neuer. Translated by Robert W. Yarbrough. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1995.

There are theologians and writers of whom we are largely unaware, much to our disadvantage. Within our own Lutheran heritage one might mention the major figures of nineteenth-century Lutheran confessionalism, such as Vilmar, Theodosius von Harnack, Harless, Kliefoth, and the great historian/exegete Theodor Zahn. From the English tradition of the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries one might mention the magisterial efforts of J. B. Lightfoot and H. B. Swete, not to mention Westcott and Hort. One would have to include in this litany Adolf Schlatter, the Swiss born pietist-scholar, whose work on theological method and biblical exegesis remains largely unknown to American scholars and students. In his forward to this book Mark Noll notes that Schlatter was never accorded the respect he deserved, even in Germany where most of his work occurred. Schlatter was too conservative in his approach and conclusions for the German university environment in which he worked and he was too scholarly for the popular pietism of the general German public. As is most always the case, the problem of translation from the German to the English virtually ensures obscurity in the United States. All the more, then, is this book a most welcome addition, and with more promised to come from Baker Book House.

While a technical biography of Schlatter is forthcoming in Germany, this book is presently the only biography of Schlatter. Werner Neuer, scholar at the Institute for the Study of Missions and Ecumenical Theology in Tübingen, presents what he calls a "sketch rather than a complete portrait" of Schlatter: "I have chosen to focus on those matters that throw light on Schlatter as a *person* and as a *Christian*. Schlatter the *theologian* and his theological writings proper recede into the background by comparison" (page 14). While one may regret this choice of scope, it does offer an introduction to Schlatter and his life that is accessible to student and layperson alike. Sixty photographs and numerous excerpts from Schlatter's writings render the account more vivid and immediately interesting.

Born in 1852 in St. Gallen, Switzerland (his home can still be seen across the street from the beautiful Baroque Cathedral of St. Gallen), Schlatter inherited an interest in the Christian life and academic pursuits. One of his great-grandmothers was a direct descendent of Joachim Vadian (the Reformer of St. Gallen), and his grandmother, Anna (who was significant force in the German "Awakening") corresponded with such theologians as Schleiermacher and de Wette. Coming from this background, Schlatter was never identified with any particular confessional movement, which may have made his work broader in appeal

and influence.

Schlatter is perhaps best remembered for his staunch opposition to the "science" of Enlightenment thinking, which dominated much of German theology at the time, as well as for his conviction that Judaism was the most proper background for understanding the New Testament.

A pervasive theme of Schlatter's life and work is the high appreciation of nature that he received from his family and the Swiss alpine environment. His systematic work especially reveals his strong sense of the unity between creation and redemption.

Schlatter's academic career began at the University of Bern, but escalated significantly at his next post, the University of Greifswald. Here he primarily taught New Testament exegesis and Judaica. While at Greifswald he made two of his most important contacts. First, he met Hermann Cremer with whom he established the noteworthy journal, *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*. Second, he taught Wilhelm Lütgert, his most accomplished and distinguished student. A major turn in Schlatter's career came when he was called by the German government to a recently established chair of systematic theology at the University of Berlin to counter the theological liberalism of Adolf von Harnack (who was also at Berlin). Although personally happy at Greifswald, Schlatter accepted the chair. Because of Schlatter's orthodoxy von Harnack greeted him skeptically. But Schlatter's becoming personality, along with his unassailable scholarship, earned him von Harnack's personal friendship and professional respect. Schlatter is finally known for his long-held position as Professor of New Testament at the University of Tübingen (1898-1922). Even after his release from academic life in 1922, Schlatter's work remained prodigious until his death in 1938.

This reviewer first encountered Schlatter in his *Anfänge der christlichen Martyrien*, a pre-World War I publication. The preface was a remarkable apology for Kaiser Wilhelm, whom Schlatter depicted as a virtual new Charlemagne. Schlatter was never a political ideologue, but this preface marked him as a man of his times. Nonetheless, his scholarship and attentive honesty

concerning the biblical text elevated him above the theological discussions of post-World War I Europe. Schlatter had extensive correspondence with Karl Barth and even more with Emil Brunner. Schlatter was aware that Barth's Neo-Orthodoxy did not do justice to the creation themes of the Bible. At the same time, Schlatter's interest in Judaica competed with the new existentialist doctrines of Bultmann and his disparagement of the Old Testament and history. From the beginning Schlatter was an out-spoken opponent of the new National Socialist regime of Hitler. No doubt his strong Christian piety and his respect for the Jewish antecedents of the New Testament helped preserve him from this momentous historical temptation. Now that scholars again recognize the importance of Judaism for New Testament study, Schlatter is being appreciated in Germany. It is time for us in the United States to learn of him as well. This book makes a small but welcome invitation to that task.

