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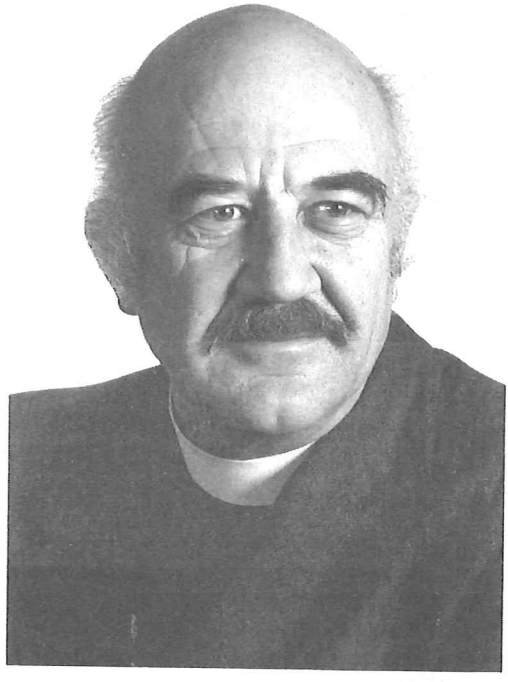

+ Kenneth Frederick Korby +

May 5, 1924 – July 11, 2006

Readers of this article on Korby and Löhe will also find of interest the contributions in the Theological Observer section by Peter Bender (on Korby) and John Pless (on Löhe Studies).

The Editors

CTQ 73 (2009): 99–113

The Contribution of Kenneth Korby to a Renewed Reception of Wilhelm Löhe's Pastoral Theology[1]

John T. Pless

In a letter dated August 4, 1853, Pastor Wilhelm Löhe wrote poignantly to the colonists in Michigan's Saginaw valley:

> Dear friend. . . . Not only because of the death of my dear mother in her 84th year on July 6 do I write this letter on stationery bordered in black, but also because this letter, in another sense, is for me a kind of farewell letter or death notice. Recall if you will how things gradually developed in the Saginaw colonies and you will be aware how close these colonies were to my heart and hand. Today my hand, but not my heart, is taking leave of these colonies. . . . My stance toward you remains as it always has been. You are and continue to be my near relatives with respect to the doctrines of the Church; I am happy about your Synod, about your life, and I pray that nothing untoward may befall you because of your unjust, unholy and ugly attitude towards us, that you may be preserved and become a blessing to many. May the Lord and His holy peace be with you."[2]

Nearly twenty years later, the February 15, 1872, issue of the Missouri Synod's *Der Lutheraner* would provide an announcement of Löhe's death with minimal comment: "From *Lutherische Zeitung* we learned the shocking news that Pastor Löhe of Neuendettelsau, 'after a brief illness' died at five forty-five on the evening of January second."[3]

For much of the Missouri Synod's history, the significance of the pastor from Neuendettelsau has been only partially appreciated. At worst,

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[1] This study was presented as "The Lively Use of Löhe: Kenneth Korby's Contribution to a Renewed Reception of His Pastoral Theology in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod" at the 2. Internationale Löhe-Tagung, Augustana-Hochschule, in Neuendettelsau, Germany, 23 July 2008.

[2] Cited in Gerhard Mundinger, "Wilhelm Löhe," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 70 (1997): 19.

[3] Erich Heintzen, *Wilhelm Loehe and the Missouri Synod, 1841–1853* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Urbana, 1964), Preface.

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Löhe was characterized as guilty of "Romanizing tendencies."[4] More generous assessments recognize his early assistance in providing human and financial resources that would be crucial for the development of what would become the Missouri Synod.[5] Yet as we come to celebrate the bicentennial of Löhe's birth, there is significant and positive appreciation of Löhe in the church body that he had a hand in establishing as a "father from afar." Evidence of this is seen in that both seminaries of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) hosted conferences to commemorate the 200th anniversary of his birth. The February 2008 issue of *The Lutheran Witness*, the Synod's official magazine, carried an article on Löhe.[6] The Holy Trinity 2008 issue of *Logia: A Journal of Lutheran Theology* was published as "the Loehe bicentennial issue," featuring essays by North American and European scholars.[7] *Concordia Pulpit Resources* noted Löhe's contributions to preaching and included the translation of one of his sermons on the Lord's Supper in a recent issue.[8] Concordia Publishing House published David C. Ratke's *Confession and Mission, Word and Sacrament: The Ecclesial Theology of Wilhelm Löhe* in 2001.[9] In 2006, LCMS World Relief and Human Care commissioned a translation of *Löhe on Mercy: Six Chapters for Everyone, the Seventh for the Servants of Mercy* and has widely distributed this booklet throughout the congregations of the church body.[10] John Stephenson, a professor of the Lutheran Church—Canada has translated Löhe's 1849 *Aphorisms*,[11] which were published in 2008 by

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[4] For example, Franz Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, vol. 3, trans. Walter W.F. Albrecht (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953): 447; and Diedrich Henry Steffens, *Doctor Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1917): 285.

[5] For an analysis of Löhe's influence in the early years of the Missouri Synod as well as the present, see John T. Pless, "Wilhelm Loehe and the Missouri Synod: Forgotten Paternity or Living Legacy?" *Currents in Theology and Mission* (April 2006): 122–137.

[6] John T. Pless, "The Missionary Who Never Left Home," *Lutheran Witness* 127 (February 2008): 11–13.

[7] Included in this issue are articles by Dietrich Blaufuß, Craig Nessan, and Walter Conser, as well as translations of a sermon by Löhe on Trinity Sunday and his Preface to the *Agende für christliche Gemeiden des lutherischen Bekenntniss.*

[8] Wilhelm Loehe, "Historical Sermon: A Sermon on the Lord's Supper," trans. Jason D. Lane, *Concordia Pulpit Resources* 18 (August 24–November 23, 2008): 3–6.

[9] David C. Ratke, *Confession and Mission, Word and Sacrament* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001).

[10] Wilhelm Löhe, *Löhe on Mercy: Six Chapters for Everyone, the Seventh for the Servants of Mercy,* trans. Holger Sonntag (St. Louis: LCMS Board for World Relief and Human Care, 2007).

[11] Wilhelm Löhe, *Aphorisms of the New Testament Offices and Their Relationship to the Congregation,* trans. John Stephenson (Bynum, TX: Repristination Press, 2008).

Repristination Press. *Lutheran Service Book*, the hymnal of the LCMS, contains one of Löhe's hymns, "Wide Open Stand the Gates" (*LSB* #639) and the accompanying *Agenda* and *Pastoral Care Companion* bear numerous signs of Löhe's influence. The new hymnal lists January 2, the date of Löhe's death, in commemoration of his vocation as a pastor.

A number of individuals could be cited as contributing to this renewed interest in Löhe and his influence in the LCMS within the last three decades, but none is more significant or substantial than Kenneth F. Korby (1924–2006). Korby graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1945, and, after pastorates in Minnesota and Oregon, he was called to the department of theology at Valparaiso University in 1958, where he served until 1980. While at Valparaiso, Korby earned a Masters in Sacred Theology from Yale, and, in 1976, he obtained a doctorate from Concordia Seminary in Exile for a thesis entitled "The Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Loehe with Special Attention to the Function of the Liturgy and the Laity."[12] In 1980, Korby became pastor of Chatham Fields Lutheran Church, an African-American parish on the south side of Chicago. Upon retiring in 1987 and moving to St. Paul, Minnesota, Korby served as vacancy pastor of Zion Lutheran Church until he completely retired from pastoral ministry and moved to Port Angeles, Washington, in 1997. Until he suffered a debilitating stroke in 2001, Korby was in demand as a speaker at pastoral conferences. In addition to his doctoral dissertation, Korby published three significant articles on Löhe.[13] He became a purveyor of Löhe's pastoral theology, however, chiefly through intensive term classes taught at both LCMS seminaries in the 1980s and 1990s and through various conferences and study groups in which he participated.

Although Korby often spoke of writing a pastoral theology and was encouraged by students and colleagues to do so, he was so much occupied with teaching and preaching that he never found the time for such an undertaking. Korby intended for the move from Chicago to St. Paul to provide him with time to write. Within a few weeks of his arrival in St. Paul, however, he agreed to serve as vacancy pastor for a struggling,

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[12] Kenneth F. Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe with Special Attention to the Function of the Liturgy and the Laity* (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Printshop, 1976).

[13] Kenneth F. Korby, "Loehe's Seelsorge for His Fellow Lutherans in North America," in *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 45 (November, 1972): 227-246; "Theoretiker and Pratiker der Seelsorge," in *Wilhelm Löhe Anstösse für die Ziet*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1971): 137-147; and "Wilhelm Loehe and Liturgical Renewal," in *The Lutheran Historical Conference: Essays and Reports 1972* (St. Louis: Lutheran Historical Conference, 1974): 57-84.

central city congregation. As in Chicago, Korby found himself implementing what he had learned from Löhe in congregational life and tutoring young pastors to do the same rather than writing on Löhe. Ultimately it would be the example of Korby's own pastoral practice and his mentorship of seminarians and pastors that would open a way for a renewed appreciation for and usage of Löhe's legacy in the LCMS in a significant way.

This paper will seek to examine key themes from Löhe that emerge in Korby's published works and how these themes were creatively used by him in charting a way for contemporary pastoral care and church life within the LCMS. While Korby did not publish any additional works specifically on Löhe after the completion of his dissertation in 1976, themes from the dissertation would engage his writing and speaking for the remainder of his career. Like Löhe, the subject of his study and the object of his emulation, Korby found the congregation rather than the academy to be the most fruitful context for his life's work. To be sure, the years at Valparaiso witnessed a constant literary output of scholarly as well as popular sermonic and devotional pieces, but it was the later part of his career, spent in congregations, that pressed him to write and speak in a way that would give him a hearing among the clergy of the LCMS, and through him they would hear Löhe.

I. Korby's Interest in Löhe

A number of factors converged to attract Korby to the study of Löhe. His maternal grandfather was a Neuendettelsau *Sendlinge* who served in northeastern Nebraska. The congregation of his birth and childhood, Zion Lutheran Church in Wellington, Colorado, had its roots in the Iowa Synod before joining the Missouri Synod. As a seminarian and a young pastor, Korby was associated with *Una Sancta*[14] and drawn by its emphasis on a churchly ethos marked by every Sunday celebration of the Lord's Supper and the restoration of private confession. His friend, Walter Bouman, produced a Heidelberg doctoral dissertation on nineteenth-century Lutheran ecclesiology that would invite a reconsideration of Löhe.[15] A portion of a sabbatical year in 1968–1969 was spent in Neuendettelsau,

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[14] *Una Sancta* provided English-speaking readers with a glimpse into Löhe's pastoral theology. See Johann Conrad Wilhelm Löhe, "The Sacrament of Repentance" trans. Delvin E. Ressel, *Una Sancta* 10 (St. Matthias, Apostle and Martyr, 1951), 1-9 and 10 (Sts. Philip and James, Apostles and Martyrs, 1951), 10-23.

[15] Walter H. Bouman, *The Unity of the Church in 19th Century Confessional Lutheranism* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg, 1962).

where Korby immersed himself in archival research and benefited from close contact with Martin Wittenberg.[16]

Korby's work on Löhe is not only marked by a careful reading of the original sources but also engaged with key scholars of the period involved in Löhe research: Hans Kressel, Friedrich Kantzenbach, Georg Merz, and Martin Wittenberg (all from Germany); Siegfried Hebart (Australia); and James Schaaf (United States). Korby's own interest in Löhe was not simply to provide another historical study of his life or systematic investigation of his theology. Korby focused on the usefulness of Löhe for Lutheran pastoral theology in the late twentieth century.[17]

Critical of approaches to pastoral theology that exchanged the churchly setting for that of the clinic and the language of the Christian faith for the vocabulary of the personality sciences, Korby saw in Löhe a pastoral theologian who could not envision spiritual care apart from the context of the living congregation where the language of Holy Scripture, the Catechism, and liturgy were used for diagnosis and cure of troubled and tormented souls. Korby discovered in Löhe one who thought theologically about pastoral care and sought to practice it as a theological discipline in contrast to the growing trend of the middle and late twentieth century that reduced the care of souls to counseling and relied deeply on psychological theory rather than traditional theological categories.[18] Korby anticipated the rising tide of voices such as William Willimon, Thomas Oden, E. Brooks Holified, Paul Pruyser, and more recently Andrew Purves,[19] who would make similar polemical assessments of pastoral theologies dominated by social ideologies or psychological views.

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[16] Martin Wittenberg's "Wilhelm Löhe and Confession: A Contribution to the History of *Seelsorge* and the Office of the Ministry within Modern Lutheranism" was subsequently translated by Gerald S. Krispen and published in the festschrift for Norman E. Nagel, *And Every Tongue Confess: Essays in Honor of Norman Nagel on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Gerald S. Krispin and Jon D. Vieker (Dearborn, Michigan: The Nagel Festschrift Committee, 1990), 113-150. This essay proved an important source for many of Korby's students who sought to catechize congregations toward the recovery of the practice.

[17] Korby's work was also reflected in a chapter on Löhe written by Herbert Mayer, one the readers of his dissertation, in Mayer's book, *Pastoral Care: Its Roots and Renewal* (Atlanta; John Knox, 1979), 195-212.

[18] See Kenneth Korby, "Pastoral Theology in Ecclesiological Perspective," *The Cresset* (April 1970): 17-19.

[19] See, for example, William Willimon, *Worship as Pastoral Care* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979); Thomas Oden, *Pastoral Theology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1982); E. Brooks Holifield, *A History of Pastoral Care in America* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983); Paul

Korby was of the opinion "that whoever wills to enter the thought of Wilhelm Löhe on the matter of the cure of souls must enter via his understanding of the church."[20] Noting that Löhe did not develop his views on the church systematically in the way of a classical dogmatics text, Korby echoed the observation of Walter Bouman that "[Löhe's] whole life and thought, his correspondence, his parish duties, his world-wide concerns revolved around the nature of the Church so that a biography of him can at the same time be an ecclesiology."[21]

II. Korby's Analysis of Löhe's Ecclesiology

The real weight of Korby's contribution is treatment of elements in Löhe's ecclesiology that are drawn together in a focus on pastoral care. Korby finds in Löhe a theologian who is both a theoretician and practitioner of pastoral care.[22] Three strands of Löhe's ecclesiological thinking relative to pastoral care emerge in Korby's work.[23]

First, there is the unity of the church. Drawing on Ephesians and the creed that "I believe in one holy Christian and apostolic Church," Korby sees Löhe as providing a corrective to the conceptuality of the church as "visible and invisible" inherited from Lutheran Orthodoxy and widely used in the nineteenth century.[24] Löhe did not abandon this distinction as can be seen in his *Agende* of 1844 and his *Three Books About the Church.* In the foreword to the agenda, Löhe writes that the church is the "marvelous creation of her one and only Lord and Master, which has demonstrated and will demonstrate herself independent of everything except Word and Sacrament. In her totality the church is and remains invisible and appears visibly, sometimes here, sometimes there, as her banners wave in the

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Pruyser, *The Minister as Diagnostician* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976); and Andrew Purves, *Pastoral Theology in the Classical Tradition* (Louisville: John Knox/Westminster, 2001). For a helpful introduction to the churchly character of Löhe's pastoral theology, see Armin Wenz, "Ministry and Pastoral Theology of Löhe and Vilmar" *Logia* 16 (Holy Trinity 2007): 15-23.

[20] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 307.

[21] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 148.

[22] See Korby, "Theoretiker and Praktiker der Seelsorge," 137-147.

[23] Korby concentrates on Löhe's *Drei Bücher von der Kirche* (1844) and *Der Evangelische Geistliche* (1852-1858) in his analysis but demonstrates a wide comprehension of other works by Löhe, especially those that attend to liturgy, catechesis, and pastoral care.

[24] See Heinrich Schmid, *Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,* trans. Charles A. Hay and Henry E. Jacobs (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1961), 582-599 and Holsten Fagerberg, *Bekenntnis, Kirche, und Amt in der deutschen konfessionalellen Theologie des Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1952), 127-131.

breeze, sometimes here, sometimes there, and her marks appear in Word and Sacrament, sometimes here, sometimes there."[25]

To avoid positing two churches, one visible and the other invisible, Löhe seeks to speak of the church as simultaneously visible and invisible. This Löhe does by using the analogy of the human being who is both body and soul, one not existing without the other in this life, and by making a distinction between those who are "called," as those embraced in the visible church, and those who are "chosen," as members of the invisible church.[26] Korby acknowledges that Löhe's treatment of the visible/invisible distinction is not without difficulties from the multiple perspectives of missiology, systematics, and pastoral care.[27] He identifies what he sees as problematic:

> To be caught in the tug of war initiated by the use of the words 'visible' and 'invisible' is to be threatened always to flee into the invisible, thereby turning every day churchly life over to machinations, devices, techniques, and powers of all sorts. Or, to choose to concentrate on that reality that corresponds to 'visible' is to shift the understanding of the Word of God and faith so that the inner life of the church is drained off into the quagmires of experientialism and into the legalisms of righteousness by works or rituals. And yet, to hold to both terms 'visible' and 'invisible' is very nearly to be caught defenseless against the 'two church solution' that has so often threatened the church's unity and the Gospel.[28]

Yet, positively, Korby argues Löhe is able to escape turning the doctrine of the church into an abstraction by avoiding a shift from oral/auditory images to visual ones in his ecclesiology. The inner life of the church which is hidden is given outward expression in preaching, baptizing, absolving, and distributing the Lord's Supper.

The inner and outer life of the church is joined together in an unbroken unity. Korby cites Löhe from *Three Books About the Church:* "The visible church is the 'tabernacle of God among men, and outside of it there is no salvation. A man separates himself from God the Father if he separates himself from the church, his mother. . . . As a man stands in relation to the church, so he stands in relation to God."[29]

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[25] Cited in Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 178.

[26] See Wilhelm Loehe, *Three Books about the Church* trans. James Schaaf (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 87-89.

[27] Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 180-181.

[28] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 182-183.

[29] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 180.

Second, the apostolic character of the church means that the church is not a static institution but a living organism. The church is both called and calling. By the apostolic word, that is the living voice of preaching that is in conformity to the apostolic Scriptures, the church is called to life in Christ Jesus. Korby expresses the connection between the apostolic Word and mission:

> As the mission is the church of God in motion, so the energy of that motion is the Word of God, the apostolic Word. That Word alone is the energy; that Word alone is the uniting center. It is not the constitutional order of the church, not a lord, not a bishop that is the uniting power in the center of the church, but this apostolic Word, the Scripture. Apostolic is the principle [sic] name for the church, for these clear Scriptures are not only the uniting word, but that clear Word that is always at the center and the church is never without 'its glorious center.' Löhe equates the apostolic Word and the Scriptures. However, at the same time he continues to keep alive the quality of the Word as spoken, as oral.[30]

This is the calling to faith as faith comes from hearing the gospel. The church that is apostolic is constituted in and by this faith-creating Word. At the same time, the church that is apostolic is a calling church, as this church confesses Christ before the world and through the preaching of Christ gathers people from every tribe and tongue into the holy community whose head is Christ.

Acts 2:42 is taken by Korby to be crucial in Löhe's thinking on the nature of the life of the apostolic congregation expressed in worship: "And they devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers." Korby sees Löhe's use of this pericope as another example of avoidance of abstractions as he concretely describes the character of the liturgical congregation as praying, preaching, and celebrating the Lord's Supper.[31]

Gathered by the apostolic Word, the church is fed by the body and blood of the Lord in the Lord's Supper. While the appearance of four items noted in Acts 2:42 might appear in varying degrees in different gatherings of the congregation for worship, all four come to culmination and union in the service of Holy Communion. "One element may appropriately be stressed over the others in any given gathering. But the great high point,

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[30] Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Loehe*, 177.

[31] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Loehe*, 170; also see Korby, "Wilhelm Loehe and Liturgical Renewal," 71, where Korby traces how Löhe develops the use of Acts 2:42 in his *Laienagende* of 1852.

the fountain of all other life and worship, is the union of the four elements. That union is the celebration of Holy Communion."[32]

Korby maintains that Löhe's "sacramental realism" shaped his understanding of the church as a living organism. The church is known from the altar. It is from the altar that mission is generated and to the altar that mission returns. The movement of mission is from and to the altar as the church lives as "an organism of rescuing love." Although Korby himself was influential in shaping the training of deaconesses at Valparaiso University, he does not provide an extensive treatment of Löhe's understanding of the female diaconate in his published writings. He sees the diaconate as the embodied expression of the mercy of Christ rescuing those in need from bodily suffering and spiritual distress. In his treatment of the apostolic character of the church in Löhe, Korby was more interested in demonstrating how the church lives as a royal and holy priesthood under the oversight and care of the pastor.

Contrary to interpretations of Löhe that would see in him a hierarchal clericalism that demeaned the life of the laity, *disenfranchising* them from the life of the church, Korby finds in Löhe a unity between the pastoral office and the universal priesthood. Both are from the Lord. The office is established by Christ for the sake of the apostolic word so that it might be heard, believed, and confessed in the places where the priestly people called by the Lord live and work.[33] Korby sees Löhe as one who revitalizes a Lutheran doctrine of vocation that enlivens the laity to live out their callings in the world, especially in the Christian home where the word of Christ is to dwell richly. Thus the laity are not only the objects of spiritual care, they are engaged in this work in union with the pastor. Korby observes that Löhe's "*Haus-Schul-und Kirchenbuch* proved to be a coherent statement expressing the union of the home, the school, and the church in mutual care of souls, and included valuable guidance for laymen to engage directly in that caring work."[34]

Korby would show himself to be more than a theoretical interpreter of Löhe, but one who modeled his own pastoral and pedagogical work after him. As a pastor and as a teacher, he produced devotional guides for the Christian family that envisioned the family as the locale for the life of the

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[32] Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe*, 170.

[33] See Kenneth Korby, "The Pastoral Office and the Priesthood of Believers" in *Lord Jesus Christ, Will You Not Stay: Essays in Honor of Ronald Feuerhahn on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Bart Day et al. (Houston: The Feuerhahn Festschrift Committee, 2002), 333–371.

[34] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe*, 173.

royal priesthood in hearing the Word of God, exercising the mutual exchange of the forgiveness of sins and engaging in ordered daily prayer. While they were not published and marketed, these guides were often photocopied and modified by Korby's students and are still in use in many congregations.

Third, the Lutheran Church is a confessional communion. As a heir of the confessional reawakening of the nineteenth century, Löhe embraced the Lutheran Confessions as the clear exposition of the Holy Scriptures. This led him to reject the Prussian Union and all that it entailed. Korby describes Löhe's confessionalism as a "sacramental confessionalism" in that he understood all of Lutheran doctrine drawn together in the Sacrament of the Altar. This sacramental confessionalism had both ecclesiological and pastoral consequences. Ecclesiastically it meant that for Löhe there could be no inter-communion with those of another confession. Pastorally it meant that the Confessions are embraced to keep the Lutheran Church centered in the purity of evangelical proclamation and administration of the Lord's Supper. For Löhe, the Confessions prevented involvement in inter-confessional mission societies and the embrace of what Korby identifies as "methodistic" methods of evangelization and pastoral care.

III. Lutheran Pastoral Care in Korby's Writings

As noted, Korby approached Löhe as a practicing pastor and teacher of pastors. In this capacity, Korby draws deeply from Löhe in six aspects as he seeks to articulate a Lutheran pastoral theology.

First, the care of souls properly belongs to the church. Korby writes:

> The shape of Loehe's pastoral theology can be designated as a tri-polar field. The basic pole is the Word of God; the other two poles are the congregation and the pastor. As the Spirit leads the congregation, giving them pastors and teachers as gifts, the same spirit gives the *means* for the church's life and work. The wisdom and power of the pastoral office lie in the *use* of that Word. The object of pastoral care is the creation of new creatures. In *Seelsorge,* therefore, God's Word, not human skills, is the essence of persuasion, for the aim of the Spirit is to make a new and holy people, not merely to modify behavior with human persuasion. Care of souls is the cure of souls.[35]

Second, Korby insists on the primacy of private confession and absolution in pastoral care. Like Löhe, Korby sought to restore confession

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[35] Kenneth Korby, "Loehe's *Seelsorge* for his Fellow Lutherans in America," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 45 (November 1972), 235.

and absolution to usage in congregational life. He cites Löhe: "Private confession is the mother of all care of souls and for it there is no substitute."[36] An evangelical reclaiming of confession and absolution is anchored in the chief article, justification by faith alone. Absolution is the enactment of the justifying word of the gospel. For Löhe the *Beichtvater* (father confessor) is not a judge over the penitent but a servant or ambassador who is sent with the verdict of the judge: forgiveness to those broken by their sin. Löhe's theological and pastoral work on confession and absolution shaped Korby's practice and the way in which he taught congregations to treasure confession for the sake of the absolution as well as the manner in which he tutored pastors to care for the souls of the penitent. Included in the *Pastoral Care Companion,* an accompanying volume to the *Lutheran Service Book,* is a "Preparation for Confession"[37] taken in large part from a piece that Korby had prepared to assist penitents in spiritual self-examination prior to confession. Löhe's influence can be seen here.

Third, tied to the restoration of confession and absolution is the necessity of discipline within the church. The word of blessing in the absolution directed toward sinners who repent has its antithesis in the word of curse in the binding key spoken to hardened sinners who will not repent. Korby writes:

> Löhe saw private confession and absolution as only a half measure if there is not joined with it the power to refuse absolution or to deny the Lord's Supper. To use only one key means the loss of both. Löhe judged easy or cheap care of souls to be worthless. 'There is no such thing as care of souls without training or discipline.' If there is no practice of excommunication, absolution loses some of its significance.[38]

Korby points out that for Löhe, discipline in the church is work of rescue. It may be compared to the physician setting a broken bone, painful but necessary for the healing of the patient. Korby's attempt to reclaim the terminology of church discipline as a congregational activity of rescuing love is deeply indebted to Löhe. Korby writes:

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[36] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 160. Korby developed a contemporary approach to the practice of private confession and absolution based on Löhe's work in a unpublished paper presented on 19 April 1966 to a pastoral conference of the LCMS English District in Toledo, Ohio. A copy of this paper is in the author's possession.

