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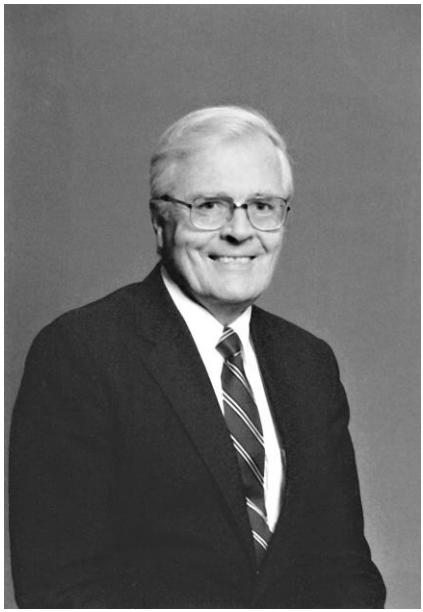

In Memoriam
† Harold H. Zietlow †
1926–2011

A willingness to think outside the box for ways to bring the gospel of Christ to souls while at the same time feeling truly comfortable inside the box of the established theology of Scripture—that should describe every confessional Lutheran. Unfortunately, it does not. Thinking outside the box to innovate in his field while also conforming to the exacting standards of academia—that may be an ideal for a man of letters. Certainly not all achieve that ideal.

Harold H. Zietlow, who went to be with his Lord on September 11, 2011, was a Lutheran pastor and colleague professor who was fully committed to the confessional position of his church, held a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, and was gifted by God with an ability to think outside the box, particularly in his desire to reach the lost with the saving message of Jesus.

Dr. Zietlow's academic resumé begins at Capital University in Columbus, Ohio, where he earned a B.A. in philosophy in 1947 and, far more importantly, met his bride of sixty-one years, Miriam Miller, with whom he rejoiced over the gift of five children and twelve grandchildren. He went on to earn degrees from Ohio State University (M.A. 1949), Evangelical Lutheran Theological (now Trinity) Seminary (M.Div. 1951), and the Ph.D. in theology from Chicago in 1961. His confessional commitment moved him to serve the old American Lutheran Church, including Trinity Seminary, until 1978, when he joined the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary and The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. He continued to teach and preach at CTS until 1998. His zeal for the lost was evident throughout his ministry to congregations in Gilman,

Illinois, and Lancaster, Stoutsville, Tarlton, and Dutch Hollow, Ohio, and especially in numerous mission starts in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio.

His students and fellow professors at Concordia Theological Seminary remember him most fondly for that pastoral and missionary zeal—and the creativity that went with it. He was eager to invite students along on his weekend trips to the latest new church plant, to show future pastors "the ropes" for outreach, including some ideas they might not have seen tried by many others. Students had opportunities, too, to work with him in media ministry long before that was all the rage, assisting him in evangelism movies, television and radio programs, and mission videos. When celluloid was the medium, Harold produced movies; when it came time for videotape, he was ready.

We thank God that by his grace Harold was ready for so much more—to live with Christ!—just as through the word, and creative thinking motivated by the word, he strove to see that others were as well.

Carl C. Fickenscher II

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Epistles before Gospels: An Axiom of New Testament Studies

David P. Scaer

An axiom is defined as "a proposition regarded as self-evident truth."[1] For most of us, our introduction to axioms came in a geometry class when we were given the definitions of straight lines, circles, triangles, and other shapes and required to accept them without question. Axioms are just how these things are, and they are not restricted to geometry. They are the rules by which the game is played, and agreeing to them is required before joining in. Without axioms, the foundational principles in each situation would have to be proved again and again, and so knowledge could hardly advance. We would forever being going back to square one. All branches of knowledge, sciences, philosophies, and theologies have axioms. Their truthfulness is prior to our encountering them; they border on intuitive knowledge. Even the definition of an axiom is an axiom. In ordinary discourse the idea of an axiom might be expressed by the phrase "of course." By saying "of course," the speaker or writer cuts off all challenges and does not intend to prove the truthfulness of what he says.

Under closer examination, some axioms may not prove to be above challenge. The authors of the Declaration of Independence claimed that it was "self-evident" that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but this was less than self-evident to George III, as well as to the slave holders who pledged their lives and fortunes in signing the document.

At the foundation of every field of knowledge, including religious systems, are axioms, truths that are self-evident to those constituting the guild adhering to them. Since challenging an axiom threatens a guild's self-understanding, the challenge is resisted or ignored for the sake of self-preservation. Challengers are in need of conversion. Axioms, or we could call them "principles," are determined by the majority assumption at a given time. Key is the phrase, "at a given time," because an axiom can be

[1] *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1969), 62.

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changed. In any academic discipline, including New Testament studies, the past is cluttered with non-functional axioms. Rapprochement among groups with different foundational axioms borders on the impossible and can only succeed with each group recognizing its own axioms. Taking the log out of one's eye is asking too much, but at least the presence of a large piece of wood in one's field of vision is a step in the right direction.

Axiomatic for Lutherans is the law-gospel principle undergirding and permeating all theology. Luther taking James off his canonical rolls may have been prevented had he examined his own axiom on justification. When different definitions and applications of the law-gospel axiom surfaced in the Missouri Synod in the 1970s controversy, its application to theology had to be abridged.

I. Two Axioms of Historical-Critical New Testament Scholarship

In working with reports that go back as close to the raw data as possible, historical studies claim an objectivity different or superior to disciplines like philosophies or theologies. Historical principles have an axiomatic objectivity that faith and philosophy do not, or so the claim is made. Separating faith and history goes back at least as far as René Descartes. Objectivity is presumed by methods identifying themselves as historical-critical; they approach the biblical texts with no preconceived ideas—or so it first appears. Since it is better to speak of historical methods in the plural, as opposed to a single method, the goal of raw objectivity is compromised, if it ever existed.

Historical-critical methods in Jesus research use principles. On the one hand, the principle of analogy holds those deeds and words of Jesus are more likely to be authentic if their parallels can be found elsewhere. Precedence is the key. Simply put, if what Jesus said or did resembles what other contemporary Jews said or did, there is a better chance that the reports of these things are authentic. A prominent proponent of this principle is N.T. Wright.

On the other hand, the principle or criterion of dissimilarity holds that words or events attributed to Jesus that have parallels in Jewish and early Christian communities are less likely to be authentic.[2] Rudolph Bultmann came to fame with this method, but Bart Ehrman holds honors now. For example, if there are parallels between the Gospels and the epistles of Paul,

[2] Robert M. Price, "Jesus at the Vanishing Point," *The Historical Jesus: Five Views*, ed. James K. Beilby and Paul Rhodes Eddy (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 58–60.

one can be almost certain that the gospel account is an interpretive construct of the early church. This approach assumes that the epistles were written before the gospels, and so Paul becomes the standard for judging what comes authentically from Jesus in the Gospels and what does not.

These opposing axioms of similarity and dissimilarity provide the basis for determining whether the resurrection belongs to real history.[3] Ancillary is the question of what real history is. Before tackling this question, the scholar determines which axiom will determine how the data is analyzed. From these principles, other principles, which also function as axioms, are derived. Alongside the axiom that the epistles precede the gospels[4] is a second axiom that Mark was the first Gospel. The priority of the epistles over the gospels and the priority of Mark among the Gospels are lines on the field on which the hermeneutical game is played. A student will most likely confront these axioms at secular or mainline college religion classes and some seminaries.[5] A clue to recognizing an axiom is its introduction by such phrases as "many scholars," "most scholars," and "widespread opinion."[6] Historical biblical principles may not be axioms in the purest sense, but they are axioms in the sense that they are assumed to be true with little or no argumentation. Call them functional axioms. Agnostic biblical scholar Robert M. Price puts the dagger into approaches advancing on the backs of axioms and says, "*consensus is no criterion*"[7]—even if he happily resorts to consensus in advancing his own

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[3] For a discussion of the various methods used by historians to test authenticity, see Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings*, 2nd ed. (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 201–206.

[4] So Luke Timothy Johnson, who states that the three synoptic gospels "are in many respects the most distinctive documents in the NT canon. They are not, however, the first composed, "*The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 155. Also Mark Allen Powell: "The gospels come first in the New Testament, but they were not the first books to be written; all four of them were probably written after the death of Paul, and thus they must be later chronologically that any of the letters Paul wrote." *Writings of the New Testament*, 49. Also Martin Hengel, who calls "the letters of Paul (the only written testimonies prior to Mark) . . . ." "Eye-witness memory and the writing of the Gospels," in *The Written Gospel*, ed. Markus Bockmuehl and Donald A. Hagner (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 80. Also, "Of lasting value is that Mark was Luke and Matthew's source (in this order)," 74.

[5] Mark Allen Powell, *Introducing the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), 128. A popular textbook is Bart D. Ehrman's *A Brief Introduction to the New Testament* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[6] Johnson, "*The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation,*" 159.

[7] Price, "Jesus at the Vanishing Point," 61; emphasis original. He continues, "That trust may not rest with the majority, every theory and individual argument must be

arguments. Before throwing stones, axioms or unexamined principles undergird how we do theology in general and not only in biblical studies. So let's lay out the markings on the field for how the game is ordinarily played.

II. The Field of Play according to Historical-Critical Axioms

The argument goes as follows. Mark as the first Gospel was written after Paul had been martyred,[8] and so the latter's authentic and even inauthentic epistles (like Colossians and Ephesians) may also have preceded Mark.[9] Paul began writing epistles at least twenty years or maybe thirty years before Mark wrote his Gospel. His last epistle appeared shortly before his death, and so the apostle went to his death never putting his hands on or hearing a Gospel.[10] Within these axioms is a diversity of theories or hypotheses about a writing, such as dating, destination, and audience. Diverse views on dating Paul's epistles does not challenge that Mark, as the oldest surviving Gospel, was written only after Paul had brought his literary career to an end.[11] Paul, who could not provide the eyewitness testimony that the Eleven did, and those writing in his name were exercising an authority in the church before the appearance of Luke and Matthew, who claimed to preserve Jesus' words.[12] Here we may cautiously use *ipsissima verba*. Even without making this claim, the words and deeds of Jesus are found on every page of the Gospels. The epistles tolerate only a hunt and peck method. Irony of ironies, Matthew, which is often placed as the last synoptic gospel, came to be regarded as the standard of Jesus' teaching as soon as it was written. It not only occupied center stage, but was pretty much the only act in town.

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evaluated on its own. If we appeal instead to 'received opinion' or 'the consensus of scholars,' we are merely abdicating our own responsibility, as well as committing the fallacy of *appeal to the majority."*

[8] So, for example, Powell, *Introducing the New Testament,* 128.

[9] Powell places these between AD 62 and 67 in *Introducing the New Testament*, 247.

[10] Paul's Thessalonian correspondence as the first New Testament writing has widespread support. Johnson is confident that this correspondence "marks the probable beginning of Christian literature." *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 281. Also Ehrman, *A Brief Introduction to the New Testament*, 212. But if Galatians was written before the Council of Jerusalem in AD 49, it may be his first epistle. Others say that if it was written to northern Galatia, it was written in the mid-50s; See Powell, *Introducing the New Testament,* 309–310.

[11] Powell, *Introducing the New Testament*, 403–404.

[12] Hengel takes specific note of this; see "Eye-witness memory and the writing of the Gospels," in *The Written Gospel*, 82.

To summarize the axioms of the historical-critical method: between Jesus' resurrection and the writing of Mark (AD 70), a period of about forty years, Christian communities had epistles but no written Gospels, at least not any that have survived. It is this assumption that we want to address.

III. Mark, Matthew, Luke, and "Q"

Most scholars hold that Matthew and Luke incorporated Mark or earlier forms into their Gospels. By their calculations, these two Gospels could have hardly been written much earlier than the 80s, or even as late as AD 90 for Luke and AD 100 for Matthew.[13] According to this scenario, in the ten to thirty years after Mark wrote his Gospel, Luke and Matthew obtained copies of Mark and became sufficiently versed in it to include its materials in their own accounts.[14] The intense attention that Matthew and Luke supposedly gave to Mark in writing their Gospels cannot be found anywhere in the post-apostolic period.[15] Whatever in Mark impressed Matthew and Luke in writing their gospels did not resonate with the early apostolic fathers; fascination with Mark did not last long in the late first century.

A complementary axiom to Markan priority is that Matthew and Luke incorporated sections of the hypothetical Q document or one of its editions into their Gospels.[16] Without written Gospels, oral tradition until AD 70

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[13] The advanced theology of Matthew, such as the "Father-Son-Holy Spirit" formula, suggests a date of AD 100 or even after. W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr. note that some scholars hold that Matthew was the first gospel and written before AD 70. They follow the majority view that Matthew was written in Greek, is dependent on Mark, and reflects a prosperous community which hardly corresponds with Jerusalem. See *Matthew 1–7*, *Matthew: International Critical Commentary*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–1997), 1:140.

[14] Powell notes that "where Matthew incorporates about 500 of Mark's 649 verses into his Gospel, Luke retains only about 350 verses of Markan material." *Introducing the New Testament*, 155. So also Hengel, "Of lasting value is that Mark was Luke and Matthew's main source (in this order)." "Eye-witness memory and the writings of the Gospels," 74. This simultaneous development of the gospels with Ephesians, Hebrews, 1 Peter, and the Pastorals is noted by Hengel, to which he adds 1 Clement and the epistles of Ignatius (84).

[15] Mark is not the subject of commentaries until the sixth and ninth centuries; see Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament*, 159. Markus Bockmuehl notes that of thirty or so extant gospel manuscripts before AD 300, only one is the Gospel of Mark—fewer than some apocryphal gospels. In his view, the first legitimate commentary on Mark is that of an anonymous seventh-century Irish monk; see "The making of gospel commentaries," in *The Written Gospel*, ed. Markus Bockmuehl and Donald A. Hagner (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 288–289.

[16] It is arguable that Matthew and Luke's use of Q is an axiom. Consider Ehrman,

was the vehicle for conveying and preserving the teachings and deeds of Jesus. Oral tradition began with the report of the women to the disciples that they had discovered the tomb empty and subsequently had seen the resurrected Jesus. Alongside this oral tradition, Paul's epistles each found a place in church life as they were written. Oral tradition cannot be reconstructed with precision, but scholars posit that Q in one or more of the editions along with proto-Mark constituted the oral tradition from which Luke and Matthew were composed.[17]

Proposing Q as the content of a valid Christian oral tradition is not without problems since, as it is reconstructed, it does not contain Jesus' death and resurrection—events that give cohesive meaning to the canonical gospels. What might "take up your cross" possibly mean unless the readers knew about Jesus' death and resurrection? These events and no others defined who Christians were. While Mark was a Gospel to die for (Mark 10:29), Q apparently was not.

Though Q is often seen as synonymous with oral tradition, it was not the tradition that emanated from the first Easter. If Matthew was written between AD 80 and 100 and incorporated material from Q, that would mean that Q was regarded, in some sense, as an authoritative source as late as the beginning of the second century—an assumption for which there is not a trace of evidence! According to this scenario, Q for a while shared the spotlight with Paul's epistles, and then after AD 70 with Mark, Luke, and Matthew as each appeared in church life. Paul's dogmatic theology, especially his Christology, flourished side by side with Q, a collection of Jesus' sayings that is recognized as wisdom religion. Whatever Paul's epistles were, Q was not. Since Matthew and Luke make use of both Mark and Q, it follows that Matthew and Luke were associated with churches that had both Mark and Q in either their oral or written forms. If both documents were influential in the churches in which Matthew and Luke wrote, it has to be asked if these churches failed to recognize that Mark and Q projected vastly different perspectives of what Jesus was all about.[18] By combining such different documents as Mark and Q, Luke and then

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"They [Matthew and Luke] both must have used some other source that is no longer available. Scholars call this source 'Q' (short for 'Quelle,' the German word for 'source')." *A Brief Introduction to the New Testament*, 65. Since the Q document has yet to surface, it is problematic to speak of a final form; thus, earlier editions of Q are designated by Arabic numbers placed after the side of the letter, e.g., Q1, Q2.