William C. Weinrich

MARTIN LUTHER IN TWO CENTURIES: THE SIXTEENTH AND THE TWENTIETH. By Helmar Junghans. Translated by Katharina Gustavs and Gerald S. Krispin. St. Paul: Lutheran Brotherhood Foundation Reformation Library, 1992.

In 1991 Helmar Junghans, a prominent Luther-scholar in Europe and editor of the *Lutherjahrbuch*, toured the United States and gave a series of lectures that have been collected into this one volume. The six essays cover a broad range of topics. In the first essay, "Luther's Development from Biblical Humanist to Reformer," Junghans provides a useful review of Luther's training in Erfurt, his acquaintance with the fathers of the church, and his understanding and use of the Bible. The second essay, "Wittenberg and Luther: Luther and Wittenberg," is a delightful piece in which the author demonstrates the importance of examining the relationship between the man and the location. Junghans concludes: "Studying Wittenberg and Electoral Saxony is of extraordinary importance because this was the actual historical place where Christ called Luther to serve him" (page 28).

The third essay, "The Center of the Theology of Martin Luther,"

is an excellent introduction to Luther's thought. Junghans begins with a survey of research on Luther by briefly examining the work of such Luther-scholars as Köstlin, Ebeling, Holl, Harnack, Elert and Althaus. He then proceeds to present his own assessment of the structure of Luther's theology according to the following outline: (1.) God works everything (2.) through his Word (3.) in a process (4.) toward salvation (page 33).

The fourth and fifth essays were the most useful to this reviewer. The first is a short biography of Thomas Müntzer, and the second relates the story of how the former German Democratic Republic tried to claim Müntzer as one of its own. Both essays are filled with insight into a subject about which Lutherans in America know little. The same is also true of the final essay, "The Christians' Contribution to the Non-Violent Revolution in the German Democratic Republic in the Fall of 1989." While the rest of the world had to be content to watch the fall of the Berlin Wall on television, Junghans was there. In this essay he recounts the vital role that the German church played in the revolution. One cannot read his words without sensing his conviction regarding the profound influence that the church had in promoting peace during a potentially violent moment in history.

The Lutheran Brotherhood Foundation Reformation Library is to be commended for making these essays available. The LBFRL, founded in 1983, has collected over twenty thousand primary sources from the sixteenth century which are available to researchers.

Paul J. Grime
Saint Louis, Missouri

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. By Mark A. Noll. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992.

The story of Christianity in the United States and Canada is indeed a long one. It spans five hundred years, millions of square miles, thousands of cultures, hundreds of denominations, and dozens of major themes. It demands great skills of the master

historian. Noll, Professor of Church History at Wheaton College, takes up and meets these challenges. He tells the stories of ordinary Christians as well as leaders, heroes, and villains. He emphasizes the often neglected tales of African-American Christianity, stories of women of faith, the missionary movement in the United States and Canada, and the role of Christianity in American and Canadian literature. He places the whole story in the context of the international events and movements that influenced and shaped the church in North America. He corrects the bias of previous historians, who looked at history through the lens of their own times. For example, he reminds critics of seventeenth-century puritanism that "the number of executions for witchcraft in New England was proportionately less than in most of the countries of western Europe" (page 51).

The author provides other contexts often ignored by those telling the same story. He analyzes the contemporary church and briefly discusses trends and movements affecting Christianity in the United States and Canada. His chapters are organized around themes, allowing the story to unfold on its own terms rather than around an artificially supplied chronology. Best of all, each chapter begins with a hymn from the period and theme being discussed, helping the reader to catch the flavor of spirituality throughout the passing years.

The structure of this work is very friendly to readers. Noll provides detailed supporting bibliographies at the end of each chapter, rather than cluttering the text with footnote numbers and scholarly apparatus. The work is well illustrated with photographs, paintings, maps, posters, charts, and graphs. The tone and vocabulary of the work are such that the average undergraduate student may read it at a comfortable pace.

Noll commendably states his approaches and working assumptions in the introduction of the work. He does not apologize for presenting the "history of Christianity" rather than the "history of religion" (page 3). He tells the story from the Christian perspective. He gives movements on the fringe of Christianity "a charitable benefit of a doubt" (page 4), considering them Christian if they call themselves Christian. He also does not hide the fact that historians, especially of religion,

are also preachers. It is good for students of historical scholarship to remember that much of what they read is interpretation.

Inevitably, the work does have its weaknesses. The history of North American Lutheranism is given very little attention, even when its small numbers are taken into account. There is no mention, for example, of the contributions of the sons of Henry Muhlenberg, who served in prominent military, scholarly, and governmental roles during and after the Revolutionary War. The influence of non-Christian religions upon recent liberal Christian thought is left out of the discussion. The profound effect of the door-to-door evangelism conducted by the non-Christian Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses movements receives no attention. Yet a work of this scope cannot be expected to discuss everything.