[37] *LSB Pastoral Care Companion* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2007), 657-663.

[38] Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 189.

> For his chief text Loehe uses St. Matthew 18. He begins his exposition of this text by describing the Lord Jesus as the One greatly offended by all mankind. He Himself comes to us the offenders, to be the pastor, the care-taker of our souls. In the same way, says Loehe, God gives us to each other to be care-takers of each other. God's divine call to do this work is issued in the offense of the brother. But God intends not only that we pardon the offender but that the offender be rescued. And entirely in accord with his churchly understanding of teaching and life, Loehe goes on to stress the congregational activity. Discipline is an affair of the congregation. The entire congregation should unite itself for the rescue of the single soul. The fellowship of the congregation gives witness against the unrepentant sin of the sinner, drawing the judgment of all into the field against the obstinacy of the person; and each one is to stand for all the others and together they are to stand for each one. That is the love expressed in Matthew 18. Can anyone imagine such love, such care, he asks? It is exactly the opposite of the spirit of Cain who says, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Loehe notes that these words about the congregation and such care are spoken by Jesus before congregations were established, while Jesus saw them only as those future creations he would make by His words. Thus Jesus reveals 'a total organism of rescuing love' which helps restore the brother with gentleness because it is spiritual.[39]

Fourth, sermon, sacrament, and catechization form a necessary triad in the care of souls. In *Three Books About the Church,* Löhe characterized his own time as "a time of one-sidedness and experimentation."[40] Writing in a time of liturgical experimentation and exploration of new paradigms for mission and ministry, Korby noted the parallels between Löhe's time and the late twentieth century in regard to what he believed was detrimental to the genuine care of souls. The care of souls requires church. That means

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[39] Korby, "Wilhelm Loehe and Liturgical Renewal," 76-77. Here also see Korby, "What Happened to the Other Key" *The Cresset* (April 1974), 3-5. Without referencing Löhe, Korby observes that "The indifference to the practice of church discipline has grown from a spirit of disobedience, from a misunderstanding of the judgment of God, and from a cowardly spirit of fear. But even deeper than that in the pathology of indifference is the spirit of unbelief about the word of God" (4). Korby then goes on to speak in Löhe-like language of how church discipline is the rescuing work of the whole congregation seeking to break the lethal enchantment of the sinner with his sin. The theme of this short article is expanded in an unpublished paper entitled "The Key to the Renewal of the Church is the Office of the Keys: Discipline within the Body of Christ" presented on 30 September 1975 to a meeting of the Central Regional Pastoral Conference of the Northern Illinois District (LCMS). In this paper, Löhe is explicitly used in Korby's description of the nature and function of discipline in the congregation. This paper is in the author's possession.

[40] Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 188.

the care of souls is dependent on a context formed by preaching, the Lord's Supper, and catechetical instruction.

Luther's Small Catechism tutors the Christian in repentance, faith and holy living. For Korby, as for Löhe, the Catechism is not merely a condensed dogmatics text; it is a handbook for Christian praying and living. Korby follows Löhe in urging that the Catechism be learned by heart and utilized for faith and life. Echoing Löhe, Korby maintains that the Bible, a Lutheran hymnal, and the Catechism are the three books for church and home that form the core texts for catechetical instruction.[41]

Fifth, Korby echoes Löhe's necessity of making a distinction between the "ordinary" and "extraordinary" forms of pastoral care.[42] The ordinary means for the care of souls are sermon, liturgy, and catechesis. The extraordinary means would be those pastoral activities that attend to specific needs and crises in the lives of believers. Here again we see that the church is fundamental to pastoral care. Korby writes,

> So radical was this contextual setting to be understood that Löhe argued: if one does not anchor the extraordinary means in this general setting of the ordinary, he will make the grave error of turning the extraordinary into the ordinary. That is, the private care, the care of the individual, will become the ordinary means of the pastor's work and preaching, catechesis, and liturgy will become occasional, peripheral, and insignificant. The private care of the individual is extraordinary, by Löhe's description. But if it is to be fruitful and blessed work, it must be done with those on whom the ordinary means of the care of souls have done their work.[43]

Korby observes that Löhe spotted a tendency to replace the ordinary with extraordinary:

> Such an inversion is what he (Löhe) called 'methodism' in pastoral care. Löhe called this a one-sidedness, growing out of the conviction that the Word of God would work effectively only if it were used in a certain way. But the attempt to achieve something special, something spectacular in this way was like cutting with the handle of a knife. The feverish creation of new measures for pastoral care will, in the long run, produce just that, 'new measures.' It does not take too long before the effects once produced

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[41] Peter Bender, a student of Korby's, founded the Concordia Catechetical Academy which produced *Lutheran Catechesis* and other catechetical aids modeled after Korby's work in this area. The Academy has sponsored a three-day Concordia Catechetical Symposium each June on various aspects of catechesis.

[42] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 245; also see Kenneth Korby, "Loehe's *Seelsorge* for his Fellow Lutherans in America," 227-246.

[43] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 246.

> by the 'new measures' begin to wear off, for in becoming the ordinary means for the care of souls, the extraordinary means do not have the staying power that the ordinary means contain within themselves. [44]

The Introduction to the *Lutheran Service Book Agenda* echoes Korby's reading of Löhe:

> It is helpful to distinguish between the ordinary and extraordinary means of pastoral care. The ordinary means include preaching, catechization, confession/absolution, prayer, and the liturgy itself. Extraordinary means of pastoral care are just that—they are out of the ordinary. Counseling, intervention, and referral are examples of the extraordinary. While recognizing the place of the extraordinary forms of pastoral care, the agenda attends to the ordinary.[45]

Six, Korby develops from Löhe a definition of the liturgical congregation as the praying congregation. Löhe sees liturgy as a "holy drama"[46] that is the agent of dialogical interchange between God and the congregation. Korby comments that "Löhe described the worship as God moving with his Word and deed (the Sacrament); the congregation receives through Word and deed (the Sacrament) and gives through Word and deed (fellowship). This meeting of God the Lord and his congregation in celebrating earnestness, is the highest life."[47] That Löhe sought to study the ancient liturgies of the church both from the east and west, evaluating their content by the Lutheran Confessions and retaining what is useful in them, was indeed part of Löhe's contribution to liturgical renewal. Korby argues that Löhe was more than a liturgical archaeologist; he was one who desired to teach the liturgical life. Liturgy was to be taught to the people so that they might be moved to understanding and especially to prayer. Löhe's preface to the 1844 *Agenda* and his *Seed Grains of Prayer* are among the materials that Korby sees as serving this goal. Korby would produce a "narrative service" entitled "The Liturgy in Slow Motion" based on the Common Service found in *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 that would be photocopied and widely distributed as a way of teaching the liturgy. Something of a template for Korby's education piece was Löhe's outline of the chief parts of the liturgy in the Preface to the 1844 *Agenda*.

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[44] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe*, 247.

[45] *Lutheran Service Book Agenda* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2006), ix; also see John T. Pless, "*Lutheran Service Book Agenda* and *Lutheran Service Book – Pastoral Care Companion*" in *The History and Practice of Lutheran Service Book* ed. Daniel Zager (Fort Wayne: Good Shepherd Institute, 2007), 149-156.

[46] Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe*, 273.

[47] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe*, 276.

Korby writes that for Löhe "the liturgical life of the congregation moves in concentric circles around the Word and the Sacrament."[48] This means the worship life of the congregation extends into the daily lives of Christians in their homes and work places. In this way, all of time and work is hallowed by the Word of God and prayer. In an unpublished essay on "Prayer Books and Liturgical Work of Wilhelm Löhe," Korby observes that for Löhe "the true liturgical congregation is the church with the desire to offer petition, to give praise and thanksgiving on behalf of all mankind. That, not the majesty, simplicity, or antiquity of its forms make it a liturgical congregation."[49] Thus the pastor teaches the congregation to pray liturgically. Korby comments:

> The pastor teaches his congregation rightly to be a liturgical congregation when he teaches and practices such common prayer with them. This perception of the genuinely liturgical congregation conforms to Löhe's understanding of the Christian life as hallowing all things by the Word of God and prayer. When he wrote the *Haus-Schul-und Kirchenbuch,* he expounded this teaching of the apostles by instructing the readers: the Word of God reveals the will of the eternal King and the prayer of the congregation is nothing else than the expression of her own hallowed will meeting with the will of her Lord and King. With prayer she turns herself and all creatures, together with their total use, to his will.[50]

IV. Conclusion

In Kenneth Korby, Wilhelm Löhe found a faithful disciple and an able interpreter. He was a careful scholar who opened many within The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and beyond to the pastoral legacy of Löhe. More than this, Korby came to embody key themes of Löhe in his own work as a pastor and teacher. His churchly scholarship and his pious example continue to commend the pastor of Neuendettelsau as one from whom we still have much to learn.

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[48] Korby, *Theology as Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 274.

[49] Kenneth Korby, "Prayer Books and Liturgical Works of Wilhelm Loehe" (unpublished essay in possession of the author). The publication of this essay is planned for a future issue of *Logia.* Surprisingly, Korby does not mention Löhe in his essay "Prayer: Pre-Reformation to the Present," in *Christians at Prayer,* edited by John Gallen, S.J. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 113-133.

[50] Korby, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe,* 275.

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The Liturgical Shape of the Old Testament Gospel

Alan Ludwig

The liturgy is a great treasure of the Christian church. The church has always held in highest esteem not only the Holy Scriptures but also her creeds, catechisms, and liturgical forms. The Evangelical Lutheran Church continues in this tradition. At Augsburg in 1530, the Lutheran princes confessed:

> We are unjustly accused of having abolished the Mass. Without boasting, it is manifest that the Mass is observed among us with greater devotion and more earnestness than among our opponents. . . . Meanwhile no conspicuous changes have been made in the public ceremonies of the Mass, except that in certain places German hymns are sung in addition to the Latin responses for the instruction and exercise of the people. (CA XXIV 1, 9, 2 Ger)

Today, however, there are many who believe that if the Lutheran Church is to be a viable church in a populist-pluralist religious culture, she cannot continue to be a liturgical church. Liturgy, after all, is an *adiaphoron* – often interpreted as a commodity that we may take or leave – and, therefore, in Christian freedom, leave it we must. Traditionalists then scramble to defend the liturgy to doubting fellow-pastors and dubious parishioners. One way of doing this is to show how biblical the liturgy is. Some of us have seen worship folders and even hymnbooks that give scriptural references showing the sources of the liturgical rite.[1]

Indeed, the liturgy is heavily loaded with the words of holy writ. But is it biblical only in that its texts are taken from Scripture? Why not then replace it with something totally different, something more relevant to modern culture that also draws its language from the Bible? In this essay, I shall argue that not only is the liturgy biblical, the Bible is liturgical. God's gracious work of deliverance from sin is the true liturgy. The very gospel, including the gospel of the Old Testament, has a liturgical shape.

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[1] E.g., *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2006), in all five settings of the Divine Service, gives Bible references for nearly every part of the liturgy.

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When I say "liturgical shape," I mean something rather different from how this is commonly understood. In his highly influential book, *The Shape of the Liturgy,* Dom Gregory Dix attempted to identify common features that underlay the liturgies of the first few centuries. He determined a four-action *shape* of the Eucharist that, when properly performed, re-presents or actualizes the original event.[2] The merits and drawbacks of Dix's "liturgical shape" are too complex to be explored here. Suffice it to say that I shall not attempt to reconstruct the precise liturgical patterns of the tabernacle or temple—a speculative task at best.[3] Nor am I entirely comfortable with the views of Dix, Odo Cassell, and some Old Testament scholars such as Mowinckel, Pedersen, and von Rad that a dramatic recreation of an original saving event somehow mystically makes that event real for worshipers in the present, as though the reenactment is what does it.[4] By *liturgical shape,* I mean rather that the gospel in the Old Testament has recognizable liturgical dimensions. The gospel—that is, God's gracious self-manifestation in space and time to save sinners—in its height, length, and breadth is the archetypical divine service that was the source of Israel's ritual and ultimately the fount of our own liturgy.

I. The Liturgy of Paradise

Let us begin at the beginning, with the first divine service. We all know the story: the LORD God created heaven and earth and saw that it was very good. He planted a garden, made a man in his own image and likeness to care for it, and gave him a woman as a helpmate. The one-flesh union of man and woman already has liturgical overtones as it typifies Christ and the church, specifically, Christ's love for the church in giving himself for her and washing her in water with the word (Gen 2:24; Eph 5:22–33).

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[2] Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: A. & C. Black, 1945; reprint New York: Seabury Press, 1982). For a helpful summary of Dix's views see Timothy C. J. Quill, *The Impact of the Liturgical Movement on American Lutheranism,* Drew Series in Liturgy 3 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1997), 49-59.

[3] For a survey of modern investigation of the origins Israelite worship, and the lack of scholarly consensus, see Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Worship in Israel,* trans. Geoffrey Buswell (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1966), 1-25.

[4] See Alan Ludwig, "Remembrance and Re-presentation in Israel's Worship," S.T.M. Thesis (Concordia Seminary, 1991), for an examination of "re-presentation" in Old Testament scholarship and a critique of it based on Old Testament cultic institutions.

God gave the man and woman one commandment only: "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, you shall not eat of it: for in the day that you eat thereof you will surely die" (Gen 2:17). We know what happened next: the serpent beguiled the woman; she ate of the fruit of the forbidden tree; she gave her husband to eat; their eyes were opened; they knew they were naked; and they made themselves cloaks of fig leaves. Through one man's transgression death entered the world. God's exceedingly good creation became subject to futility. Now in paradise were found sinners.

The First Liturgy of Paradise after the Fall

Enter the divine liturgist. The LORD God himself came to seek the cowering Adam and his wife. As father confessor, he elicited from the pair an admission of guilt. As preacher, God not only proclaimed the law of sin and death, but the *Protoevangelium*—final defeat of the serpent by the seed of the woman (Gen 3:15).[5] The LORD God himself preached the first sermon of law and gospel. God had said, "On the day you eat of it, you will surely die." Why then did Adam and Eve go on living? We cannot legitimately stretch the Hebrew בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ, "On the day of your eating from it," to the 930 years Adam walked the earth. Nor can we simply say that the slow process of death began on the day that Adam and Eve sinned, or that on this day they received a death-sentence to be carried out later.[6] The guilty pair did die that day; they were driven from Eden and deprived of the tree of life—a walking death. But does this do full justice to the circumstance? Death as God threatened it, and as the man and the woman would have understood it, must also have brought an immediate end to walking, to breathing, however, end of story. "On that day," the divine liturgist had come not so much to execute the sentence of death as to preach the life-

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[5] H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Genesis,* 2 vols. (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942; reprint Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, n.d.), 1:163-170. Many modern interpreters reject outright a messianic interpretation, e.g., Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11,* trans. John J. Scullion S.J., Continental Commentary (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 260-261. A middle view is taken by Gorden J. Wenham, *Genesis 1 -15,* Word Biblical Commentary 1 (Waco: TX: Word, 1987), 80-81. Wenham believes that in light of subsequent revelation the verse may have a *sensus plenior* as *protoevangelium,* but this was not the narrator's own understanding. A question arises as to whether זֶרַע, "seed," may be understood in the singular here. Modern commentators usually say no. But, as Galatians 3 makes clear, apostolic exegesis could view it both ways. Paul stresses the oneness of Abraham's seed and refers it to Christ, but later calls the plurality of the Galatian Christians "Abraham's seed" (Gal 3:16, 19, 29).

[6] Leupold, *Exposition of Genesis,* 1:128; Wenham, *Genesis 1 -15,* 67-68; contra Westermann, *Genesis 1-11,* 224. Cf. 1 Kgs 2:37, 42, where the same construction unambiguously means that death will take place on the same day.

giving promise. This life-giving promise overcame the death that had already come to the sinners and that was to be the quick and sure penalty of their transgression. Adam understood this. He understood and believed. In the face of his own eventual return to the dust from which he was taken, he nevertheless named his wife חַוָּה, ζωή, "life," because she was to become the mother of all living, the mother of the Life-giver.[7] Eve apparently made a similar confession of faith in the naming of her firstborn, when she said, קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יהוה. According to the most natural rendering of the Hebrew text, she said something like, "I have got a man—Yahweh." Luther interpreted it as such in his translation of the Bible into German.[8] Modern interpreters are inclined to doubt this sense on rational grounds, but grammatically it has much to commend it.[9] God's proclamation that her seed would vanquish the serpent aroused in her the expectation of the soon coming of the divine-human savior. That Eve was mistaken in her identification does not nullify the genuineness of the faith created in her by the promise. Such was the power of the service of the word.

Then came the liturgy of the sacrament: "And the LORD God made tunics of skin for the man and his wife, and clothed them" (Gen 3:21). Even allowing for the terse style and sparse details of the Genesis narrative, we cannot say for certain that this was a full-blown sacrifice. Yet God took the skin from somewhere. There was a death, the first death ever, life given for life, substitution, the first shedding of blood, and a divine clothing that covered the naked sinners in place of their self-made garments of fig leaves. This sign sealed the promise and signified the means by which the seed of the woman would crush the serpent's head. If not a sacrifice in the fully developed sense, this was surely the prototype of later blood

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[7] "It was through the power of divine grace that Adam believed the promise with regard to the woman's seed, and manifested his faith in the name which he gave to his wife. חַוָּה (Eve), signifying life … or life-spring, is a substantive … from חָיָה = חִיָּה (xix. 32, 34) the life-receiving one." C. F. Keil, *The Five Books of Moses*, C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament*, trans. James Martin, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983 reprint), 1:106.

[8] Luther's 1545 version: "Ich habe den Mann, den HERRN." The 1912 revision has "Ich habe einen Mann gewonnen mit dem HERRN."

[9] "So far as the grammar is concerned, the expression אֶת־יְהוָה might be rendered, as in apposition to אִישׁ, "*a man, the Lord*" (*Luther*) …" Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament*, 1:108. Keil rejects this translation on the basis of sense, saying that the promise did not specify the divine nature of the seed. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11, 290*, notes that the prep. אֶת, is never used in the sense given it here, "with the help of." Wenham is in doubt as to which is right; *Genesis 1 -15*, 101.

sacrifice.[10] We see this same divine ministry of the word and "sacrament" in Genesis 15, where Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him for righteousness (15:6), and the promise was sealed with the shedding of blood as the LORD walked among the cut-up animal victims (15:8–20). In Genesis 22 we see the same divine provision of a substitutionary life, where the LORD gave a ram in place of Isaac as his father was about to slay him on the altar.

These Genesis passages highlight that blood sacrifice is above all a gift of God to man. It is a sealing of the messianic promise. Sacrifice points to and typifies the one true propitiatory sacrifice of Christ on the cross—a truth lost to all manmade religions, and, alas, too often forgotten by Israel. Put in Lutheran dogmatic terms, sacrifice was in first place sacramental. As the LORD said to Moses: "For the life of the flesh in the blood ... and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your lives" (Lev 17:11). Some of the sacrifices prescribed by the *torah* were also responsorial gifts of man to God. But all were primarily gifts of God to man. This can be most clearly seen in Genesis 3, where the transgressors had nothing good to offer for themselves. God came to them, slew the victim, and covered them with his death that they might live. For Adam and Eve, another suffered in their stead. A substitute died for them and hid their shame, as a token of the coming redemption of the promised seed.

The Ongoing Liturgy of Paradise as a Foundation for Worship

In important ways this liturgy in Eden became a foundation for Israel's worship. The divine service in the garden was never repeated; the man and woman were driven out, and cherubim with whirling, flaming swords guarded its entrance to the east. Yet, in his mercy, God gave sinners a new entrance to paradise—from the east! From the east, worshippers entered the tabernacle and later the temple, whose cherubim, gold, precious stones, figures of palm trees, and pomegranates all recall the lost paradise described in Genesis 2–3, but whose entrance is no longer barred. Indeed, these sanctuaries were little Edens where, like Adam and Eve before the fall, the worshipers met with God and found acceptance through the blood of sacrifices. The Psalms sometimes extol the temple in the language of paradise. David sings:

> How precious is your steadfast love, O God! And the children of men take refuge in the shadow of your wings. They feast on the fat of your house, and you give them to drink from the river of your "edens" [עֲדָנֶיךָ] (i.e.,

[10] So Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament*, 1:106.

> your delights). For with you is the fountain of life; in your light do we see light. (Ps 36:7-9 [36:8-10 MT])

The liturgical foundations of Genesis 3 for Christian worship also should not escape us. Is not the cross our entrance to paradise?[11] Does the church not also with glad hearts sing psalms such as the one just quoted? Do we not confess that in the liturgy it is God who comes to us sinners, seeking us out, reviving us with his word and quickening us with the body and blood of the innocent victim? Do we not also confess that our divine service is not only a joining with the worship of heaven but also a partaking of paradise, a foretaste of the coming Lamb's feast, and a preview of the day in which we shall have a share in the tree of life?

Perhaps some will think that I have gone too far in casting Genesis 3 as a divine liturgy of word and sacrament. Indeed, I have deliberately superimposed some basic liturgical terminology upon the text. This is to make the point that it can plausibly be done. Would it be equally possible to describe, say, your typical contemporary worship event in liturgical terms? I think not. The contrasts are just too great. Nor would it be easy to find much in common between Genesis 3, where God came to save sinners, and some of today's contemporary worship, where people strive to raise themselves up to God. Can you imagine spinning a tale of the events in Eden as so-called entertainment evangelism? I cannot—unless it be the serpent's cunning persuasion of the woman as he appealed to her senses against the word of God. No, God's rescue of fallen humanity in the garden is liturgy not at all in the contemporary-cultural sense. It is liturgy in the traditional sense, if only in this, that a gracious God came to rescue sinners, and did so through means. Since then, the surroundings have changed, and the liturgical texts have developed. Yet, in the liturgy of Eden as happens in true liturgy of all times and places, God proclaimed and sealed to sinners the life-giving promise in the face of sin and death. This is the essence of the gospel; this is the essence of the liturgy.

II. The Liturgy of Deliverance

Without question the central event in the Old Testament is the exodus from Egypt. What the cross is to the New Testament, the exodus is to the Old. Through the exodus, the promises to the fathers began to be realized. By means of the exodus, Israel became God's people, and God dwelt in

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[11] "Who on the tree of the cross didst give salvation unto mankind that, whence death arose, thence Life might rise again; and that he who by a tree once overcame might likewise by a tree be overcome" (the traditional Proper Preface for Lent).

their midst. Psalmists and prophets hymned the exodus. Subsequent and even eschatological events find prophetic expression in terms of a new exodus. In its historical and typological import, the exodus can hardly be overestimated. It marks a new milestone in God's dealings with humanity.

In Genesis God had made himself known to the fathers by his name El Shaddai, perhaps best rendered as "God Almighty."[12] He provided for them, blessed them, protected and defended them. Now in Exodus God reveals his name, יהוה. The etymological meaning of this name is much debated, but Yahweh himself told Moses exactly what his self-revelation by this name meant. He had heard the groaning of his people. He would deliver and redeem them from Egypt. He would fulfill for them the promises made to their fathers. He would be their God and they would be his people (Exod 6:4-8).[13] This is the true meaning of the name Yahweh, whatever its correct etymological explanation may be. Here, for the first time, in connection with this name, the rich Old Testament vocabulary of salvation makes its appearance. Words such as נצל (deliver), גאל (redeem), and ישע (save), apply to God's activity in bringing up his people from Egypt.[14] To put the matter in catechetical terms: God's revelation of his name El Shaddai consisted largely of those works comprehended in the first article of the creed. Any patriarch could say of El Shaddai, "He has given me my body and soul ... he richly and daily provides me with all that I need to support this body and life ... he defends me against all danger, guards and protects me from all evil." God's revelation of his name Yahweh largely comprises the second article of the creed. Any Israelite standing on the other side of the Red Sea could confess: "He has redeemed me ... purchased and won me ... that I may be his own, and live under him in his kingdom, and serve him." Redemption is the hallmark of the exodus from Egypt.

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[12] The precise meaning of שַׁדַּי is very much an open question in modern scholarship. The LXX translates שַׁדַּי as παντοκράτωρ 14 times. This usage is reflected in the Book of Revelation. In Genesis this name is generally found in contexts of God's creating and preserving activity.

[13] In Exodus 6:4-8 Yahweh lists 7 self-revelatory acts, 3 in the past and 4 in the future, which are marked at the beginning and end with the *inclusio* "I am Yahweh."

[14] E.g., In Exodus 6:6 we encounter נצל Hiph., "to snatch away, deliver," and גאל, "to redeem with a price, to act as kinsman-redeemer." In 14:30 ישע, "to save," is used of God's rescuing Israel from Egypt through the sea, as well as its cognate noun יְשׁוּעָה, "salvation," in 14:13 and 15:2.