[17] See James D.G. Dunn, "Q1 as Oral Tradition," in *The Written Gospel*, 45–69.

[18] John S. Kloppenborg Verbin posits two opposing religions, one dependent on Q and the other whose faith was reflected in Mark; *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), chaps. 4 and 5.

Matthew can be credited not only with great literary accomplishments, but with an ecumenical accomplishment in uniting two diverse forms of Christianity.

However, this raises another question of whether literary and theological geniuses like Matthew and Luke each independently concluded that Mark and Q could be combined with his own materials ("M" and "L," respectively) to create a gospel. Each probably edited these materials. Another scenario is that either Matthew or Luke knew that the other had created a gospel by combining Mark and Q and followed suit.

In the years before Matthew was written, assuming that it was written AD 90–100 and Luke AD 80–90, some churches could have had a lectionary of Q, Mark, and Luke along with some of Paul's epistles. In contrast to Paul's creedal Christianity, Q without Jesus' death and resurrection was hardly indicative of how the Gospels later developed. Paul had made enough visits to Jerusalem that it would be difficult to explain how he could have been ignorant of the Q community in Galilee, and that one or the other would not have recognized the incompatibility of their theologies. Regardless of what was taking place between AD 70 and 100, in the second century Matthew knelled the death toll for Q and made Mark redundant, if it was not already redundant as soon as it was written.

IV. Paul without the Gospels?

Because historical criticism regards Paul's epistles as the only known written sources from the 40s through the mid-60s, it is fair ask what kind of Christianity can be derived from them. Paul is less interested in arguing—not as Matthew does that Jesus is the Old Testament's fulfillment—his dogmatic purposes in forming the beliefs and lives of Christians.[19] In today's terms, he would have been known as a dogmatic and pastoral theologian. In the matter of Christian life, Christ's humiliation provides the basis and the model for the submission of the Philippians to one another (2:1–8). A dogmatic theology with Christology as the chief topic can be constructed from his epistles with subsidiary *loci* on preexistence, deity, incarnation, atonement, resurrection, ascension, and return in judgment. Additional topics are the Holy Spirit and his works, justification, sanctification, ethics, the Church, the Lord's Supper, Baptism, the survival of the soul after death, and the resurrection. He provides topics rather than narratives.

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[19] Axioms in two different spheres can be parallel. Thus the Lutheran axiom of justification by faith, which depends chiefly on Paul's epistles, parallels the axiom in New Testament studies that Paul's epistles had literary dominance in the church until AD 70.

His epistles are not completely devoid of data found in the Gospels (e.g., Jesus' birth in Gal 4:4), but make no mention of his mother, unless she is the Mary mentioned in Romans 16:6. He knows of the Twelve, but apart from Peter and John does not give their names. Paul knows Jesus was David's descendant (Rom 1:3), had several brothers, but only names James (1 Cor 15:7; Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12; 1 Cor 9:5). His epistles became the basis for creeds—or, more likely, they made use of creedal formulas containing references to Christ's death, burial, and resurrection on the third day (1 Cor 15:3–4). Other creedal data are Christ's ascension (Eph 4:8–10), his session at God's right hand (Rom 8:34), his return, and his trial before Pontius Pilate (1 Thess 4:14–15).[20]

Paul preserves the words of institution of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11:23–26), which he places on the night of betrayal, perhaps assuming that his readers know the circumstances and the name of the betrayer. In spite of a profound baptismal theology that connects the rite to Jesus' death (Rom 6:1–11), he makes no mention of its administration with the trinitarian formula, an item contained in the *Didache*. References to preaching the gospel as planting and watering (1 Cor 3:6) can be used to show he knew the parable of the sower. That aside, churches with only Paul's epistles would have had a highly developed theology, but their knowledge of the historical Jesus could be compressed into a creed. His epistles report no miracles and could hardly be the source of a sayings document. Since they were not written as narratives, they only provide an outline or a skeleton of the man in whom readers were urged to believe.[21] Perhaps it is not going too far to say that the church can live without any one of the epistles, but it needs at least one Gospel. Now, if Paul's congregations relied on just a document like Q, then it is feasible to suggest that Matthew and Luke wrote their gospels to overcome its deficits. With Mark also in hand, they wrote to bring two different and almost competing traditions about Jesus into one document.

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[20] Powell, *Introducing the New Testament*, 402–404. Rudolf Bultmann typified the New Testament theology that Paul's chief interest was in the exalted Christ and that he had no or at least a limited interest in Jesus materials that found their way into the gospels. Stephen O. Stout takes issue with this view to show that Paul had a deep interest in the historical Jesus. He does not take what would seem to be the next step in holding that Paul's knowledge of Jesus came from the written gospels. See Stephen O. Stout, "The Man Christ Jesus" in *The Humanity of Jesus in the Teaching of the Apostle Paul* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2011).

[21] James D.G. Dunn, "Remembering Jesus" in *The Historical Jesus: Five Views*, ed. James K. Beilby and Paul Rhodes Eddy (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 75: "*Missionary preaching was only possible by argument*, and this required narration of Jesus' words and deeds"; emphasis original.

V. Gospels and Oral Tradition

James D.G. Dunn holds that the ministry of Jesus had an impact on his disciples. In addition, he holds that Jesus' words in the Gospels, such as the Sermon on the Mount, cannot be ascribed to the church's post-resurrection experiences, a view popularized by Rudolph Bultmann.[22] Though for a moment Dunn seems to go in the direction of positing an earlier written Gospel, he goes no further than holding that early Christians relied first on oral tradition, as it was shaped by the communities, rather than written documents. For the sake of clarification, the issue is not whether the first Christians relied on oral tradition, but when that tradition was first transmitted into writing. Here Dunn argues that the evangelists did not copy from manuscripts, but made use of the oral tradition shaped by these communities.[23] Accordingly, Dunn dismisses the two-Gospel view of William Farmer and Michael Goulder, that Mark used Matthew and Luke, because they "conceptualize the history of Jesus tradition only in terms of copying and editing an earlier written source."[24]

Dunn's critique can be leveled against the two-source theory that Matthew and Luke copied Mark and Q, since in both cases these sources are said to exist in written form. He draws an unnecessarily sharp line between oral tradition and written manuscripts, as if both oral tradition and written manuscripts could not have been used at the same time for transmitting the gospel. Paul expected that the carrier of the epistles would answer questions supplementing what he had written (Col 4:16),[25] and so tradition in oral and written form existed side by side. This was the case with the decree of the council of Jerusalem (Acts 15:23, 27). Matthew 24:15 seems to be a rubric, suggesting that the lector provide an interpretation of the puzzling phrase, "desolating abomination."

No one will debate that oral tradition found its way into manuscripts, but the reverse was also likely, that written manuscripts shaped the oral tradition. This would have been the case when a document associated with the Twelve was read to communities that up to that time had depended solely on oral tradition. Dunn comes close to allowing for a written gospel as early as the 50s, when he writes that the "'oral period' at the beginning

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[22] Dunn, "Remembering Jesus," 204–207.

[23] Dunn, "Remembering Jesus," 215.

[24] Dunn, "Remembering Jesus," 208.

[25] Ephesians 6:21, "Now that you also may know how I am and what I am doing, Tychicus the beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord will tell you everything."

of the history of the Jesus tradition" lasted "say, for about twenty years."[26] That would mean that the church began using documents around AD 50, a date contemporary with the writing of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem. This should put to bed the argument that the apostles were so illiterate that not one of them could have written a Gospel. Someone in the Jerusalem church not only could write, but did. Dunn says nothing about why, how, and when the oral word took on written form. Since he holds that oral reports are less susceptible to change than written ones, one has to ask why the oral reports were ever put into writing at all.[27]

Reasons offered against inscribing the oral tradition are not that foolproof. Paul had no hesitancy to put his views down in writing, and this may have happened as early as AD 40. Considering that Paul put a higher value on a word of Jesus as "a command of the Lord" (1 Cor 14:37) than he did his own, it is astonishing that he, another apostle, or one of their disciples did not commit the oral narratives about Jesus to writing as soon as possible.

To support his argument that a gospel was not circulating in the early period, a time coterminous with Paul's literary achievements, Dunn points to the general illiteracy of the time and "assume[s], therefore, that the great majority of Jesus' first disciples would have been functionally illiterate," though he acknowledges that Matthew might have taken notes.[28] He follows with the argument that "written material was not trusted, because it could be so easily lost, destroyed, or corrupted in copying."[29] His toying with the idea that Matthew may have been a literate disciple is a crack in his argument that the general population was illiterate, because it would have only taken one literate person to write a Gospel. Illiterate people of means had scribes at their disposal, and such a scribe may have left his signature behind in Matthew (13:52). Peter's desire for compensation in exchange for following Jesus suggests that he was a man of means (Matt 19:27). Had he and the other disciples been dreadfully impoverished, they could have hardly given up that much for Jesus. If a general illiteracy is a reason against an early inscription of the gospels, then their appearance would suggest or even require a rise in literacy in the ancient world and church sometime in the last three decades of the first century, but there is hardly any evidence that suggests this. A general illiteracy should no longer be offered as an argument against early inscription of the Gospels.

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[26] Dunn, "Remembering Jesus," 210.
[27] Dunn, "Remembering Jesus," 209–210.
[28] Dunn, "Remembering Jesus," 211.
[29] Dunn, "Remembering Jesus," 209.

There are several reasons allowing the Gospels to be written before AD 70. First, the anticipated demise of the Twelve was made real by the martyrdoms of Stephen and then of James, who with his brother John and Peter had special access to Jesus. Second, the spread of the church outside of Judea and Jerusalem to Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Spain, not to mention Africa and countries to the east, would strain the transmission of the gospel by a memorized oral tradition. Oral transmission works well within a closed society but less so over distances into ethnically different groups.[30] Third, while the memories of the Twelve were informed directly by Jesus, the memory of others was informed by hearsay, which is after all what oral tradition is. Finally, if distance measured in space compromises memory, so does distance measured in time.

Apart from any negative assessment of Rudolph Bultmann's detachment of the gospel from history, he got it right in arguing that early churches relied on oral tradition, something that began with the report of the women to the disciples that they had found the tomb of Jesus empty and that one or the other had seen the resurrected Jesus. By the end of that first Easter day, oral tradition was already evolving into a complexity caused by fusing one report with another, almost in the sense of a gospel harmony. An eyewitness account could be affected by hearing the account of another eyewitness and even of those who were not eyewitnesses but heard the reports from others. So, from the beginning of Christianity, first-, second-, and maybe third-hand information was merged into the oral tradition that formed the content of preaching from which the gospels emerged. Eyewitness accounts and second- and third-hand reports were regulated by the apostles in their role as leaders of the communities.[31] Looking at it this way, Q, with its lack of an account of Jesus' redemptive work and resurrection, could have hardly qualified as an acceptable tradition.

Oral tradition flourishes best in closed communities where it can be more easily controlled, preserved, and passed on by its leaders; that tradetion is compromised when it is shared with other communities, especially over great distances.[32] Oral tradition could flourish in Jerusalem with its

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[30] Dunn relies on the work of Kenneth E. Bailey, who suggests that communities are vehicles of oral tradition; what he does not explain is how this works from one community to others separated by great distances. "Remembering Jesus," 212.

[31] Dunn cites Acts 2:42 to show that particular individuals were designated "to retain and recite the oral tradition." "Remembering Jesus," 213–214.

[32] Dunn again relies on Bailey's research on the maintenance of tradition in what Dunn calls "the earliest disciple groups," wherein the tradition was recalled and celebrated. "Remembering Jesus," 213.

surviving eyewitnesses and those who had known them. Paul's missionary journeys changed the dynamics. Gentiles may have found a place in the Jerusalem church, but their inclusion in far-removed, predominantly Jewish communities was another matter. Including outsiders into the membership would only be possible if the outsiders adopted or at least were sympathetic to the group's customs. In turn, the group makes adjustments for the newcomers.

Putting aside the scholarly consensus that the Gospels appeared between AD 68–100, a need for one would have arisen with Paul's journeys in the 40s. In making its decisions known, the Jerusalem Council trusted an oral report to the messengers, but also provided a written document (Acts 15:23–29). So, as early as AD 49, the apostles remaining in Jerusalem—including Peter and James the Lord's brother—saw the value of written documents in carrying the church's message. If Paul's thoughts and the decision of the Jerusalem Council found their way into documents, there is a precedent for the words and deeds of Jesus being transmitted in the same way. Though Q in its oral or a written form might have served that purpose, without a narrative of Christ's death and resurrection it could not have been that document.[33] An earlier form of Mark would have served better than Q, but without a resurrection appearance of Jesus it would have kept these fledgling believers wondering what happened to him.

VI. Paul and the Gospel(s)

If C.H. Dodd is correct in his analysis of the sermons recorded in Acts that were preached for the purpose of converting, then the Corinthians knew that Jesus died for sins, was raised from the dead, would return in judgment, and was Christ and Lord. Acts 2:29 notes his burial, and 10:40 places this resurrection on the third day. These events make up the corpus of what Paul calls the "first things" he delivered (1 Cor 15:3–4). The outline provided in 1 Corinthians 15:3–4, "For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the Scriptures," corresponds to Jesus' predictions of his death and resurrection in Matthew (16:21; 17:23; 20:19) and Luke (9:22; 18:33), but not Mark. A third-day resurrection is a topic of the walk to Emmaus (Luke 24:7, 21, 46). Jesus' resurrection is among the important things for Paul, including that it should happen on the third day.

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[33] Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q*, chaps. 4 and 5.

If 1 Corinthians 15:3–4 is an early confession, a third-day resurrection is part of it. Paul is not referencing a private revelation, but something he has already delivered to the Corinthians, which in turn he received, probably from Peter and James (Gal 1:18–19). It is arguable that even before his conversion Paul knew of Christ's death from the Jewish rulers, who had a part in it. While the question of why Saul was persecuting Jesus has been understood metaphorically of the church, the writer of Acts has, at this point, not made that connection. So it might be that Jesus saw Saul's persecution of the church as continuing his part in the trial that led to the crucifixion. Paul could have known about a third-day resurrection either from what the apostles preached or earlier from Jewish religious leaders (Matt 26:64; 28:11–16).

In response to the denial of the general resurrection among the Corinthians, what counted was not what Paul knew of Jesus' death, but his personal encounter with the resurrected Jesus. Not only does he list himself last, but in providing a foundation for the resurrection of Jesus, Paul gives the chief place to the Scriptures or to written documents of some sort. The Corinthians know about Jesus' death for sins, his burial and his third-day resurrection "according to the Scriptures" (κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς), a phrase that is typically interpreted to indicate fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. Scholars are not agreed on which prophecies, but nowhere else in the New Testament is it used to indicate fulfillment. With the definite article in "according to *the* Scriptures" (κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς), Paul had in mind not a random document but particular ones that the Corinthians knew by hearing them read; if necessary, they could even have put their hands on them. Only a congregation thoroughly versed in the Old Testament could have put together a conglomeration of references to come up with the conclusion that Jesus would die, be buried, and rise on the third day. A Gentile majority would not have constituted such a congregation, if indeed any congregation would have been capable of this.