In spite of these minor flaws, Noll has produced a valuable textbook on the history of Christianity in America. The work will give the reader a suitable overview of the history of the faith on the North American continent. It will prove useful to students of history who desire to acquire an understanding of the forces which have challenged and shaped of their own denominations and the common Christian tradition.

Robert E. Smith
Fort Wayne, Indiana

TRUE FAITH IN THE TRUE GOD: AN INTRODUCTION TO LUTHER'S LIFE AND THOUGHT. By Hans Schwarz. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1996.

The editors at Augsburg Fortress are to be commended for the consistently high quality of their publications translated from German Luther scholars. In recent years this has included the wonderful three-volume Luther biography by Martin Brecht (1985-93) and the indispensable handbook to Luther studies by Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (1986). However, one needs to go back thirty years, to the publication of Paul Althaus' *The Theology of Martin Luther*, to find a work of the same quality dealing with Luther's theology in a comprehensive manner.

Schwarz's *True Faith in the True God,* although not without its merits, fails to fill this significant void. Although both the biographical and theological portions are eminently readable, the book has two major methodological faults. The first is endemic to this sort of scholarship, namely, the temptation to confuse the author's ideas with the founding father's ideas. It is not easy to discern where Luther's ideas stop and where Schwarz's ideas begin. In this regard, both Althaus' and Lohse's books are superior.

The second fault contributes to and justifies the first. Schwarz asserts that Luther and "modern industrial society" would find their religious concerns mutually incomprehensible (page 9). In an attempt to make Luther more understandable, Schwarz substitutes Luther's fear of condemnation with "the fear of meaninglessness, the fear of losing our jobs, the fear of finishing life empty-handed" and "that we are driven by anxiety" (page 9). Here the categories of existential philosophy have replaced Christian soteriology.

Lohse addressed this type of error in his above noted book: "Our discussion of every point of Luther's doctrine [should] be faithful to the way in which Luther himself practiced theology, especially on the basis of his understanding of the relationship of people to God. In his lectures on Psalm 51 Luther says, 'The proper subject of theology is man guilty of sin and condemned, and God the Justifier and Savior of man the sinner. Whatever is asked or discussed in theology outside this subject is error and poison'. . . . Only on this basis can we succeed in avoiding . . . the danger of an attempt to reinterpret Luther in order to make him existentially relevant to a particular contemporary situation" (Lohse, page 144).

Those looking for an existentialist presentation of Luther's theology may be pleased with Schwarz's book. Those interested in an objective presentation of Luther's own concerns will be better served elsewhere.

Martin Noland
Oak Park, Illinois

BAPTIZED INTO GOD'S FAMILY: THE DOCTRINE OF INFANT BAPTISM FOR TODAY. By A. Andrew Das. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1991.

This book is one of the most helpful which this reviewer has come across in recent years. Written in a popular, easy-to-read style, it explains and defends the position of the Lutheran Church on infant Baptism without being overly polemical in style. In catechetical instruction of both youth and adults in twenty-eight years of parish ministry, the undersigned used almost every argument that Andrew Das employs in his book. The reviewer only wishes that at that time he had this book to give to those who had the most difficulties with the doctrine of infant Baptism.

Das' clarification in the introduction that Baptism is Gospel rather than Law lays some very important groundwork. The opening chapter on original sin and its relation to John 3, dealing with being "born of water and the Spirit," are very good. The section that explains the meaning of "all nations" in Christ's command to baptize, as well as the chapter on circumcision and its relation to infant Baptism, are very clear and well-documented. The chapter that examines the scriptural references to "whole households" being baptized is excellent and contains some very convincing arguments for the practice of infant Baptism from the beginning of the church of the New Testament. The treatment of the Jewish practice of proselyte baptism by Das, as well as the testimony from the records of the early church, show that the Baptism of infants was nothing strange or uncommon to the minds of the earliest Christians of Jewish background. Chapter nine adds further convincing arguments for infant Baptism based upon the scriptural use of phrases such as "all nations," "to all that are afar off," "you and your children," the "small and the great," and "from the least to the greatest." The "Summary of Biblical Material" forms a very good outline to use in a class where the doctrine of Baptism, and particularly infant Baptism, is being discussed. Every pastor ought to have several copies of this book in his own library and the library of the congregation.

James W. Kalthoff
Saint Louis, Missouri

PAUL'S LETTER TO THE ROMANS: A COMMENTARY. By Peter Stuhlmacher. Translated by Scott J. Hafemann. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster Press, 1994.