The First Liturgy of the Exodus Event

Yahweh's deliverance of his people from Egyptian bondage has a markedly liturgical shape. If Genesis 3 suggests the liturgy, then the Book of Exodus defines it. God accomplished the salvation of his people by means of both word and "sacrament," if you will. This time Yahweh worked through his servant Moses. God was no less involved than he was in Eden, when there was no one else who could preach but himself. At the burning bush, Yahweh said to Moses, "I have seen the affliction of my people ... and *I have come down* to deliver them from Egypt" (Exod 3:7-8). Yet he said to Moses, "Go, and I will send you to Pharaoh, that you may bring my people up from Egypt" (Exod 3:10). Everything Yahweh did to rescue his people, he did through Moses and Aaron. If you study the text of Exodus carefully, you will see that Moses and Yahweh are inseparably intertwined in the work of redemption. The rod of Moses is the rod of God (Exod 4:20);[15] the hand of God and the hand of Moses are as one (e.g., Exod 4:21; 14:16, 31). In this matter, the text of Exodus takes us to the very edge of orthodoxy. To Moses' continued objections about being sent, Yahweh responded:

> Is there not Aaron your brother? ... You shall speak to him and put words in his mouth, and I will be with your mouth and with his mouth, and I will teach you what you shall do. And he will speak for you to the people. And it will come about that he will be your mouth, and you will be his God. (Exod 4:14-16)[16]

Later Yahweh also says to Moses, "You will be God to Pharaoh, and Aaron your brother will be your prophet" (Exod 7:1). Moses of course is not actually God in his person, but in Exodus he and Yahweh are so closely identified in the ministry of deliverance that he functions in God's stead. One can scarcely avoid thinking of the incarnation. This is good and right, for Moses is indeed a type of Christ, the greater deliverer, the greater עֶבֶד יהוה ("servant of Yahweh"). Moses is also the prototype of how God

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[15] There is no warrant in the text for distinguishing the rod of Moses from the rod of God, as though they were two different rods; contra William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, Anchor Bible 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 227–228.

[16] So Luther's Bible: "er soll dein Mund sein, und du sollst sein Gott sein." The RSV translation of Exod 4:16, "and you shall be to him as God," is too weak. וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה־לּוֹ לֵאלֹהִים is the same construction as in 6.7, וְהָיִיתִי לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים, translated "and I will be their God." Moreover, the previous phrase in Exod 4:16, translated by the RSV "and he shall be a mouth for you," has exactly the same syntax as this one. The RSV adds the same buffer-word "as" in Exod 7:1.

works through his called servants of all times—then priests and prophets, and now, ministers of the gospel.

The liturgy of redemption in Exodus 4 commences with the service of the word. Yahweh sent Moses to proclaim Israel's deliverance. Because he was not "a man of words," but was "heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue" (Exod 4:10), Aaron became his mouth. Moses, of course, did signs, yet Exodus 4–11 centers on preaching; the signs served to confirm the word. This was a word of deliverance to God's people, but a word of judgment to those who resisted the word and will of Yahweh. The prominence of the signs should not obscure the fact that the word itself was living and active. The word was a two-edged sword, both working faith and strengthening the hardness of unbelief in its hearers. Yahweh hardened Pharaoh's heart only after Pharaoh repeatedly hardened his own heart against the proclamation.[17] When the children of Israel heard the same word Pharaoh would hear and saw the same signs Pharaoh would see, they believed (Exod 4:31). Faith comes by hearing. Indeed, like that of saints of all times, Israel's faith vacillated when things got worse. They held to a theology of glory, not a theology of the cross. Yahweh had seen their afflictions and promised to deliver them, yet their immediate experience ran counter to that word as Pharaoh afflicted them even more. Weak and wavering though the children of Israel's faith was, it was a true faith wrought by the preaching of the gospel.

In Exodus 12 comes a dramatic shift. Public preaching had ended. Now began the liturgy of the faithful. Now Yahweh would save, deliver, and sustain his people through the Passover, the Red Sea crossing, manna from heaven, water from the rock—types of the eucharist and baptism (1 Cor 10:1–13). The rich theology and typology of these things cannot be explored here. What is important for us to note is that the God of Israel served his people through means: not only through the word and its confirming wonders, but now through the elements of his created order. He sent his people out of Egypt by means of the Passover. He freed Israel

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[17] In Exodus 4–14 various expressions for hardening the heart are almost equally divided between Pharaoh's hardening his own heart and Yahweh's hardening it. The verbs used are חזק ("to be strong," Pi. "to make strong"); כבד ("to be heavy," Hiph. "to make heavy"); and once קשׁה (Hiph. "to harden"). For the first 5 plagues, it is Pharaoh whose heart is "strong/heavy" or who "hardens/strengthens his own heart (Exod 7:13 22: 8:15; 9:35 (וְחִזַּק); 7:14; 8:11; 28; 9-7 34 [וַיְכַבֵּד]). It is only at the 6th plague that Yahweh begins to intervene (9:12 [חזק Pi.]; cf. also 4:21[חזק Pi.]; 7:3 [קשׁה Hiph.]; 10:1 [כבד Hiph.], 10:20, 27 [both חזק Pi.]; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17 [all חזק Pi.]).

and destroyed their enemies through the waters of the sea. The spiritual food and drink he gave kept them alive in the wilderness.

There is something quite new in this liturgy of deliverance, yet something that is familiar to us all from our own liturgy:

> And Moses told Aaron all the words of the LORD with which he had sent him, and all the signs with which he had charged him. And Moses and Aaron went and gathered all the elders of the children of Israel: and Aaron spoke all the words which the LORD had spoken to Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed: and when they heard that the LORD had visited the children of Israel, and that he had seen their affliction, then they bowed down and worshiped. (Exod 4:28-31)

The preaching of the word worked faith in the hearers, and the faithful then responded to God's grace in the way that faith responds. This same faith and worship-response of the faithful is found again in the service of the sacrament. When Moses had finished giving instructions for the Passover, the people again "bowed down and worshiped" (Exod 12:27). Yet again, on the other side of the sea just after the crossing:

> Thus the LORD saved Israel that day from the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore. And Israel saw the great hand[18] which the LORD did against the Egyptians, and the people feared the LORD; and they believed in the LORD and in his servant Moses. (Exod 14:30–31)

In this last instance the emphasis is not on hearing, as it was in the liturgy of the word, but on seeing: sacraments are for the eyes.[19] Moses had urged the people to stand still and see the salvation of Yahweh (Exod 14:13); Israel saw and believed. What is the very next thing they did? They sang. They sang to Yahweh, confessed his name, rehearsed his mighty

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[18] A literal translation of the Hebrew הַיָּד הַגְּדֹלָה. This is likely a reference to Moses' hand that he stretched out over the sea (Exod 14:16, 21, 26, 27). The Song of the Sea also speaks of Yahweh's "right hand" (יָמִין) shattering the enemy (Exod 15:6). Yet this hand never manifested itself apart from Moses' hand.

[19] "When we are baptized, when we eat the Lord's body, when we are absolved, our hearts should firmly believe that God really forgives us for Christ's sake. Through the Word and the rite God simultaneously moves the heart to believe and take hold of faith, as Paul says (Rom 10:17), 'Faith comes from what is heard.' As the Word enters through the ears to strike the heart, so the rite itself enters through the eyes to move the heart" (Ap XIII 4–5).

deed of deliverance through water, and confessed their future hope. The Song of the Sea in Exodus 15 is not some simple-minded little praise ditty, the kind of thing some might expect in that impoverished setting. No, this is a full-blown liturgical composition, complete with strophes, refrains, and antiphonal singing. How did they do it on the spot? Perhaps Moses and Aaron composed it and sang it themselves, or taught it to a few while the others crossed over. The women sang the refrain (Exod 15:21). The Song of the Sea is a great work of art, one of the marvelous hymns of the Bible, and a tremendous testimony to the power of proper divine service to create faith in the participants and elicit a response of thankful praise.

And so we see that Yahweh's work of freeing his people from Egyptian tyranny gained the liturgical rhythm with which we are all familiar. God spoke and acted; as a result the people believed and gave right praise: "Yahweh is a man of war; Yahweh is his name" (Exod 15:3).

The Ongoing Liturgy of Deliverance after the Exodus

The Tabernacle. The liturgical structure and liturgical rhythms of the exodus event are impressive enough. Yet an even more striking feature of the Book of Exodus is how closely the historical exodus from Egypt is tied up with the ongoing liturgical life of Israel. In fact, salvation in space and time and the ritual of Israel are inseparable in the Book of Exodus. Sometimes they are virtually indistinguishable. This is evident in a number of ways. One of the most obvious ways is the prominence of the tabernacle. Thirteen chapters—roughly one-third of the book—concern the tabernacle, its furnishings, and its personnel. This is a lot when you consider that the central event, the Red Sea crossing, gets only two chapters, and one of these is a poetic retelling. The giving of the *Torah* rates only six chapters. Furthermore, the building and dedication of the tabernacle serve as the climax of the book, the culmination of everything that has come before, as the Glory of Yahweh fills the structure (Exod 40: 34–38). Yahweh delivered his people not just to say that he had done so. Nor was his main goal to rout the gods of Egypt, which he marvelously did. Yahweh's purpose was other. He said:

> There [in the tent of meeting] I will meet with the people of Israel, and it shall be sanctified by my glory; I will consecrate the tent of meeting and the altar; Aaron also and his sons I will consecrate, to serve me as priests. And I will dwell among the people of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall know that I am the LORD their God, who brought them forth out of the land of Egypt that I might dwell among them; I am the LORD their God. (Exod 29:43–46)

Yahweh's goal was to restore the communion with mankind that had been broken by Adam and Eve in Eden. Because the sons of Israel were

still the sons of Adam, who could not behold his face and live, he mediated his presence among them by tabernacle, priesthood, and altar. Without these liturgical furnishings and personnel, without the sacrifices and accompanying rituals, there would have been no communion with God. Without this communion there would have been no true knowledge that he was Yahweh their God who had brought them out of Egypt.[20] Thus the act of redemption and the ongoing liturgy of redemption are cut from one cloth.

The Song of the Sea. We have already considered how the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15 was Israel's faith-response after the Red Sea crossing. Thematically the song serves as a hinge, summing up what has preceded and anticipating what follows. It unites exodus and cult. Most simply this song can be divided into two parts. Verses 1–12 retell Yahweh's mighty victory over the Egyptians in the sea. Verses 13–18 look toward the future, when Yahweh will bring his people to his sanctuary on his holy mountain.[21] This is fulfilled in measure with Mount Sinai and the building of the tabernacle. Yet, the Song of the Sea looks well beyond this:

> You will bring them in and you will plant them on the mountain of your inheritance; The place which you have made for your dwelling, O Yahweh, the sanctuary, O Lord, which your hands have established. (Exod 15:17)

The liturgical dimension of the exodus reaches not only to the worship of the tabernacle in the wilderness, but into the Promised Land and the establishment of the temple on Mount Zion.[22]

Sinai. Another way in which the exodus from Egypt and Israel's worship intersects is Mount Sinai. After the tabernacle, events at Mount Sinai receive the most play in Exodus (chapters 19–24). Without question, the giving of the *Torah* at Sinai was a divine service. When Yahweh first met Moses at the burning bush, he said, "I will be with you; and this will be the sign for you that I have sent you: when you have brought the people out of Egypt, you shall worship [עבד] God upon this mountain" (Exod

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[20] The Hebrew verb ידע, "to know," more often than not denotes experiential knowing.

[21] Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary,* Old Testament Library (Philadelphia:Westminster 1974), 251-252.

[22] Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 176, views this as a literary device designed to "actualize the victory in the form of a liturgical celebration." This seems not to take seriously the text's claims as to the historical origins of the song.

3:12).[23] The verb עבד can mean either "serve" or "worship." Here it has shades of both senses, but in its context is connected with offering sacrifice. Israel was serving Egypt as slaves. When freed from that slavery, they would serve Yahweh not by making bricks but by the liturgy.[24] This is exactly what happened after the children of Israel arrived at Mount Sinai.

The worship at Sinai has the liturgical features with which we have now become familiar. In chapter 19 we have the preparation. The presence of Yahweh covered the mountain, and there were boundaries of holiness set that foreshadowed the grades of holiness of the tabernacle. Then began the liturgy of the word. Yahweh himself thundered out the Decalogue. Because the people were afraid to hear his audible voice, Moses read the rest of the statutes and laws to them. We should note that this was not all "law" in the doctrinal sense; there were gospel words as well, most notably, "I am Yahweh your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slaves" (Exod 20:1). Sometimes we Lutherans, in our zeal to maintain the proper distinction between law and gospel, deny that the establishing of the covenant at Sinai was a grace event. The gracious promise to Abraham was now being fulfilled. Apart from any merit or worthiness in the children of Israel, Yahweh had borne them on eagles' wings and taken them to himself (Exod 19:6). But Sinai was not only about divine grace. As St. Paul says, "The law ... was added because of transgressions" (Gal 3:19). Although the law did not annul the promise, yet because of its requirements that the sinful flesh was powerless to keep, the giving of the law became a ministry of condemnation and death. Three times, as Moses spoke the words of Yahweh in the ears of the people, they were moved to answer with one accord: "All that Yahweh has spoken, we will do" (Exod 19:8; 24:3, 7). The fear and faith elicited in them by the presence of Yahweh on the mountain and the hearing of his words led

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[23] Childs, *Exodus*, 56–60, gives a detailed discussion of the problem of this sign, as does Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 203–204. Elsewhere in the Bible the sign precedes the event. This leads scholars to propose various alternate solutions here. Childs opts for the burning bush as being the sign that participates in the reality of the worship at Mount Sinai (60). Most interpreters still assume that the future worship at Mount Sinai is the sign; this is the most natural meaning. In either case, the two, the theophany in the burning bush and the theophany in the cloud atop the mountain, are of one piece: in both Yahweh is present; the ground is holy; God speaks. Propp leaves the question open, although suggesting that perhaps the sign is the giving of the "rod of God."

[24] Seven times in Exodus (4:23; 7:16; 8:1, 20; 9:1, 13; 10:3) Moses demanded of Pharaoh that he let Yahweh's people go that they might serve him in the wilderness. In context, this service was cultic, for it consisted of offering sacrifice (3:18; 5:3; etc.).

them to this unanimous declaration. Israel's sincerity is not in question. The subsequent sad history, however, showed that they did not—yea, could not—do what they had promised.

The service of the sacrament begins in chapter 24. After Moses read the words of the covenant, he sprinkled the altar and the people with the sacrificial blood and said, "Behold, the blood of the covenant which Yahweh has made with you on the basis of all these words" (Exod 24:8). On the basis of which words was the covenant made? The words of the Book of the Covenant that Moses had just read? The words of the people, who promised to do what is written? Or both? In any case, there is a conditionality to this covenant. In this way, Moses' words stand in stark contrast to the similar words that were spoken some 1400 years later, when Christ said, "This is my blood of the new testament, shed for you for the forgiveness of sins." With Christ's testament no law is added because of transgression, because the law was added only until the seed should come to whom he was promised (Gal 3:19).

The liturgy of the sacrament did not end with the sprinkling of blood. Now came the covenant meal. Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, Joshua, and seventy elders went up the mountain, where they ate and drank in the very presence of the God of Israel. They saw him and lived. What did these men eat and drink? No one can say for sure, but a strong possibility is that the food included the meat of the שְׁלָמִים, the peace-offerings or communion-offerings that had just been sacrificed (Exod 24:5). According to the later *Torah*, this was the one sacrifice that was to be eaten by all worshipers and not just the priests and their families. The eating of this sacrifice meant communion with a gracious God and unity with one another. This would explain how the men could see the God of Israel, yet he did not lay a hand against them. Whatever food they may have eaten on the mountain, their eating in the presence of God is a beautiful type of the new-covenant meal.

At Sinai, then, we see the same liturgical shape that we encountered in the exodus event itself: the liturgy of word, followed by the liturgy of "sacrament." Israel's redemption from Egypt was carried over into the ongoing ritual. There is contrast as well: the deliverance was unconditional; the covenant of that deliverance was conditional. This contrast, however, should not blind us to the grace of God even in the

giving of the *Torah,*[25] nor to the liturgical pattern of word and sacrament that underlies both.

The Passover. Nowhere is the connection between the original saving event and its ongoing liturgical commemoration more wonderful than in Exodus 12, where Yahweh instituted the Passover. The first Passover on the eve of Israel's departure from Egypt is interwoven with Yahweh's instructions for future generations. The historical event on the one hand retains its uniqueness. On the other hand, it cannot be separated or divorced from subsequent Passover celebrations, because the institution of the first Passover applies to all. It is wrongheaded of critical scholars to try to identify various sources and strata, as though these strands can be rent asunder or were put together piecemeal by some late redactor.[26] Such analysis misses the point.

If the first Passover and subsequent observances are so intertwined, is there a distinction? Exodus 12:1–11 gives detailed instructions for the preparation and eating of the Passover. Then Yahweh says: "For I will pass through the land of Egypt that night, and I will smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and on all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgments: I am Yahweh" (Exod 12:12). There is no indication in the chapter that he will strike the land of Egypt once a year throughout all generations as the Passover is kept. Does this mean then that later Passover meals are mere reenactments designed to remind people of what happened then? Indeed, the text says that the day of Passover throughout all generations is a "reminder" (זִכָּרוֹן). The context, though, strongly suggests that this זִכָּרוֹן is a reminder to Yahweh as well as to Israel. When God remembers, he acts. This is no empty memorial, no symbolic commemoration.[27]

This is confirmed by other evidence. After detailed instructions for the preparation of the animal, it says, "It is Yahweh's Passover."[28] This is a

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[25] The *Torah* not only made demands upon Israel, but also provided the means of forgiveness for failure to meet these demands. In the doctrinal terminology of Lutheran theology, the *Torah* contains gospel as well as law. This is clear, e.g., in Ps 119:93: "I will never forget thy precepts: for with them thou hast quickened me."

[26] See further Ludwig, "Remembrance and Re-presentation in Israel's Worship," 68–69, especially n. 41.

[27] Ludwig, "Remembrance and Re-presentation in Israel's Worship," 72.

[28] Hebrew פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוה, which could be translated "It is a Passover to/for Yahweh" as well as reading the ל as possessive. I have opted for the possessive because it can include both aspects of the passover: it was a gift from God to man, as well as the right worship rendered to Yahweh by Israel when it was observed as he instituted it. If the ל is taken as dative, it means "It is a passover in the eyes of Yahweh," that is, to him

liturgical-legal formula found throughout the first chapters of Leviticus. It means that, when the sacrifice is prepared per instructions, Yahweh declares it to be the real thing: "It is a whole burnt offering." "It is a thank offering." Then all that goes with it applies: it is a restful aroma to Yahweh, it carries his promise of atonement and forgiveness, and so forth.[29] In the case of the Passover, the specific promise attached is that, when Yahweh sees the blood on the lintel and doorpost, he will spare the firstborn of Israel (Exod 12:12). A few verses later in the chapter, Yahweh repeats the promise. Then he prescribes the liturgical words for all future Passovers:

> You shall observe this thing as a statute for you and for your sons for ever. And when you come to the land that Yahweh will give you, as he has promised, you shall keep this service. And when your sons say to you, "What is this service to you?" you shall say, "It is the sacrifice of Yahweh's Passover [זֶבַח־פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוה], who passed over the houses of the people of Israel in Egypt, when he slew the Egyptians but spared our houses." (Exod 12:24–27)

In each succeeding generation the father speaks the liturgical-legal formula to his son, nearly identical to the formula spoken of the first Passover (cf. Exod 12:11): "It is the sacrifice of Yahweh's Passover." It is the actual thing. It is no empty symbol, but has an act of divine grace attached. Here, though, the father refers not to a future but to a past event: "he passed over the houses of the people of Israel in Egypt." Yet this is not merely a past history of some dead ancestors. A hundred, five hundred, a thousand years after the exodus, the father will say to his son, "He spared *our* houses." It is as if to say: "Their houses are our houses. Their history is ours. My son, through the Passover sacrifice we share in the deliverance from Egypt." It is not so much that the Passover actualized past events in the present, [30] or that worshipers were transported through time into the past, but that the participants were incorporated into the once-for-all deliverance from Egypt. Through eating the Passover they were united with the first generation of those who came out of Egypt. These, too, became God's people and he their God.

This is not so unlike baptism, by which we were buried into Christ's death, or the Eucharist, by which we receive the same body and blood with

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it is legitimate and acceptable because it is carried out in accordance with his institution. The ל of advantage seems excluded by the context. In Exod 12:13 we see how the passover works to Israel's advantage.

[29] E.g., Exod 29:22; Lev 1:13, 17; 2:6, 15.

[30] Contra Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 176.

the same forgiveness of sins as the Eleven received on the night Christ was betrayed. Yet nowhere in Scripture is the liturgical rite more intimately connected with its original event than it is in the case of the Passover.

In summation, the exodus gospel is linked to the ongoing exodus liturgy. God's deliverance was liturgical in itself, and by the divine will it spawned all sorts of liturgical commemorations. These commemorations, however, were not bare symbols but applied the original salvation from generation to generation.

III. The Liturgy of Return

The next great gospel event in Israel's history was the return of the exiles. Not so much can be said about this in the present discussion. Israel's worship had long been institutionalized, and the goal was thus to rebuild the temple and reestablish the cult, through which Yahweh had blessed and sustained his people, and through which he wished to do so again. Yet, a few pertinent points can be made about the liturgical nature of the return to the land. For one thing, several of the prophets portray the return from exile as a new and even a greater exodus.[31] What pertains to the first exodus pertains in large measure to the return from Babylonian captivity. As Yahweh had brought Israel out of Egyptian captivity into the land of promise, so he would bring their descendants out of Babylon and the surrounding nations to dwell once again in the land from which he had driven them because of their disobedience.

By what means did Israel's God deliver from captivity this second time? Again, by the prophetic word. What is unique is that the living, active word of release from captivity began to be spoken long before the fact. The second half of Isaiah is a preachment of comfort to the captives. Nearly 200 years before the return, Isaiah proclaimed:

> The Spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me, because the LORD has anointed me to bring good tidings to the afflicted; he has sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who are bound; to proclaim the year of the LORD's favor, and the day of vengeance of our God. (Isa 61:1-2a)

Christ, of course, applied these words to himself; in Christ they have their great fulfillment. Yet, in their context, they pertain first of all to Isaiah's ministry of comfort and release to the Babylonian captives, spoken even before those captives were born. Like Christ after him, Isaiah freed

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[31] E.g., Isa 11:10-12; 43:2, 16-19, 48:20-21; Jer 23: 7-8; Ezek 20:33-38; Hos 2:14-23, 11:10; Mic 7:15-17.

the captives by preaching the comfort of the gospel. Like Moses before him, Isaiah spoke Yahweh's word to the king. Yet unlike Pharaoh, king Cyrus believed and heeded the word of Yahweh to let his people go. Unlike Pharaoh, who refused to let Israel worship his God, Cyrus decreed that the house of God be built in Jerusalem.[32]

We see especially clearly the life-giving power of God's word to the exiles in the prophecies of Ezekiel. The prophet saw a valley of dry bones in a vision. He prophesied as Yahweh directed him, and his word put flesh upon the bones and life and Spirit into them. These were the exiles who, even before the fact, received life and release by the creative word of God spoken by the prophet.

God's ministry of delivering the captives, however, did not end with the prophetic word. When the exiles reentered the land, the "liturgy of the sacrament" began. Of all the prophets, Ezekiel gives a particularly detailed parallel between exodus and return from exile:

> As I live, says the Lord GOD, surely with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, I will be king over you. I will bring you out from the peoples and gather you out of the countries where you are scattered, with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out; and I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. (Ezek 20:33–35)

The prophet goes on to describe in some detail the purging out of the rebels in the wilderness. Then, like Moses before him, he shows forth the liturgical goal of the new "exodus":

> For on my holy mountain, the mountain height of Israel, declares Lord Yahweh, there all the house of Israel, all of them, will serve/worship me in the land. There I will accept them, and there I will seek your contributions and the choicest of your gifts, with all your holy offerings. By means of a restful aroma [בְּרֵיחַ נִיחֹחַ] I will accept you[33] when I bring

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[32] Isa 44:28; 45:1; 2 Chr 36:22–23; Ezra 1:1–8.

[33] Contrast the common translation "as a soothing aroma I will accept you." This is highly unlikely in the context of the previous verse, which speaks of real sacrifices and Yahweh's acceptance of the people on his holy mountain in their worship. The translation given here takes the ב in בריח ניחח as a *beth instrumentalis* rather than as a *beth essentiae*, and is favored by a number of significant commentators, notably, G. A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Ezekiel*, International Crictical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936), 223; also Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, Anchor Bible 22, ed. William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman (Garden City,

> you out from the peoples and gather you from the nations where you have been scattered. And I will show myself holy among you in the sight of the nations. (Ezek 20:40-41)

What is most striking here is not the emphasis on worship when the exiles return to the land. From the time of the conquest this had been the case. What is striking is the explicit statement that God would accomplish his saving purpose by means of the sweet savor of sacrifices. Without the liturgical cult there would be no acceptance and no blessing of the freed captives. Gospel and liturgy, therefore, cannot be severed.

This is why the one book of the Bible that gives us some historical details about the actual return from exile is so preoccupied with the cult. The Book of Ezra focuses more on the return of the temple vessels, the rebuilding of the altar, the reestablishment of the burnt offerings, and above all the rebuilding of the temple than it does on the return of the exiles themselves! Besides Leviticus and parts of Chronicles, the Book of Ezra is arguably the most cultic-minded book in the Bible, for it was through temple, priesthood, and sacrifice that God would deal graciously with his people in the land. It should be stressed also that the new temple did not institute a new style of worship that better reflected the new cultural situation. The second temple remained firmly within the Mosaic and Davidic liturgical traditions described in the Pentateuch and the books of Chronicles.[34]

To the prophetic way of viewing things, the return from exile marks the beginning of the messianic age. It may be more precise to say that the return to the land blends into it. Ezekiel seems to speak immediately of the exiles when he says that Yahweh will sprinkle them with clean water, cleanse them, and put his Spirit within them (Ezek 36:25-27), but this cultic language is truly fulfilled not in the second temple but after the coming of Christ, in baptism (John 3:5). When the prophet foretells that the people will be under one Davidic shepherd, and that he will put his sanctuary among them forever (Ezek 34:23-24; 37:25-28), he seems to be speaking of events immediately after the return. Yet as we know now, Christ did not come immediately after the exile. The people waited for another 500+ years for these things to come about. Finally, in chapters 40-48 of his book,

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NY: Doubleday, 1983), 375; contra GKC 379 §119 i; and Daniel I. Block, *Ezekiel 1-24*, NICOT, ed. R. K. Harrison and Robert L. Hubbard Jr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 653.