In determining which documents Paul had in mind, a clue is located in a third-day resurrection. Esther 5:1 and Hosea 6:2 speak of a third day, but attaching them to the resurrection requires huge jumps in thought. Q has no reference to the resurrection, let alone one happening on the third day, and Mark's predictions of Jesus' resurrection do not include a third-day reference. John places the wedding at Cana on the third day, but seeing a resurrection motif here requires knowledge of other sources. With use of the plural, "the scriptures," Paul is speaking of documents, not of isolated passages (*sedes doctrinae*) as in James 2:8, where "according to the scripture" (κατὰ τὴν γραφήν) precedes a citation of Leviticus 2:19 about

loving the neighbor. It is noteworthy that James does not use the form to show that prophecy has been fulfilled, but where the matter may be found. If Matthew had been written before the Council of Jerusalem and Luke shortly thereafter, they would be likely candidates for the documents to which Paul refers as informing the Corinthians of Christ's death for sins, burial, and resurrection on the third day. These documents would have provided the concrete, permanent reality in which the Corinthians stand, which works salvation, and is preached (1 Cor 15:1–2).[34]

Though 1 Corinthians 15:3–4 is a creedal form, it should be interpreted as a unit with vv. 1–2, which speak of Paul's preaching of a gospel that was not a bare bones creed, but a narrative in oral or written form about what Jesus had done. Though we might be tempted to understand "gospel" as the antithesis to "law" in a Lutheran sense here, "gospel" for Paul is the proclaimed narrative about Christ. This parallels Matthew, where the gospel as the totality of Jesus' preaching (4:23; 9:35) will be preached throughout the world (ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκοθμένῃ, 24:14). Matthew and Mark include the pericope of the woman anointing Jesus for his burial in their understanding of the gospel (ἐν ὅλῃ τῷ κόσμῳ, Matt 26:13 and Mark 14:9).

Romans 1:3–4 provides another clue that Paul may have used the word "gospel" to refer to a narrative of the life of Jesus: "The gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord." Paul's sermons in Acts contain no reference to Jesus' descent from David, but he assumes that the Christians in Rome already recognize this as part of the gospel. Since Paul or one of his disciples was less than fully enthusiastic about genealogical reality (1 Tim 1:4; Titus 3:9), it is unlikely that he included an isolated genealogical item unless it was part of larger narrative. Paul had not been to Rome, so others, perhaps Peter, had provided details of the life of Jesus, including his Davidic descent. His epistle did not inform them of something they did not already know. Juxtaposing Jesus' Davidic descent with his resurrection in one sentence corresponds to the bracket in which Matthew composed his Gospel by introducing Jesus as the son of David in the Gospel's title and ending it with a third-day resurrection.[35] For Paul, Christ's death for sins and his being raised for our justification belonged to the gospel (Rom 4:24–25), but so did Christ's descent from David.

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[34] "Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὁ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἑστήκατε, δι' οὗ σῴζεσθε, τίνι λόγῳ ὑμῖν εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε."

[35] Luke could also be in view, since David's name appears six times in this gospel's introduction and, like Matthew, concludes with the resurrection.

One argument for a late dating for Matthew's Gospel is the assumption that the evangelist provides in chapter 24 such a vivid picture of the Roman military suppression of the Jewish revolt in AD 66–70 that it could only have written after it happened, *ex eventu*. History is presented as prophecy, but no divine revelation was needed to know that Jerusalem and its temple were headed for a destruction in which one stone would not be left upon another (24:2). Caiaphas is pictured as one who knew this (John 11:50). Revolt was in the air at the trial of Jesus. Jerusalem was a tinder box waiting to be lit. It was only a matter of time. Crucial for the *ex eventu* argument, rendering already accomplished history as prophecy, is taking the abominating sacrilege or desolation (24:28) as a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, though different interpretations of what this might be raise doubts whether the fall of Jerusalem is in view.[36] Take out this lynchpin and an argument for a late dating of Matthew is removed.[37]

A key in determining what is meant by the abominating desolation is how the Greek word "ἀετοί" is understood. Often translated as "vultures" (as in, "where the corpse is, there the vultures will be gathered together"), carnivorous birds eating dead flesh, it can also be rendered as "eagles," a possible reference to the eagle insignia mounted on Roman military

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[36] Matthew 24:15, "So when you see the desolating sacrilege spoken of by the prophet Daniel standing in the holy place (let the reader understand) . . . ." George R. Beasely-Murray calls the abomination of desolation "the most puzzling element in the [fifth] discourse." *Jesus and the Last Days: The Interpretation of the Olivet Discourse* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993), 408. See also Powell, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 108; Davies and Allison, *The Gospel according to Matthew,* 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988–1997), 3:345–347. Of the four typical interpretations, none is completely convincing. One of the traditional views holds that the phrase is equivalent to Paul's man of lawlessness in 2 Thess 2:3–12, the end-time antichrist. Against this understanding is the view that the antichrist comes at the end time, while the abomination of desolation appears within the experience of Jesus' disciples or Matthew's hearers. Another traditional view is that it refers to the erection of an idol. An older suggestion is that of the Capitoline Jupiter on the site of the temple after its destruction. A more recent theory is that it is a reference to the aborted attempt of the Emperor Caligula to set up his own statue in the temple in AD 40. It is, however, unlikely that either event stirred up apocalyptic expectations among Christians. Still another theory is that the abomination of desolation refers to the destruction of Jerusalem, but by itself this is not a convincing option. A fourth option sees the abomination caused by bringing the military standards with the emperor's image into the temple during its destruction.

[37] Douglas R.A. Hare provides the widely-held scholarly view that the abomination of desolation refers "either to the siege of Jerusalem or to the final capture of the temple by the armies of Titus and the offering of pagan sacrifice on the holy site." *Matthew: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 277.

standards gathered around Jesus' corpse (πτῶμα). Thus, Jesus is speaking of his immanent death by crucifixion and not predicting an event forty years off in the future. A prophecy about Jerusalem's destruction requires that the holy place where the sacrilege stands (Matt 24:15) is the temple, but for Jesus the Jerusalem temple is a den of thieves (Matt 21:13). Jesus has no use for Jerusalem. Another possibility is that the holy place is Golgatha, where his crucifixion stands as an abomination before God. As the stone rejected by builders (Matt 24:42), Jesus presents himself as God's temple in which he makes atonement. Grammatically, the abomination of desolation is a not thing, like the statue, but a person.[38]

Postscript One

Paul's reference to another New Testament document as Scripture may seem strange, but 1 Timothy 5:18 cites Matthew 10:10 and Luke 10:7 as scripture alongside of Deuteronomy 25:4. More intriguing, and similar to 1 Corinthians 15:3–4, is Luke 24:46–47: "Thus it is written, that the Christ

[38] Davies and Allison claim that Matt 21:42, "the stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone," should be understood in connection with the judgment on the old temple and the establishment of the new one. *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 3:187. If Golgotha was the quarry out of whose stone the old temple was constructed, then the rejected stone, which becomes the cornerstone, remains in Golgotha. So, in this sense Golgotha is "the holy place," where the church as God's new people is established. In Matt 24:15 the word for "abomination" (βδέλγυμα) and the accompanying participle "standing" (ἑστὸς), are both neuter, but Mark 3:14 offers the masculine participle "ἑστκότα." Mark is speaking of a person rather than a thing, a view favored by some scholars. The word for "abomination" (βδέλγυμα), is neuter in gender and is followed by a neuter participle in Matthew (24:15, ἑστὸς), but a participle that can be both masculine and feminine (Mark 13:14, ἑστκότα). The grammatical gender is not determinative in whether a person or thing is in view, but Mark's change allows for a person. In the context, this person would be Jesus. Since the rubric "let the reader understand" is the only one provided for the liturgical lector in Matthew, its importance also should not be overlooked. But what should the lector understand? Whatever "the desolating sacrilege" is, it is arguably the most important something in the gospel. God ought not to be at Golgotha, but he is! By Mark's adding of "where it ought not to be" before "let the reader understand" (13:14), he reinforces its importance. A widely held view, that the flight from Jerusalem (Matt 24:16–20) refers to Christians abandoning the city before the Romans devastated it for the safety of Pella, overlooks the fact that this city is in a river valley, whereas Jerusalem is already in the mountains. Rather, Jesus is speaking of his disciples fleeing the impending doom associated with his own in apocalyptic language taken from the account of Lot and his family fleeing to the hills to escape the judgment coming upon Sodom (Gen 19:17). Our case for dating the origin of the gospels before AD 70 cannot rest on the interpretation of one passage, but the argument for a late date—that the destruction of Jerusalem is in view—has the same problem, and others as well.

should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem." Luke might be referring to his own prediction in 9:22, but this hardly comes close to what is found in 24:46–47. Could this be Luke's compilation of several references taken from Matthew, especially with the reference "all nations." Again, it is hardly likely that the Old Testament is in view.

Postscript Two

One reading of Galatians 1:11–12 may suggest that Paul received the content of the gospel directly from Jesus in an encounter[39] not unlike the one Mohammed had with Allah or Joseph Smith with the angel Moroni. This requires translating the Greek "δι' ἀποκαλύψεως" as an extraordinary intervention into the ordinary affairs of life, as might be suggested by the English "apocalyptic," a word derived from that Greek word. So, in this case, the sense would be that the exalted Jesus actually relayed the content of the gospel to Paul during the three years he was in Arabia (Gal 1:17–18). This content would have been the same that the historical Jesus had given to the Twelve and others over a three-year period. Since Peter's confession was in response to what the Father had revealed to him through the preaching of Jesus and not a direct mystical encounter, there is reason to doubt that Paul experienced a mystical, ecstatic, or apocalyptic encounter with Jesus. Like others of his generation, he had eyes but did not see and ears but did not hear. He was fully informed of what Jesus was doing and teaching before the crucifixion, but this knowledge did not lead him to a conviction of who Jesus really was.

[39] Vs. 11–12: "For I would have you know, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not man's gospel. For I did not receive (παρέλαβον) it from man, nor was I taught (ἐδιδάχθην) it, but it came through a revelation (δι' ἀποκαλύψεως) of Jesus Christ."

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Moses in the Gospel of John

Christopher A. Maronde

Like much of the New Testament, the Gospel of John seems to "breathe the air" of the Old Testament. The careful reader can find numerous quotations and allusions on every page. To many first-century Jews, these connections would come naturally, because they knew the texts of the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings from childhood. For first-century to twenty-first century Gentiles, these connections come with more difficulty. The Old Testament framework that underlies so much of the New Testament must be discovered and investigated. In the Gospel according to St. John, not only do we find allusions to or quotations of Old Testament texts, but, in addition, the actual figures of Israel's history appear. Jacob, Abraham, and David are all interwoven throughout the narrative, used both by Jesus and by those with whom he interacts. The most significant Old Testament figure to be brought into the Gospel of John, however, is Moses. In John, a document steeped in the rich theology and history of the Old Testament, it is only natural that Moses would have a prominent place. He is the agent of God's deliverance used to bring Israel out of Egypt. He is prophet and king, bringing the law and covenant of Yahweh to his people. David, Jacob, and Abraham all deserve mention, but Moses towers over them all.

The proper name Μωϋσῆς occurs thirteen times in the Gospel of John in eight separate pericopes.[1] These texts appear only in the first nine chapters of the Gospel, the so-called "Book of Signs." A cursory reading of these texts (especially 1:17) appears to indicate a negative portrayal of Moses and the law associated with him, which are set in contrast to the gospel associated with Christ. However, this study will demonstrate that, while such a perspective is held by the opponents of Jesus, it neither characterizes the thought of Jesus nor John the evangelist. Moses is not only cited as a vital witness to Jesus, but Jesus consistently emphasizes that the only way to follow Moses is to believe in him, that is, in Jesus. Jesus' opponents misunderstand Moses, failing to see his witness to Jesus, and so they reject him while clinging to their false interpretation of Israel's greatest figure. At the same time that he claims Moses as a witness, Jesus

[1] 1:17, 1:45; 3:14; 5:45–46; 6:32; 7:19, 7:22 (2 times), 7:23; 8:5; 9:28, 9:29.

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ultimately and most importantly brings him to the fore as the instrument Yahweh uses to give Israel salvation, one who points to the Christ through his actions. Moses is used in John in a variety of ways, but ultimately in a positive sense in order to testify to Christ.

I. Old Testament Figures in the Gospel of John

While no other Old Testament figure receives as much prominence as Moses in the Gospel of John, Jacob, David, and Abraham also appear in the narrative. A study of Moses in John is not complete until these other figures are first considered. The first appears in John 4, when Jesus stops for a rest at a well in Samaria. John is quite specific with the details he provides, telling us that the name of the town is Sychar, and then further informing us that this town was part of a property that Jacob had given to Joseph. Significantly, Jesus is actually resting upon Jacob's well (John 4:5–6a). Finally, the woman whom Jesus encounters there brings Jacob into the discussion to counter Jesus' claim to give living water: "Are you greater (μείζων) than our father Jacob, who gave for us to drink and he drank from it and his sons and his livestock?" (John 4:12).

In response, Jesus points to the fact that the well only supplies temporal thirst, whereas the water he gives has an eternal quality in that it truly conquers death. Jesus uses the well provided by Jacob to point forward to the greater gift that he brings. He does not dispute the gift of the well, but puts it in proper perspective as a temporal gift that does not provide what the woman ultimately needs, namely, eternal life.

David appears in John 7, where Jesus engages his opponents in sharp verbal combat. He disrupts the Feast of Booths in Jerusalem with bold declarations concerning his identity, to which the crowd responds with varying degrees of rejection and acceptance of his testimony. When he departs the feast, he leaves confusion and turmoil in his wake. Some believe, while many continue to have questions. One of these questions concerns the geographic origin of the Messiah. One person asks, "Does the Christ come from Galilee?" This anonymous person continues by citing the prophecy: "Did not the Scriptures say that the Christ comes from the seed of David and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" (John 7:42). The questioner calls upon David to testify against Jesus. If Jesus did not come from the line of David or from Bethlehem, he cannot be the Messiah. Interestingly, John (unlike Matthew) does not answer these specific charges directly, addressing Jesus' origin in other ways.

The culmination of these texts appears in John 8 with the appeal to Abraham. Once again, Jesus' identity is in question. His opponents proudly claim Abraham as their father (8:39). They assert that they have been faithful to their father for they have been faithful to God (8:41). But Jesus turns Abraham against them, declaring that if they were the true spiritual offspring of Abraham, then they would not seek to kill him. Instead, they would do as Abraham did and "rejoice" to see the day of Christ (8:56). Their rejection of Jesus demonstrates that they cannot trace their spiritual lineage to Abraham but to Satan. If they followed Abraham, they would follow Jesus. This brings them to the crux of the argument, Jesus' identity: "Are you greater (μείζων) than our father Abraham, who died? . . . What do you make of yourself?" (John 8:53). Jesus ultimately responds with a powerful affirmation of his divine origin: "Truly, truly I say to you, before Abraham became, I AM (ἐγώ εἰμί)" (John 8:58).[2] This narrative concludes with many of the people rejecting Jesus, condemning him with the sentence of death as they unsuccessfully attempt to stone him.

From this brief comparative study, we can draw several conclusions. First, we observe that Jesus must compete for prominence with the figures of the Old Testament, each of whom is presented by the speaker as more important than him. Jacob, David, and Abraham are all produced to testify as witnesses against Jesus. Second, the identity of Jesus is on trial, and these Old Testament figures are adduced as expert witnesses. Jesus counters these claims by demonstrating not only that he is greater than the patriarchs, but also that these Old Testament figures actually point to him. They bear witness, but only to Jesus as Lord and God. Each of these elements will become much more explicit when examining John's use of Moses.