Peter Stuhlmacher's 1989 edition of *Der Brief an die Römer* is here made accessible to English-speaking readers through a translation prepared by one of his students, Scott J. Hafemann. That series, and this commentary, might be characterized as "popular" because it does not necessarily assume a knowledge of the biblical languages on the part of its readers. Stuhlmacher's *Romans*, however, is challenging reading, whether for pastor, student, or the interested and capable layperson. For Stuhlmacher brings three great strengths to his task, each of which has a most salutary impact on the contents of this volume.

First, he has a very evident, very Teutonic mastery of the primary literature that testifies to the broader *context* of Romans, namely, the rest of Paul's epistles, the rest of the New Testament, the Old Testament, the literature of early Judaism, and the writings of Hellenistic and Roman historians and philosophers. For example, on page 84 he moves deftly from Genesis 3 to 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch to 1 Corinthians 15 to explain the background of Adam (and Christ) as corporate figures in Romans 5:12. And he calls on information from Tacitus and Suetonius (page 200) to portray the burden of taxes and duties (Romans 13:1-7) after A.D 55. On page after page, Stuhlmacher quotes or cites pertinent parallel passages.

Secondly, Stuhlmacher is committed to explain Romans, the whole epistle and each paragraph in detail, in connection with the historical situation in which Paul wrote. "The concrete constellation within which the letter to the Romans stands has often been underestimated in research on Romans," he writes (page 242). This has led some to see the contents as Paul's "testament" (G. Bornkamm) or a compendium of Christian theology (Melanchthon). Without denying the broad and lasting significance of the contents of Romans for the churches, Stuhlmacher explains the entire letter and each pericope in detail in the context of a sound reconstruction of the historical circumstances and the purpose Paul had in writing. He soberly rejects fanciful theories that would do away with chapter 16 or

see the book as written to Christians in Ephesus—or everywhere—or directed obliquely at the church in Jerusalem (pages 244-245). He rightly extracts Paul's goal in writing from 1:8-15 and 15:14-24: "to cultivate spiritual fellowship with the Roman Christians in order, having been sustained by this fellowship, to journey further on to Spain" (page 239), thus fulfilling his ministry to Gentiles for the sake of Israel (page 240). And he rightly interprets the substance of the letter, from 1:16 to 15:13, as Paul's refutation of criticisms lodged against "his" Gospel by Jewish Christian "contra missionaries" (for example, pages 5-6), who followed Paul as a sort of "truth squad" and with whom he can be seen to be contending in Galatians, Philippians, and Corinthians, as well as in Acts. Thus, Romans 9-11 is no excursus but a central issue in the argument about the righteousness of God, and chapters 12-14 are not an "appended ethical section" but pertain to the "verification" of righteousness and the shape of the manifestation of it in the life of the Roman Christians.

Finally, Stuhlmacher interprets Romans as a man aware that philological, literary, tradition-historical, and historical exposition is not enough; exegesis owes the church theology. In the Old Testament, Paul heard the living voice of God speaking things that pertained to his day. Stuhlmacher senses his own responsibility to confess and testify by expounding the living authority of scriptural doctrine (Romans 6:17 and 16:17; page 95), which may also be called "the gospel" and the righteousness of God (page 31).

Despite disagreements over various details and emphases (the implication that the Pastoral Epistles were not written by Paul on page 18; the discussion of "the natural knowledge of God" on pages 44-45; the discussion of "still sold under sin" in 7:14 and the whole handling of chapter 7 on pages 114-116), these strengths make this commentary informative and stimulating reading. Even the interpretation of 11:26 ("consequently all Israel will be saved") as a future mass conversion of Jews to Christ rather than as summarizing "in this manner (11:17-23) all Israel (believers in Christ) will be saved" is very carefully argued by Stuhlmacher. It finally becomes a question of whether 9:7b

controls 11:26 or not—indeed, of where God's selection of Israel as the particular people through whom he would reveal his salvation fits into a Bible that starts with Genesis 1 (not 12) and goes through to Revelation 22 (not Revelation 7:8).

And so we must say that the book is informative and stimulating reading for the *discerning* reader. This is not a book to give to a Christian who wants to learn what Romans says. For that purpose we recommend Nygren (which is in Stuhlmacher's bibliography) or Franzmann (which is not). So much of what Stuhlmacher does in this volume is superior to most commentaries on Romans that one hesitates to criticize very much. But, in addition to the matters referred to in the preceding paragraph, the way in which Stuhlmacher expounds righteousness and law, particularly the "law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" (8:1) causes concern.

Briefly put, Stuhlmacher joins Schlatter, Käsemann, and Wilchens in espousing a "comprehensive interpretive perspective" (page 32) that combines the idea of the righteousness of God as *gift* from God and the righteousness of God as God's *salvific activity* in and through Christ (page 31), including, ultimately, "verification" in the "lifestyle" of Christians as the body of Christ in the world (page 185 and the following exposition of 12:1-15:13). This perspective, he says, "includes that of Luther's within it, but also goes far beyond it" (page 32). Connected with this inclination to blur the line of distinction between justification and "how we now live" is the line of interpretation that restores "law" as directives for behavior to a role in the life of Christians (page 68, on 3:31, speaks of "instruction for believers to lead them in the Spirit of Christ along the path of righteousness"; one may compare page 119 on 8:2 and pages 210-211 on "love is the fulfillment of the law" in 13:10).