[34] Hence modern critical opinion that the worship described in Chronicles is anachronistic, that it is post-exilic worship retrojected upon the first temple by the Chronicler.

Ezekiel sees the messianic age in profoundly Old Testament liturgical images: temple, altar, priesthood, and sacrifice. The prophet Zechariah also portrays the coming age in cultic terms (Zech 14:16-21). In short, the Old Testament sometimes typifies even the Christian church in its own peculiar liturgical language.

IV. The Liturgy of the New Testament Gospel

This leads me to a few brief remarks about the New Testament. While this is not within the designated scope of the topic, it has to be addressed because the objection always lurks that the Old Testament as irrelevant and obsolete, that Christ has fulfilled all rituals, and so now we neither need nor desire liturgical forms of worship.

Can we find the same liturgical shape to the New Testament Gospel? The answer is an unwavering yes. The four Gospels, whatever their differences, all share to a degree the liturgical shape of the first fifteen chapters of the Book of Exodus. In all of them, Jesus—like Moses—begins his ministry with preaching and teaching. As were Moses' signs, Christ's miracles are the signs that confirm his proclamation that the kingdom of heaven is at hand. When the liturgy of the word ends; the liturgy of the sacrament begins. The Lord kept the Passover with his disciples, feeding them a food and drink far more life-giving than the Passover lamb they had just eaten. Finally, Jesus accomplished a greater exodus than that of Moses, defeating the foes by the wood of the cross. His flesh given for the life of the world was the sacrifice to end all sacrifices. He is the great sacrament, the fount and source of all sacraments, as the water and blood flow forth from his pierced side (John 19:34).

If there is any doubt about all this, we have only to consider the Epistle to the Hebrews. Christ our great High Priest entered the Holy Place with an offering better than the blood of bulls and goats. In this epistle, Jesus Christ is priest, sacrifice, and temple; his cross is the altar; his liturgy of salvation is a λειτουργία more excellent than the Aaronic liturgy (Heb 8:6).

Besides this, one could mention in passing the scenes of heavenly worship in the Book of Revelation. There we find tabernacle, altar, incense, chanting, antiphonal singing, bowing, even prostrating oneself before the throne of God and the Lamb—all those ritualistic trappings that some people think are outmoded, done away with in Christ, or that make them uncomfortable. There we also see the liturgical rhythm of God's acting and the saints' response of hymnic praise. Most profoundly, the heavenly liturgy serves to accomplish God's purposes on earth: destruction of the ungodly and deliverance of the faithful.

More could be said. All of this is to make the point that the New Testament parallels the Old in its conception of salvation as liturgy. We cannot, therefore, easily dismiss the Old Testament witness on the grounds that it has been superseded.

V. Conclusion

All of this has been to demonstrate that the Old Testament gospel has a liturgical shape. The Old Testament liturgy reflects and perpetuates this pattern of God's coming to sinners to save them through word and sacrament. Likewise, the traditional liturgical forms that the church has inherited preserve the shape of the gospel of grace among us. Rooted in tabernacle, temple, and synagogue, the venerable Christian liturgies preserve this integral connection between saving event and worship. Our liturgical roots, thus, go far deeper than that the words of our liturgies are scriptural, true as this is. The roots run deeper than that our liturgies are faithful to biblical doctrine, necessary though this be. The traditional forms of liturgy with which we are familiar perpetuate gospel history, God's way of coming into the world to seek and to save sinners. They find their rhythm in the rhythms of the Lord's deliverance and the saints' faith-response to this deliverance. They pulse with the lifeblood of the ancient and saving biblical narratives. Most importantly, traditional liturgy provides the framework in which God's mighty deeds of salvation, culminating in his one great saving act in Christ, grasp us anew and bind us to themselves, so that once again they become ours and we part of them. This same thing cannot be said for contemporary substitutes for the liturgy, which invariably breathe a strange air that the patriarchs and prophets did not breathe and follow patterns foreign to the biblical gospel.

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Its End Is Destruction: Babylon the Great in the Book of Revelation

Peter F. Gregory

The title "Babylon the great" appears six times in the book of Revelation (Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21), beginning with an angel's proclamation, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great" (Rev 14:8). Revelation uses it as the name for the enemy of God's people. Interest in Revelation's "Babylon the great" has often focused on identifying *who* "Babylon" is, that is, on decoding the name.[1] Less focus has been placed on *why* this title is used. Why was Babylon singled out as the "whore" in Revelation? What so distinguished "Babylon" that it best suited the purposes of this book?[2] Why is this particular designation used in Revelation and not others, for example, Egypt, Tyre, Assyria, the Seleucids, or Rome? The name "Babylon" certainly brings to mind ideas of worldwide rule, the destruction of the temple, the exile, and vast economic control, yet these themes are insufficient to explain its use in Revelation. By connecting this name to the descriptions of Babylon in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and

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[1] Among the main interpretive approaches to Revelation, G. K. Beale lists the preterist view, which identifies Babylon either as apostate Israel or as the Roman Empire, and the historicist view, which sees Revelation as an unfolding of historical events (for example, sections may be intepreted as depicting the Goth and Muslim invasions of the Roman Empire, the medieval papacy, the Carolingian Empire, the Protestant Reformation, and the rule of Napoleon and Hitler). See Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans and Paternoster Press, 1999), 44–49. Moreover, Francesca Aran Murphy states, "Dispensationalist Apocalypse interpreters [such as Hal Lindsey and the fiction of Tim LaHaye] were in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century . . . identifying modern politicians with the agents of Revelation." See Murphy, "Revelation, Book of," in *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. Kevin J. Vanhoozer (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2005), 685–686. There have doubtless been inrepretations of Revelation that find in it references to communist states (the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and North Korea), Iraq under Saddam Hussein, militant Islam, the European Union, and even the United States.

[2] "Babylon" was a name that John saw and heard during his prophetic vision by divine revelation (e.g. Rev 17:5 and 18:2). Although Revelation is a record of the vision that John had, he also wrote it with a great deal of care and attention to detail. For an example of the detail and careful composition of Revelation, see Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of Revelation* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

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Daniel, Revelation recalls the idolatry and pride of that ancient city, a city whose rulers saw themselves and their gods as supreme. More importantly, it recalls the Lord's swift and sure destruction of that ancient kingdom. The name "Babylon" is a guarantee that no "Babylon"—ancient or modern[3]—is able to stand before God; consequently, the use of this particular title brings encouragement to those who hear and read Revelation. Regardless of Babylon's outward strength and prosperity, the reality is that Babylon was, is, and will be fallen.

I. Babylon: Chosen with Care

The Alternatives

From among all of the cities and nations that had opposed God's people, Revelation uses only the name of Babylon.[4] It is not obvious why this name should have been chosen over others. In fact, Revelation echoes many Old Testament and literary descriptions, themes, and images connected with places such as Egypt, Assyria, Tyre, the Seleucids, and Rome. This shows that the "Babylon" of Revelation encompasses more than a single historical nation; it is a complex reality which gathers into one name a vast array of images and themes. Yet "Babylon" was purposefully chosen as the name for this complex picture of evil.

The care with which "Babylon" was chosen becomes evident when one considers the other possibilities. According to David Aune, "There were symbolic names for Rome in use by early Judaism, including Edom, Kittim . . . and Egypt."[5] First, the image of the exodus from Egypt—so important throughout the Scriptures—appears also in Revelation. Richard Bauckham identified "the eschatological exodus" as one of the major symbolic themes of the Lamb's victory in Revelation.[6] Moreover, "Egypt" was used in the

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[3] For "Babylon" as a general term that encompasses more than a single, specific historical reality, see David E. Aune, *Word Biblical Commentary: Volume 52C, Revelation 17–22* (Nashville, TN: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 1998), 985.

[4] In Revelation 11:8, John also refers to "the great city that symbolically [spiritually] is called Sodom and Egypt." Sodom and Egypt—names that John could have used instead of "Babylon"—participated in the reality now being described in Revelation with the name "Babylon." See Beale, *Revelation*, 591.

[5] Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 830. Thus, there were not only other *possibilities* available for John, but there is evidence that different names were *actually* used by early Jews with reference to Rome.

[6] Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, 70. On pages 70–72, Bauckham points out the imagery of the Passover Lamb in Revelation 5:6–10, the new song in Revelation 15:2–4, the plagues in Revelation 15:1,5–16:21, and various other images.

early church as a name for the Roman Empire in its opposition to the Christians.[7] Second, Revelation employs language from Ezekiel's oracle against the great commercial center of Tyre (Ezek 27–28) but applies it to "Babylon." The lamentation over Babylon in Revelation 18 derives from the lamentation over Tyre in Ezekiel 27. In the latter, the merchants cry out, "Who is like Tyre?" (Ezek 27:32); in the former, the kings, merchants, and sailors lament, "What city was like that great city?" (Rev 18:18). Third, religious persecution, martyrdom, and the temptation of cultural/religious accommodation are themes which Revelation has in common with 1 Maccabees. The annual Hanukkah celebrations would have kept Seleucid oppression fresh in the memory of a first-century Jew. Fourth, the reference in Revelation to "the seven mountains" upon which the harlot Babylon sits was unlikely to have been lost on those under Roman rule (Rev 17:9). It is a not-so-veiled reference to Rome herself. John, however, chose to use the name Babylon rather than Egypt, Tyre, the Seleucids, or Rome.

"Babylon the great" of Revelation does partake in various aspects of these cities, nations, and dynasties. Though the Christians to whom John wrote were not all slaves, they all could still celebrate the victory of the Lamb with "the song of Moses" when Pharaoh and his chariots were drowned in the sea (Rev 15:3–4). If the bloodshed of the Assyrian army brought about its complete destruction by God as prophesied by Nahum, then surely the blood of the martyrs "slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne" called also for the Lord to take similar vengeance against his enemies in Revelation (Rev 6:9–10). Nineveh is called a harlot long before Revelation takes up this term to describe "Babylon" (see Nah 3:4–5).[8] The economic critique of "Babylon" which echoes the judgment and lament over Tyre has already been mentioned. "I know your works: you are neither cold nor hot. Would that you were either cold or hot!" (Rev 3:15) is a warning against cultural and religious accommodation. These connections with Revelation certainly exist and contribute to the church's understanding of who "Babylon the great" is and what she does. Each of these historical nations can be seen in the "Babylon" of Revelation. Yet the

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[7] Tertullian, "The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas," trans. R. E. Wallis, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 3, Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian. I. Apologetic; II. Anti-Marcion; III. Ethical*, American Edition, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 702.

[8] Beale, *Revelation*, 885.

"Babylon" of Revelation is a greater, more all-encompassing reality than can be captured by any one of the nations previously mentioned.

The Traditional Explanations

Why, then, does Revelation speak of "Babylon"? The destruction of Jerusalem by Babylon, the exile, and the return from exile are arguably the most significant Old Testament events in the six hundred years prior to Jesus' birth. The *Anchor Bible Dictionary* describes this as a reason for the continuing significance of Babylon in "western thought," from Revelation to Avignon to Martin Luther[9]:

> The fall of Babylon to Cyrus of Persia in 539 B.C. marked the end of the contentions between Babylon and the Hebrews; but it is clear that that century of difficult relationships greatly influenced the people of Israel and their writings. Consequently, one can understand how the biblical and Greek traditions joined together to confer on Babylon a place of exceptional importance in western thought.[10]

The relationship between Babylon and Judah brought a revision in how the Jews viewed their place in history, their expectations about the future, and their understanding of God's promises.

From this relationship, the New Testament derived the exile motif to describe the life of the Church ("they were scattered," Acts 8:1; "to those who are elect exiles," 1 Pet 1:1; "to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion," Jas 1:1). The conclusion of 1 Peter probably refers to Rome with the statement, "She who is in Babylon, who is likewise chosen, sends you greetings" (1 Pet 5:12–13). The exile motif does appear in Revelation. The seven letters are encouragement to faithfulness for Christians in an anti-Christian world (Rev 2:1–3:22). Some had already been martyred for the faith, since the author sees "under the altar the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne" (Rev 6:9). There is also the reference to John on the island of Patmos "on account of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, Rev 1:9), though it could refer to forced exile, self-imposed exile, or

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[9] When the papacy was moved to Avignon, France, in the middle ages, it was described as "the Babylonian captivity of the Papacy." Martin Luther used similar language, "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," to describe the church of his day.

[10] Jean-Claude Margueron and Duane F. Watson, "Babylon," trans. Paul Sager, in *Anchor Bible Dictionary, Volume I, A-C*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 563.

a preaching station. Exile is a theme in Revelation, but one that appears separate from the references to "Babylon."

Babylon also brings to mind scenes of destruction. Louis Brighton draws attention to this in his commentary: "Because of the destruction and horror perpetrated by ancient Babylon, she henceforth became a type of all enemies of God."[11] David Aune related the use of the name "Babylon" specifically to the destruction of Jerusalem. He wrote, "The comparison between Babylon and Rome is based implicitly on the parallels between the conquest of Jerusalem by Babylon in 587 B.C. and the conquest of Jerusalem by Rome in A.D. 70."[12] Aune's view, however, assumes that Revelation was written after AD 70, a conclusion debated by some scholars.[13] Whereas Ezekiel brought comfort to his flock in the wake of the first destruction by envisioning a new temple at the center of restored Jerusalem (Ezek 40–48), Revelation downplays the significance of the temple. "I saw no temple in the city," John wrote, "for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (Rev 21:22). In Revelation the temple has been reinterpreted through the lens of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, a point that is more significant for Christianity if the Second Temple is still standing than if it has been destroyed. In contrast, *2 Baruch* describes Rome with the name "Babylon" precisely because both empires destroyed the temple in Jerusalem: "The king of Babylon will arise, the one who now has destroyed Zion" (*2 Bar* 67:7).[14] Revelation makes no such explicit statement regarding the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple.

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[11] Louis A. Brighton, *Revelation* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1999), 378.

[12] Aune, *Word Biblical Commentary: Volume 52B, Revelation 6–16* (Nashville, TN: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 1998), 830. Aune also connects Babylon and Rome through the destruction of the temple on page 829.

[13] While the scholarly consensus holds that Revelation was written around AD 95, during the reign of the Emperor Domitian, a minority position considers it as coming from the time immediately prior to the destruction of the temple. For how the title "Babylon" fits with each position, see Beale, *Revelation*, 4–27, esp. 18–19 and 25, and the bibliography on 27 n. 136. Contra Beale, it is possible that a Christian writing, such as Revelation, would have a different purpose for the title "Babylon" than did Jewish writings (such as 4 Ezra, *2 Baruch*, and the *Sibylline Oracles*), which explicitly connect the name with the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in AD 70.

[14] A. F. J. Klijn, "Introduction" for *2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch* in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Volume II, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), 644.

The destruction of the temple either had not yet occurred or was more significant to a first-century Jew than to a Christian.[15]

Revelation 18 also offers an economic critique of "Babylon the great" by applying to this city the language used by Ezekiel for ancient Tyre. Robert Mounce described ancient Babylon as "renowned for its luxury and moral corruption."[16] Likewise, Richard Bauckham wrote: "Any society which absolutizes its own economic prosperity at the expense of others comes under Babylon's condemnation."[17] The economic factor is significant but should not be allowed to dominate the understanding of Babylon in Revelation.[18] Bauckham provides a good balance: "[T]he Babylon of Revelation 17–18 combines in itself the evils of the two great evil cities of the Old Testament prophetic oracles: Babylon and Tyre. . . . If Rome was the heir of Babylon in political and religious activity, she was also the heir of Tyre in economic activity."[19] This is true, but one still must ask why Revelation chose "Babylon" over "Tyre."

II. The Old Testament "Babylon" in Revelation

Revelation's use of "Babylon" allows the hearer to understand the present in terms of the past. Thus, it is necessary to take a closer look at where Revelation picks up Old Testament language about Babylon, that is, what literary connections or intertextuality can be found between "Babylon the great" in Revelation and Babylon in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel? While the themes of idolatry, perseverance in confession, and

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[15] Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 829.

[16] Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, First Revised Edition (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 271.

[17] Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, 156. His longer study of Revelation, *The Climax of Prophecy*, even included an entire chapter (ch. 10) titled "The Economic Critique of Rome in Revelation 18." Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark, 1993), 338–383.

[18] Joseph Trafton overemphasized the economic critique when he wrote, "Conspicuous by its absence in this [Revelation's] description is any mention of the city's gods—i.e., Babylon is not condemned for idolatry but for its influence on the rest of the world. Could this be an indication that one of the most pressing concerns in the book is that of accommodation to the socioeconomic enticements of the Roman Empire?" Jospeh L. Trafton, *Reading Revelation: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2005), 163. Idolatry does, in fact, appear in connection with the "Babylon" of Revelation (see Revelation 13), unless one sees the two beasts as an entirely separate reality from the harlot city.

[19] Bauckham, *Climax of Prophecy*, 345–346.

the temptation to cultural accommodation all appear, the common thread is the language of the fall and destruction of Babylon. This is the motif and association which the name "Babylon" brings from the Old Testament into Revelation.

Isaiah

The language used for Babylon recalls the words of Isaiah by which he foretold the fall of Babylon. From the beginning—before Babylon was a world power—the Lord promised her fall and judgment through the prophet Isaiah. In Isaiah, a rider proclaims, "Fallen [LXX: πέπτωκεν], fallen is Babylon; and all the carved images of her gods he has shattered to the ground" (Isa 21:9). This is the same language used of Babylon in Revelation: "Fallen [ἔπεσεν], fallen is Babylon the great" (Rev 14:8; 18:2).[20] Revelation also proclaimed beforehand the fall and judgment of another Babylon, that is, Rome, and of every incarnation of Babylon that would follow. The fall of the first Babylon (fulfilled in Daniel 5) guarantees the fall of every present and future Babylon. The prophecy of Revelation takes up the language of Isaiah as a way to underscore the truthfulness of its claims: "The announcement of Babylon's fall as a realized event is both in Isaiah and Revelation a dramatic way of emphasizing the certainty of the divine decree which lies behind the prophet's message."[21] The same God who ruled before, during, and after the Babylonian exile is the God of Revelation. While the Christian lives in the midst of this Babylon, John's prophecy sees Babylon as already having fallen (ἔπεσεν) in the past tense. John Strelan wrote, "The verb which John uses ('fallen') is in the past tense: in the past Babylon fell, as all Babylons fall, and will fall; always her condition is: she has fallen. God always triumphs over all opposition. The fall of all who rebel against God is inevitable; it is only a matter of time."[22] Thus "Babylon" becomes in Revelation a form of "encouragement to those waiting for her judgment."[23]

John also picks up from Isaiah the language he used regarding the pride and blasphemy of Babylon. Isaiah described Babylon as follows:

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[20] The Septuagint (LXX) of Isaiah uses the perfect tense; Revelation uses the aorist.

[21] Jan Fekkes III, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 93 (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 205.

[22] John G. Strelan, *Where Earth Meets Heaven: A Commentary on Revelation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2007), 288.

[23] Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 205.

> You [Babylon] said, "I shall be mistress forever. . . ." [You] say in your heart [ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου], "I am, and there is no one besides me; I shall not sit as a widow [οὐ καθιῶ χήρα] or know the loss of children." These two things shall come to you in a moment, in one day [ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ]; the loss of children and widowhood shall come upon you in full measure. . . . (Isa 47:7-9)

Revelation uses this same language for the pride and downfall of the New Testament "Babylon":

> Since in her heart [ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς] she says, "I sit as a queen, I am no widow [χήρα οὐκ εἰμί], and mourning I shall never see." For this reason her plagues will come in a single day [ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ]. (Rev 18:7-8)

The judgment will be swift and sure; "in a single day" proud Babylon will be brought low. It will become utterly desolate, a haunt of demons and unclean birds and beasts (a description found in Isa 13:20-22).[24] Revelation likewise pictures the city as deserted and forgotten, "a dwelling place for demons, a haunt for every unclean spirit, a haunt for every unclean bird, a haunt for every unclean and detestable beast" (Rev 18:2).[25] Thus, Revelation takes from Isaiah the language of the fall and utter desolation of Babylon. As Louis Brighton states, "John would not live to see his prophecy fulfilled even in the form of Rome's fall, but it would surely come to pass."[26] This is the picture of "Babylon" which is formed by Revelation's echoes of Isaiah.

Jeremiah

Jeremiah also foresaw the destruction of Babylon in language later used by Revelation. He told Seraiah—one of the exiles—to say,

> When you come to Babylon, see that you read all these words, and say, "O Lord, you have said concerning this place that you will cut it off, so that nothing shall dwell in it, neither man nor beast, and it shall be desolate forever." When you finish reading this book, tie a stone to it and cast it into the midst of the Euphrates, and say, "Thus [οὕτως] shall Babylon

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[24] Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 214-217.

[25] On Revelation 18:2, Robert H. Mounce wrote, "For background we should turn to Isaiah's oracle against ancient Babylon. There we find that Babylon once fallen will never again be inhabited except by creatures of the desert (Isa 13:20-21)." Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 325.

[26] Brighton, *Revelation*, 465.

> sink, to rise no more, because of the disaster that I am bringing upon her, and they shall become exhausted." (Jer 51:61-64)[27]

Revelation takes up this parabolic judgment of Babylon in 18:21. "Then a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone and threw it into the sea, saying, 'So [οὕτως] will Babylon the great city be thrown down with violence, and will be found no more.'" The symbolic actions and their interpretations are the same in Jeremiah and Revelation.[28] Thus, the words of encouragement which Jeremiah gave to the exiles are gathered into Revelation's picture of Babylon. It is a picture of reality from the divine perspective and thus offers hope to those who are afflicted and oppressed.

Jeremiah also described Babylon as "a golden cup in the Lord's hand; making all the earth drunken; the nations drank of her wine; therefore the nations went mad" (Jer 51:7). Then her judgment comes: "Suddenly Babylon has fallen [ἔπεσεν] and been broken; wail for her!" (Jer 51:8). Revelation 14:8 is similar: An angel declared, "Fallen [ἔπεσεν], fallen is Babylon the great, she who made all nations drink the wine of the passion of her sexual immorality." In Revelation 18, the kings, merchants, and sailors who "wail for her" are pictured. Thus, Revelation alludes to Jeremiah precisely in the contexts where the fall and desolation of Babylon are in view.

Ezekiel

Ezekiel provides the perspective of a Babylonian exile. His prophetic oracles, directed to the exiles and those remaining in Jerusalem, ceased prior to the fall of Babylon and well before the restoration of the Jews under Cyrus. It is interesting to note that although Ezekiel proclaimed oracles against seven nations, Babylon is not among them. Self-interest hardly seems a reasonable explanation for this: for example, Jeremiah did not hesitate to speak against Egypt while he was in exile there (Jer 43, 46). Ezekiel did not see the Lord's deliverance, yet he proclaimed that the rule of the Lord God knows no geographical, political, or economic boundaries. Even in a foreign land—in exile among an unbelieving society—the God of Israel was in charge. All appearances to the contrary, Babylon's gods had not triumphed. They were powerless beside Ezekiel's God.

This perspective of living in the midst of Babylon was the same situation faced by John's addressees. All who follow Christ face the

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[27] The Masoretic and English texts place this in Jeremiah 51; the LXX in Jeremiah 28.

[28] Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 918-919.

challenge of confessing the true faith when confronted by a powerful foe who denies it. Christians were called to remain set apart and separate from these societies and cultures, confessing their faith in the one God of Israel despite all persecution. Thus, in Revelation the voice from heaven calls, "Come out of her, my people, lest you take part in her sins, lest you share in her plagues; for her sins are heaped high as heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities" (Rev 18:4–5). No accommodation is acceptable with Babylon, though the temptation to accommodate will never cease. Ezekiel's prophecies encouraged God's people to confess, rather than compromise, their faith. Such language in Revelation "is a solemn reminder to all Christians that they actually live in Babylon," John Strelan wrote. "If they do not want to share her [Babylon's] fate, they have to ensure that although they live in Babylon, they never become part of her (see Rev 3:13; Rom 12:1–3)."[29] A Christian lives trusting that Revelation is indeed true: Babylon has no future, for the future belongs to God alone.

Daniel

The similarity between Daniel and Revelation begins with false, idolatrous worship. Daniel 3 records the account of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image: "King Nebuchadnezzar made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits and its breadth six cubits" (Dan 3:1). Then, at the dedication ceremony,

> [T]he herald proclaimed aloud, "You are commanded, O peoples [LXX: λαοὶ], nations [LXX: ἔθνη], and languages [LXX: γλῶσσαι], that when you hear the sound of the horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, bagpipe, and every kind of music you are to fall down and worship the golden image that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up. And whoever does not fall down and worship shall immediately be cast into a burning fiery furnace." (Dan 3:4–6)

Revelation describes the authority which was given to the first beast[30] as being "over every tribe and people and language and nation" (ἐπι πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ἔθνος, Rev 13:7), four terms which appear in Daniel 3.[31] Moreover, in the Septuagint text, Nebuchadnezzar is referred

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[29] Strelan, *Where Earth Meets Heaven*, 284.

[30] The beast of Revelation 13 rolls into one figure the four beasts of Daniel 7.