II. Moses and ὁ νόμος

John's prologue has intrigued scholars and laypeople alike throughout the centuries for its beautiful language and deep theology. Here, John lays the foundation for the rest of his Gospel, describing the incarnation—that great act of God becoming human flesh to deliver his sinful people—in language and themes that will occur again and again. Within this text, we encounter Μωϋσῆς for the first time: "The law (ὁ νόμος) was given

[2] For a discussion of this text in the wider context of the Johannine ἐγώ εἰμί statements, see Richard Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple: Narrative, History, and Theology in the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 243–250. Bauckham concerns himself mainly with the seven absolute ἐγώ εἰμί statements found in 4:26; 6:20; 8:24; 8:28; 8:58; 13:19; 18:5, 6, 8 (the last three are taken as one occurrence).

(ἐνδόθη) through Moses (διὰ Μωϋσέως), grace and truth (χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια) became through Jesus Christ" (John 1:17).

It is hardly surprising to see Moses mentioned in John's prologue, for as the French exegete M.E. Boismard has convincingly argued, many of the themes developed in the prologue are also found in Yahweh's remarkable revelation to Moses in Exodus 33–34, connections to which we shall return shortly.[3] In 1:17 John gives an obvious contrast between Moses and Jesus. However, he does not necessarily contrast νόμος as a negative with χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια as positives. Instead, the gift διὰ Μωϋσέως has an intimate connection with the gifts of Christ, a connection that the rest of John's narrative will explore. Stefan Schapdick concludes that, for John, "faith in the christologically shaped divine revelation is no contradiction to the Jewish religious tradition at all but the only way to keep it."[4]

John does draw a contrast between the figures of Moses and Jesus, though once again this does not imply a negative view of Moses or of the νόμος properly interpreted. The divine passive ἐνδόθη indicates that the Law did not originate within Moses, but instead came to the people of Israel "through" (διὰ) him. John introduces Moses into his narrative as an instrument of God, one through whom God chose to give the gift of the νόμος.[5] In a subtle way, this introduces a polemic, developed throughout the Gospel, against exalted views of Moses. He deserves respect, but only the respect befitting a human instrument of God's work. Boismard brings out this distinction: "Moses only transmitted to men what God spoke to him. Jesus is God himself (1:1) speaking to men."[6] Finally, this verse identifies Moses with Sinai, as John links Moses and the νόμος together. When you mention one, the other immediately comes to mind. Furthermore, Moses and the νόμος have some kind of relationship with the χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια, which are associated with Jesus.

But the connection drawn between the two will be quite different depending on who is speaking, and there we find the key to understanding John's use of νόμος. Severino Pancaro, in a comprehensive study of the νόμος in John, posits this distinction: in John's narrative, νόμος has

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[3] M.E. Boismard, *Moses or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology*, trans. B.T. Viviano (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 1993), 93–98.

[4] Stefan Schapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated: The Character of Moses in the Fourth Gospel," in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*, ed. Axel Graupner and Michael Wolter (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 188–189.

[5] Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 287.

[6] Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*, 98.

two separate meanings, one when used by the Jews and one when used by Jesus. He writes, "What opposes Jesus . . . to the Jews is a different understanding of the Law; the difference is determined by whether one believes in Jesus or not. The understanding of the 'Jews' is that of 'normative' Judaism; the understanding of John is that of Christians."[7]

The Jews who were opposed to Jesus held to the νόμος as interpreted by oral tradition. On the basis of this interpretation of the νόμος they make a fourfold accusation against Jesus: his violation of the Sabbath (John 5 and 9), blasphemy (John 5:17–18; 8:58; 10:24–28), false teaching (John 7:14–18, 18:19–24), and opposition to the nation (John 11:47–53).[8] This perspective on the νόμος obviously receives a negative portrayal throughout the Gospel. Jesus distances himself from the νόμος in these contexts, calling it "your law."[9] On the other hand, John operates with a definition of the νόμος as viewed through the lens of Christ. Jesus is not opposed to the νόμος, only to his opponent's stubborn interpretation of it. In fact, as we will see in the texts discussed below, the only way to follow the νόμος properly is to believe in Jesus. "What is attacked and condemned by John is a false understanding of the Law which would oppose the Law and Jesus, observance of the Law and faith in Jesus."[10]

Therefore, νόμος in John does not have a primarily ethical definition, as the Greek word νόμος or our English term "law" would imply.[11] In John's narrative, νόμος has a much more comprehensive meaning, one very much in accord with the concept of Torah (תורה) in rabbinical Judaism. Therefore, it can refer either to the Mosaic Law in the strictest sense, referring specifically to the body of legislation found in the Pentateuch (7:51; 18:31), to the entirety of the Pentateuch (1:45), or to the entire Old Testament (7:19, 7:49, 12:34).[12] Only the first sense could be considered strictly ethical, while the other two imply the record of all of

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[7] Severino Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 525.

[8] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel*, 7.

[9] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel,* 517. Jesus uses the terminology ὁ νόμος ὑμῶν (8:17), ὑμετέρος (10:34), or αὐτῶν (15:25).

[10] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel,* 527.

[11] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel,* 2. Pancaro believes that Paul, for the most part, uses the term νόμος ethically. The νόμος has a regulatory function, governing man's conduct and demonstrating man's utter depravity before God. When discussed under the heading of justification, the works of the νόμος are opposed to faith. Paul seeks to answer the question, "What must one do to be saved?" in the heat of battle against the Judaizers (528).

[12] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel,* 514. The references cited are not intended to be comprehensive.

God's interactions with his chosen people. The latter uses are principally revelatory, which is the focus of John's use of νόμος throughout his narrative. The Gospel of John is concerned with the identity of Jesus, and the νόμος serves that emphasis by testifying primarily to Christ.[13] John's use of νόμος is broad and comprehensive, but he specifically and intentionally ties it to Moses in 1:17. If the concept of νόμος can encompass all of the Old Testament, why does John identify it with Moses? First of all, as noted in the introduction, such identification emphasizes the foundational nature of Moses. As Pancaro summarizes, "Even when John refers to a particular aspect or text of the Law, it is always the Law as a whole, as the body of divine revelation given to Moses, passed on from generation to generation and constituting the foundation of Judaism, which lurks in the background."[14] Just as "Torah" can stand for all Scripture, so "Moses" can stand as the representative of all through whom revelation was given by Yahweh. But perhaps the connection is tied up in the very structure of John's prologue.

M.E. Boismard persuasively argues that we should see in John's prologue an echo of Exodus 33–34. In that remarkable section, Moses advocates for the people in the aftermath of their worship of the golden calf. Though God promises his presence, Moses asks for a sign; he wants a theophany, he wants to see God. More specifically, he asks, "Show me your *glory* (33:18)." God only shows his backside as Moses hides in the cleft of the rock. This has a strong echo in John 1:14, "We have seen his glory." John declares that in Christ we now see the glory of God, the visible manifestation of his presence. In addition, as Boismard notes, Exodus 33–34 is focused around the promise of God's presence among his people, specifically his presence at the tent of meeting (Exod 33:7–10) and the anticipation of his presence in the tabernacle. There is then no mistake that also in verse 14 of the prologue John declares: "The Word became flesh and tented (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us." Finally, and most importantly, the connection between νόμος and χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια, found in John 1:17, is paralleled in the name that Yahweh gives himself in Exodus 34:6, "The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love (חסד) and faithfulness (אמת)." Boismard argues that the proper Greek translation for אמת and חסד is χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια.[15] Following this great statement of Yahweh, Moses is sent back down the mountain

[13] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel,* 530–531.

[14] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel,* 517.

[15] Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*, 96. The LXX has ἔλεος instead of χάρις, but Boismard argues that χάρις is the more appropriate Greek equivalent for חסד.

bearing new tablets of the law (Exod 34:10–29). God gave the νόμος through (διὰ) Moses again in Exodus 34, and John declares that the greater gift of χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια alluded to by Yahweh himself in that text has now come in the person of Jesus Christ.[16] God's faithfulness to his people, declared and demonstrated to Moses in Exodus 33–34, is fulfilled in Jesus.

Therefore, Exodus 33–34 is a key text for understanding John 1:17. There the νόμος and Moses are connected with one another, and together they are associated with χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια. The two sides of 1:17 are not opposed to one another, but instead it is Moses and the νόμος that point to χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια. A polemic is also implied here. Jesus' opponents attempt to find χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια in the νόμος, but to no avail. The νόμος does not have χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια in itself, but instead it testifies to the one who is χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια incarnate, Jesus Christ.[17]

If the prologue lays the foundation for the rest of the Gospel, then it would follow that this identification of Moses with the νόμος would persist throughout the narrative. Indeed, it does stand in the background of every other appearance of Μωϋσῆς in John. In chapter seven, this identification comes to the fore during a dispute between Jesus and "the Jews" over his authority to teach. Here Jesus brings Moses into the argument in 7:19 with a question that parallels the statement in 1:17: "Has not Moses given (δέδωκεν) to you the law (τὸν νόμον)?" The preposition διὰ does not appear as we would expect, emphasizing Moses as an instrument of God. Instead, in verse 22 Jesus declares the same teaching through a different means. Here he describes Moses not only as the law-giver, but more specifically as the giver of circumcision, and then adds a caveat: "Not that it is from Moses (ἔκ τοῦ Μωϋσέως) but from the fathers (ἔκ τῶν πατέρων)." This fulfills the same function as a διὰ clause, indicating that the νόμος did not originate with Moses, but that Yahweh used Moses as his instrument to give the νόμος to Israel. As in 1:17, Moses appears here in identification with the νόμος, which Yahweh gave (δέδωκεν) through (διὰ) him. Jesus emphasizes this identification in the next verse by using the formulaic phrase ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως. In a similar way, the scribes and the Pharisees identify Moses simply as the giver of the νόμος in 8:5. The theme of identification runs underneath and forms the foundation of all other occurrences of Μωϋσῆς, but as the prologue foreshadowed, other themes have a greater emphasis throughout the Gospel.

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[16] Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*, 93–98.

[17] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel*, 539–540.

III. Moses as Accuser

In the texts examined above, Moses appeared in testimony to the νόμος, equated with the revelation given by Yahweh to his people throughout the Old Testament. He is a static character, inanimate, a stone statue bearing mute testimony to what God gave through him. But in 5:45–46, Moses becomes active, and for Jesus' listeners the results are shocking, to say the least. The implied polemic observed in the prologue now comes completely to the surface. As he will in John 7, Jesus himself brings Moses into the discussion. After healing an invalid on the Sabbath—an action that caused the Jews to grumble against him—Jesus replies in John 5:17: "My Father until now is working and I am working." He then launches into a discussion of the authority of the Son, culminating with an appeal to three witnesses: John the Baptist, the Father, and finally Moses. The entire text has the appearance of a courtroom scene as Jesus defends his divine Sonship, leaving his most devastating witness for the end:[18] "Do not think that I accuse (κατηγορήσω) you to the Father. Your accuser (κατηγορῶν) is Moses, in whom you have hoped. For if you believe Moses, you would believe in me. For about me that one wrote" (John 5:45–46).

Shapdick emphasizes how shocking this statement was to the religious leadership: Moses' "classical role as intermediary between God and Israel who always intercedes for the Israelites is turned into its direct opposite."[19] The Jews have set their hope (ἠλπίκατε) on him, not only in general but also quite specifically in this situation, as they accused Jesus of breaking the Sabbath commandment. However, in a stunning reversal, Moses is their accuser (κατηγορῶν). Moses here acts not only as witness but also as prosecutor. The verb Jesus uses here can simply mean "to speak against," but it most often acts as technical legal terminology for bringing charges in a courtroom setting.[20] Pancaro helpfully notes that while in Jewish legal parlance there was no "public prosecutor" as such, there were "witnesses against" the defendant, who acted as prosecutors (κατηγορῶν), as well as third persons who could speak against the defendant.[21] Moses makes his accusation on the basis of what he wrote (ἔγραψεν), for he wrote about the Christ. If the Jews claim to adhere to Moses, then they would believe in the

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[18] Stan Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Ancient Reading Techniques* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 57.

[19] Schapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 194.

[20] Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 533.

[21] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel*, 254–255.

Christ. In this text, Jesus establishes Moses not only as a witness (μάρτυς) but also as an accuser (κατηγορῶν).

The Trial Motif

These dual designations are not only paradigmic for several other texts in which Moses is mentioned, but they also place Moses firmly into the Fourth Gospel's "trial motif." In a monograph on the subject, A.T. Lincoln makes the convincing argument that the readers of John's Gospel are to see the entire narrative as a trial or lawsuit. This judicial motif has a rich Old Testament lineage. Lincoln specifically points to Isaiah 40–55 as influential on John's narrative, but examples of this motif abound in Scripture, especially in the prophets.[22] "This narrative, unlike that of the Synoptics, has no account of a Jewish trial before the Sanhedrin. Instead, throughout his public ministry, Jesus can be viewed as on trial before Israel and its leaders."[23] The religious leaders, in a variety of encounters with Jesus, attempt to demonstrate that he is a false prophet by bringing against him the four charges described above: his violation of the Sabbath, blasphemy, false teaching, and opposition to the nation.[24] Jesus, on the other hand, seeks to confirm his divine identity and Messianic mission. Here Moses finds his place in the motif. As we will see in the following texts, both Jesus and his opponents appeal to the authority of Moses and the νόμος to make their case. He functions as a witness (μάρτυς) claimed by both sides, a witness absolutely vital to the trial. We noted that Jesus appeals to three such witnesses in chapter five, punctuated by Moses, the advocate turned accuser.

> On the basis of the first part of the trial scene, it could be alleged that Jesus was appearing as the sole witness in his own defense. In terms of Jewish legal conventions, this would make his testimony invalid (5:31) . . . . Deuteronomy 19:15 holds that three, or at least two, witnesses are needed for valid testimony. So in John 5:32–40 Jesus appeals to a series of further witnesses.[25]

The people must determine on the basis of the case presented throughout the narrative whether Jesus is the Messiah or a false prophet. Considering the prominence of Moses within this motif, the people must essentially decide whether Moses testifies on behalf of or against Jesus.

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[22] Andrew T. Lincoln, *Truth on Trial: The Lawsuit Motif in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000), 37.

[23] Lincoln, *Truth on Trial,* 23.

[24] Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel*, 7.

[25] Lincoln, *Truth on Trial*, 77.

Ironically, John's audience sees another lawsuit or trial in progress. The religious leaders think that they have placed Jesus on trial, but instead it is Yahweh who has placed them on trial. He will judge them on the basis of whether they believe or reject the one whom he has sent (John 3:17–18).

> They choose a bandit rather than the good shepherd and thereby show that they do not belong to the flock that hears the shepherd's voice . . . . The full implications of the narrative's trial (therefore) become apparent. In rejecting Jesus, the religious leaders reject their God. They, not Jesus, are the ones who are judged and condemned.[26]

In a further irony, Jesus brings forth the ultimate verdict of life and salvation only through such rejection and condemnation. In Christ's atoning death on the cross, the judge undergoes the verdict of death that humanity deserved, and instead delivers life.[27] Ultimately, as Jesus clearly states in 5:45–46, those who reject the testimony of Moses about the Christ have rejected his destruction of the verdict of death. Moses therefore becomes not their advocate but their accuser.