Whether Stuhlmacher's very carefully worded statements on righteousness and law do encompass and surpass Luther without contradicting or abandoning him for a Law-Gospel-Law scheme is open to debate. With repeated counsel that the reader be discerning, the reviewer applauds his attempt. For there are, indeed, exegetical depths to be explored in the phrases "righteousness of God" and "law" equaling Torah.

Is there a sound Lutheran (biblical-theological) explanation of "the righteousness of God" that encompasses gift, saving activity, and divine attribute? Is there a way to explain Paul's (and Jesus') use of "law" that connects to Torah as "divine instruction for life, pointing to Christ"? The undersigned thinks so, and, regardless of whether we embrace all that he says or not, the careful philological, historical, and theological exposition found in Stuhlmacher's *Romans* can stimulate us to plumb the depths of Pauls' "gospel and Jesus' preaching," a mystery formerly sealed up but now made manifest (Romans 16:25-26).

Jonathan F. Grothe
Saint Catharines, Ontario

GENESIS 1-11: FROM EDEN TO BABEL. By Donald E. Gowan. International Theological Commentary. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988.

This volume is representative of Eerdman's "International Theological Commentary" series. Its aim, according to the editors, is to move "beyond a descriptive-historical approach to offer a relevant exegesis of the Old Testament text as Holy Scripture."

Gowan is faithful to the focus of this series. He seeks to bring the text of Genesis to bear upon the human condition and to treat the text as Holy Scripture. His prose carries the reader along without the pauses and asides, which so often mark the commentary genre, and his familiarity with the standard literature is transparent, yet not obtrusive.

The chief disappointment, however, is in the substance, which detracts from such a laudable purpose and sprightly literary style. It is in the commentary on the final form of the text that the major flaw of *Genesis 1-11* becomes apparent. In case after case the meaning of the text turns out to be entirely compatible with our current cultural assumptions! Put differently, the inferences that Christian communities have drawn from the text for nearly two thousand years are now, with scanty textual justification, understood as meaning just the opposite, or are silent on the matters that had previously been viewed as clear teaching of the

text. One example will illustrate. On page 37 the question is raised as to whether Adam and Eve would have lived forever if they had not sinned. Gowan's answer? "This is irrelevant, because it corresponds to nothing in any human life we know anything about. We know of no one who lives forever or who has barely missed the chance to do so"—not a very satisfying answer either as exposition of the text or as explorative of an issue. This question is scarcely "irrelevant." The text itself poses this question, and, from the perspective of historic Christianity, also gives an answer.

On this and the other key issues—*creatio ex nihilo*, creation of man and woman, the flood, and others—this commentary is precisely in sync with contemporary fancies. No doubt the student of Genesis in the twenty-third century will categorize this volume as "late-twentieth century exegesis" as he surveys the history of interpretation. It would be preferable for that future student, and for the present-day student, to let the text make its own claims. If a person finds those claims unacceptable, the text still has to be dealt with squarely. If, by God's grace, those claims are understood in their truth, then the text can fully function as "Holy Scripture."

Dean O. Wenthe

I BELIEVE BUT I HAVE QUESTIONS. By Jane L. Fryar. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1994.

This book explores the process of spiritual growth—how to apply the Christian faith to everyday life. According to the introduction, the book comes from the author's own struggles with sin and temptation. No matter how hard she tried to fight sin and follow God, she found herself attacked by spiritual arrogance—looking down at the failures of others and glorying in her own holiness. Finally, God opened her eyes to a grace-based lifestyle that receives from God the power of forgiveness needed to live out the Christian life. This book focuses, therefore, on what God has done and is doing in the lives of his people in Jesus rather than on what God demands us to do for him.

The first four chapters are foundational, dealing with the basic

topics of spiritual birth, sin and grace, Baptism, and the need for God's Word and the Sacraments. Among the other themes are Bible study, worship, Christian giving, the need to join a congregation, and how to know God's will for one's life. Each chapter concludes from a series of questions and answers with a suggested reading from Scripture.

Well-illustrated and written with a thoughtful attitude and a great deal of humor, this book has some real depth. Each topic could easily take up its own book (and often does!). Still, the author manages to deal with each issue in a simple manner, with her eyes always focused on the cross of Christ and his grace. The chapter entitled "Why Didn't My Problems Disappear When I Became a Christian?" was exceptionally insightful. This reviewer appreciated the observation that the "whys" of life are often more a question of "Can I really trust God in this situation?" than anything else. While encouraging anyone interested in spiritual growth to purchase a copy of this book, it would be especially good for new Christians or other members of a congregation.