[31] The LXX uses the following phrases in Daniel 3: those whom Nebuchadnezzar gathers to worship the beast include πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φυλὰς καὶ γλώσσας (Dan 3:2); the command of the hearld is directed to ἔθνη και χῶραι, λαοὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι (Dan 3:4); the result is that πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι worship the image (Dan 3:7); and, finally, English Bibles following the Masoretic have a similar reference in

to as the king over all who dwell upon the earth (πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπι τῆς γῆς, Dan 3:1), like unto the beast of Revelation who would deceive all who dwell upon the earth (πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, Rev 13:7; τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, Rev 13:14) so that they worshipped its image.[32] In Daniel, the peoples worshipped the image of gold (προσεκύνησαν τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ, LXX Dan 3:7) which Nebuchadnezzar had set up; those who would not were to be cast into a fiery furnace (Dan 3:6). Shadrach, Meschach, and Abednego, three who "refused to worship any god except their own God," were subsequently thrown into the fire, and were delivered unharmed (Dan 3:13–30). In Revelation, the first beast and his image receive the worship (καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν, Rev 13:8) of those who dwell upon the earth; those who would not were to be put to death (καὶ ποιήσῃ ἵνα ὅσοι ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσωσιν τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρὶου ἀποκτανθῶσιν, 13:15). The common temptation for God's people in both testaments was to follow the ways of the world, abandon God, and worship the false images.

In both Daniel and chapters 4, 5, and 14 of Revelation, the worship of the image is contrasted with the true worship of God. The worshipers of the beast do not have their names written in the book of life of the Lamb who was slain (οὗ οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου, Rev 13:8), while those who have worshipped neither the beast nor his image are the ones who dwell in the presence of the Lamb (οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηριίον οὐδὲ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, Rev 20:4). Though separated from the narrative of Nebuchadnezzar's image, Daniel also refers to the deliverance and triumph of all whose names were written in the book (πᾶς ὁ εὑρεθεὶς γεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ βιβλῳ, LXX Dan 12:1). The fiery furnace is not the only reference in Daniel to the persecution of those who worship the God of Israel. In the well-known story of Daniel and the lion's den, King

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Nebuchadnezzar's statement glorifying God, "any people, nation, or language that speaks anything against the God of Shadrach, Meschach, and Abednego" (Dan 3:29). For a reference in Hippolytus to the image in Daniel being an image of Nebucahdnezzar, see Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 761. This four-fold designation of universality—every tribe, people, language, and nation—also recalls Genesis 10:5 and 11:1–9. Further study could be done on the connection between "Babylon" in Revelation and the Tower of Babel narrative.

[32] G. K. Beale believes that Revelation 13:7–8 relies more on Daniel 7:14 than Daniel 3. He notes, however, that the verb προσκυνέω appears in Daniel 3:7 and not in 7:14. He does not mention the similar phrase, πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, found in Daniel 3:1 and Revelation 13:7. Beale wrote: "From these textual comparisons it could be concluded that Daniel, 3, 6, and 7 equally provided the quarry from which John has drawn. But Daniel 7:14 is the strongest influence because of the dominance of Daniel 7 in Rev. 13:1–7a." Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 699.

Darius (who ruled after the fall of Babylon) decreed "that whoever makes a petition to any god," other than himself, "shall be cast into the den of lions" (Dan 6:7). Strelan also connected the worship of Daniel and Revelation: "Once upon a time, Shadrach, Meschach and Abednego lived in the city of the beast. They had to choose: worship a statue of the beast and stay alive, or worship God and be put to death (Dan 3:1-7)."[33] Those to whom John wrote faced the same test from the "Babylon" of their day, as do many twenty-first century Christians.

The "Babylon" of Revelation and the Babylon of Daniel both exhibit the same blasphemous pride. In setting up the images for worship, both Nebuchadnezzar and the beast set themselves in the place of God. Neither ancient Babylon nor the "Babylon" of Revelation had any use for the Lord God; they believed that no one had any authority or power over them. Revelation's title "Babylon the great" is found in the Old Testament only at Daniel 4:30, where King Nebuchadnezzar declared, "Is not this great Babylon [LXX: Οὐχ αὕτη ἐστὶν Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη], which I have built by my mighty power as a royal residence and for the glory of my majesty?" Revelation uses the title Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη frequently (Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, and 21). Nebuchadnezzar declared himself and his city as supreme upon the earth, having received nothing from anyone and owing nothing to anyone. Judgment swiftly followed—for Nebuchadnezzar it was the humiliation of living like a beast for seven years—and revealed that neither Babylon nor her king were the supreme authorities upon the earth. Daniel later mentioned this incident to Nebuchadnezzar's successor, Belshazzar, to show that the Lord of heaven and earth will not tolerate such pride. "When his [Nebuchadnezzar's] heart was lifted up and his spirit was hardened so that he dealt proudly, he was brought down from his kingly throne and his glory was taken from him" (Dan 5:20). Pride went before the fall.

This prideful disregard for God was also a cause of Belshazzar's fall. "And you his son, Belshazzar, have not humbled your heart, though you knew all this, but you have lifted up yourself against the Lord of heaven" (Dan 5:22). This pride had manifested itself in the arrogant defiling of the sacred vessels from Solomon's temple, which Belshazzar used to serve wine at a great feast. His pride led to his downfall and the fall of his kingdom. As Daniel 4:37 put it, "those who walk in pride he [the Most High] is able to humble" (Dan 4:37). Revelation picks up this theme of

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[33] Strelan, *Where Earth Meets Heaven*, 223.

pride most clearly in chapter 18 where judgment is pronounced against the city of pride, and then the kings and merchants lament its unbelievable fall. A voice from heaven declares the destruction of Babylon, the city which says in her heart, "I sit as a queen, I am no widow, and mourning I shall never see" (Rev 18:7). "For this reason" she will fall, "for mighty is the Lord God who has judged her" (Rev 18:8). The Lamb is "Lord of lords and King of kings" (Rev 17:14), a title used by the Babylonian kings previously and by Roman emperors in John's day. Strikingly, the Lamb's title in Revelation 17:14 echoes Nebuchadnezzar's confession of the Most High God in Daniel 4:37 (LXX).[34] The Lord "has revealed Nebuchadnezzar as an empty parody of the name by judging the beastly king of 'Babylon the Great.'"[35]

Revelation also appears to make reference to ancient Babylon's last act of pride, that is, the feast of Belshazzar in which the holy vessels of the Lord's temple were paraded before a thousand people. It was the greatest mockery of God, for it depicted the superiority of Babylon over Jerusalem and of Babylon's kings and gods over the Lord God. Daniel recorded:

> King Belshazzar made a great feast for a thousand of his lords and drank wine in front of the thousand. . . . Then they brought in the golden vessels that had been taken out of the temple, the house of God in Jerusalem, and the king and his lords, his wives, and his concubines drank from them. They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. (Dan 5:1–4)

By this time, the handwriting was literally on the wall, and Babylon's judgment was imminent. Worth note are the following: first, that a large number of high ranking officials and people joined Belshazzar in these deeds; second, that the king and his followers drank "wine" (ὁ οἶνος); third, that they used the "golden vessels" (τὰ σκεύη τὰ χρυσᾶ) of the Jerusalem temple; and, fourth, that their revelries ended with the praise of the Babylonian idols.[36] In multiple places, Revelation refers to Babylon the great as a city which seduced kings and those who dwell on earth to imbibe the wine of her sexual immorality (καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες

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[34] Strelan, *Where Earth Meets Heaven*, 282.

[35] Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 881.

[36] The Greek is from Theodotion's Greek version of Daniel 5:1–4, which refers to vessels of gold *and* silver (τὰ σκεύη τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ).

τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς, Rev 17:2).[37] Babylon is, in fact, "the great prostitute" (τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης, Rev 17:1) arrayed in fine clothing and "holding in her hand a golden cup full of abominations and the impurities of her sexual immorality" (ἔχουσα ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτης γέμον βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνειας αὐτῆς, Rev 17:4). The association of wine and a golden cup (or vessel) with Babylon in Daniel 5 and Revelation 17 may seem incidental, but idolatry is often associated with sexual immorality in the Old Testament, even for nations other than Israel.[38] While the religious cults often included sexual activities, sexual immorality may refer more generally to idolatry and the worship of false gods. Thus, the combination of wine, gold, and sexual immorality suggests a further link between Revelation and Daniel.

Finally, there is a similarity between the fall of the two Babylons. God's judgment against the pride and idolatry of Belshazzar's Babylon was delivered by the mouth of Daniel:

> And you his [Nebuchadnezzar's] son, Belshazzar, have not humbled your heart, though you knew all this, but you have lifted up yourself against the Lord of heaven. And the vessels of his house have been brought in before you, and you and your lords, your wives, and your concubines have drunk wine from them. And you have praised the gods of silver and gold, of bronze, iron, wood, and stone, which do not see or hear or know, but the God in whose hand is your breath, and whose are all your ways, you have not honored. Then from his presence the hand was sent, and this writing was inscribed: Mene, Mene, Tekel, and Parsin. This is the interpretation of the matter: Mene, God has numbered the days of your kingdom and brought it to an end; Tekel, you have been weighed in the balances and found wanting; Peres, your kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians. (Dan 5:22–28)

The judgment was not long in coming. "That very night [ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ] Belshazzar the Chaldean king was killed" (LXX Dan 5:30). The "Babylon" of Revelation receives a similarly swift judgment. Revelation 18:10 declares, "For this reason her plagues will come in a single day [ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ], death and mourning and famine, and she will be burned up with fire; for mighty is the Lord God who has judged her [ὅτι ἰσχυρὸς κύριος ὁ

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[37] Revelation 14:8 and 18:3 declare that "all nations have drunk the wine of the passion of her sexual immorality" (ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνειας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).

[38] For a reference to Israel as a whore, see Ezekiel 23:22–35. Assyria is described in a similar fashion in Nahum 3:4.

θεὸς ὁ κρίνας αὐτήν]."[39] In both cases, the Lord's judgment comes swiftly and surely.[40] For all her pride and arrogance, despite her show of power and even her persecution of the faithful, Babylon is no match for the Lord God. Even the sounds which encouraged false worship will be stilled. The sound of the horn (σάλπιγγος), pipe, lyre (κιθάπας), trigon, harp, bagpipe, and every kind of music (μουσικῶν)—so prominent in Nebuchadnezzar's idol worship—will cease. The mighty angel of Revelation 18 proclaimed: "And the sound of harpists [κιθαρῳδῶν] and musicians [μουσικῶν], of flute players and trumpeters [σαλπιστῶν], will be heard in you no more [οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι]" (Rev 18:22).

The picture of Babylon culled from Daniel, therefore, confirms that the Lord is God. Despite the outward pretensions, power, idolatries, and wealth of Revelation's "Babylon," he remains in control. It is the Lord who sets up rulers and kingdoms, and it is he who brings them down, whether that be Nebuchadnezzar's version of "Babylon the Great," the incarnation of "Babylon" in John's day, or those "Babylons" of today. The enemies of God's people—first century AD or twenty-first century AD—await the same end as that which met the enemies of God's people long ago. Their judgment and fall is assured and guaranteed by the fall of the previous Babylon. God *will* triumph. "The Lamb has conquered, he conquers, and he will conquer."[41] Appearances to the contrary, Revelation directs its hearers to the reality that her enemies are already fallen.

III. Conclusion

Why is the name "Babylon" used for the enemy of God's people in Revelation? For those who know the Old Testament prophets, the answer seems clear. The title "Babylon" is the assurance and guarantee that the Lord will prevail. Revelation takes the language of Babylon's fall from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel to show that there are no doubts about the outcome. "Babylon" is not a name that should cause consternation or concern for the people of God. It is not primarily a code to be cracked or a power to be feared. It ought, however, to be taken with seriousness, for Revelation also shows that "Babylon the great" is outwardly powerful. It

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[39] The laments of the kings of the earth, the merchants, and the shipmasters also describe her fall as occurring in "a single hour" (Revelation 17:10, 17, 19). That the phrase "in a single day" comes from Isaiah 47:9 should not negate any connection with Daniel 5:30, since it is the fulfillment of Isaiah's oracle.

[40] Mounce likewise sees a connection between Daniel 5 and Revelation 18 in *The Book of Revelation*, 329.

[41] Strelan, *Where Earth Meets Heaven*, 282.

can and will demand obedience, conformity, and accommodation to false worship with threats of persecution and death. This is the reality of life for all who trust in God, whether in the sixth century BC, the first century AD, or the twenty-first century AD. Ezekiel and Daniel, the two exilic prophets, provide the encouragement to confess the faith purely and clearly when confronted by the powers of evil. The way in which Revelation weaves together a variety of images and pictures from the Old Testament also prevents "Babylon" from being read as a single reality. Certainly it had a particular fulfillment in the Roman Empire of John's day, but the name "Babylon" broadens, rather than narrows, the list of those who fit the description. Ancient Babylon participated in this reality. So also did Egypt, Assyria, Tyre, the Seleucids, Rome, and a great many powers since then, including the Roman Papacy.[42]

The title "Babylon" should not be explained simply by making a connection with Rome through the themes of exile, world domination, or the destruction of the temple. Of course these can never be forgotten when discussing Babylon, but it should be noted that Revelation picks up most particularly the language of Babylon's fall. "Part of the reason for using 'Babylon,'" Mounce wrote, "is that the readers will know what God did to the first Babylon and be quick to recognize that in giving Rome that title he will once again carry out his judgment on the city."[43] It is, in fact, a large part of the reason. Aune referred to the "Fallen, fallen" of Revelation 14:8 and 18:2 as "the use of the *perfectum confidentiae*, 'perfect of assurance,' or the *perfectum propheticum*, 'prophetic perfect' . . . in which an event of the future is described with a past tense as if it had already occurred."[44] This "perfect of assurance" and "prophetic perfect" gives hope to the church. What is happening now has happened before and the outcome will be the same, even to the end of time. The *Anchor Bible Dictionary* describes the connection between ancient Babylon and "Babylon the great" (Rome) as follows: "Like Babylon, Rome ruled the kings of the earth (14:8; 17:1–2, 15, 18), was a center of world trade (14:8; 18:2–3; 11–19, 23), reveled in luxury (18:7, 11–17, 22–23), was a persecutor of God's covenant people (17:6; 18:24;

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[42] While discussions of the Roman Papacy as the Antichrist are frequent in Lutheran writings, the title "Babylon" is rarely used for the Papacy, except by Luther (see n. 9 above). The association appears almost offhandedly in Martin Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2 vols. (St. Louise: Concordia Publishing House, 1989), 2:696, and, in quoting another author, Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 3 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 3:467 n. 37.

[43] Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 325.

[44] Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 829.

19:2), and was destined to fall (14:8; 18:2, 10, 21)."[45] Babylon is truly all those things, but finally it is fallen. "Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great, she who made all nations drink the wine of the passion of her sexual impurity," angels declare twice in Revelation (14:8 and 18:2). To call the city by the name "Babylon" was to declare it "fallen." Thus, "Babylon" is a name that ultimately brings encouragement to those who worship the one seated upon the throne and the Lamb. Wherever a "Babylon" appears with its pride and idolatry, its end is destruction. The Christian canon closes with a fall—the fall of God's enemies—and the restoration of the Holy City, God's people, the New Jerusalem.

[45] Margueron and Watson, "Babylon," 566.

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Another Look at Luther's Battle with Karlstadt

Richard A. Beinert

Reformation scholars have long sought an explanation for the underlying cause behind the conflict and subsequent parting of ways between Martin Luther and Andreas Bodenstein, more commonly known as Karlstadt, the name of his *Heimatstadt* in Franconia. Explanations have been dominated by two basic interpretations, both of which can be traced back to the 1520s. On the one hand, we have a victor's perspective dressed on the skeleton of Luther's scathing rhetoric[1] against his younger colleague,[2] wherein Karlstadt is both marginalized and vilified as the deserving recipient of Luther's criticism.[3] On the other hand, we have Wolfgang Capito's opinion published in 1524[4] expressing the view that he considered the disagreement between the two Wittenberg reformers to be "peripheral and of no significance."[5]

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[1] Luther, for instance, did not hesitate to comment that he considered Karlstadt to be "incarnatus diabolus" ("the devil incarnate"); Martin Luther, *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 65 vols. (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–1993 [hereafter WA]), TR 1:31. In another place he states that "ibi non homo sed spiritus Satanae ornat se sua sapientia" ("There not man but the spirit of Satan adorns himself with his own wisdom") WA 34.2: 364. Catherine Dejeumont pointed out that Luther's rhetoric against Karlstadt and the Anabaptists was clearly not an invitation to discussion but served principally to exclude them both theologically as well as socially. See Dejeumont, "*Schwärmer, Geist, Täufer, Ketzer*: de l'allié au criminal (1522-1550)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 148 (2002): 21–46.

[2] See Ulrich Bubenheim's entry in the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* s.v. "Karlstadt" where he shows on the basis of archival evidence that Karlstadt was born in 1486 rather than 1477 as was generally held before.

[3] For brief discussions of Luther's rhetoric against Karlstadt, see Edward J. Furcha, "Zwingli and the Radicals: Zwingli and Carlstadt," *Fides et historia* 25 (1993): 3–5 and Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, Prodigal Reformer," *Church History* 35:4 (1966): 379–380. For an example of an unsympathetic biography, see Gordon Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (London: Epworth Press, 1969).

[4] Wolfgang Capito, *Was man halten und antwurtten soll von der spaltung zwischen Martin Luther und Andres Carolstadt* (Strasbourg, 1524). Reprinted in *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, ed. J. G. Walch (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1880–1910), vol. 20, 340–351.

[5] See Hillerbrand, "Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, Prodigal Reformer," 379.

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As Hans Hillerbrand has noted, Reformation and historical research has generally followed the tradition of Luther's assessment rather than Capito's.[6] The question of where the disagreement between the two erstwhile colleagues actually lies has, as a result, passed largely into the realm of theological caricatures as well as marginal comments.[7] Most scholars would agree with the view of Carter Lindberg that the practical differences between the two men are best explained in terms of "conflicting theological orientations."[8] This is certainly the position reflected in two comparative doctrinal studies of the two reformers' theologies by Ernst Wolf[9] and Friedel Kriechbaum.[10] Ronald Sider, however, has taken an opposite view. Rather than locating the conflict in theological differences, he dismisses them (in a manner similar to Capito) as being insignificant and instead frames the entire episode in terms of a personality clash sparked over a disagreement about "how to proceed" with the Reformation in the city context of Wittenberg.[11] Certainly both theological and practical differences were present as contributing tinder to fuel the debate,[12] but neither of these traditional interpretations does an adequate job of uniting the various facets of the conflict within the broader

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[6] Hillerbrand, "Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, Prodigal Reformer." See also Peter James Cousins, "Karlstadt e a Reforma de Lutero: O Caso da Herança Histórica," *Vox Scripturae* 7 (1997): 54, 60.

[7] See Sigrid Looß, "Radical Views of the Early Andreas Karlstadt (1520–1525)," in *Radical Tendencies in the Reformation: Divergent Perspectives*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Publishers, 1988), 43.

[8] Carter Lindberg, "Conflicting Models of Ministry—Luther, Karlstadt, and Muentzer," *CTQ* 41 (1977): 35.

[9] Ernst Wolf, "Gesetz und Evangelium in Luthers Auseinandersetzung mit den Schwärmern," *Evangelische Theologie* 5 (1938): 96–109.

[10] Friedel Kriechbaum, *Grundzüge der Theologie Karlstadts* (Hamburg—Bergstedt: Herbert Reich Evangelischer Verlag, 1967).

[11] Ronald J. Sider ed., *Karlstadt's Battle with Luther: Documents in a Liberal-Radical Debate* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978). See, for example, his introduction on pages 1–4. Compare also Hillerbrand, "Radicalism in the Early Reformation: Varieties of Reformation in Church and Society," in *Radical Tendencies in the Reformation: Divergent Perspectives*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1988), 37–39.

[12] Carlos Eire tries to draw a balance between the policy and theology of the two reformers in *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) but ends up again anchoring the disagreement between the two men in the realm of theology, arguing that the practical veneer which is apparent in Luther's *Invocavit* sermons is merely a testament to Luther's polemical genius. See Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 69.

religious context of the Reformation.[13] It is my contention that the fundamental disagreement between Luther and Karlstadt was rooted in diametrically opposing conceptions of how an individual Christian is formed in the faith. The ensuing rhetorical battle between Luther and Karlstadt, therefore, can be explained as reflective of the unhappy collision of two conflicting patterns of Reformation spirituality.

I. What was the Real Question in This Battle?

This, of course, brings together two different lines of inquiry that have appeared recently within the field of Reformation studies. On the one hand, there is Scott Hendrix's characterization of Europe's Reformation period in terms of a broad agenda of re-Christianization.[14] He suggests that the "Reformers saw themselves in a missionary situation in which the faith had to be taught to a populace they judged to be inadequately informed."[15] According to this understanding, they thus saw themselves engaged in a process of forming Christians out of people who were either nominal in their faith or had no faith at all. On the other hand, there is the recent trend which uses *spirituality* as the interpretive filter through which the thought, faith, and piety of various Reformation figures and movements is explored.[16]

Hendrix, in an article on "Martin Luther's Reformation Spirituality," has creatively brought these two interpretive streams together.[17] He states:

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[13] There were also undoubtedly political and academic factors which likewise helped to shape this conflict but I have chosen to focus on the religious dimension of the debate. For a discussion of the political background to the debate, see Looß, "Radical Views"; for an excellent survey of the political and academic dimensions of the events, see James S. Preus, *Carlstadt's* Ordinaciones *and Luther's Liberty: A Study of the Wittenberg Movement 1521–1522* (Boston: Harvard College, 1974).

[14] See Scott H. Hendrix, "Rerooting the Faith: The Reformation as Re-Christianization," *Church History* 69 (2000): 558-577, and his *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004).

[15] Hendrix, *Vineyard*, 172.

[16] For excellent discussions of spirituality in relation to Reformation thought, see Alister McGrath, "Reformation Spirituality: A Usable Past," *The Drew Gateway* 60 (1991): 3–27; Egil Grislis, "Piety, Faith, and Spirituality in the Quest of the Historical Luther," *Consensus* 19 (1993): 29–53; and Emil Grislis, "The Spirituality of Martin Luther," *Word & World* 14 (1994): 453–459.

[17] Hendrix, "Martin Luther's Reformation Spirituality," in *Harvesting Martin Luther's Reflections on Theology Ethics, and the Church*, ed. Timothy J. Wengert (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); originally published under the same title in *Lutheran Quarterly*

> Luther did not just write about living more devotionally as a Christian in the same way he might have done if there had been no Reformation. Instead, once the Reformation was underway, Luther and the evangelical movement proposed to change the actual pattern of Christian living, and they urged that pattern upon the faithful as the genuine way of being spiritual, as authentic Christian spirituality.[18]

One need not look very far within the Luther corpus to discover works like his 1520 "The Freedom of a Christian"[19] and his 1527 "Whether One May Flee from a Deadly Plague"[20] which demonstrate the theological and socially oriented character of his reformed vision of Christian spirituality. The same can be seen reflected throughout his German hymns[21] as well as his *Small Catechism*, including the "Table of Duties" or *Haustafel*, which outlines from Scripture the social responsibilities of Christians based on their station in life.[22] This concern with the deepening of a Christian's faith and religious identity is similarly reflected throughout Karlstadt's writings. Both his 1520 and 1523 tracts on the virtue of *Gelassenheit*, as well as his 1524 sermon "Regarding the Two Greatest Commandments: The Love of God and of Neighbor,"[23] illustrate a comparable concern for the regeneration of faith within the experience and expression of the

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13 (1999): 249–270. All references to this article will be to the pagination in the 2004 monograph reprint.

[18] Hendrix, "Luther's Reformation Spirituality," 242. Compare this also to McGrath's comments that "the Reformation represents a sustained attempt to relate the Christian faith to the conditions and lifestyles of [the early modern] era." And again, that the Reformation was a "quest for Christian authenticity, based on the belief that the medieval church had lost its way." McGrath, "Reformation Spirituality," 5, 7.

[19] English translation from Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 55 vols., ed. Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955–1986), 31:327–378 [henceforth *LW*].

[20] English translation from *LW* 43:113–138.

[21] See, for example, stanza 1 and 10 of Luther's hymn "Jesus Christ, Our God and Savior": *Jesus Christ, our God and Savior, turned away God's wrath forever, by his bitter agony helped us out of hell's misery. Fruit of faith therein [thy heart] be showing that thou art to others loving; to thy neighbor thou wilt do as God in love hath done to you.* See WA 35:435–437 for the German text and *LW* 53:250–251 for this English translation.

[22] See *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche herausgegeben im Gedenkjahr der Augsburgischen Konfession 1930*, Drite verbesserte Auflage (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956), 499–541.

[23] Each of these tracts is available in English translation in *The Essential Carlstadt: Fifteen Tracts by Andreas Bodenstein (Carlstadt) from Karlstadt*, translated and edited by Edward J. Furcha (Waterloo: Herald Press, 1995). All references to Karlstadt's writings, unless otherwise indicated, will be from this volume.

individual Christian.[24] Recognizing that this was a prominent theme that ran throughout Karlstadt's writings, Edward Furcha has offered the bold suggestion that Karlstadt be counted, alongside Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, as a leading figure of the Reformation era, granting him the title: "reformer of nominal Christians."[25]

This common interest in the pastoral dimension of churchly reform that both Hendrix and Furcha have observed in the writings of Luther and Karlstadt should not surprise us. Both men lived and worked in the same cultural climate; they breathed the same city air. Both were involved in implementing social and religious change within the Wittenberg city context.[26] They each likewise shared an interest in Augustinian theology as well as the spiritual ideals of the German mystical tradition. Their subsequent bitter opposition, given this common starting ground, is a question that has not yet been adequately addressed. It would certainly be easy to offer the standard historiographical caricature that the "great parting of ways"[27] between these two men was the result of a differing emphasis on discipleship and doctrine[28] or a competition between a *fides qua creditur* and the *fides quae*.[29] Both Sider's and Lindberg's views of the matter fall into this kind of an interpretive pattern, but the pattern does not fit the evidence. It must be remembered that Karlstadt held no less than

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[24] For a discussion of Karlstadt's mystical theology, see Ronald J. Sider, "Karlstadt's Orlamünde Theology: A Theology of Regeneration," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 45 (1971): 191–218, 352–376 later reworked into his monograph volume *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).