To which text does Jesus refer? Where does Moses act as an "expert witness" in defense of Christ? These questions naturally send scholars to the Torah (νόμος) in an attempt to find Messianic prophecies, or perhaps typological parallels. Deuteronomy 18:18 most commonly comes up in these discussions: "I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their brothers. And I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him." Indeed, this text has great importance in John's Gospel, with numerous references to "the Prophet" as a messianic figure.[28]

However, within the context of the Gospel as a whole and chapter five in particular, this seems incomplete. Jesus does not argue in John 5 that the Scriptures speak about him in specific places; he confesses that fact in other texts. No doubt, direct prophecies and typological parallels are very significant for Christ's teaching about himself. John does employ specific Old Testament citations in a similar way to the other evangelists, demonstrating that he sees many direct prophecies fulfilled in Christ.[29] But instead of referring to direct prophecy, in John 5 Jesus strongly declares his unity with the Father, making four bold claims: first, that he works on the Sabbath (17); second, that he "gives life" (ζῳοποιεῖ; 21) and indeed "has

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[26] Lincoln, *Truth on Trial*, 26.
[27] Lincoln, *Truth on Trial*, 206.
[28] See Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple*, 212–225.
[29] Lincoln, *Truth on Trial*, 54.

life in himself" (ἔχει ζωὴν ἐν αὐτῳ; 26); third, that God has given "all judgment to the Son" (22); fourth, that all should "honor the Son just as they honor the Father" (23). Richard Bauckham notes that with each claim, Jesus has laid hold of "divine prerogatives," functions that belong intrinsically to the divinity *as such*.

> God is the only living One, that is, the only One to whom life belongs eternally and intrinsically. All other life derives from him, is given by him and taken back by him. Another key aspect of God's sole sovereignty over creation was his prerogative of judgment: his rule is just, implementing justice, and therefore judging nations and individuals. Such divine prerogatives have to be understood, not as mere functions that God may delegate to others, but as intrinsic to the divine identity. Ruling over all, giving life to all, exercising judgment on all—these belong integrally to the Jewish understanding of who God is.[30]

Jesus takes on these divine prerogatives, but not in such a way as to set himself up as a rival of the Father. Instead, he is wholly dependent on the Father, even while he exercises these prerogatives. He therefore shares the divine identity in unity with the Father as "the only living one, the only giver of life, the only judge of all."[31] The claims Jesus makes in John 5 concur with both John's testimony and his own throughout the Gospel. The prologue makes it clear that the Word, while distinguished from the Father, is yet included within the unique divine identity proclaimed in the Old Testament.[32] Charles Gieschen notes that Jesus portrays himself throughout John's Gospel using the language of the suffering servant of Isaiah 53, identifying himself as the visible image of Yahweh come to suffer in atonement for sin. The close connection between the language of being lifted up (ὑψόω) and being glorified (δοχάζω) indicates that Christ will show himself as the visible image of Yahweh principally on the cross.[33] The fourteen famous ἐγώ εἰμί statements (seven absolute, seven predicate) found throughout the Gospel are all instances of Jesus identifying himself with the one God of Israel.[34] In 8:28, ἐγώ εἰμί is linked with ὑψόω, connecting once again the ultimate disclosure of Christ's divine identity with the cross.[35] Finally, in 10:30 Jesus includes himself in

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[30] Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple*, 242.

[31] Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple*, 243.

[32] Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple*, 240.

[33] Charles A. Gieschen, "The Death of Jesus in the Gospel of John: Atonement for Sin?" *CTQ* 72:3 (2008): 250–254.

[34] Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple*, 247.

[35] Gieschen, "The Death of Jesus," 251.

the great confession of Israel, the *Shema* (Deut 6:4), with the assertion: "I and the Father are One."[36]

Therefore, throughout John's Gospel and especially in chapter five, Christ identifies himself as Yahweh in the flesh come to give life. He therefore establishes a hermeneutic for interpreting the books of Moses. When Moses wrote about the words and acts of Yahweh, he wrote about Jesus. This includes every Messianic prophecy, but is not limited to them. If all of Moses' writings speak of Christ, then one can only fully understand them through faith in him. Those who reject Christ cannot properly interpret Scripture, for they do not view them in "the light of God's new revelation in the incarnate Word."[37] We can therefore surmise that Philip's confession in 1:45 that Jesus is "the one (about) whom Moses wrote in the law" expresses the same view of the Torah. In the context of John 1, where John confesses the preexistence and divinity of Christ, the evangelist would not want us to see that confession in any other way.

In John 5, Jesus takes Moses and establishes him as μάρτυς to himself. Moses wrote about Christ, therefore any who claim to embrace Moses should follow Christ. To those who do not see Christ as the one spoken of by Moses, namely Yahweh in the flesh, Moses becomes the κατηγορῶν, the one who accuses and condemns them. "Going against this interpretation standard makes him the prosecutor of such a misguided reading."[38] Therefore, Jesus here introduces a strong polemic. He attacks his opponent's misinterpretation and misappropriation of the νόμος and Moses. The Jewish leaders want to force the people to make a decision between Jesus and Moses, between this wandering rabbi and Israel's most significant figure. But in 5:45–47, Jesus rejects this notion: "For that one wrote (ἔγραψεν) about me." Stan Harstine summarizes, "It is not a decision between Moses and Jesus. Rejecting Jesus equates to unfaithfulness to Moses."[39] Forcing such a decision means holding to a false dichotomy, for one can only truly follow Moses by believing in Jesus as Yahweh in the flesh. Philip understood this already in 1:45, where he accurately interpreted the νόμος as speaking of the eternal Son of God who would become the incarnate Jesus Christ.[40]

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[36] Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple*, 250.
[37] Lincoln, *Truth on Trial*, 55.
[38] Schapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 195.
[39] Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel*, 60.
[40] Shapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 195.

John's Polemic

Jesus can only combat the false dichotomy of his opponents by introducing a second part to his polemic. He must assault the exalted views of Moses in his day. As noted above, the Gospel of John emphasizes Moses as an instrument of God. Jesus adds the designations μάρτυς and κατηγορῶν, but these remain the roles of an instrument of God, inextricably tied with the νόμος delivered through him. But in the Jewish mystical literature current in the first century, Moses has a much larger role, for he is depicted as actually ascending to heaven several times during his life, most importantly to receive the νόμος when he went up to Mount Sinai.[41] Wayne Meeks notes that first-century Jewish writer Philo of Alexandria considered the incident at the burning bush, the incident at Mount Sinai, and Moses' death all as examples of mystical experiences. Every mystic longed for a vision of God, and Philo believed that Moses came nearer to that goal than any other human. In fact, he held Moses in such high esteem that he sees the ascents of Moses as "virtually a deification."[42] Philo writes, "This (Exodus 24:12a) signifies that a holy soul is divinized by ascending not to the air or to the ether or to heaven (which is) higher than all but to (a region) above the heavens. And beyond the world there is no place but God."[43]

For Philo, both at Sinai and at his death Moses leaves the bodily realm to enter the "incorporeal and intelligible." His death is an ascent to heaven after the pattern of the ascent of Sinai, but this ascent has a slightly different character, as Meeks explains: "The mystic ascent (Sinai) is a kind of 'realized eschatology'; the final ascension is a projection and fulfillment of the goal of the mystic ascent."[44] Other sources follow Philo in seeing Moses on Mount Sinai as an example of mystic ascent, including the *Apocalypse of Ezra*:

> I (Yahweh) told him (Moses) many wondrous things, showed him the secrets of the times, declared to him the end of the seasons: Then I commanded him saying: These words shalt thou publish openly, but these keep secret. And now I do say to thee: The signs which I have shewed thee, the dreams which thou hast seen, and the interpretations which thou has heard—lay them up in thy heart! For thou shalt be

[41] Other Old Testament figures, including Abraham and Jacob, are also associated with this mystical tradition.

[42] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 123.

[43] Quoted in Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 124.

[44] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 125.

> taken up from (among) men, and henceforth thou shalt remain with my Son, and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended.[45]

Moses therefore became a paradigm for other mystics to follow, as he modeled for them the mystic ascent. But the tradition of Moses' ascent not only makes him a mystic example, it also makes him the originator of prophecy and the ideal king. "(In heaven) he received the Torah, was crowned king of Israel and thus God's vice-regent, and learned the secrets which made him teacher of all prophets."[46] We find an example of this understanding in one of the earliest accounts of Moses' ascent, a document called *Exagoge* from the second century BC:

> On Sinai's peak I saw what seemed a throne so great in size it touched the clouds of heaven. Upon it sat a man of noble mien, becrowned, and with a scepter in one hand while with the other he did beckon me. I made approach and stood before the throne. He handed o'er the scepter and he bade me mount the throne, and gave to me the crown; then he himself withdrew from off the throne. I gazed upon the whole earth round about; things under it, and high above the skies. Then at my feet a multitude of stars fell down, and I their number reckoned up. They passed by me like armed ranks of men. Then I in terror wakened from the dream.[47]

In addition to the subtle polemic already noted, Jesus directly and explicitly combats the mystical ascent tradition in 3:13, where he declares: "No one has ascended into heaven except he who descended from heaven, the Son of Man."

Scholars understand this polemic in different ways. Jey Kanagaraj considers the Gospel of John a "mystical" document, written in part to proclaim Christ to those enamored with the mystic tradition. According to this view, John wrote under the framework of mysticism, and therefore tried to understand Jesus within that context.[48] Mystical communion with God is only possible through Christ. Kanagaraj summarizes: "By means of the ascent-motif John polemizes, proclaims, and persuades the people of his day by reinterpreting the contemporary mystical belief in terms of the person and function of Jesus."[49] Meeks comes to a similar conclusion,

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[45] Quoted in Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 157.

[46] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 215.

[47] Jey J. Kanagaraj, *'Mysticism' in the Gospel of John: An Inquiry into Its Background* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 112. The Greek text is provided by Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 148.

[48] Kanagaraj, *'Mysticism' in the Gospel of John*, 317.

[49] Kanagaraj, *'Mysticism' in the Gospel of John*, 213.

positing that the portrayal of Jesus in John's Gospel owes much to the mystical traditions surrounding the early Christians. In the opinion of both scholars, the polemic exists not against mystic traditions as such, but against the superior view of Moses in those traditions. Jesus fulfills the functions earlier attributed to Moses, and he does so in a far superior way.[50]

Such approaches do not appreciate the depth of the polemic we find in the Gospel of John. Jesus does not simply replace Moses or others as the greatest mystic or as the fulfillment of mystical yearnings. He rejects these mystic traditions outright as a false way to understand God. Despite what the mystics taught, Moses did not ascend to heaven, nor should others attempt to commune with God in this way. Instead, Yahweh has come down to his people throughout history and climactically in the person of Jesus Christ.[51] Christ is the only one who ascends and descends, and he does so not as the greatest mystic, but in order to be lifted up on the cross, "that whoever believes in him may have eternal life" (3:15). The mystical ascent tradition by no means characterizes the view of all first-century Jews, but in the context of this tradition, we can see why Jesus needed to put Moses into his proper place as the instrument of God through whom he gave the νόμος, thereby making Moses the one who wrote about Jesus.

Under the framework established in 5:45–47 and in the preceding discussion, we can now reexamine Jesus' use of Moses in chapter seven. We already noted that Jesus emphasizes Moses as an instrument of Yahweh, not through a διὰ clause as in the prologue, but instead through the phrase: "Not that it is from Moses but from the fathers." Now we can see the polemical rationale for this phrase. As he brings Moses into the discussion, Jesus seemingly gives him high status as the giver of the νόμος, using the active verb δέδωκεν rather than ἐνδόθη coupled with διὰ, as in the prologue. The phrase in 7:22 therefore functions to combat such a misinterpretation. Moses does not give anything of his own accord, but instead Yahweh uses him, as he did the πατέρων, to give his νόμος. The rabbinical teachings based on the νόμος Μωϋσέως (7:23) passed through human hands, while Jesus received his teaching directly from the Father.[52] As 3:13 emphasizes, Moses did not ascend to heaven to partake of the

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[50] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 319.

[51] Charles A. Gieschen, "Merkavah Mysticism and the Gospel of John" (unpublished paper, Jerome Exegetical Seminar, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, IN, October 28, 2009), 10–11.

[52] Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel*, 66.

mysteries of God. Instead, Jesus, who descended, teaches with the authority given to him by the one who sent him (7:16–18).

But this does not mean that Jesus has no use for Moses in this text. Even though he puts Moses in his proper place, Jesus still calls on him as the κατηγορῶν. Moses accuses Jesus' opponents of not keeping the νόμος: "Didn't Moses give to you the law (τὸν νόμον)? And none from among you does (ποιεῖ) the law (τὸν νόμον). Why do you seek to kill me?" (John 7:19). This accusation is once again especially surprising in a context where the Jews oppose Jesus for breaking the Sabbath law (the same incident that prompted the discourse in chapter five!). Jesus here teaches that doing (ποιεῖ) the νόμος Μωϋσέως involves much more than following the "rules." Instead, as Jesus explicitly teaches in John 5, it involves a recognition that Moses wrote about Jesus throughout the νόμος. It requires the assertion that Jesus is Yahweh come in the flesh. Jesus therefore once again rejects the false dichotomy between Moses and himself. One who follows the νόμος and Moses would not seek to kill Jesus, but instead would embrace him. As noted above, Jesus will use a similar argument when the people call Abraham as a witness against him in chapter eight.

All of the themes noted in 5:45–47 come together dramatically in John 9. Here the Pharisees attempt to claim Moses for themselves. Jesus begins the narrative with yet another healing on the Sabbath. He moves on, but the healed man's friends and family bring him before the Pharisees. There they interrogate him, and the healed man asks the provocative question in verse 27: "Do you also want to become his disciples?" The Pharisees seize on this opportunity to bring forth Moses as the κατηγορῶν. They will judge Jesus' actions on the basis of the νόμος Μωϋσέως, for they consider themselves disciples of Moses, unlike the healed man, whom they describe as disciples of "that one" (ἐκείνου). Why do they hold so firmly to Moses? "Because God has spoken to Moses" (9:29). This could simply refer to the intimate relationship between Yahweh and Moses described in the Pentateuch.[53] However, in light of the ongoing polemic described above, we could perhaps also detect a reference to the ascent tradition, that God spoke to Moses when he ascended into heaven to receive the νόμος. Regardless, the Pharisees will stake their claim on Moses, for they do not know the origins of Jesus. The healed man knows that Jesus came "from God" (9:33). Philip declared much the same in 1:45, correctly identifying Jesus as the one about whom Moses wrote. The irony runs deep in this text. The Pharisees attempt to claim Moses as the κατηγορῶν, but instead

[53] See especially Exodus 33:11.

the healed man accuses them of refusing to recognize Jesus' divine origins. The healed man exposes their false use of Moses, just as Jesus did in John 5 and 7. As Jesus said in chapter five, if they claim to believe in Moses, then they would believe in him.[54]

With the conclusion of this incident, Moses disappears from the narrative. The polemic has found its final conclusion, as the religious leaders fully embrace the false dichotomy and follow Moses rather than the one to whom he pointed.[55] And in doing so, they will put to death the one whom Moses proclaimed, losing both Moses and the Messiah.

IV. Moses as Instrument of Salvation

In the prologue, John states that "the law (ὁ νόμος) was given (ἐνδόθη) through Moses (διὰ Μωϋσέως)." The Gospel of John demonstrates that God gave many gifts to his people διὰ Μωϋσέως. As discussed extensively above, the gift of the νόμος through Moses is ultimately the gift of revelation pointing to Christ. However, other gifts were given διὰ Μωϋσέως, and the provision of food and healing in the desert also are brought to the fore in the ongoing trial of Jesus. Following the miraculous feeding in John 6, the people demand yet another sign: "Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written, 'He gave (ἔνδωκεν) them bread from heaven to eat'" (6:31). The people hearken back to God's gracious provision in the desert, or do they? The quotation that the people give (presumably from Nehemiah 9:15) does not mention who actually gave the bread.[56] The verb ἔνδωκεν could refer to either Yahweh or Moses.[57] Jesus obviously thought that the Jews confronting him regarded Moses as the giver, for he launched into the kind of polemic we encountered in other texts. Moses retains his importance as the one through whom the gift was given, but the manna originated from "my Father (πατήρ μου)." The people wanted to force a choice between Moses and Jesus, between Moses' provision of manna for forty years in the desert and Jesus' feeding of the five thousand on one afternoon. When viewed in those terms, as simply a competition between Moses and Jesus, Moses obviously had the greater miracle. In response, Jesus does not deny the earlier gift "through Moses" (διὰ Μωϋσέως), but instead rejects their conception of Moses' role in giving that gift. They have the wrong grammar, for Moses cannot be the subject of the verbs when

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[54] Lincoln, *Truth on Trial*, 103.