James E. Butler
Springfield, Massachusetts

CHRISTIAN MORAL JUDGMENT. By J. Philip Wogaman. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1989.

Ethics, it can be argued, is largely a quest for distinctions and principles that assist in the clarifying of moral judgments. J. Philip Wogaman, Professor of Social Ethics at Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C., has made a major contribution to that endeavor with his *Christian Moral Judgment*. The book, an expanded and revised version of the 1976 edition, critically examines prevailing approaches to the Christian moral life and offers subtle distinctions, or moral "presumptions," to assist in charting a more discerning course in moral decision-making.

At the outset, Wogaman argues that all ethics, whether religious or philosophical, is grounded in some conception of what is ultimately of value. Without such a grounding, ethics, with or without God, has no basis on which to proceed. Christian ethics, therefore, is no less serious a partner in ethical dialogue

than its philosophical counterparts, as some skeptics have claimed. Rather, believers simply offer a differing "faith" or vision of human existence and provide, therefore, a distinctive account of the moral life. The task for believers, as it is for all engaged in the discourse, is to propose and defend reliable sources of authority for moral claims.

Wogaman suggests that the task is complicated for the believer because large numbers of people have lost their uncritical confidence in the four traditional sources of Christian authority, namely, the Bible, the Church, natural law, and custom and tradition. This erosion of moral authority has challenged Christian ethicists to discover new resources that can provide justifiable guidance in moral judging. While Wogaman acknowledges that the certainty afforded by the traditional sources cannot be restored, he does not conclude that relativism is the inexorable result.

Instead, Wogaman argues on behalf of "presumptions," or biases, as reliable "rules of thumb" until they are shown beyond a reasonable doubt to be misdirected. For example, he provides five presumptions of human authority, sources that have proven themselves reliable in the past and upon which the Christian can confidently depend in reaching moral conclusions. Here he returns to traditional sources, albeit with reduced expectations. The biblical witness, because of its "intrinsic capacity to interpret reality profoundly and persuasively . . . " remains a crucial starting point for the Christian. In addition, the community of faith, including one's church body and pastor, rightfully serves the believer as a presumptive authority. Tradition, technical and factual expertise in the area under moral investigation, and the covenants of civil society round out the constellation of human authorities available to the Christian ethicist. Again, these authorities are not thought to be infallible, but dependable, such that a burden of proof must be borne by contrary viewpoints.

Further, the Christian should hold four positive moral presumptions drawn from the faith: the goodness of creation, the value of individual life, the unity of the human family, and the equality of persons in God. In practice the first "bias" places the burden of proof on any proposal endorsing suicide, euthanasia,

or abortion; the second presumes against capital punishment; the third against racism and nativist immigration policies; and the fourth against sexism and grossly inequitable economic policies. Wogaman develops the influence of negative, polar, and ideological presumptions as well, but these suffice to illustrate his approach.

The strengths are obvious. His presumptions retain close ties to traditional sources of authority and function effectively to provide a reasonable and faithful point of departure in Christian ethics. As they do in the spheres of jurisprudence and executive decision-making, presumptions in the moral life help us effectively to determine the procedures, principles, ideological commitments, empirical models, authorities, and priorities which we will rely upon in choosing a moral course of action. With characteristic clarity and attention to detail, Wogaman presents a subtle argument on behalf of his presumptions in theory and practice.

The approach, however, is not without difficulties. For example, the choice of presumptions themselves is problematic in that Christians might not agree on their selection or implications. Further, and perhaps more importantly, it would be helpful for Wogaman to clarify even further the relative value or weight to be accorded his presumptions. Precisely how does one gauge the relative authority of one's sources when they are found to conflict? Wogaman is well aware of this dilemma, and addresses it directly. Presumptions do not afford us the certainty of absolutism, but they do enable us to avoid the pitfalls of situationalism. When presumptions conflict, one must finally look to one's "center of value," but this center may vary in our perceptions and cannot be exactly defined for all. In essence, choices to override one presumption with another or to make an exception must be based on a commitment to bring about the greatest good. Beyond this, Wogaman rightly suggests, it is virtually impossible to go.

Christian Moral Judgment attempts to defend a Christian approach to ethics which offers reliable distinctions to assist in moral decision-making. As always, Wogaman's analysis is skillful, sophisticated, and comprehensive. In the absence of

moral certainty, his presumptions offer a thoughtful set of Christian principles which guide the believer in discerning the moral course of action. His presumptions, as he would be the first to admit, do not offer absolute rules of conduct. However, they do suggest a useful and important place to begin.