[25] Edward J. Furcha, "Zwingli and the Radicals," 6. Furcha adds Karlstadt's name to Gottfried Locher's categorizations of Martin Luther as the "reformer of the faith," Jean Calvin as the "reformer of the church," and Ulrich Zwingli as the "reformer of society." See Gottfried Locher, "Die reformatorische Katholizität Huldrych Zwinglis," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 42:1 (1986): 5. Calvin Augustine Pater also moves in the same direction in his book *Karlstadt as the Father of the Baptist Movements: The Emergence of Lay Protestantism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

[26] See Carter Lindberg, "There should be no beggars among Christians: Karlstadt, Luther, and the Origins of Protestant Poor Relief," *Church History* 46 (1977): 313–334. Cousins similarly argues that Karlstadt be counted among the "Fathers of the Protestant faith." Cousins, "Karlstadt e a Reforma de Lutero," 62.

[27] Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 66.

[28] Harold S. Bender, "Anabaptist Theology of Discipleship," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 24 (1950): 25–32. See also Robert Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 24 (1950): 17.

[29] J. A. Oosterbaan, "The Reformation of the Reformation: Fundamentals of Anabaptist Theology," trans. by Elizabeth Bender and Nel Kopp, *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 51 (1977): 181, 186; also Cousins, "Karlstadt e a Reforma de Lutero," 59.

three academic doctorates: one in theology, one in civil law, and one in canon law. He was eminently versed in the currents of scholastic theology but, like Luther, chose to reject it.[30] Luther, as Bengt Hoffman as well as recent Finnish scholarship has amply unveiled, likewise maintained strong social and mystical dimensions within his own theological thought.[31] Something more is going on here that a simple comparison of theological *loci* has not been able to reveal.

Carlos Eire came close to the heart of the matter when he suggested that "the most important difference between Luther and Karlstadt remained their understanding of the relationship between the spiritual and the material in worship."[32] He rightly points out that Karlstadt not only followed Erasmus in his critique of the material and ritual dimensions of medieval Roman Catholic piety but also went beyond it, asserting that these "visible and external acts of worship were of little value in themselves."[33] He introduced a sharp division between the spiritual and the material within his own Reformation agenda. This sharp division became a foundational principle throughout the whole of his theological vision. Luther, on the other hand, countered Karlstadt's view by arguing a fundamental unity between the material and spiritual dimensions of the world. As Eire pointed out, for Luther "the spiritual life could never be totally disembodied."[34] Luther was willing to tolerate images and retain the sacraments in the service of the church, provided that they were properly used and not abused by both faithful and clergy alike.[35]

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[30] "*Cognovi enim me in scholasticis mille sententiis deceptum, Asinum ad molam, Cecum ad lapidem et perperam hallucinatum fuisse.*" Ernst Kähler, *Karlstadt und Augustin, Der Kommentar des Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt zu Augustins Schrift De Spiritu et Litera* (Halle, 1952), 5. See also Hillerbrand, "Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt," 381.

[31] See Bengt Hoffman, *Luther and the Mystics: A Re-Examination of Luther's Spiritual Experience and His Relation to the Mystics* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1976) as well as the various essays presented in *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*, ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jensen (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) and Tuomo Mannermaa, *Christ Present in Faith: Luther's View of Justification*, ed. Kirsi Stjerna (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005).

[32] Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 72. See also Cousins, "Karlstadt e a Reforma de Lutero," 59.

[33] Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 55.

[34] Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 72.

[35] It should be noted that this is usually described as Luther's mature teaching on the subject of images which was undoubtedly shaped through the tensions of this conflict. On this point, see Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 68–73.

It would be a mistake, however, to read this disagreement between Luther and Karlstadt in terms of a purely theoretical debate;[36] it was a battle over the very salvation of the people whom they served. For each of these men, theology was to be not merely a matter of ideas; it outlined the pattern, shape, and dynamic of the Christian life.[37] "Theology" functioned, as the French philosopher Pierre Hadot has recently argued (albeit in relation to an earlier period of Christian history), as a "spiritual exercise" that framed the very process of religious formation for the individual within society.[38] When understood from this perspective, the debate between the two men did indeed turn on a question of practical theology. The question, however, was not an anachronistically framed debate between Liberal and Radical factions within the Reform movement in sixteenth century Wittenberg over "how to proceed," as Ronald Sider would have it.[39] The question at issue was far more fundamental. Both men were grappling with how faith is formed in the individual or put another way: "How are Christians made?" It is from this starting point that their disagreement concerning the relationship between spiritual and material within Christian life and worship is properly read.

These two reformers certainly understood the root of their mutual disagreement in these terms. Luther, for instance, in his 1525 *Preface* which was published together with Karlstadt's written *Apology*, writes that in matters of doctrine he considered Karlstadt to be his "greatest antagonist."[40] He described the nature of their disagreement in terms of a

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[36] Cf. Looß, "Radical Views of the Early Andreas Karlstadt (1520–1525)," 43.

[37] Luther's recurrent criticism of scholastic theologians provides ample evidence to support this point.

[38] See Pierre Hadot, "Spiritual Exercises," and "Ancient Spiritual Exercises and 'Christian Philosophy,'" in *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, ed. Arnold I. Davidson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1995). This certainly was the perspective of the author of the *Didaché* who frames the whole of his work around this teaching of the "two ways"—one of life, the other of death. See chapters 1-6. Friedman argued that the early Anabaptists conceived of their theology in this kind of way in his article "Anabaptism and Protestantism," 14–15. He thereby echoed and perpetuated the historiographical bias that this was uniquely a dimension of early Anabaptist writers and that the Magisterial Reformers somehow failed to grasp this broader conception within their own understanding of theology, seeing it instead as something that was purely academic and doctrinal in nature.

[39] See Sider, *Karlstadt's Battle with Luther*.

[40] "Wie wol aber Doctor Carlstad meyn hoechster feynd ist der lere halben." WA 18:436.18.

"clash"[41] or, as Luther suggests within the German of his original text, a fundamental opposition of theological perspectives[42] that was centered in what he referred to as Karlstadt's "error regarding the Sacrament."[43] It would be easy to interpret his comments here strictly in terms of an academic disagreement over the question concerning the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood within the bread and the wine of the Lord's Supper. Indeed, Karlstadt expressed that the center of his theology was intimately wrapped up with his uniquely peculiar deictic interpretation of the *verba testamenti*.[44] Once again, we must move beyond a mere dogmatic reading of these comments to one that contrasts the broader spiritual agenda of their respective theologies.

II. Karlstadt's Position

Karlstadt baldly states that his argument against what he calls the "tainted popish sacrament"[45] flows directly from his faith in Christ.[46] For Karlstadt, Jesus himself—specifically Christ on the cross—is the only true cornerstone of grace,[47] the benefits of which are appropriated inwardly by the believer without the mediation of any external means. Already in his 1523 tract "The Manifold, Singular Will of God, The Nature of Sin," he takes the position regarding Baptism that it is simply an external sign, like circumcision was for the Jews, which attests outwardly to the faith that the individual possesses inwardly. In Karlstadt's own words:

> Where this righteousness is not in the spirit, there the sign is wrong and disregarded by God . . . a spiritual person is not bound to externals. Neither is it essential that inner oneness must be confirmed and attested to by an external sign, nor that the spirit must accomplish its life and work

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[41] See Furcha's translation in *Essential Carlstadt*, 396.

[42] "darueber wyr beyde so hart aneynander gesezt haben, das keyne hoffnung da ist blieben eyniges vertrags odder ferner gemeynschafft." WA 18: 436.19-20.

[43] "...seynem yrthum ym Sacrament..." WA 18: 436.35; also WA 18: 437.3-4.

[44] Karlstadt affirms this in his tract "Several Main Points of Christian Teaching Regarding Which Dr. Luther Brings Andreas Carlstadt Under Suspicion Through False Accusation and Slander 1525," in *Essential Carlstadt*, 344.

[45] *Essential Carlstadt*, 344.

[46] "There are several others who are so blinded and in error that they can read my booklets without seeing that all my arguments against the sacrament flow from my faith in Christ. They fail to note that the true and pure faith in Christ is so upright and pure that it cannot bear the tainted popish sacrament as it has been used till now, but knocks it down instead." *Essential Carlstadt*, 344.

[47] See *Essential Carlstadt*, 345.

> with the aid of corporeal things, Jn 4. It can simply be without comfort and trust in externals.[48]

Similarly, in regard to the Eucharist, it is the inward remembrance that matters, not the external elements.[49] The eating of Christ happens internally[50] and is simply reenacted outwardly in the rite.[51] He makes his position clear by stating that no divine grace is attached to the Eucharistic rite or the elements themselves.[52] For Karlstadt, then, it is not the sacrament that validates the faith; rather it is faith which validates the sacrament. Peter, Karlstadt's character in the *Dialogus*, says as much when he summarizes Karstadt's teaching on the Lord's Supper.

> Confess the truth and say that Christ's body is not in the bread and his blood not in the cup. Yet we ought to eat the bread of the Lord in the remembrance or knowledge of his body which he surrendered for us into the hands of the unrighteous, and drink of the cup in the knowledge of the blood which Christ shed for us. To sum up, we are to eat and drink in the knowledge of the death of Christ . . . we must confess the death of the Lord with heart and mind, i.e., we must sense the death of Christ within us and experience the righteousness of Christ and not ours.[53]

For Karlstadt then, any trust placed by the believer in the external elements of the sacraments is trust that is wasted. He boldly calls it idolatry.[54] Even the Scriptures, he asserts, as with anything but an external witness to the inner working the Holy Spirit, must be let go.

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[48] "The Manifold Singular Will," in *Essential Carlstadt*, 217.

[49] For Example, "Die benedeyhung steht im gedechtnüß und verkündigung des todts Christi." Andreas Carolstat, "Dialogus oder ein gesprechbüchlin von dem grewlichen unnd abgöttischen mißbrauch des hochwirdigsten sacraments Jesu Christi (1524)," in *Karlstadts Schriften aus den Jahren 1523–1525*, Teil II, ed. Erich Hertzsch (Halle: Veb Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1557), 44.27–28, see also "Dialogus," 25.25–31, and "Dialogus," 33.26–28.

[50] For example, "... das essen des fleisch Christi ein inwendiger schmack ist des leydens Christi." "Dialogus," 24.25–26.

[51] For example, "Denn die verkündigung ist eyn rede des glaubens welche auß dem hertzen durch den mund außgeht. Darumb ist das eusserlich bekentnüß oder predig des todts Christi eyn zeychen oder frucht der innerlichen gerechtigkeyt das alle die jhene so soliche eusserliche verkündigung hören sprechen müssen." "Dialogus," 28.4–9.

[52] *Essential Carlstadt*, 344.

[53] "Dialogus," 48.40–49.7, 49.19–22. Translation by Furcha from *Essential Carlstadt*, 315–316.

[54] He calls it "götzen brodt" in the "Dialogus," 46.16, 24; similarly in his tractate "Several Main Points," he lumps both Baptism and Eucharist together under his agenda to "destroy idols." *Essential Carlstadt*, 348–349.

> Here I must also state how a truly yielded person must let go of Holy Scripture and not know its letters, but enter into the might of the Lord (as David has it), and ceaselessly pray to God the Lord for true understanding. Then when a person fails to understand something or would like to hear a judgment, he ought to stand in full surrender, i.e., he must divest himself of self, hold back with his reasoning, and earnestly ask for God's favor and hear what God has to say to him.[55]

Faith, which for Karlstadt is intimately interwoven with active love,[56] springs from the immediate working of the Holy Spirit within the human soul. Using the common domestic illustration of sparks in a fire, Karlstadt explains that God's love similarly has its start when God directly plants such a love and ardent desire within the human heart by allowing "tiny embers of his love to flow into the soul and spark open; he then stands by his work and fans it until it grows into a large fire."[57] He describes these tiny embers as "heartfelt longings toward the greatest good" which seek the good for its own sake and not for rewards.[58] Through these desires, he cultivates the heart and makes it "receptive to all godly riches."[59] The Spirit sows both godly desires as well as "disgust for all that is evil" within the hearts of men and women so that it "inclines towards the good, and desires goodness and righteousness for their own sake."[60] In this way, Karlstadt ascribes the genesis of faith and love within the believer to the working of the Spirit of God, ensuring that both faith and salvation remain a gift and not reward for a human work. Notably absent is mention of any kind of means. Karlstadt makes it clear that for him faith springs immediately from the inside to the outside through the action of the Spirit.

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[55] *Essential Carlstadt*, 153–154. In this fascinating section, Karlstadt plays off the reasoned use of Scripture with the intuitive Spirit-inspired understanding of the believer. He goes on to say that after having received this inner revelation of the meaning of spiritual realities, the believer "would soon recall and then verify and justify it with Holy Scripture." *Essential Carlstadt*, 153–154. It should be noted, however, that the inner Word of the Spirit holds priority over the written word within Karlstadt's hermeneutical theory, even though Karlstadt, I would suspect, does not envision any instance in which the two would disagree.

[56] For example, "Lieb Gottes on kunst und on verstand is blind und verfürisch. Glaub oder kunst gottes on liebe ist küle unnd todte . . . Glaub on lieb taug nit. Liebe on glauben behagt nit. Drumb ist dz rcht wreck ein liebreicher glaub oder glaubreiche lieb." *Karlstadts Schriften*, 52.7–9; see also 52.16–18.

[57] "Von den zweyen höchsten gebotten," 59.14–18.

[58] "Von den zweyen höchsten gebotten," 59.22–24.

[59] "Von den zweyen höchsten gebotten," 59.32–33.

[60] "Von den zweyen höchsten gebotten," 59.34–36, 60.2–3. Translation from *Essential Carlstadt*, 237.

Outward rites serve as external testaments to this inner reality. They are never, however, the means through which such a faith is given and established within an individual.

III. Luther's Position in Contrast to Karlstadt

The contrast between Luther's and Karlstadt's understanding of the movement of God's grace in the formation of the Christian life is very sharp. Luther never abandoned the Scriptural understanding of Baptism and the Eucharist as a physical means through which forgiveness and grace—even Christ and the Holy Spirit—are communicated to the individual recipient. As Luther expressed in his sermon to the people of Wittenberg on Reminiscere Sunday (March 16) of 1522, God is not stingy with his grace. He has provided many means or channels through which his forgiveness[61] is communicated to humanity. Luther specifically mentions five such means within this sermon. The first is divine forgiveness as it is shared between human beings based on the passage from Matthew 6:14: "If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you."[62] "Another comfort," Luther writes, "we have in the Lord's Prayer: 'Forgive us our trespasses.'"[63] Thirdly, he points to baptism as an assurance of divine grace and mercy: "Then we have private confession, when I go and receive a sure absolution as if God himself spoke it, so that I may be assured that my sins are forgiven."[64] And then finally, Luther points to the Eucharist wherein sinners "eat [Christ's] body and drink his blood as a sign that [they] are rid of [their] sins and God has freed [them] from all [their] frailties."[65] He closes this section by emphasizing the assurance that such communing gives: "In order to make me sure of [his grace], he gives me his body to eat and his blood to drink, so that I shall not and cannot doubt that I have a gracious God."[66] Lest one think that such a sacramental focus ends in forgiveness and fails to animate the individual in fervent love towards their

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[61] Luther specifically uses the word "absolutions." *LW* 51:99.

[62] *LW* 51:99

[63] *LW* 51:99

[64] *LW* 51:99

[65] *LW* 51:99

[66] *LW* 51:99. This description of the means of grace is echoed later in Luther's mature doctrine from his 1537 *Smalcald Articles* Part III, Article IV where he breaks down the external means through which the Gospel comes to believers as 1) the spoken Word [preaching], 2) Baptism, 3) the Eucharist, 4) the power of the Keys [the pastoral office], and 5) the "mutual conversation and consolation of the brethren."

neighbours, Luther points out that the fruit of the sacrament is nothing short of love. The Christian, he says, "should treat [his] neighbor as God has treated [him]."[67]

In a manner similar to Karlstadt, Luther has a strong social and ethical dimension to his understanding of Christian spirituality. Faith is to spring forth in works of love toward one's neighbor. The point at which Luther and Karlstadt differ, however, is the way in which faith was understood to be conceived and formed within the individual Christian. For Karlstadt, such a faith was communicated immediately to the individual through the working of the Spirit within the human heart; for Luther, however, such an individual faith is dependent upon that person having received Christ externally through both word and sacrament. Luther describes this aspect of his evangelical spirituality in his 1525 tract "Against the Heavenly Prophets." Luther there explains his view:

> Now when God sends forth his holy Gospel, He deals with us in a twofold manner, the first outwardly, then inwardly. Outwardly he deals with us through the oral word of the Gospel and through material signs, that is baptism and the sacrament of the altar. Inwardly He deals with us through the Holy Spirit, faith, and other gifts. But whatever their measure or order the outward factors should and must precede. The inward experience follows and is effected by the outward. God has determined [*beschlossen*] to give the inward to no one except through the outward. For he wants to give no one the Spirit or faith outside of the outward Word and sign instituted by him.[68]

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[67] *LW* 51:95. Luther captures the same in his hymn "Jesus Christ, Our God and Savior" (see n. 21 above). He opens the hymn with a strong gospel assertion of God's divine mercy towards sinners in Christ (stanza 1) and then progresses to meditate on the true physical presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament as God's enduring testament of his mercy which he gives to comfort and rest to individual Christians (stanzas 3–8). He closes the hymn with a verse calling Christians to rightly confess this gospel with their mouths (stanza 9) and with their lives (stanza 10) through acts of love toward their neighbors. *LW* 53:250–251.

[68] *LW* 40:146; "So nu Gott syn heyliges Euangelion hat auslassen gehen, handelt er mit uns auff zweyerley weyse. Eyn mal eusserlich, das ander mal ynnerlich. Eusserlich handelt er mit uns durchs muendliche wort des Euangelij und durch leypliche zeychen, alls do ist Tauffe und Sacrament. Ynnerlich handelt er mit uns durch den heyligen geyst und glauben sampt andern gaben. Aber das alles, der massen und der ordenung, das die eusserlichen stucke sollen und muessen vergehen. Und die ynnerlichen hernach und durch die eusserlichen komen, also das ers bescholssen hat, keinem menschen die ynnerlichen stuck zu geben on das eusserliche wort und zeychen." WA 18:136.9-18.

For Luther, there could be no inward faith without the external mediation of grace through the oral Word, Baptism, and Holy Communion. Indeed, his use of the German *beschlossen*—locked in—is telling of the absolute necessity which he saw in them. He considered the external means of the Word and the evangelical sacraments essential to the process of faith formation.[69]

The difference between Luther and Karlstadt becomes manifestly clear at this point. The question which divided them from one another, as Stefano Cavallotto has rightly observed, was whether or not salvation was something which is communicated to humanity through external means.[70] For Karlstadt, faith springs immediately from an inner working of the Spirit which is independent of any external mediation. He goes so far as to suggest that external media not only distract individual believers from grasping a hold of true faith but that they are even detrimental to it.[71] For Luther, on the other hand, "God always meets humans on their own level, that is, through outward, material means."[72] He considered the word and the sacraments to be essential means through which the Holy Spirit communicates forgiveness, faith, and salvation to each individual.[73] Faith formation without these means is simply impossible within Luther's understanding.

The two men approached the question of "How are Christians made?" from diametrically opposing conceptions of the *ordo salutis*. It should come as no surprise that both men understood their dispute in precisely these terms. In the tract "Several Main Points," Karlstadt echoes Luther's complaint that "Carlstadt turns God's order upside down" and "puts the last first, the hindmost up front, and the lowest at the top."[74] Several pages

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[69] Cf. Calvin Pater, "Religion of Rudolf-Bodenstein von Karlstadt," in *Leaders of the Reformation*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1988), 100.

[70] Stefano Cavallotto, "Il recupero di un'immagine: Carlostadio in un recente saggio di A. Gallas," *Christianesimo nella storia* 22 (2001): 437–450.

[71] *Essential Carlstadt*, 145. This notion is best understood in relation to his teaching regarding *gelassenheit* which, for the believer, must be total, taking leave of everything, so that he/she might find perfect communion with God within the ground of the soul.

[72] Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 72.

[73] See, for example, Luther's descriptions of Baptism, Absolution, and Holy Communion in his *Small Catechism*. See also his comments concerning the Word in the second *Invocavit* sermon which he preached in Wittenberg on March 10, 1522 where he says: "I did nothing; the Word did everything." *LW* 51: 77.

[74] *Essential Carlstadt*, 347.

later he complains again that Luther "says that I pervert God's order by placing the bottommost at the top, and by taking the lowliest for the best, the last as the first."[75] The particulars of their respective theology set aside, there is evidently a procedural dispute regarding the very foundations of faith formation taking place here. Karlstadt similarly criticized "Dr. Luther's order [*ordo salutis*] regarding the mortification of the flesh" as being simply "wrong" in his estimation.[76] Sider's suggestion that the theological differences between the two men were minimal and insignificant[77] thus merely scratches the surface of what was actually going on between them for it fails to take into account the deeper structure of the two reformers' thought.[78] Cavallotto is right to discuss the disagreement between them under the rubric of a "soteriology of mediation,"[79] for in each of their minds, the entire battle between them had to do with the basics of the faith, with how faith and salvation were communicated and established within individual human beings.[80]

Luther's scathing rhetoric against Karlstadt becomes all the more comprehensible when their disagreement is understood in terms of a soteriological battle between two conflicting and contradictory patterns of Reformation spirituality.[81] From Luther's perspective, Karlstadt was preaching a form of godliness while denying the very means through which a true saving faith could be communicated. It is thus no wonder that

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[75] *Essential Carlstadt*, 351.

[76] *Essential Carlstadt*, 359.

[77] Sider, *Karlstadt's Battle with Luther*, 3–4.

[78] For a fascinating comparative discussion of the "deep structure" of Lutheran and Catholic thought, see Daphne Hampson, *Christian Contradictions: The Structures of Lutheran and Catholic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). More work needs to be done investigating the convergences and differences that emerge on the front between the Lutheran and Radical branches of the Reformation era.

[79] "Soteriologia della mediazione." See Cavallotto, "Il recupero di un'immagine: Carlostadio in un recente saggio di A. Gallas," 449.

[80] Heiko Oberman notes that "Luther as a reformer cannot be understood unless he is seen located between God and the devil, who have been involved in a struggle—not in a metaphysical, but in a real battle—ever since the beginning of the world—a battle which not "in these last days" is reaching a horrible climax." Oberman, "Teufelsdreck: Eschatology and Scatology in the 'Old' Luther," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988): 439–440.

[81] Compare this to Hendrix's observation that the diversification of Western Christianity was already well underway by the time of the sixteenth century. Hendrix, "Vineyard," 160.

he spared little restraint in calling him an *incarnatus diabolus*.[82] Although Karlstadt's rhetoric against Luther is arguably more circumspect in the extent of its tone, it is certainly no less vicious.[83] Yet what binds the two reformers together in their mutual antagonism is not so much a topical disagreement over selected theological *loci* or even a practical dispute over how quickly to proceed in implementing a city reformation. Their disagreement was more fundamental, and they knew it. It touched on the very *ordo salutis* which they understood, not as a bald scholastic theological *ordo*, but as the dynamic process of the economy of God's salvation in Christ directed towards damned sinners. In a nutshell, it is Article V of the *Augsburg Confession* thrown into full practical, spiritual, and ecumenical relief. Luther and Karlstadt were disputing over the very process by which faith is formed and brought to fruition within and among the faithful.

Luther's rhetoric, as a result, is much more than a verbal assault on an academic rival intended to sway the scales of popular opinion to his own support and favor. It is the cry of an anguished Christian fighting for the very means of salvation through which faith—including his own—is given, formed, and sustained. By inverting the *ordo salutis* and thereby emptying the dominical means of grace of any and all efficacy, Luther saw Karlstadt as effectively deceiving the faithful under a cloud of godly rhetoric while absconding the very means by which true faith could be given. As Heiko Oberman has rightly observed, "the very ferocity of Luther's language, his high pitch, has the double purpose of unmasking the Devil *and* shouting to God (*clamare, schreien*), so loud that he will intervere to skin the Devil and expose him for all to see" as well as to

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[82] WA TR 1:31. Luther's conception of the sacramentality of the divine economy of salvation as well as his perception of how the devil works are certainly consistant with the prevailing views and perspectives of his day. For an excellent discussion of early modern demonology, see Armando Maggi, *Satan's Rhetoric: A Study of Renaissance Demonology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[83] Karlstadt, for instance, describes Luther as an "arrogant" (*Essential Carlstadt*, 346) egotistical despot ("Run, run, and flee Dr. Luther's judgment, for if he catches you, you will all become his target without mercy. . . . He has new bulls from Wittenberg and Rome and power to rebuke and condemn you as he pleases, as those who have obstructed the gospel. Haste, flee; he thunders already from afar, growls, hails and throws about thunder bolts as one who intends to judge you and your lost generation." *Essential Carlstadt*, 350) who teaches out of frivolity ("I am sure therefore that Dr. Luther shoots winged words from the barrel of his frivolity. . . . " *Essential Carlstadt*, 351). Karlstadt similarly describes him as a misguided ringleader of a mob of "critters" and "bastards." See *Essential Carlstadt*, 347, 359.