[55] Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*, 22–23.

[56] Nehemiah 9:15 *does* specify who gave the manna, using the second person verb in prayer to Yahweh.

[57] Shapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 196.

discussing Yahweh's gifts. Jesus provides a corrective, implicitly affirming the importance of God's gift of manna through Moses.[58]

Next, Jesus contrasts the gifts themselves. God did provide for his people in the desert διὰ Μωϋσέως, continuing the mighty acts of salvation he wrought διὰ Μωϋσέως to bring the people out from bondage in Egypt. However, this manna could not give eternal life. And so the same God who gave the gift of manna διὰ Μωϋσέως now gives to the world a much greater gift, for Jesus points to himself as the "true bread from heaven (τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν; 6:32)." God used Moses as his chosen instrument of temporal salvation for the people of Israel, but did not give to Moses the task of accomplishing eternal salvation. That role belongs solely and completely to Jesus, as he declares himself to be the one "giving life (ζῳοποιεῖ) to the world" (6:33). Not only does this bread give eternal life, but Jesus also describes this bread as the one who comes down (καταβαίνων) from heaven, once again a polemic against the mystic ascent tradition. Moses did not ascend to heaven to receive the mysteries of God, but instead the same God who worked through (διὰ) him now brings ultimate and eternal salvation through the one coming down from heaven, Yahweh in human flesh.

Moses appears in a similar role in John 3. God gave the νόμος through Moses, he gave the manna through Moses, and in this text Jesus calls to mind the fact that God gave deliverance from serpents in the desert διὰ Μωϋσέως. Jesus had spoken of birth from above and being born of the Spirit, but those actions needed an anchor in God's work of salvation. He provides that anchor by connecting God's work of rebirth with his own death and resurrection. To do this, Jesus brings Moses to center stage: "And just as Moses lifted up (ὕψωσεν) the snake in the desert, thus it is necessary for the Son of man to be lifted up (ὑψωθῆναι), in order that all who believe in him have eternal life" (John 3:14–15).

Jesus presents the incident in Numbers 21:4–9 as pointing directly to his death, specifically to his manner of dying. As per usual in John's Gospel, this statement does not stand alone without a polemic. Jesus implies the same facts that he emphasized in John 6, that all those delivered διὰ Μωϋσέως still died. Jesus, however, gives eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον).[59] Ultimate salvation only comes through the work of Christ, and he will accomplish salvation through an "ascent" of sorts, though a

[58] Shapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 197.
[59] Shapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 192–193.

paradoxical one, as he is lifted up and glorified only upon the cross.[60] John 3:13, which sets the stage for this mention of Moses, provides the definitive counter to the ascent tradition. The Son of Man, the one who came down from heaven, provides eternal life to all who believe, even as God provided life with Moses' lifting up of the serpent. Christ's "ascent" on the cross brings ultimate and eternal life to all, as the Christ takes on the verdict of death declared by God on his sinful creation.

In both texts, Jesus places Moses into his most important role in the Gospel of John, that of "instrument of salvation." This title has been coined by the author of this study, though the concept is not without precedence. Harstine, in a similar investigation, identifies five different roles for Moses in John's narrative, including "one who acts in the salvific arena."[61] Stefan Schapdick in a more grudging way assigns to Moses a soteriological role:

> [John's Gospel] also picks up certain events from [Moses'] life as they are described in the biblical traditions (cf. John 3:14; 6:31–33). The interest especially focuses on the life-saving or life-preserving role of Moses . . . . The Fourth Gospel refers to these specific traditions by emphasizing the true originator of all these life-preserving acts, God himself (cf. esp. John 6:32) . . . . Moses is depicted as the mediator of his divine will. Thus, the focus is primarily on God as the one who gives and preserves life.[62]

Schapdick is therefore willing to assign Moses a salvific role, but only if we keep firmly in mind the polemic expressed throughout the Gospel. Moses does not provide eternal life, and therefore no one should exalt him too highly, especially at the expense of Jesus. However, he pushes the polemic too far, and perhaps in the wrong direction. "All (Moses') efforts described in the biblical traditions which he performed on behalf of God's will are nothing but a narrative 'foil' on which the overall soteriological quality of Jesus' divine revelation can be demonstrated."[63] Shapdick incorrectly focuses the polemic on the person of Moses himself, not on the false conceptions of Moses current at Jesus' time, which we have investigated above.

Shapdick is no doubt correct that in John 3 and 6 Jesus wants to contrast the gift of life through Moses with that given by himself. He gives

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[60] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 297. See also Gieschen, "The Death of Jesus," 250.

[61] Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel*, 72.

[62] Schapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 207.

[63] Schapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 207. While not as explicit, Harstine comes to a similar conclusion, declaring, "Those who want what is true will not find it in Moses." Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel*, 64.

eternal life, while all those saved by Moses still died. But Jesus does not on that account discard the salvific works διὰ Μωϋσέως *as described in Scripture*, instead giving them proper perspective as acts that point forward to, and are encompassed by, the ultimate deliverance he gives. Moses is clearly described as an instrument of Yahweh, but that does not entail a polemic against the Moses of Scripture, but only the Moses claimed by Jesus' opponents. Their conception of Moses, as demonstrated above, has perhaps been influenced by the ascent tradition, giving a view of Israel's greatest leader that needed to be combated, but not at the expense of the true Moses. The terminology "instrument of salvation" attempts to preserve this proper balance. It endeavors to express the meaning of the διὰ clause found in John 1:17 by putting Moses in his proper place as an instrument, perhaps the most important instrument in the Old Testament, but an instrument nonetheless of God's saving work. This saving work both pointed forward to the cross and occurred only because of the cross. God showed his love through Moses for the sake of Christ. God delivered his people διὰ Μωϋσέως, looking forward to Christ's ultimate redemption.

Though the courtroom scene found in other texts is not explicit in John 3 and 6, the salvific role of Moses is intimately tied to his judicial roles. The acts of salvation διὰ Μωϋσέως point to Jesus; they witness to him just as in the trial. Moreover, Jesus clearly demonstrates that clinging to Yahweh's acts διὰ Μωϋσέως without believing in the Christ is of no avail. Moses testifies to Christ and accuses his opponents in these texts through his actions as he mediates the gifts of Yahweh. In the prologue, John declares that Yahweh gave the gift of the νόμος through Moses. In John 3 and 6, Jesus notes that God used Moses as his instrument to bring Israel bread from heaven to sustain them in their journey, and as the one who held up the standard of salvation for all to see and live. "A single historical event of a divine act of life-saving presents Moses as its mediator. He has a kind of soteriological function, then."[64] Jesus presents his own mission as in many ways parallel to God's salvation διὰ Μωϋσέως, with one important difference, as Meeks emphasizes, "What takes places through Jesus is . . . far superior to that which was enacted by Moses."[65] God worked through Moses to preserve temporal life in bringing his people from bondage and preserving them in the desert. Jesus comes to bring eternal life, which he will give by being lifted up for the sins of the world. Humanity does not have to choose between Moses and Jesus, for Moses pointed to Jesus, both

[64] Schapdick, "Religious Authority Re-Evaluated," 192.
[65] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 292.

through his words and the manner in which God gave his gifts through him.

Conclusion

The figure of Moses in the fourth Gospel cannot be understood properly without considering together three elements of Johannine scholarship: John's understanding of the νόμος, the trial motif, and the polemic against the mystical ascent tradition. At issue in the Gospel according to John is the identity of Jesus, and this debate characterizes every encounter between Jesus and his foes, especially when Moses is involved. In these texts, Jesus operates with a two-sided polemic. The first is against the exalted views of Moses current in mystical circles. Without a proper understanding of the John's polemic against the ascent tradition, one runs the danger of completely misunderstanding Moses' role in John's Gospel. If this polemic is not taken far enough, John appears simply to be replacing Moses with Jesus as the greatest mystic. If it is taken too far, then the person of Moses is pitted against Jesus, which is exactly what Jesus' opponents want to do. Second, regardless of how highly one views Moses, Jesus declares that they have interpreted him incorrectly. Not only is Moses not greater than Jesus, in fact Moses subordinates himself under Jesus by testifying to him. Jesus builds the case for his divine origin by claiming Moses and the νόμος for himself. They are not to be discarded, but properly interpreted. This proper interpretation only comes through the lens of Christ, the incarnation of Yahweh in the flesh come to deliver eternal salvation to all people

The Gospel of John indicates that the Jews wanted to drive a wedge between Moses and Jesus, pitting one against the other. Modern readers of John are tempted to do the same, but as this study demonstrates, John writes specifically to counter such an approach. Moses and the νόμος are not the enemies of Jesus; in fact, when used properly, they both point to Christ. Moses did not ascend into heaven, but Jesus Christ has come down from heaven to deliver his people from their bondage to sin by ascending upon the cross.[66] Instead of presenting a tirade against Moses, John's Gospel puts him in his proper, important place. God selected Moses as his chosen "instrument of salvation," the one who would interact with Yahweh "face to face," and who would testify to the mighty acts of a God who would one day take on flesh and deliver Moses and all humanity from sin. In every way, Moses and the νόμος testify to Jesus as the one he

[66] Gieschen, "Merkavah Mysticism and the Gospel of John," 10–11.

claims to be: the Son of God, Yahweh in the flesh. Moses wrote about Jesus on every page of the Torah, for he wrote about Yahweh and his great deeds among the people of Israel. Next to the testimony of the Father himself, Moses is therefore Jesus' greatest advocate, which makes him the accuser of Jesus' opponents. Rejecting Jesus means the rejection of Moses and indeed Yahweh himself, for as Moses declared, Jesus is the visible image of Yahweh. In the words he wrote, in the actions that Yahweh did through him, Moses constantly and consistently points to Jesus. John's argument is encapsulated in his prologue: the νόμος came through Moses, and it testifies to χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια, found only in Jesus.

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Rectify or Justify? A Response to J. Louis Martyn's Interpretation of Paul's Righteousness Language

Mark P. Surburg

The article on justification stands at the center of the Lutheran Church's confession of the gospel. The *Book of Concord* explicitly states this in several places, such as when it says that justification is "the most important topic of Christian teaching which, rightly understood, illumines and magnifies the honor of Christ and brings the abundant consolation that devout consciences need" (Ap IV, 2).[1] This emphasis was rightly summarized in the expression that the article of justification is "the article on which the Church stands and falls" (*articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*).

Robert Preus provides an important insight when he observes that the Lutheran Church uses the word "justification" in a broad sense when speaking about this article. He notes:

> Luther and the Lutheran Confessions never considered justification narrowly as a mere formulation or definition. The justification of the sinner, whether considered as an article of faith or an event, cannot be separated from the grace of God, the redeeming work of Christ, the work of the Spirit through the means of grace and faith in Christ. The article of justification entails all these biblical motifs and cannot be presented or confessed in isolation from them.[2]

A biblical text, therefore, does not have to include the words "justify" or "justification" in order to be talking about the article of justification.[3]

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[1] See also SA II, 1, 1–5; SD III, 6. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations of the Book of Concord are from *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

[2] Preus, *Justification and Rome,* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 117, n. 6. See also p. 19.

[3] Preus goes on to say, "Because the Lutheran Confessions and Lutheran theology consistently understand the doctrine of justification in the broad sense as also embracing the doctrine of God's grace in Christ, the person and work of Christ, the means of grace, and the work of the Holy Spirit, they are able to find the doctrine of

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At the same time, the article is called the article on justification because there are foundational texts for understanding the doctrine in which the Lutheran Confessions apply a narrow or exegetical definition to the word δικαιόω. Quoting Romans 2:13, the Apology says, "And 'to be justified' here does not mean for a righteous person to be made out of an ungodly one, but to be pronounced righteous in a forensic sense [*usu forensi*] as also in this text [Rom. 2:13]: '. . . the doers of the law will be justified'" (Ap IV, 252). The Apology also points to Romans 5:1 and concludes, "In this passage 'justify' is used in a forensic way [*forensi consuetudine*] to mean 'to absolve a guilty man and pronounce him righteous,' and to do so on account of someone else's righteousness, namely, Christ's, which is communicated to us through faith."[4] Thus the Lutheran Confessions clearly indicate that δικαιόω is to be understood in a forensic sense, as God the judge pronouncing the sinner to be righteous.[5]

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justification in sections of Scripture and citations from the Church Fathers which do not mention the word 'justification' or even its cognates. We note this practice throughout Luther's works, particularly in his *Lectures on Genesis* and his *Sermons on the Gospel of John*. On the other hand, Lutheran theology can address the subject of justification without explicitly using the terms 'justify' or 'justification' by employing other equivalent or interchangeable themes such as 'save,' 'reconcile,' 'forgive,' and the like." *Justification and Rome*, 118, n. 6. So within the Lutheran Confessions' discussion of justification one also finds references to regeneration (Ap IV, 72,78); reconciliation (Ap IV, 158,182); mediation and propitiation (Ap IV, 40,80); sacrificial atonement (Ap IV, 53,179) and redemption (SC II, 4; LC II, 26–27). Edmund Schlink offers a similar conclusion in *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*, trans. Paul Koehneke and Herbert J.A. Bouman (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961), 91, n. 11.

[4] Ap IV, 305. This text is in the quarto edition and not the octavo edition, and so the quotation is taken, with slight modification, from *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959).

[5] A similar definition appears in the Formula of Concord where it first says, "Accordingly, we regard it as one and the same thing when Paul says we are 'justified by faith' (Rom. 3[:28]), or that faith is reckoned to us a righteousness (Rom. 4[:5]), or when he says that we become righteous through the obedience of the only mediator, Christ, or that 'through one person's righteousness, the righteousness of faith comes upon all people' (Rom. 5[:18]" (SD III, 12). It then goes on to provide the clarification, "Accordingly, the word 'justify' here means to pronounce righteous and free from sin and to count as freed from the eternal punishment of sin because of Christ's righteousness, which is 'reckoned to faith by God' (Phil. 3[:9]). This is the consistent use and meaning of this word in Holy Scripture in the Old and New Testaments." It then adds quotations of Proverbs 17:15, Isaiah 5:23, and Romans 8:33 (SD III, 17). See also: Ep. III, 7, 15; SD III, 62.

I. "Rectification" or "Making Right What Has Gone Wrong"

Lutherans need not have δικαιόω or δικαιοσύνη in order to find the article of justification present. But what if in fact δικαιόω has nothing to do with the forensic declaration of the sinner as righteous? Such an interpretation of δικαιόω is advocated by J. Louis Martyn in his Galatians commentary.[6] If correct, it would make the Lutheran understanding of justification highly questionable.[7]

While Paul's other letters are filled with explicit eschatological references to the return of Christ and the day of judgment, Galatians is remarkable in that it does not.[8] Martyn's work has been important in demonstrating that despite the absence of these kinds of future references, Galatians is still a work marked by apocalyptic eschatology.[9] He has called attention to the statement in 1:4 about being rescued from this present evil age (ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος) and in 6:15 concerning the new creation (καινὴ κτίσις).[10] He has also noted the importance of ἀποκαλύπτω and ἀποκάλυψις that occur in 1:12, 1:15–16; 2:2; and 3:23.[11]

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[6] J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York; Doubleday), 1997.