Terrence Reynolds
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GIVING GOLIATH HIS DUE: NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIGHT ON THE PHILISTINES. By Neal Bierling. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992.

Much archaeological work has been done in the Philistine region in recent times. At last report there were some two hundred archaeologists working full time in Israel not primarily trained in biblical studies but in ancient Near Eastern literature. Trude and Moshe Dothan have published a book on their lifelong study of the Sea Peoples. Excavations which have unearthed Philistine material have been carried out at many sites, including Ekron, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Tel Qasile, and Timnah. In short, interest in Philistine culture runs high.

The people who lived in the region which we call Philistia were certainly much more cultured than we once thought. Their pottery is very beautiful and unique. Bierling has summarized the evidence but has not conveyed the caution of the professionals. He reviews references to Sea Peoples in Egypt and recounts Homeric stories about tribal groups who might somehow be connected. He links all these things with the unique pottery involved to suggest that the Philistines (only one of the many Sea Peoples) came from somewhere connected with Greece. No one doubts a connection—but where, when, how, and with whom? His evidence for "somewhere" stretches from Turkey to Crete and beyond. Archaeological evidence offers little to support the Philistines coming from western Turkey, even though Homer might suggest some connections.

The bulk of this book is a detailed study of passages in the Bible related to the Philistines, with many references to extra-biblical sources accessible in Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* plus a

few newer texts. Bierling does a better job here, though archaeological finds are mentioned less often. Layers of destruction attributable to the Assyrians and Babylonians have been found at many sites. Ekron, surprising, where Bierling served as an area supervisor, was a major center of oil production during the century before Babylon destroyed it, having over one hundred olive presses and many altars. Unfortunately, for this period from 1000 to 600 B.C. less has been found in archaeological contexts that might show the uniqueness of the Philistines or how they interacted with Judah.

The title of this book is misleading. There is precious little about Goliath. Bierling even admits that Goliath may have been related to those who lived in Palestine before the Philistines came. Archaeological studies help to illuminate some of the time periods involved, but most of the book is written using literary sources. The book is very helpful if one wants to learn about the Philistines in the Bible but overstates how much one can learn about them from the currently available results of archaeological studies.

Thomas H. Trapp
Saint Paul, Minnesota

WINDOWS ON THE WORLD OF JESUS: TIME TRAVEL TO ANCIENT JUDEA. By Bruce Malina. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993.

This volume offers valuable insights into the cultural norms of ancient Judea and how such understanding impacts our exegesis of the New Testament. Bruce Malina, a Professor in the Department of Theology at Creighton University in Omaha, is known for his previous research on cultural anthropology and its application to the study of the New Testament. This book presents his insights in a very simple and non-technical format: he offers sixty-one brief case studies, which he then uses to illustrate and explain the cultural behavior of ancient and modern Jews in the Middle East. These "windows" address the following areas of culture: honor and shame; general interpersonal behavior; in-group relations; intra-family relations; out-group

relations; loving kindness; common values; and the concept of time. He uses both biblical texts and some apocryphal texts to illustrate how the aspects of culture discussed in each "window" are also visible in New Testament times, and how they contrast with modern American culture.

Malina's insights are, for the most part, balanced and helpful for exegesis. The reader will sense, though, that much of the author's research is founded upon observing modern Israeli Jews and applying these insights to Jews and Christians of the first century. Such a methodological leap is not without problems. Malina interprets biblical teaching and behavior as inordinately influenced by culture, as opposed to theology. His numerous short case studies make this volume interesting reading for the layman, but laborious for the pastor or scholar. The succinct summary at the end (pages 171-175) is certainly the most valuable part of the book for the pastor who wants his exegesis informed by the culture norms that are often assumed by biblical writers.

Charles A. Gieschen

ISLAM: AN INTRODUCTION FOR CHRISTIANS. Edited by Paul Varo Martinson. Minneapolis: Augsburg-Fortress Press, 1994.

ISLAM: AN INTRODUCTION FOR CHRISTIANS, LEADER'S GUIDE. By Irene Getz. Minneapolis: Augsburg-Fortress Press, 1994.

According to reliable statistics (1993), Islam is the fastest-growing religion in the United States. Mosques now number upwards of 1100, eighty percent of which have been established in the last twelve years. Adherents number some four million, soon to exceed the Jewish communion of six million in the United States.

Numbers aside, Islam presents Christians with a jumble of mixed feelings. We cannot help but acknowledge the tenacious loyalty that Islam commands from immigrants of Muslim countries and from growing numbers of African-Americans—and we sense that this loyalty is a critique of our culture and of the

(seeming) inability of Christianity to provide the moral and spiritual fiber of our society. At the same time, we cannot avoid the questions and suspicions triggered by memories of the Iranian hostage-crisis, or the bombing in New York of the World Trade Center. Islam is an undeniable, growing, and certain part of life in this country.