"[shock] misguided, captivated Christians out of their blind ignorance so that they can now be converted."[84]

IV. Conclusion

Luther's and Karlstadt's mutual rejection of each other's views concerning this process of faith formation reveals the extent to which these reformers understood their work in terms of a widespread agenda to reform the basic pattern of Christian spirituality. It is likewise significant to note that the same basic patterns of spirituality which continue to shape and draw the lines of ecumenical battles and debates within contemporary Christendom already met and clashed during the nascent decades of the Reformation era.[85] The root of the dispute between Luther and Karlstadt was neither just theoretical nor simply procedural. It cut to the heart of the very Reformation vision and agenda: the making of a new Christendom. That the two former colleagues, in the end, did not agree undoubtedly had many contributing factors of which differences in personality, pastoral temperament, and the politics of career agendas are unquestionably only a few. A careful reading of their writings on these events, however, reveals that the dispute between them runs deeper than the traditional explanations have allowed. In a similar vein, it is a reminder for us today to be attuned to the deeper spiritual significance of our theological confessions in order that we speak loudly and clearly the truth of the gospel, not simply as an exercise in theological correctness but out of a sincere concern that the fullness of Christ's salvation is made present to our world in both word and sacrament.[86]

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[84] Oberman, "Teufelsdreck: Eschatology and Scatology in the 'Old' Luther," 445.

[85] Cf. Lindberg, "Conflicting Models," 49-50.

[86] The research for this article was funded in part by a *Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada* doctoral grant as well as a *Manitoba Graduate Scholarship*.

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Theological Observer

Kenneth F. Korby—A Teacher of Pastors

In July of 2003, my wife and I entered the nursing home room in Port Angeles, Washington, of the Reverend Dr. Kenneth F. Korby, my teacher in catechetics and mentor in pastoral theology and practice. He did not know we were coming to visit. We were there to celebrate his 55th anniversary of ordination. As we entered the room that morning, he sat in his wheelchair with a tattered copy of Luther's Small Catechism and the hymnal open to the service of Matins. Kenneth was 79. Two years earlier he had suffered a debilitating stroke that robbed him of most of his speech and left him partially paralyzed. Gone were all the books of his library, the tools of his trade as a pastor, theologian, and wordsmith. What remained was what had always remained since the time of his baptism: the Catechism and the hymnal.

This scene spoke volumes. What endeared Dr. Korby to so many of us was that he lived what he taught. He taught us that the Catechism was a prayer book and handbook for the Christian faith and life, to be learned by heart, that it might teach us how to know ourselves rightly, how to receive the gifts our Lord Jesus so freely gives us in his preached Word and Sacraments, and how to live in the bold confidence of Christ's forgiveness in our earthly callings. But he didn't just teach us this as if it were something he was supposed to say: Kenneth actually believed this about the Catechism and lived from the Catechism in his own life as a husband, father, and pastor.

The life of prayer that Kenneth practiced until the day he died was not first learned from Wilhelm Löhe and his scholarly research into Löhe's pastoral theology and practice. He first learned to pray from his father and mother and his parish pastor. Like Timothy, Kenneth continued in the things that he had learned from childhood, knowing from whom he had learned them. His studies in Wilhelm Löhe only deepened and enriched a prayer life and pastoral practice that he already knew and through which he had been personally nurtured and sustained in the holy faith.

Kenneth F. Korby was born in Wellington, Colorado on May 15, 1924. He was the second of four children born to Dorthea (nee' Hefner), a pastor's daughter, and Fred Korby, a poor farmer. His older sister had already died at the age of a year and a half, effectively making him the eldest of the Korby children. He was baptized on June 8, 1924, at Zion Lutheran Church in Wellington and he grew up on his parents' small farm during the Great Depression. They sold sweet corn in the markets at Ft. Collins. He was a westerner. He knew the earth, hard work, sweat, and the common life of the farm. Many who saw and heard Kenneth lecture in his later years were sometimes put off by his black cowboy boots, Western hat, and walking stick. But that's who Kenneth was: a blunt, earthy, man with a compassionate heart.

The spiritual life of the Korby household was rich in its simplicity. Pastor Theodore Meyer, who catechized Kenneth, urged the families of his flock to read the Bible and pray daily. That's what the Korbys did. In his early years the Bible was the only book they owned. Kenneth's earliest recollections were of his mother reading the Bible to her family around the kitchen table. The life and faith that had been engendered and nourished in the Korby family around the altar and pulpit of Zion Lutheran Church was lived out in their home in the hearing of Scripture, prayer, mutual forgiveness of one another, and the hard work and self-sacrifices of love in their life together on the farm. This ordinary, earthy, common life of Scripture, Catechism, sacramental piety, and prayer is what formed Kenneth Korby into the faithful Lutheran pastor and theologian he became. Given the things that shaped him in his childhood, it is no wonder that his scholarly work led him to a deep and profound interest in Löhe and the eventual doctoral dissertation, *The Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe with Special Attention to the Function of the Liturgy and the Laity.*

From the time he was a small boy, Kenneth wanted to be a Lutheran pastor. Pastor Meyer urged the Korbys to send Kenneth to St. John's College, Winfield, Kansas. He attended the public schools of Wellington, Colorado, through the ninth grade and departed for St. John's College in 1938, at the age of 14. He graduated from St. John's in 1943 and went on to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, earning a BA in 1944 and a BDiv in 1945. During 1945 he began a two-year vicarage at Gethsemane Lutheran Church, St. Louis, where he taught forth and fifth grades. He studied as a special student at the University of Minnesota from 1946 to 1947 in the area of education, philosophy, radio speech, and liturgical chant, during which time he also taught Latin and English and coached tennis in the high school division of Concordia, St. Paul. Kenneth was ordained on the Feast of St. James the Elder, 1948, by the Rev. Herbert Lindemann at Our Redeemer Lutheran Church, St. Paul, Minnesota. Kenneth served as Assistant Pastor at Redeemer from 1948 to 1951, pastor of St. Peter Evangelical Lutheran Church, Medford, Oregon, from 1951 to 1958, Assistant Professor of Theology from 1958 to 1970, and Associate Professor of Theology from 1970 to 1980 at Valparaiso University. From 1980 until his retirement in 1989, the once country boy served as Pastor of Chatham Fields Lutheran Church, a largely African American congregation on the south side of Chicago. In his retirement Kenneth moved to St. Paul, Minnesota and almost immediately began to serve Zion Lutheran Church as their vacancy pastor until he finally moved to Port Angeles, Washington.

In 1963 Kenneth received the MDiv from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis and an STM from Yale University Divinity School. His doctoral degree from Seminex caused many over the years to be suspicious of Kenneth's orthodoxy and deprived him of consideration for a faculty position at an LCMS seminary. It is important to remember the circumstances under which he obtained his degree. He began and completed nearly all his doctoral work as a student at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. During the 1963-64 academic year he received a

sabbatical from Valparaiso to work on his ThD in residence at St. Louis. A decade later, having completed his studies and written his dissertation, the 1974 walk-out of the seminary faculty occurred. Presumably because he had done his doctoral work under men who were no longer on the faculty, the seminary requested that he spend an additional year in residence before obtaining the degree. This unforeseen requirement was not possible for him to meet given his teaching duties at Valparaiso. Still wanting to obtain the degree for which he had completed his work, he was offered the opportunity to receive the degree from Concordia Seminary in Exile. He accepted the offer and defended his thesis before the men who had been his advisers and was awarded the ThD from Seminex in 1976. Though Concordia Seminary denied him his doctorate in the 1970s, his contributions to pastoral education in the Synod were recognized by the seminary in May of 2006, when, two months before his death, he was awarded an honorary doctorate. The commencement program on that occasion called him "a teacher of pastors."

Kenneth married Jeanne Alison Lindberg of St. Paul, Minnesota, on May 8, 1949. They had three children: Christopher, Deborah, and Rebecca. His lectures were replete with references to his own family life, the Word of God, catechism, prayer, and vigorous singing around the dinner table. They struggled with sin and weakness, like any family, but learned the art of living under the gospel with confession and absolution at the center of the home.

Kenneth Korby was the teacher of countless Lutheran pastors, deaconesses, teachers, and laity across the country and overseas, but he never held a post at either of our seminaries higher than "visiting professor." He taught as a pastor and he lived as a pastor. He was a true catechist, passing on the faith to his sheep and the next generation of pastors not only through his scholarly work as a visiting lecturer, conference speaker, and writer, but also as a Christian man who lived what he taught. In many ways, the resurgence of Private Confession and Absolution in pastoral care, the recovery of every-Sunday communion in so many of our congregations, the lively practice of family prayer and catechesis that lives from the font and altar, the return to learning the Small Catechism "by heart" that it might function meaningfully as a prayer book and handbook of the Christian faith and life in the lives of our people, and the understanding and use of the older language of "catechesis" in the Missouri Synod can be traced directly to the widespread influence of Kenneth Korby on the lives and ministries of countless young pastors during the last three decades of the twentieth century. His lively legacy continues among us today in the ministries of so many of our pastors who remain pleased to call him their spiritual father.

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Peace Lutheran Church and Academy
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Richard John Neuhaus (1936-2009)

Early in January an unconfirmed report circulated that Richard John Neuhaus was gravely ill. Within hours of his death on January 8, the word was out that he passed away. The *First Things* website placed the time of death shortly before 10 AM. I downloaded his essay on death as he had faced that prospect about ten years before and had escaped. Now there was no escape. Death was the inevitable, but he did not see himself entrapped by death but saw it as the door to life. A later *First Things* posting gave directions for the clergy attending his funeral service on Tuesday. This would not have been for the benefit of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) ministers, even though he had been brought up in this church, graduated from one of its seminaries, and served as pastor of two of its congregations. Had influence and admiration been translated into attendance, the LCMS clergy would have exceeded the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) clergy present.

In June 2010 the 1960 class of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, will celebrate the 50th anniversary of its graduation. Neuhaus will be the topic of conversation. His *The Naked Public Square* was a frontal assault on the secularism that was removing religion from public discussion. Religion was for him Roman Catholicism, but he wanted to make room for Judaism. An attempt to include Islam failed. During seminary days we were at opposite ends of the theological table, and things had not changed when we met at the Atlantic District Pastoral Conference in April 1972. Less than three years before, J. A. O. Preus had been elected as LCMS president and the 1974 Saint Louis seminary walkout was inevitable.

Neuhaus, a pastor of a Brooklyn congregation with an extensive social agenda, became a spokesman for the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations (AELC), the support group for Christ Seminary in Exile (Seminex). When I attempted an analysis of the position of that faculty, *Faithful to Our Calling, Faithful to Our Lord,* Neuhaus wrote that I was taking the document more seriously than the signatories had. This might have meant that it was more of a political than a serious theological document. After the AELC became the catalyst for the formation of the ELCA, Neuhaus was discontent with its acceptance of abortion. Membership on its ruling Church Council was determined by quotas. About the time he left the ELCA for Rome, he had become the religion editor for William F. Buckley's *National Review* and was a frequent guest on *Firing Line.*

We had not been in contact since April 1972 and then out of the blue in the summer of 1990 came an invitation to his ordination. Our place in the Poconos was only a two hour ride from New York and the invitation could have been easily accepted, but wasn't, all of which was reported in the *Theological Observer* (*CTQ* 55:1 [January 1991]: 43-48). I added that if I had been invited to

the reception, held in one of New York's finest hotels, I would have accepted. His immediate reply was that the invitation included the reception. This made my absence all the more bitter. Even if it was from a distance, we were indeed following one another's paths; his being editor of *First Things* with a growing subscription list and influence, mine was the easier task.

Neuhaus was invited to speak at our seminary's annual January symposium in 2002 on why he joined the Roman church, an occasion he used to explain how even during his childhood as a Lutheran he was already a Catholic. Before we could make a decision about publishing his paper, it appeared in the April 2002 issue *First Things* under the title "How I Became the Catholic I Was." He offered two reasons for changing churches: one, that he had always really been a Roman Catholic; and, the one more frequently given, that the reasons for Lutheran separation from Rome had been resolved.

All this raises the question of how Neuhaus left his Lutheran roots and how far he ventured into Catholicism. The question could be rephrased: Had Catholics accepted him to the extent that Lutherans had released him? A hint may be provided by Kenneth Hagen in his reminiscences of being a Lutheran layman teaching Luther at Marquette University, a Roman Catholic university ("Observing Catholicism," *Logia* 16:3 (Holy Trinity): 57-59). His friends were Roman Catholic, but only those born Roman Catholic belong to the in-group. This might explain that some Roman Catholics were less enthusiastic about him and, conversely, LCMS Lutherans could not completely give him up. (Since, after leaving the ELCA, he took its religious and political policies to task, it made no claim on him. In any case, the ELCA has not been around long enough to have established a recognizable tradition.) I hinted at this in the Theological Observer section of *CTQ* when I wrote that *First Things* had proportionately more readers in the LCMS than among Roman Catholics. He quoted me as saying, "card-carrying priests are less likely to take Neuhaus seriously." His response was: "Those card-carrying priests have always been a suspect lot" (*First Things*, 187 [November 2008]: 68). Though he at times took issue with me, on this one I was right.

The statistics will show that many in the LCMS were staking their claim on him. Roman Catholics who had drunk heavily in the liberating waters of Vatican II were not happy with him. The headline of the Associated Press announcement of his death read, "Catholic conservative Neuhaus dies." In spite of his liberal reputation during his seminary and LCMS ministerial years, Neuhaus had become a theological conservative without surrendering his ecumenical agenda. He formed Evangelicals and Catholics Together to affirm basic Christian doctrines and positions mainline Protestantism no longer thought to be of significant interest. Robert Preus and Neuhaus had been at opposite ends of the spectrum, but Preus's old friend in the defense of biblical inerrancy, Carl F. H. Henry, was part of the group. Every issue of *First Things* left no doubt where Neuhaus stood. He opposed abortion, left a church that

had women clergy, and joined one that did not and will never have them. His sojourn in the ELCA had only a negative influence, but his LCMS roots were never cut off. In an issue appearing only months before his death, he wrote:

> The Missouri Synod (LCMS) has retained aspects of the confessional Lutheranism that Braaten champions, but has no ecumenical vision and has powerfully attempted to jettison distinctively Lutheran elements of theology, liturgy, and sacramental life in order to join in the church growth and other excitements of evangelical Protestantism. The ELCA have effectively thrown in their lot with liberal Protestantism and have settled into permanent exile from the Catholic Church as simply one more Protestant denomination among others (*First Things*, 187 [November 2008]: 71).

In the last issue, which arrived simultaneously with the announcement of his death, Neuhaus reports how the ELCA presiding bishop called his own act of washing the feet of two HIV positive women "an act of humility and repentance." The ELCA press release says that [the bishop] told an International Aids Conference in Mexico City that "male heterosexual religious leaders must be willing to talk about their own sexuality, rather than talking about the sexuality of people who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered." Wryly Neuhaus asks why anyone would be interested in this. Anyway, it is good to know that the bishop "is, by his own account, humble and repentant" (*First Things*, 190 [February 2009]: 65-66). Ouch!

If you cannot take the country out of a country boy, maybe you cannot take the Lutheran out of a Lutheran boy, even when he becomes the most recognized conservative Roman Catholic spokesman in America. Archbishop Fulton Sheen was more widely known, but he had the television. Neuhaus had only the pen. Some time back he wrote a short essay entitled "Like the Father Like the Son" to show that he still retained his childhood faith. He was haunted by the memory of his very orthodox Lutheran pastor father and this was exacerbated by his mother's aversion to his conversion to Roman Catholicism. At her committal he was allowed to pray only after the service was complete. This was no surprise. He knew how Lutherans thought and did things.

In less than twenty years, Neuhaus had become a Roman Catholic's Catholic. He had dinner twice with John Paul II and Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger before he became pope. Like a John the Baptist (or was it Luther?) he called attention to the foibles of Roman Catholic and Lutheran bishops, even though the Lutheran ones were bishops of a different kind. Somehow, through it all, there was something still Lutheran about him, and as the February issue of *First Things* was going to press, as death drew near, he recognized it. At the end of each issue of *First Things* he collected rambling thoughts from the last month in a column called The Public Square. It contained the kind of stuff preachers could not find by themselves but could put to good use in their

sermons. In the first piece in that section he attempted to find a place for the Lutheran doctrine of justification within the Roman Catholic framework by quoting Benedict XVI: "Luther's expression 'by faith alone' is true if faith is not opposed to charity, to love. Faith is to look at Christ, to entrust oneself to Christ, to be united to Christ, to be conformed to Christ, to his life" (*First Things*, 190 [February 2009]:61-64). For some this is not enough, but for others it is. From his hospital bed at Sloan-Kettering in New York, facing an uncertain future brought on by a recurrence of cancer, he wrote the last item in the Public Square section and what would probably be the last thing he ever wrote, "Be assured that I neither fear to die nor refuse to live. If it is to die, all that has been is but a slight intimation of what it is to be." Then he references Luther that if he knew that he was going to die tomorrow, he would still plant a tree and adds that the Reformer might have added "that he would quaff his favored beer." In the face of death Neuhaus says he will understand Paul's saying that in weakness he is made strong. Finally, "Your will be done" (*First Things*, 190 [February 2009]: 72).

Jaroslav Pelikan, Lutheran theologian and historian turned Orthodox, died listening to Bach's B-Minor Mass—a very Lutheran way to die. Neuhaus died citing Luther. Once Lutheran always a Lutheran might be going too far, but it is not a bad idea to die Lutheran. Nothing else but Christ counts. His monthly *First Things* intrusions into our mailboxes will be greatly missed.

David P. Scaer

Work and Reality in Latvia

[This short article acquaints readers with one of the Lutheran Churches in the Baltic Sea region. It was originally published in For the Life of the World *(Vol.13:4, July 2008) and is used by permission. The Editors]*

Faith lives under the cross. Nothing could be more true of the Christian existence, and nowhere could it be more truly experienced than in Latvia. Latvia is a nation with a very difficult past and an uncertain future. And in that mix stands the Lutheran Church, which is itself in a period of uncertain challenge and rapid change.

The history of Christianity in Latvia begins in the twelfth century when an Augustinian monk named Meinhart accompanied German crusaders for the conversion of the peoples in the Baltic region (c. 1186). The Reformation came early to Latvia, especially to Riga, its largest city. The Livonians (as the people were called) received a short letter of encouragement from Martin Luther in 1523. The Baltic region was also much influenced by the pietism led by Count Zinzendorf.

The Latvian people were, through the centuries, largely under the lordship of others, such as the Russians and the Swedes but mostly the Germans.

However, in 1918, the Latvians established their own rule in the Republic of Latvia. Along with this was the establishment of a truly Latvian Lutheran Church [Latvijas evaņģēliski luteriskā Baznīca (LELB)] with its own bishop, Karlis Irbe, who was consecrated in 1922.

The next years saw considerable development in the country and church, but with the conclusion of WWII, Latvia came under the atheistic Communism of the Soviet Union. Many of its intellectuals and leaders, including clergy, either fled into exile or were systematically eliminated. Churches were destroyed and religious education virtually disappeared. The situation dramatically changed in the early 1990s when Latvia regained its independence. The new bishop, Karlis Gailitis, unexpectedly died, and in 1993, the present bishop, Janis Vanags, was elected.

When the church came out of Communist dictatorship, it immediately faced a number of difficult realities. Through the centuries and during the twentieth century, the LELB had traditional and close ties with the European Lutheran churches, especially that of Sweden and those of Germany. However, these churches had largely succumbed to various modern trends (e.g., higher Biblical criticism, ordination of women, increasingly homosexual advocacy), and these trends the LELB wished to withstand. At the same time, the LELB is a small church of a small country and wishes to maintain its ecumenical relationships to the greatest extent possible. Therefore, one challenge facing the LELB is its ecumenical position as a confessing Lutheran Church within a much larger and more powerful world Lutheran community (especially in Germany and Scandinavia) that often has a more liberal agenda.

Another set of serious challenges arose from the enforced slumber of the Soviet period. Virtually all of LELB's pastors were in exile or eliminated. This means that the continuity of leadership necessary for a healthy church was gone. Today there are about one hundred fifty pastors, but the average age is only thirty-two. The LELB lacks the pastor corps of fifteen to thirty years of experience. The maturity of church leadership, therefore, is present but not broad. It will take time for this situation to rectify itself. At the moment, the church is in the process of changing its polity. It recently elected two additional bishops, one for the eastern part of Latvian (Daugavpils) and one for the western part (Liepaja) with the Archbishop in Riga. This change in constitution is not universally accepted but was thought useful both for the promotion of institutional unity and for the episcopal care of the pastors. The church is struggling also to solidify pastor salaries that remain very low, and this within an economy that presently has 13 percent inflation.

The Christians of Latvia are deeply pious and committed but have serious challenges: liturgical change, pressure from the European churches to conform to new theological and social trends, institutional development, and theological education needs. For me, it is a great honor and privilege to work among these good people. It is an honor for the LCMS to be in fellowship with

the Lutherans of Latvia. I would further maintain that the LCMS has much to gain by knowing those whose faith was forged in real fire but who now look also to us for the resources to be a faithful Lutheran Church in the contemporary world.

William C. Weinrich

The Doctrine of Christ in Theological Education

[*This inaugural address was given by the new Rector, William C. Weinrich, to the students and faculty of Luther Academy in Riga, Latvia, on 5 February 2007.*]

Dear Professors, Students, Archbishop, and Friends of the Luther Academy:

As we begin a new semester of teaching and of learning at the Luther Academy, it is well that we remember that Martin Chemnitz, the so-called "Second Martin", defined the church as that place where there are teachers and there are those who learn. The church, he reminds us, is founded upon the doctrine of Christ which is preached and taught, and which, through such ministry, gives new birth to many unto eternal life. Typical for the Reformers, Chemnitz was concerned to exclude all thought that God works his salvation without means, for example through the direct inspiration or enlightenment of the soul through the Holy Spirit.

This insistence that God works his redemption through means, that is, through the ministry of preaching and the sacraments, grounds the work of God in the reality of Christ. Note the language used over and over again by our Lutheran dogmaticians and teachers. Chemnitz speaks of the "doctrine of Christ"; the central article of justification speaks of grace alone, faith alone, for the sake of Christ alone. Yet, this Christ who is central to our preaching and teaching is not just any Christ. The Christ of the church of the Reformation is the Christ of the ecumenical creeds and the Christ of the Scriptures. One might even say that the central and foundational concern of Martin Luther's reformation was to specify, to define, and to locate that God who justifies the sinner and sanctifies him unto eternal life. The central question of the Reformation was "Who is the God who redeems me, a poor sinner?" "Who is the God who gives life to those consigned to death?" "Who is the God who wills to give himself to man, so that man might live the life of God?"

In his famous Christmas hymn, "No debesīm es atnesu," Luther gave the reformation answer to this question: "Viņš ir tas Kristus, mūsu Dievs." And this Christ was the crucified Christ. Luther specifies and defines the one, true God who redeems the life of man: this God is known and present in the son of Mary; even more concretely: this God is the son of Mary. This identification of God as the man on the cross remained the single motivating theme of all of Luther's writings. Whether the specific topic of his discourse was the new life of obedience, or free will, or the work of justification, the underlying reality of

all of his discourse was the crucified God. To move away from this knowledge of God was to move into speculations and false spiritualities. In this emphasis Luther is following the central thesis of the bishops at the Council of Nicaea. The Arians did not believe that the "humble" words and works of the gospel stories could be the words and works of God Himself. God was too exalted and too majestic to be the subject of such humility and lowliness. The word incarnate, therefore, must be a creature, that is, one who is by nature characterized by change and struggle and even death. That the true God could suffer and die was, strictly speaking, an impossibility.

Here too, in the fourth century the question was "who is that upon the cross?" Of whom do the passion stories speak? The bishops of Nicaea answered, "True God from true God, who for us and for our salvation came down from heaven and was made man of the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary." The true God was such, that he could communicate his own love and his own life to man. The son of Mary was none other than this communication of the divine love and the divine life in the reality of a man. The man, Jesus of Nazareth, is none other than the human form of the life of God. This is at least an important part of what it means when we confess that he "was incarnated and made man through the Holy Spirit." Jesus is the human shape of the life of the Holy Spirit; Jesus is the shape of that sanctification which God wills to give to us, the unholy. Jesus is precisely the human form of God. In dogmatic terms, in the oneness of his person, Jesus is both God and Man.

Nowhere in the New Testament is this mystery of the Crucified as the very revelation of God more emphatic than in the Gospel of John. I do not now refer to that famous verse of the prologue of John's Gospel, "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" (John 1:14). I refer rather to two other passages that have not received the theological analysis that they deserve. Let me first refer you to John 19:28–30. These verses recount the scene of Jesus' death, and three times refer to the absolute fulfillment of God's purposes. Jesus knows that "all things have been accomplished"; to bring the Scripture to its completion, Jesus says, "I thirst"; upon his dying Jesus says, "It is accomplished." These verses testify that it is precisely in the death of Christ that the purposes of God, given written form in the writings of the Old Testament, have been brought to their perfection and conclusion. All knowledge of God, all revelation, all worship, all obedience to the divine will has until that moment been preliminary, partial, and incomplete. Until that moment of completion, all has been in waiting and in the shadows of types and prefigurements. That is why the New Testament writers and the consensus of the early church was that until the death of Jesus the Old Testament could not yield the preaching of Christ. In the death of Jesus the will of God the Father for the life of the world is revealed, without remainder. It is as though he said, "This is how much I love you, for the death of my Son is itself my love for you. In his death, you live." But—and this is important—the death of Jesus is also the revelation of the new man, the reborn and sanctified man, the New Adam. Here in this "obedience unto

death" Jesus fulfills the worship of a righteous and holy heart which loves the Lord fully and totally and without reserve. "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, soul and mind." That is the first commandment of the Law, and that commandment was made full in the obedient death of Jesus.