[7] Though Martyn's work focuses on Galatians, we will see that his presuppositions and methodology, along with the inherent similarity of the topics treated in Romans, make it virtually impossible to contain this interpretation of δικαιόω to Galatians alone.

[8] On the return of Christ, see Rom 13:11–12; 1 Cor 1:7–8; 4:5; 11:26; 15:23; 16:22; Eph 4:30; Phil 1:6; 2:16; 3:20; 4:5; Col 3:4; 1 Thess 1:10; 3:13; 4:13–18; 5:1–4; 5:23; 2 Thess 1:7; 1:10; 2:1–2; 1 Tim 6:14–15; 2 Tim 4:1; 4:8 and Titus 2:13. On the day of judgment, see Rom 2:3, 5–13, 16; 3:6; 14:10, 12; 1 Cor 3:12–15; 4:5; 11:32; 2 Cor 5:10; Col 3:6; 1 Thess 1:10; 2 Thess 1:6–10; and 2 Tim 4:1, 8. Galatians does have oblique future eschatological references in 5:5, that we are awaiting (ἀπεκδεχόμεθα) the "hope of righteousness," and in 5:21, that those who carry out the works of the flesh will not inherit the kingdom of God (cf. 1 Cor 6:9 and that letter's corresponding statements about Christ's return and the day of judgment).

[9] On the background of the term "apocalyptic," see Richard E. Sturm, "Defining the Word 'Apocalyptic': A Problem in Biblical Criticism," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 17–48. Sturm's article is an immensely helpful summary of the history of research on "apocalyptic."

[10] Martyn comments: "Although Paul himself never speaks literally of 'the coming age,' his numerous references to 'the present age' (in addition to Gal 1:4, see Rom 12:2; 1 Cor 1:2; 2:6; 3:18; 2 Cor 4:4) reflect his assumption of eschatological dualism. In Paul's vocabulary the expression that stands opposite 'the present evil age' is 'the new creation' (Gal 6:15), yet another indication of apocalyptic thought, for it is a formulation reflecting the development of Jewish apocalyptic dualism in the time of exile (Isa 43:18–19)," *Galatians*, 98.

[11] "It is striking that at these four important junctures in Galatians Paul uses the noun *apokalypsis* and the verb *apokalypto*." Martyn, *Galatians*, 99.

However, for Martyn, the crucial point is not simply that apocalyptic eschatology is present. What matters most is *the kind of apocalyptic eschatology* Paul is using. In a critical footnote at the beginning of the excursus "Apocalyptic Theology in Galatians," Martyn writes, "We will shortly see that the distinction between two 'tracks' of Jewish apocalyptic is essential to the reading of Galatians. On this matter, consult the extraordinarily perceptive essay of de Boer, 'Apocalyptic Eschatology.'"[12] Drawing on the work of his doctoral student Martinus de Boer, Martyn states that, in *cosmological apocalyptic eschatology*, anti-God powers have usurped control of the world and God must launch an invasive apocalyptic war against these evil powers. On the other hand, in *forensic cosmological eschatology*, human beings have chosen to disobey God and he has given the law as the answer to the problem, with the judgment of the last day occurring on the basis of whether an individual has engaged in law observance.

> In *cosmological apocalyptic eschatology,* evil, anti-God powers have managed to commence their own rule over the world, leading human beings into idolatry and thus into slavery, producing a wrong situation that was not intended by God and that will not be tolerated by him. For in his own time God will inaugurate a victorious and liberating apocalyptic war against these evil powers, delivering his elect from their grasp and thus making right that which has gone wrong because of the powers' malignant machinations. In *forensic apocalyptic eschatology*, things have gone wrong because human beings have willfully rejected God, thereby bringing about death and the corruption and perversion of the world. Given this self-caused plight, God has graciously provided the Two Ways, the Way of death *and* the Way of life. Human beings are individually accountable before the bar of the Judge. But, by one's own decision, one can repent of one's sins, receive nomistic forgiveness, and be assured of eternal life. For at the last judgment the deserved sentence of death will be reversed for those who choose the path of Law observance, whereas that sentence will be permanently confirmed for those who do not.[13]

Martyn concludes, "A crucial issue is that of determining which of these two 'tracks' is dominant in a given source. In the course of the present commentary we will see that, whereas forensic apocalyptic eschatology is characteristic of the Teachers' theology, Paul's Galatians letter is fundamentally marked by cosmological apocalyptic eschatology."[14]

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[12] Martyn, *Galatians*, 97, n. 51.
[13] Martyn, *Galatians*, 98, n. 51; emphasis original.
[14] Martyn, *Galatians*, 98, n. 51.

When understood in this way, God's invasion occurred by sending the Son and the Spirit into this world. "The genesis of Paul's apocalyptic—as we see it in Galatians—lies in the apostle's certainty that God has *invaded* the present evil age by sending Christ and his Spirit into it."[15] The crucial event in this cosmic war was the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

> The various ways that Paul speaks of Christ's death (and resurrection; 1:1) show that for him the motif of cosmic warfare is focused first of all on the cross, and it is from the cross that one perceives the contours of that warfare. There, in the thoroughly real event of Christ's crucifixion, God's war of liberation was commenced and decisively settled, making the cross the foundation of Paul's apocalyptic theology.[16]

This action reveals that humanity's problem is about more than just the need for forgiveness. Instead humanity and creation itself have been enslaved by the anti-God powers of the present evil age.

> It is this apocalyptic vision, then, that has given Paul his perception of the nature of the human plight. God has invaded the world in order to bring it under his liberating control. From that deed of God a conclusion can be drawn, and the conclusion is decidedly apocalyptic: God would not have to carry out an invasion in order to merely forgive erring human beings. The root trouble lies deeper than human guilt, and it is more sinister. The whole of humanity—indeed, the whole of creation (3:22)—is in fact, trapped, enslaved under the power of the present evil age.[17]

Yet by this action the decisive war of liberation has begun and, in the present, there is an overlap between the present evil age and the new creation. Martyn insightfully summarizes this situation with a question:

> All of the preceding motifs flow together in the question Paul causes to be the crucial issue in the entire letter. What time is it? One recalls that the matter of discerning the time lies at the heart of apocalyptic. What time is it? It is the time after the apocalypse of the faith of Christ, the time, therefore, of God's making things right by Christ's faith, the time of the presence of the Spirit of Christ, and thus the time in which

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[15] Martyn, *Galatians* 99; emphasis original. Later, Martyn adds, "We have seen that Paul uses interchangeably the verbs 'to apocalypse' and 'to [cause to] come' (3:23), and this linguistic fact establishes a major point: redemption has come from outside the human orb. For Paul, to say that God *sent* his Son is to say that God *invaded* the cosmos in the person of Christ (cf. 3:23, 25)," *Galatians*, 407; emphasis original.

[16] Martyn, *Galatians*, 101.

[17] Martyn, *Galatians*, 105.

> the invading Spirit has decisively commenced the war of liberation from the powers of the present evil age.[18]

Martyn contends that Paul is an example of cosmological apocalyptic eschatology, and not forensic apocalyptic eschatology like his opponents ("the Teachers" as Martyn calls them). This determines how Martyn interprets the verb δικαιόω. For the Teachers, the problem is that people have been unfaithful to God's covenant by transgressing the commandments of the Law. God makes transgressing members of the people right through the forgiveness he has provided in the sacrificial death of Christ.[19]

Martyn contends that for Paul the issue is not merely about a forensic forgiveness of transgressions. When he translates δικαιόω and δικαιοσύνη, he uses the words "rectify" and "rectification." He avoids the translations "justify" and "justification" because "they are at home either in the language of law—where 'to justify' implies the existence of a definable legal norm—or in the language of religion and morality—where 'righteousness' implies a definable religious norm. As we will see, Paul intends his term to be taken in neither of these linguistic realms."[20] Instead, "The subject Paul addresses is that of God's *making right what has gone wrong*."[21]

It is crucial that we understand how Martyn arrives at this conclusion. While granting that the noun and the verb have "occasioned a veritable library of books and articles from the earliest interpreters of Paul to those of the present day," it is striking to note that, when setting forth his translation of "rectify/rectification," Martyn *does not interact with any of them* in his commentary.[22] This is because he believes he has no need. Having identified the textual signs that Galatians is piece of apocalyptic eschatology, and having concluded that Paul employs the "track" of cosmological apocalyptic eschatology, Martyn does not need to engage contrary arguments that are based on a forensic understanding of the word (i.e., "justify/justification"). They are simply wrong because they fail to understand that Paul's theology is one of cosmological apocalyptic

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[18] Martyn, *Galatians*, 104.

[19] Martyn, *Galatians*, 265–268.

[20] Martyn, *Galatians*, 250. He also notes they have the advantage of being cognates, like δικαιόω and δικαιοσύνη; *Galatians*, 249.

[21] Martyn, *Galatians*, 250; emphasis original. Within the LCMS, Martyn's interpretation has been used by Arthur A. Just Jr., "The Faith of Christ: A Lutheran Appropriation of Richard Hays's Proposal," *CTQ* 70 (2006): 3–15.

[22] Martyn, *Galatians*, 249.

eschatology and not forensic apocalyptic eschatology (which is, in fact, the theology of Paul's opponents).

For Martyn, Galatians 3:13 and its verb ἐξαγοράζω (which is also found in 4:5) proves to be crucial in understanding what Paul really means by the verb δικαιόω in 2:16. Paul has just said in 3:10, "For as many as are from works of law are under a curse." Paul then supports this statement (using γὰρ) with a quotation of Deuteronomy 27:26, "Cursed (ἐπικατάρατος) is everyone who does not abide by everything written in the book of the law to do them." Paul's "proof" that those who are "of the works of the law" are under a curse turns out to be more than a little surprising, since Deuteronomy 27:26 makes the very opposite point: those who do *not* do the law are under a curse. As Martyn observes, "In the present verse Paul interprets Deuteronomy 27:26 in a way that is the precise opposite of the literal meaning."[23] The question then is how Paul could have thought that Deuteronomy 27:26 proves his conclusion, since the verse actually says the opposite of what he claims.

The work of E.P. Sanders leads Martyn to reject the traditional explanation in which the logical link between 3:10a and 3:10b is the unstated premise that no one is capable of obeying and fulfilling all of the things written in the book of the law.[24] Martyn's explanation is based on the difference between forensic and cosmological apocalyptic eschatology. He argues that for the Jewish-Christian forensic definition of rectification as forgiveness there are three actors: sinful human beings, Christ, and the God of the covenant. For Paul's cosmological view, however, there are four actors: human beings, Christ, God, and the anti-God powers. *The law with its power to curse is one of these anti-God powers*.[25]

Paul says in 3:19 that the law was ordered through angels (διαταγεὶς δι᾽ἀγγέλων). The presence of angels was a common theme in the literature

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[23] Martyn, *Galatians*, 309.

[24] Martyn, *Galatians*, 310. In his covenantal nomism, Sanders argues that "The law provides for means of atonement, and atonement results in maintenance or re-establishment of the covenant relationship." *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977), 422. Sanders concludes from this, "It would, in short, be extraordinarily un-Pharisaic and even un-Jewish of Paul to insist that obedience of the law, once undertaken, must be perfect. Such a position would directly imply that the means of atonement specified in Scripture itself were of no avail." *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1983), 28. A. Andrew Das has provided a powerful refutation of Sanders' argument in *Paul, the Law, and the Covenant* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2001), 145–170.

[25] Martyn, *Galatians*, 272.

of the time.[26] Their presence added to the glory and majesty of the giving of the law, but in no way denied that Yahweh was the source of the law. However, Martyn says that "Paul, by contrast, stands the tradition on its head, speaking of the angels as the active party who themselves instituted the Law, and saying that they did that in God's absence!"[27] God is not the source of the law's cursing Sinaitic voice; instead, it is one of the enslaving powers of the cosmos.[28] On the basis of this understanding, Martyn argues:

> With the meaning "to deliver from slavery," the verb *exagorazo* becomes, then, a synonym for the verb "to rectify," "to make right," supplying the definition that was lacking in 2:16 . . . . By employing this verb Paul thus reinforces the picture of the human scene he presupposes throughout the letter. To be a human being—whether Jew or Gentile—is to be a slave under the authority of malignant powers (2:4; 4:7; 5:1; cf. Phil 2:7).[29]

The shift from forensic to cosmological apocalyptic eschatology is crucial. Quoting de Boer's words, Martyn says that in Galatians Paul is "circumscribing 'the forensic apocalyptic theology of the . . . Teachers with a cosmological apocalyptic theology of his own.'"[30]

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[26] See, for example, *Jub.* 1.27–29; Acts 7:38, 53; Heb. 2:2; Philo, *Somn.* 1.140–144; Jospehus, *Ant.* 15.136.

[27] Martyn, *Galatians*, 357.

[28] Martyn, *Galatians,* 325–326, 367–368.

[29] Martyn, *Galatians*, 317. Martyn writes earlier, "To be sure, building on Jewish-Christian atonement tradition, Paul still says that Christ died 'for us' (3:13). But now Christ' s death is seen to have happened in *collision* with the Law, and human beings are not said to need forgiveness, but rather deliverance from a genuine slavery that involves the Law. In this second rectification passage the Law proves to be not so much a norm which we have transgressed—although transgressions are included (3:19)—as a tyrant, insofar as it has placed us under the power of its curse. And by his death Christ is not said to have accomplished our forgiveness, but rather our redemption from slavery. With the apocalyptic shift to a scene in which there are real powers arrayed against God, rectification acquires, then, a new synonym, *exagorazo*, 'to redeem by delivering from slavery' (3:13; 4:5). And, as we have noted, one of the powers from whose tyranny Christ has delivered us is the Law in its role as the pronouncer of the curse on the whole of humanity." *Galatians,* 273; emphasis original.

[30] Martyn, *Galatians*, 273. He goes on to add, "Rectification thus remains, for Paul, God's act in the death of Christ. But now, having taken silent leave of the Jewish-Christian concern with forgiveness of nomistic transgressions, Paul sees in Christ's death God's liberating invasion of the territory of tyranny." *Galatians*, 273.

II. Martinus de Boer's "Two Tracks"

Martyn's interpretation of δικαιόω and δικαιοσύνη is completely dependent on the paradigm that distinguishes the "two tracks" of forensic and cosmological apocalyptic eschatology. "A crucial issue," he writes, "is that of determining which of these two 'tracks' is dominant in a given source. In the course of the present commentary we will see that, whereas forensic apocalyptic eschatology is characteristic of the Teachers' theology, Paul's Galatians letter is fundamentally marked by cosmological apocalyptic eschatology."[31] It is necessary, therefore, to turn to the work of Martyn's student, Martinus de Boer, in order to evaluate its validity.

De Boer first proposed his paradigm in *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5*, a published version of his dissertation written under J. Louis Martyn.[32] He provided a more developed treatment of it in his 1989 essay, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," which appeared in the Martyn festschrift and is quoted by Martyn in his Galatians commentary.[33] Subsequently, in 1998 the paradigm received a place in the reference tool, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, within the essay, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology."[34]

De Boer argues that Jewish apocalyptic eschatology "took two distinct forms, or 'tracks', in the New Testament period" which he labels "cosmological apocalyptic eschatology" (track 1) and "forensic apocalyptic eschatology" (track 2).[35] He cautions against the impression that documents can simply be assigned to one of these tracks: "Rather, I present the two tracks as *heuristic models* that may be used as interpretive tools to understand the dynamics of the various texts, including of course the letters of Paul."[36]

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[31] Martyn, *Galatians*, 98, n. 53.