This book was produced originally by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany and the Evangelical Church in Germany (in 1990) and is here translated and edited for English readers. It is generally a model of clarity. It presents sections on the faith and life of Islam, Islam in North America, the various movements within Islam, Islam and Christianity, and a Christian view of Islam. To make the book an even more helpful resource, appendices provide comparative chronologies and calendars, a glossary of terms, indices of quranic and biblical references, a fine bibliography, and a listing of Muslim and Christian organizations. Particularly appreciated in this book, in addition to its review of Islamic teaching and history, were its insights into the diversity of Islam, the difficulties that immigrant Muslims face in Western society, and especially its discussion of the relation of Christianity and Islam (Bible and Qur'an, Jesus and Muhammad, Trinity and Allah), as well as its appreciation and critique of Islam.

The purpose of the book is not merely to inform, however. It is also to sensitize Christians to the religious and cultural convictions of their Muslim neighbors, so that tolerance may give way to sharing and witness. (As to methods of witnessing, the reader is also well served by Lochhaas, *How to Respond to Islam.*) In addition, there is occasional pastoral reflection on, for example, the complexities of inter-marriage. Not to be neglected is the accompanying leader's guide, because it turns the book into an educational tool, with study-suggestions, discussion-starters, a variety of schedules (study in a retreat or in four, six, or twenty-two sessions), and ideas for enrichment.

Henry Rowold
Saint Louis, Missouri

CANON AND THEOLOGY: OVERTURES TO AN OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By Rolf Rendtorff. Overtures to Biblical Theology. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.

Most volumes of the "Overtures to Biblical Theology" series have been studies of specific theological themes, such as land, blessing, suffering, ministry, and holiness. Breaking that pattern, this volume is an anthology of eighteen articles by Rendtorff, the distinguished Professor (now emeritus) of Old Testament at the University of Heidelberg. Most of the articles have been published elsewhere in a wide variety of publications (English, German, Dutch, and French) and likely are not available to all readers; the remaining five appear for the first time in English.

The title of the book accurately identifies canon and theology as the themes that link the articles, though there is considerable variety in their content. Some, for example, are largely methodological, critiquing and suggesting approaches to Old Testament theology. Of particular interest among these is his evaluation of Vischer's christological approach to the Old Testament. Other discuss the Old Testament as Scripture for both the Jewish and the Christian communities, and the implications that discussion has for Old Testament theology. Still others study specific themes (covenant, creation, prophecy) or pericopes (Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 20) and their relationship to both canon and theology. Of special interest to one concerned with the missiological implications of the Old Testament is the article on the relation of the universalist (monotheist) understanding of God and the particularist revelation to Israel: "Israel's God reveals himself to all human beings as Israel's God, that is to say as the One who made himself known to Israel first and enduringly as himself." This understanding not only provides a helpful context for the New Testament, but roots the mission of God clearly in Scripture as a whole, including the Old Testament.

Not all of Rendtorff's observations and conclusions are equally convincing, nor will all share the critical context of his scholarship. His concern for canon and theology, however, is a welcome challenge for all students of Scripture.

Henry Rowold
Saint Louis, Missouri

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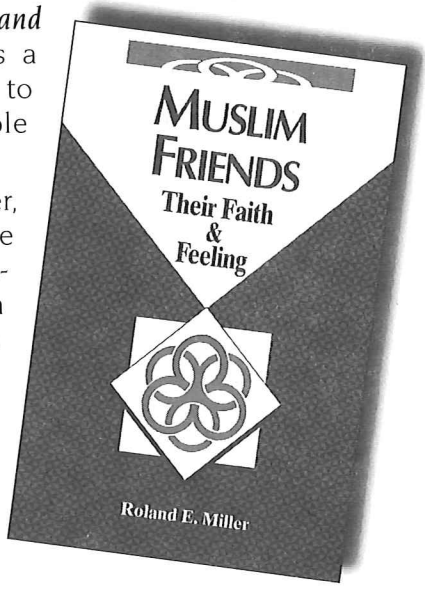
Reach Out to Your Muslim Neighbors

Muslim Friends: Their Faith and Feeling by Roland E. Miller offers a perceptive and unique introduction to the Islamic faith and the people who follow it.



Written for the general reader, Miller looks beyond the false stereotypes of Islam and caricatures of its believers to offer an objective description of the Qurʾān and Islamic beliefs. He describes the fundamental beliefs and practices of Islam and how they permeate all aspects of Muslim culture through the family, friendships, social understanding, festivals, and rites of passage.

As a result, *Muslim Friends* accurately explores the richness of the Muslim culture and offers a rarely-seen portrait of individuals who have normal ideals, goals, and a rich heritage and culture.

Miller draws on decades of personal experience with Muslim friends in India to present this authentic portrayal of the Muslim and his beliefs.

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