The second passage is John 8:28. Here in the midst of opposition and hostility Jesus makes the claim that the Jews who want to kill him do not know God. Why not? Because they do not recognize the God of Israel to be none other than Jesus himself. "Who are you?" they ask. And Jesus makes the remarkable assertion: "When you will have lifted the son of Man up high, then you will know that I am." Here the revelation that Jesus is the divine "ego eimi" occurs in his being lifted up, that is, in his crucifixion. The knowledge of God is the crucifixion of Jesus. Moreover, it is the son of Man who will be lifted up. The figure of the son of Man certainly goes back to the vision of Daniel 7 where Daniel sees "one like a son of Man coming on the clouds of glory." There with the "ancient of Days" the son of Man comes to judge the nations and to initiate the Kingdom of God. For most Jews and for many Christian writers this coming of the son of Man on the clouds of glory refers to the end of time, to what Christians would call the second coming of Christ. However, this passage makes clear that the coming of the son of Man in glory and honor is nothing other than the crucifixion of Jesus. The crucifixion is the exaltation of man, even as it is the revelation of God. God assumes again his rule and kingdom when man is redeemed and made holy. In the sinful human race, God is not king. And therefore we pray: Lai nāk Tava valstība. Tavs prāts lai notiek kā debesīs, tā arī virs zemes. "Let your will be done on earth." This is what occurred in the death of Jesus.

I began with a reference to teaching and being taught in the church. The Luther Academy is not an independent and autonomous entity alongside the church. The Luther Academy is of the church, or it has lost its proper vocation. If we wish to prepare pastors and teachers for the church, then we must be in the church. And this means in the first instance that our teaching must be the doctrine of Christ; that is, our teaching must promote the knowledge of God in the face of Jesus Christ; it must promote faith in this man as our Savior and Friend; it must promote that confession and worship that lifts high the cross to the glory of God the Father. If Christ the Crucified is the Light of the world, then our teaching must clarify what it means to be a Christian in the modern world. It is "for us" that the Word became man, that is, for us who live in this place and in this time. And this means that the work of the Luther Academy must serve the work of preaching and teaching. To teach with humility means to be bound to the word of the Gospel.

Similarly, those who learn here must understand themselves to be of the church and in the church. They must understand that they too are bound to the mystery of the death of God in the humility of a man. If they are to represent this God in their ministries as pastors and teachers, they must submit their

minds to the discipline of study, that is, to the discipline of listening to the voice of the church at all times and in all places. Moreover, if their ministries are to be of the ministry of this God, they will submit their hearts to the humility of Jesus and seek to obtain the unity of faith and love which is the mark of the one, true God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

William C. Weinrich

Löhe Studies Today

Born in 1808, Wilhelm Löhe is perhaps best remembered in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod for his tireless efforts in assisting German immigrants in establishing churches that would form the nucleus of the new church body. This memory is also colored by his disagreement with C.F.W. Walther on questions of church and ministry that would lead Löhe to redirect his work toward the support of those who left Saginaw to begin a colony near Dubuque, Iowa. Löhe's diverse and sometimes controversial interests have piqued the interest of many on both sides of the Atlantic in recent years. After the Second World War, Klaus Ganzert (who died at the age of 93 last September) began collecting and publishing Löhe's sermons, letters, treatises and devotional writings in the seven volumes of the *Gesammelte Werke* published between 1951 and 1986. A supplemental volume of sermons on the Lord's Supper was edited by Martin Wittenberg and published in 1991.

Approximately 150 theologians, church historians and pastors marked the 200th anniversary of the birth of Löhe with a conference sponsored by the International Löhe Society in Neuendettelsau from July 22-26, 2008. The conference drew participants not only from Germany and the United States but Africa, Asia, Australia and South America. Gathering under the theme, "Wilhelm Löhe - Inheritance and Vision: Sprouting out of Tradition," scholars addressed not only historical dimensions of the nineteenth century Bavarian pastor, but also his theological, pastoral, and missiological legacy for contemporary Lutheranism.

The International Löhe Society, organized largely due to the efforts of Dietrich Blaufuß of Erlangen and Craig Nessan of Dubuque, held its first international conference at Wartburg Theological Seminary in July, 2005, under the title "Wilhelm Löhe and his Legacy." The first conference addressed basic themes in Löhe, especially his relationship to Lutheranism in North America. These essays were subsequently published in the April 2006 issue of *Currents in Theology and Mission.*

Keynote speaker at the 2008 conference was Erika Geiger, author of a fine biography of the Neuendettelsau pastor, *Wilhelm Löhe (1808-1872): Leben-Werk-Wirkung* (Freimund-Verlag, 2003). Geiger's work now replaces Johannes Deinzer's older three volume work which he commenced writing the year after

Löhe's death. It is hoped that a translation of Geiger's volume might fill the need for a reliable and comprehensive portrait of Löhe in English.

If the 2005 Conference dealt more broadly with Löhe, the most recent conference focused with more precision on aspects of his context and thinking. Lothar Vogel (Rome) examined Löhe's relation to his teachers both during his brief time (summer semester 1828) at Berlin and his longer enrollment at Erlangen. Löhe referred to his sojourn in Berlin as his "desert" and "Patmos." After attending a lecture by Hegel at Berlin, the young Löhe penned in his diary: "understood nothing, nothing to understand." He was impressed by Schleiermacher's sermonic abilities but not his theology. More positively, Löhe appreciated Hengstenberg, August J. W. Neander, Ludwig F. F. Theremin, and especially the practical theologian Gerhard F. A. Strauß, whose example of an intense but churchly piety would leave its imprint on him. Löhe learned from Strauß to distinguish mysticism from pietism. In Strauß, Löhe found a teacher who awed him with a piety and romantic spiritual language that would correspond to his own religious instincts. The more pronounced Lutheranism of Erlangen provided the stimulus for the formation of Löhe's own confessional identity. Ironically, this identity was solidified and deepened through the tutelage of the Reformed professor, Johann Christian Kraft. Vogel concluded that both Berlin and Erlangen contributed to Löhe's shift from one who was a child of the awakening to one who was self-consciously Lutheran.

Two additional essayists deal with aspects of Löhe's spiritual development. Jobst Reller (Hermannsburg) took up the question of Löhe's "conversion" in his paper, "Conversion and Spiritual Coming-out in Löhe's and Lutheran Revival Biographies." Reller points out that that Löhe's inner development unfolded in five basic stages, paralleling the "conversion pattern" found in numerous theologians at the time. It is a movement from spiritual uncertainty to the surety of a sinner justified by faith. In this sense, Reller believes that it is appropriate to speak of Löhe's conversion. An essay by Jürgen Albert (Frankfurt/Main) examined the similarities and differences between Löhe and Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-1881) often identified as the "father of inner missions." While both Löhe and Wichern sought to find a way for a renewed Protestantism in a new philosophical, social, and economic situation, each took different approaches. Wichern, Albert argues, sought "the re-Christianization of the whole society" while Löhe seeks the re-confessionalization of the Lutheran Church. Thus the shape and scope of the church's diaconal life is different in these two men. Albert maintained that "Wichern is a politician of Christianity; Löhe is a politician of Lutheranism." Wichern works from the theological basis of baptism and the general priesthood toward the shaping of life in the world. Löhe works from the Lord's Supper and the ministerial office toward the church as "the Lord's most beautiful thought of love."

Hans Schwarz (Regensburg) engaged Löhe's response to social questions of his time in "Wilhelm Löhe on Social Issues Caused by Rapid Industrialization." Löhe, of course, is well known for his diaconal work; the institutions of mercy he founded continue to this day. Schwarz rehearsed how Löhe's attentiveness to social issues was shaped by his ecclesial understanding of discipline, fellowship, and sacrifice. Care for body and soul belong together for Löhe yet "earthly gifts do not fill up the heart." Schwarz noted that Löhe's approach to human need retained the priority of God's grace over human activity and faith over love. In a related essay, Theodor Strom (Heidelberg) developed "Wilhelm Löhe's Undertstanding of Deaconry in the Church and Its Realization Today." Strohm observed the foundational place of Löhe's *Drei Bücher von der Kirche* in his development of a renewed apostolic life that generates a community where the "bread of the soul and the bread of the body go through the same hands." The establishment of the female diaconate was a fruit of this understanding.

Several papers dealt with Löhe from the perspective of practical theology. Manfred Seitz (Erlangen) presented a paper on "Divine Worship and Liturgical Speech in Wilhelm Löhe" which simultaneously held up Löhe as a model for the spiritual life while examining the function of liturgical speech in his understanding of Christian existence. Thomas Schattauer (Dubuque), who has written extensively on Löhe's liturgical and sacramental practices, gave a paper on the divine service and *communio* in Löhe, arguing that Löhe recovers an aspect of the early Luther's understanding of the Lord's Supper: *communio.* According to Schattauer this theme is submerged under the polemics of Luther's later writings but becomes a primary dimension in Löhe's view of the sacrament of the altar. I have traced much of the current interest in Löhe within The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod to Kenneth F. Korby (1924-2006). Korby's 1976 doctoral dissertation, *Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Löhe with Special Attention to the Function of the Liturgy and the Laity* represents an attempt to retrieve several key themes in Löhe including the use of private confession and absolution and evangelical discipline for contemporary practice. Klaus Raschzok (Neuendettelsau) spoke on the understanding of the spiritual office in relation to the life of the church, probing metaphors that Löhe used to illustrate that the pastoral office is both distinct from the congregation and yet not independent of it.

Christian Weber (Congo), the author of the 1996 book *Missionstheologie bei Wilhelm Löhe,* spoke out of both his deep scholarship and several years of missionary service in the Congo under the theme "Löhe in the Congo: Missionary Perspectives Against Pessimism." In this very suggestive essay, Weber drew on Löhe's conceptuality of mission, liturgy and diaconal service as relevant ingredients for his own work in Africa.

Löhe's influence certainly extended far beyond the boundaries of the territorial church of Bavaria. Rudolf Keller (Lehrberg) presented a paper on

"Church in the Spirit of the Lutheran Confessions: Löhe's Image of a Free Church." Keller follows Löhe's contacts with the *Altlutheraner* including Johann Gottfried Scheibel, Eduard Huschke, and Henrik Steffens and his connection with the mission societies of Dresden and Leipzig. While Löhe came close on several occasions to separating from the *Landeskirche,* he remained with it until his death. Keller points out that it was an *altlutherischer* Pastor Kellner in Silesia who encouraged Löhe to remain with the Bavarian Church as long as the question of confession was clear. Löhe stood with the old Lutherans in their opposition to "sacramental mingling" (altar and pulpit fellowship between churches of conflicting confessions) and his liturgical, pastoral, and theological influence was felt in their midst. Keller concurred with Manfred Seitz's judgment that Neuendettelsau remained a free-church island in the *Landeskirche,* only to be integrated into the territorial church by Hermann Bezzel.

Two papers treated Löhe's influence outside of Germany. Craig Nessan (Dubuque) examined his correspondence with Johannes Deindörfer and Georg Grossmann between 1852-1872, giving insights into his break with the Missourians in Michigan and the hardships attendant to the establishment of the colony at St. Sebald, Iowa. Dean Zweck (Adelaide) narrated Löhe's influence in the Lutheran Church in Australia. Although it was only after Löhe's death that men from Neuendettelsau would come to serve as pastors in Australia, his theology and liturgical piety would leave their impact on the two Lutheran bodies that would eventually form the Lutheran Church in Australia. In the twentieth century, Löhe's influence in Australia was meditated through Siegfried Hebart and especially Hermann Sasse, who credited Löhe's *Three Books About the Church* as making him a confessional Lutheran.

Wolfhart Schlichting (Friedberg) presented a paper entitled "Church-Confession-Plurality in the Thought of Wilhelm Löhe" examining changes in Löhe's ecclesiological thinking, raising the possibility that the "young Löhe" was more Lutheran than the "old Löhe." Schlichting helpfully sets Löhe in the context of nineteenth century German theology and church life, examining his contact with William Caird and the Irvinites. Schlichting spots in the older Löhe what he sees as problematic developments as the dogmatic center shifts from the doctrine of justification to the Lord's Supper and a developmental approach to confessional subscription.

Interest in Löhe appears to be on the increase in both Germany and North America. For example, a fine new student edition of *Drei Bücher von der Kirche* was edited by Dietrich Blaufuß and published in 2006. James Schaaf's 1969 translation of *Three Books About the Church* (Fortress) has long been out of print; it is to be hoped that an English translation of the Blaufuß volume might appear in print. John Stephenson's translation of Löhe's 1849 *Aphorisms about the New Testament Offices and Their Relationship to the Congregation* was published earlier this year by Repristination Press. The Holy Trinity 2008 issue

of *Logia* had as its theme the "Löhe Bicentennial" and contained translations of several pieces by Löhe as well as articles on aspects of his work by Walter Conser Jr, Craig Nessan, and Dietrich Blaufuß. One of Löhe's sermons on the Lord's Supper appeared in the August-November 2008 issue of *Concordia Pulpit Resources.* The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod's Board for World Relief and Human Care published *Löhe on Mercy* in 2006. David C. Ratke's doctoral thesis under Hans Schwarz, *Confession and Mission, Word and Sacrament: The Ecclesial Theology of Wilhelm Löhe* was published by Concordia in 2001 and provides readers with an accessible introduction to Löhe's thought. A new book by Lowell C. Green, *The Erlangen School of Theology: Its History, Its Teaching and Its Practice* (Lutheran Legacy Press) will assist English-speaking readers in understanding the complex and often ambiguous connections of Löhe to this theological movement. Concordia Theological Seminary hosted a conference on Löhe on October 10-11, 2008 with papers by Mark Loest (Löhe's Colonies: Then and Now"), John Pless (Löhe as Pastoral Theologian), Wolfgang Fenske (Löhe on Worship), and Detlev Schulz (Löhe on Missions). Conference worship at Kramer Chapel included the use of two hymns by the Bavarian pastor that had not been previously translated.

The International Löhe Society intends to stimulate and further both translation projects and original research into the life and theology of this important figure in the history of both the Missouri Synod and world Lutheranism. The next meeting of the International Löhe Society is scheduled for the campus of Concordia Theological Seminary on July 26-30, 2011. Those interested in the study of Löhe may join the International Löhe Society by paying the annual dues of $25.00 to Dr. Thomas Schattauer, c/o Wartburg Theological Seminary, PO Box 5004, Dubuque, IA 52004

John T. Pless

Errata

In *CTQ* 72:4 (October 2008), the word "faith" in the Mannermaa quotation on page 335 (second line from the bottom) should read "love."

In *CTQ* 73:1 (January 2009), please note that Guillermo Gonzalez was a professor at Iowa State University not the University of Iowa (page 81—paragraph 3).

CTQ 73(2009): 187–191

Book Reviews

***A Formula for Parish Practice: Using the Formula of Concord in Congregations.* By Timothy J. Wengert. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006. 234 pages. Paperback. $26.00.**

Written to settle internal disputes that had erupted among Lutherans after Luther's death, the Formula of Concord has seldom been seen as a text for pastoral theology. Timothy J. Wengert demonstrates how the theology of the Formula serves proclamation and pastoral care. Given his own competence as a Reformation historian, Wengert treats readers to a concise but careful rehearsal of the events leading up to the writing of the Formula in 1577, including biographical portraits of the major players. Drawing on his own work as a parish pastor, Wengert illustrates how the doctrinal themes of classical Lutheranism serve to illumine and deepen church life today. Each section of the book contains a historical introduction, theological overview ("the heart of the matter"), the text of the Epitome, commentary, "a formula for parish practice," and discussion questions. The book was obviously designed for use with laity in an adult education setting. In terms of organization and content it nicely achieves this goal.

The strength of the book is the author's ability to uncover and articulate the pastoral implications of the Formula's theology. For example, after summarizing the controversy surrounding Andreas Osiander's teaching that justification is about union with Christ, Wengert observes, "If justification meant an infusion or union with Christ's divine righteousness, the believer could easily despair in the face of continuing sins, doubts, and anxieties, and could imagine that God's righteousness was completely absent. The only certain thing is the promise of God's forgiveness, which comes from outside the sinner and to which faith clings" (50). Likewise, Wengert's treatment of Article Six on the much disputed "third use of the law" strives to show that "for the concordists the third use of the law was nothing but the first and second uses applied to Christians" (91). Then Wengert makes some concrete suggestions as to what a congregation's stewardship program might look like where the law/gospel distinction is actually made. Equally helpful is Wengert's work with Article Two on the freedom of the will. The author argues that "We need to develop the theological skill of 'turning the verbs', as one Lutheran theologian put it, that is making God the subject of the theological sentence and not the object of our works and resolutions" (34). Any pastor who has struggled with parishioners' questions concerning election and predestination will benefit from Wengert's parsing of Article Eleven as he demonstrates the evangelical potency of this teaching to provide consolation to terrified consciences.

In many ways, the book reflects the legacy of Wengert's teacher, Gerhard Forde. What Forde did for Luther in his little book, *Where God Meets Man:*

Luther's Down to Earth Approach to the Gospel, is now done by his student for the Lutheran Confessions.

There is much that makes this volume commendable. There are also some flaws. Wengert assumes an ELCA audience. His writing is reflective of that context. Thus he assumes that women should be ordained to the pastoral office. He regularly speaks of pastors as male and female. He does not do justice to the Formula's assertions to the normative character of Holy Scriptures. Although Wengert devotes two chapters to the Lord's Supper (Article Seven), this section is not as tightly written or theologically rich as the remainder of the book.

In spite of these caveats, *A Formula for Parish Practice: Using the Formula of Concord in Congregations* is a welcome addition to the resources available for pastors who desire to help their congregations appreciate and utilize the Lutheran Confessions as normative for pastoral care, preaching, church life, and mission.

John T. Pless

***An Introduction to the Psalms.* By Alastair G. Hunter. New York: T&T Clark International, 2008. 168 pages. Paperback. $19.95.**

An introduction to the Psalms is a difficult undertaking that has been repeatedly attempted with greater or lesser degrees of success. This is understandable when one considers the enormity of the task. Alastair Hunter, a Senior Lecturer in Hebrew and Old Testament Studies at the University of Glasgow, realizes the size of challenge and even asks the question, "Why study the Psalms?" After all, for thousands of years the Psalms have provided a prayer book for both Judaism and Christianity. They have been used as literature, in liturgies, in theological, philosophical and anthropological ways. Can a study of their structure or a critical look into their depth cause anything but contention? "They sing them or chant them or take comfort from them, and their familiar yet haunting phrases loom large in many people's personal life without benefit of source, form, or redaction criticism, textual study, or modern and postmodern reinterpretation" (1).

Nevertheless, Hunter takes on the assignment, but does not follow the traditional commentary or introduction approach. Rather, he examines "The Diversity of Collections of Psalms" (ch. 2), "Historical-Critical Approaches" (ch. 3), "The Psalms as Literature and Liturgical Approaches" (ch. 4, 5), and "Theological, Philosophical, and Anthropological Reflections" (ch. 6). Hunter focuses on the current state of academic study of the Psalms and the root of these approaches. However, while he claims a historical approach, his research is imbued with agenda and pre-conceived notions. He seeks to provide a historical introduction even as he approaches the Psalms hand in hand with modern, a-christological scholars. As an example: "I am as convinced as I can

be, without finally irrefutable proof, that David had nothing to do with writing any psalms, and I am equally convinced that the collection as we have it is largely and in essence a post-exilic production" (136).

This bias, which appears throughout the book, limits the usefulness of Hunter's work. He does make mention of messianic interpretations of the Psalms, specifically as discovered at Qumran and existing among Jews even today, but he sees them as problematic as they fail to fit his agenda and approach. Still, despite these limitations, the book does have some redeeming qualities. It provides some good historical evidence in the literature and liturgical usage, along with some interesting philosophical reflections. If one is able to read with a discerning eye, this book may provide a decent addition to one's library.

Jeffrey H. Pulse

***An Introduction to Quakerism*. By Pink Dandelion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 294 pages. Hardcover. $85.00. Paperback. $19.99.**

If the genius of Anglicanism is its comprehensiveness, then Quakerism far surpasses Anglicanism in this respect. Some Quaker groups today fit well into the Evangelical camp, while others are inclusive enough to allow for Hindu Quakers, Muslim Quakers, or even atheist Quakers. In *An Introduction to Quakerism*, Pink Dandelion traces the history of Quakerism and describes the approach and beliefs of the six principal strains of the movement today. Along the way he also explains how such diversity is possible.

In the historical section, the author identifies three theoretical threads of Quaker thought—time, spiritual intimacy, and the world's people—and examines their development from Quakerism's mid-seventeenth century beginnings to the present. Early on, Quakers took an eschatological outlook, "an unfolding endtime experienced inwardly" (31). The endtime view slowly gave way to what Dandelion calls a "meantime" view. As endtime evolved into meantime, Quakers' experience of the divine and their identity vis-à-vis the world also changed.

Having detailed the origins of the main Quaker traditions of today, Dandelion embarks upon a comparison of these bodies' views on a variety of topics such as authority, sin, Christ, worship and practice, and mission. He draws on Books of Discipline and other publications of Yearly Meetings, representing the full geographic and ideological range of Quakerism.

Can such great diversity exist within Quakerism apart from a fall into utter inconsistency? Dandelion answers affirmatively, giving three areas of commonality among its branches, centripetal forces that hold Quakerism together: "the emphasis on inward encounter, business method, and testimony [against war]" (245). These three factors reflect "more on the distinctive form

of Quaker worship and its outcomes rather than on doctrine" (246). By emphasizing form over content, Quakers have opened their sails to every wind of doctrine, a result that does not seem to disturb them.

The author concludes his work outlining Quakerism's prospects for the future. Interestingly, Dandelion sees East Africa as one source of new leadership. This leadership, he contends, would likely be in a more conservative direction, mirroring trends in world Lutheranism and Anglicanism.

Dandelion gives further information in excurses set off in boxes from the main text. Particularly interesting are the boxes entitled "Quakers and industry" and "Quakers and science." In these we read that confectioner Cadburys had Quaker roots; that a Quaker-run factory introduced the shift system of employment; and that atomic theorist John Dalton was a Quaker (79). Other helpful inclusions to the book are a detailed chronology of Quakerism and an annotated bibliography.

An Introduction to Quakerism provides a detailed history of Quakerism and an overview of the beliefs and practices of its several traditions. The wealth of information contained in this volume and the readily accessible price of the paperback edition make for a solid introduction to the Quaker movement.

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***Five Models of Spiritual Direction in the Early Church.* By George E. Demacopoulos. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007. 288 pages. Paperback. $30.00.**

George Demacopoulos offers five sketches of figures from the early church who supervised others, both clergy and laity. He focuses on the goal that became increasingly common in the early centuries of the church, that the clergy, to be ascetically minded, lead the Christians under their care into ascetic practices. This desire clashed with the reality of the lives that the laity actually led and the demands of the pastoral duties with which the clergy were faced. All the figures under consideration (Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Augustine, John Cassian, and Gregory the Great) expected and encouraged clergy to practice some form of asceticism and self denial and to encourage the laity also to practice some type of asceticism. Yet there was a persistent gap between the ideals and practice among the clergy and especially among the laity. A tension also existed in how the responsibility of the office of the clergy was viewed: was it a pastoral, episcopal one, involving supervision of doctrine and the sacramental life of the church, or one more strictly focused on asceticism and flight from the world towards prayer and the life of the soul? In the matters of contemplation and an active Christian life, how was a pastor to

view his own behavior and how was he to direct the behavior of others? Involved in all of this is the late antique flood of monastics and monastic ideals into the clerical offices of the church. Implicit also is the matter of power: Where does authority in the church reside, in the ascetic holy man or in the office of the bishop?

Demacopoulos sees different paradigms in each of the characters. Athanasius presents in his advice to pastors a contradictory pattern of admiration for a figure such as Antony but a strong episcopal model of doctrinal supervision and sacramental oversight residing not in the ascetic but in the bishop. Gregory of Nazianzus was able to synthesize these two models and tried to merge the figure of the bishop with the figure of the ascetic. By his time the monastic community had made great inroads into the wider church so that asceticism was more and more an accepted pattern for churchly leadership. Augustine, though, had serious misgivings about the ascetic movement and did not incorporate it wholeheartedly in his own spiritual direction of others or his advice to others who were themselves engaged in pastoral ministry. By the time of Gregory the Great, Demacopoulos is able to see all of pastoral direction, lay and cleric, in terms of asceticism. Ascetic ideals have triumphed. For Gregory, the Christian life itself is one of ascetic self denial. The pastor of the laity has the same role as a monastic spiritual director. He is a spiritual father to those under his care and uses the same techniques as those in the monastery. The bishop and the holy man are one.

One may well wonder what practical value this little book has for the parish pastor. More than appears at first glance. All pastors struggle with similar issues in their own lives and ministries. Is the pastoral office primarily one of activity, administration, and busyness? Or is it one of contemplation, quietness, and prayer? Which of these ideals should predominate in the life of a parish pastor? Which ideal should predominate in the lives of his flock? These are issues and struggles which permeate the work of pastors. Demacopoulos' book gives the opportunity to view that struggle in another time and place with perspectives and answers different than more current and familiar responses.

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Books Received

Atkinson, Morgan C. *Soul Searching the Journey of Thomas Merton.* Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2008. 208 Pages. Paperback. $19.95.

Braaten, Carl E. *That All May Believe: Theology of the Gospel and Mission of the Church.* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008. 166 Pages. Paperback. $20.00.

Bush Jr., Joseph E. *Gentle Shepherding: Pastoral Ethics and Leadership.* St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2006. 208 Pages. Paperback. $26.99.

Fagerberg, David W. *Theologia Prima: What is Liturgical Theology?* Chicago/Mundelein, IL: Liturgy Training Publications, 2004. 242 Pages. Hardcover. $32.00.

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