[32] Martinus C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988).

[33] Martinus C. de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 169–190.

[34] Martinus C. de Boer, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," in *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. John J. Collins, vol. 1 of *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. J.J. Collins, B. McGinn, and S. Stein (New York: Continuum, 1998), 345–383.

[35] de Boer, *The Defeat of Death*, 84–86; "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 172–175; "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 358–359. In "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," de Boer also describes them as "distinct patterns," 358.

[36] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology, 176; emphasis original. See also de Boer, *The Defeat of Death*, 85. Despite his caution, this is in fact what de Boer does.

De Boer elaborates that these heuristic models seek "to describe an internally coherent or consistent configuration of motifs."[37] He notes that the two tracks "*are* found in nearly 'pure' form in *1 Enoch* 1–36 and the apocalypse of *2 Baruch*" and adds, "I have outlined the two tracks on the basis of these two works."[38]

In cosmological apocalyptic eschatology (track 1), "'This age' is characterized by the fact that evil angelic powers have, in some primeval time (namely, the time of Noah) come to rule over the earth."[39] The angelic fall is mentioned in much of the literature on the basis of Genesis 6:1–6.[40] As demonstrated in the Book of the Watchers (*1 En* 1–36), these fallen angels became the source of sin and evil in the world when they imparted improper knowledge to humanity (*1 En* 9:1, 6–9; 10:7–9; 15:8–16:2; 19:1–2).[41] By acting in this fashion, the fallen angels brought cosmic disorder (*1 En* 15:3, 9–10) into the world[42] and usurped God's sovereign rights.[43]

De Boer concludes that "when 'this age' is perceived in this way, in terms of subjection to suprahuman angelic powers, it is understandable that the last judgment, the juncture at which 'this age' is replaced by 'the age to come', is depicted as a cosmic confrontation, a war, between God and the Watchers"—a scene depicted in *1 Enoch* 1:4–5.[44] Only God can defeat the demonic powers and he alone can re-establish his sovereignty over the world.[45] The arena of battle for the eschatological war is the "physical universe that God created to be the human habitat."[46] The final victory by

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It is significant that the language of "heuristic model" drops out in the later "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology."

[37] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 181; see also, *The Defeat of Death,* 85. Again, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology" contains no such explication of these "distinct patterns."

[38] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 176; emphasis original.

[39] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 174; see also, *The Defeat of Death* 85, and "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 358.

[40] de Boer cites: *1 En.* 6–19; 64:1–2; 69:4–5; 86:1–6; 106:13–17; *Jub.* 4:15, 22; 5:1–8; 10:4–5; *T. Reub.* 5:6–7; *T. Naph.* 3:5; CD 2:17–3:1; *2 Bar.* 56:12–15; *LAB* 34:1–5; Wis 2:23–24. See "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175; *The Defeat of Death*, 85; de Boer, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 358).

[41] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 174.

[42] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 174.

[43] de Boer, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 358.

[44] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175. He writes in *The Defeat of Death*, "God will invade the world under the dominion of the evil angelic power and defeat them in a cosmic war," 85.

[45] de Boer, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 359.

[46] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175.

God will defeat and banish the demonic forces (*1 En* chs. 16, 19), and the righteous elect will live on a purified earth (cf. *1 En* 1:9; 5:7; 10:17–22).[47]

On the other hand, forensic apocalyptic eschatology (track 2) is a modified version of track 1. Here, "the notion of evil cosmological forces is absent (cf. the *Psalms of Solomon*), recedes into the background (cf. Wisdom of Solomon; *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* [*L.A.B.,* Pseudo-Philo]; *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*), or is even explicitly rejected (cf. *1 En* 91–105)."[48] Humanity is responsible for sin as it follows the pattern of its first parents Adam and Eve, and this perspective emphasizes the "fall" of Adam and/or Eve.[49] Track 2 places emphasis on free will, decision, and personal accountability. In forensic apocalyptic eschatology, God has provided the law as a remedy for the human situation, and "a person's posture toward this Law determines one's ultimate destiny."[50] Given this understanding, "The final judgment is not a cosmic war against cosmological, angelic powers but a courtroom scene in which all humanity appears before the bar of the Judge."[51] In de Boer's opinion, the evidence indicates that this track "overtook and displaced track 1 completely after the disaster of 70 CE (cf. *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*)."[52]

While identifying these two tracks, de Boer also acknowledges: "Other documents indicate that the two tracks can, like those of a railway, run side by side, crisscross, or overlap in various ways, even in the same document."[53] The Dead Sea Scrolls are the principal example of this:

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[47] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175.

[48] de Boer, *The Defeat of Death*, 86; see also, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 181; "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 359.

[49] de Boer, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 359; see also, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175; de Boer, *The Defeat of Death*, 87. On these pages, de Boer cites the following examples: *4 Ezra* 2:5–7, 20–21; 4:30–31; 7:118–119; *2 Bar* 17:2–3; 23:4; 48:42–43; 54:14, 19; *1 En* 69:6; *Jub* 3.17–25; 4:29–30; *LAB* 13:8–9; Wis 10:11.

[50] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 181; see also, de Boer, *The Defeat of Death*, 86; de Boer, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 359.

[51] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic," 176; see also, *The Defeat of Death*, 86; "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 359. He writes, "At the Last Judgment, which is conceptualized as a courtroom in which all humanity will be held accountable, God will reward those who have acknowledged his claim and chosen the Law with eschatological or eternal life, while he will punish those who have not with eschatological or eternal death." *The Defeat of Death*, 86–87.

[52] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 182.

[53] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 177; see also, *The Defeat of Death*, 85. In "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," he describes "a blend of the two patterns," 360.

> In particular the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit this feature as they combine "both cosmological subjection and willful [*sic*] human transgression, both election and human control of personal destiny, both predestination and exhortation to observe the Law . . . both God's eschatological war against Belial and his cohorts and God's judgment of human beings on the basis of their 'works' or deeds (see e.g., 1QS 1–4; 1QM; CD).[54]

De Boer also includes *Jubilees* and *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* in this category.[55] Unfortunately, De Boer never unpacks the implications this has for his paradigm.[56]

III. Testing the Track: Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36)

De Boer's paradigm maintains that in cosmological apocalyptic eschatology the last judgment—the juncture at which "this age" is replaced by "the age to come"—is depicted as a cosmic confrontation, a war, between God and the Watchers as depicted in *1 En* 1:4–5.[57] It further maintains that this differs from forensic apocalyptic eschatology where the judgment is "a courtroom scene in which all humanity appears before the bar of the Judge" which "emphasizes personal accountability."[58] However, when we test this against the Book of the Watchers (*1 En* 1–36)—the work that de Boer considers to be the most pure example of the cosmological track—we find that this paradigm completely ignores the fact that the Book of the Watchers is dominated by forensic judgment and that there is no cosmic war present.[59]

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[54] "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 177; see also, "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," 360.

[55] This is not surprising given the often noted affinities between these works; see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 84, 140.

[56] If works such as those at Qumran, *Jubilees*, and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are mixed, and many other documents are not "pure," how can we speak of internally coherent or consistent configurations of motifs? When is a document "not pure" but still an example of a particular track, and when is it "mixed"? De Boer is not simply identifying cosmological and forensic *motifs* as they arise (often side by side) in different works, but rather he seeks to *label* texts as "cosmological" or "forensic"—a designation that is meant to identify the theological outlook of a *work*. This is precisely how both De Boer and Martyn use the paradigm as they deal with Paul.

[57] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175.

[58] de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 176.

[59] "Nevertheless, the two tracks *are* found in nearly 'pure' form in *1 Enoch* 1–36 and the apocalypse of *2 Baruch* and I have outlined the two tracks on the basis of these two works." de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 176; emphasis original.

When the Book of the Watchers is considered on its own terms, three important points emerge. First, God's judgment directed against the angelic powers and human beings is a forensic judgment, not a "cosmic war." Second, this judgment is directed at both the angelic powers who have introduced sin *and* the human beings who actually engage in sin. The forensic judgment of *both groups* takes place on the basis of a divine standard set by God (both groups are held accountable for behavior that violates God's will). Third, the shift to the new creation occurs after the final forensic judgment (when God sits on the throne).

Contrary to de Boer's paradigm, God's judgment against both angelic powers and humans is forensic, and *there is no cosmic war*. De Boer fails to recognize this because he does not see the importance of God's throne in *1 Enoch*. This throne imagery must be understood within the broader context of its Old Testament background, and more specifically within the context of Daniel 7. In the Hebrew Bible, a king's throne is the forensic setting, such as when Solomon builds a hall of the throne (אוּלָם הַכִּסֵּא) in his palace and judges there (יִשְׁפֹּט־שָׁם) in his hall of judgment or justice (אֻלָם הַמִּשְׁפָּט; 1 Kgs 7:7).[60] Since Yahweh is described with the imagery of "king" (Ps 5:2; 10:16; 24:7–8; 47:2), it is not surprising to find him seated on a throne surrounded by the heavenly court (1 Ki 22:19; 2 Chr 18:18; Isa 6:1–3).[61] Likewise the Hebrew Bible describes him sitting on a throne judging (Ps 9:4/MT 9:5; "you have sat on the throne judging" [יָשַׁבְתָּ לְכִסֵּא שֹׁפֵט]; 9:7/MT 9:8; "his throne for judgment" [לַמִּשְׁפָּט כִּסְאוֹ]). This forensic context is evident again in Daniel 7:9–10 when the Ancient of Days sits on the throne (כָּרְסְיֵה), surrounded by the heavenly court, and the books (of judgment) are opened.[62]

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[60] In Psalm 122:5 Jerusalem is described as the place where thrones are set for judgment (כִּסְאוֹת לְמִשְׁפָּט) and Proverbs 20:8 refers to a king who sits on a throne of judgment (מֶלֶךְ יוֹשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא־דִין). As Michael E. Stone notes, "In the Hebrew Bible, the judgment seat is often specifically connected with the king's judicial function." *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, ed. Frank Moore Cross (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 220.

[61] Otto Schmitz comments: "That the OT conception of the throne of God takes its imagery from the earthly throne is shown by the intentional juxtaposition of the two in 1 K. 22:10, 19 (cf. 2 Ch. 18:9, 18)," "θρόνος" in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 10 vols., ed. Gerhard Kittel; trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 3:162. He concludes, "As with an earthly ruler, so with God, the throne is a symbol of judicial power," 163. In this setting, the divine council serves a judicial role; see Patrick D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 67–68.

[62] Martha Himmelfarb comments, "Daniel 7 maintains the association of the heavenly council with judgment that appears in 1 Kings 22, Isaiah 6, and Psalm 82. It

In chapter 14, Enoch ascends into heaven in a vision and there he sees a "high throne" (14:18) and describes how "from underneath the high throne there flowed out rivers of burning fire" (14:19).[63] "He who is great in glory" is seated on the throne (14:20) and "ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before him" (14:22). The parallels with Daniel's vision of the heavenly court (Dan 7:9–10) are unmistakable.[64] During his heavenly tour, Enoch sees seven mountains and reports that "the middle one reached to heaven, like the throne of the Lord" (18:8). Later Enoch again sees these

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explicitly treats the divine council as a court: 'The court sat in judgment and the books were opened' (v 10)." *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 17. In Dan 7:10, "The books in question are the records for judgment. The motif of a heavenly record is well attested in the Hebrew Bible: Ps 56:9; Isa 65:6; Mal 3:16." John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ed. Frank Moore Cross (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 303; see also Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), 218.

[63] All translations of *1 Enoch* are taken from, Michael A. Knibb, *Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, vol. 2 of *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

[64] The exact nature of the relationship is determined by one's view of Daniel. The predominate view in scholarship is that the final version of Daniel is a second century BC production associated with the Maccabean revolt (167–164 BC); see Collins, *Daniel*, 1–38, for a thorough explanation of this position. Finds at Qumran included fragments of the Book of Watchers that were dated to the first half of the second century BC. Collins reports about the Astronomical Book and the Book of Watchers that, "Since the compositions are presumably somewhat older than the earliest fragments, and since the Book of Watchers shows evidence of multiple stages of composition, it is probable that both these works were extant in some form already in the third century B.C.E." *Apocalyptic Imagination,* 44. Working on the assumption that the Book of Watchers preceded Daniel, scholars have maximized similarities between *1 Enoch* 14 and Ezekiel 1, while minimizing those between *1 Enoch* 14 and Daniel 7, and have concluded that Dan 7 is dependent on *1 Enoch* 14. Helge S. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn: Das Verhältnis von Hen 14 zu Dan 7," *Studia Theologica* 8 (1984): 101–133, is the study often cited in support of this; see, for example, George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 254. Collins' approach is much more evenhanded, and he acknowledges the unique similarity between *1 Enoch* 14 and Daniel 7. He concludes that, "the specificity of parallels, however, requires at the least a common tradition of speculation about the divine throne. Direct literary influence cannot be ruled out, even if it cannot be decisively proven. Since the publication of the Qumran fragments of *1 Enoch*, the Book of the Watchers, in which the passage cited appears, is acknowledged to be older than the Book of Daniel. If Dan 7:9–10 is cited from an older source, however, the direction of influence cannot be established. We must be content to say that these texts are closely related." *Daniel*, 300. The forensic character of *1 Enoch* 14 is clear. Those who believe that Daniel is a sixth-century BC text used by the author of *1 Enoch* 14 will find the latter's forensic character to be stronger still.

mountains (24:3) and Michael explains to him, "This high mountain which you saw, whose summit is like the throne of the Lord, is the throne where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit when he comes down to visit the earth for good" (25:3). Here the seventh mountain, "which 18:8 described in general terms as 'God's throne,' is identified as the throne on which God will sit at the time of the eschatological judgment."[65]

The central image of God in *1 Enoch* as a whole is that of king. The throne plays a significant role in this. As Nickelsburg observes, "That the Enochic authors think of God principally as king is also evident in the description of God seated on a throne in the heavenly palace (14:8–23) and having a mountain-size throne on which to sit when he descends to visit earth (18:8; 24:3; 25:3)."[66] This is critical for our topic because "The exercise of judgment was a major prerogative and function of kings in antiquity, and for the Enochic authors, enacting judgment was the major function of the heavenly King."[67] As we have seen in the Old Testament background, a king on the throne judging is the classic scene of *forensic* judgment.

God's dealings with the Watchers are paradigmatic for the final judgment, and so they, too, are forensic in character. The earth in 7:6 and the souls of men in 9:3 bring accusations/make a suit before God, language that reflects "an Aramaic technical term for bringing a suit in court."[68] In 13:4–7, the Watchers send Enoch to intercede for them with God. The first report of God's response announced in 13:8 and delivered by Enoch in 13:10 uses language that belongs to judicial and legal settings.[69] The words recited by Enoch to the Watchers are found in 14:1—16:4, and within this 14:1–7 summarizes God's decree against the Watchers (their petition is denied). Himmelfarb notes that "1 Enoch 14 is also concerned with judgment by the heavenly court. Enoch ascends to plead before the divine judge on behalf of the Watchers, and at the end of the vision the sentence

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[65] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 314. He goes on to add, "Thus the final judgment, referred to in 22:4, 11, 13, is brought into the discussion here. The verb ἐπισκέπτομαι ('to visit'), used of God's judgment, is traditional, but occurs only here in 1 Enoch . . . . The goodness of God's judgment is from the viewpoint of the righteous, whose blessings will be recounted in 25:4d–6. Cf. also 1:8 and 5:6–9, where this side of the judgment is described," *1 Enoch 1*, 314.

[66] Nickelsburg, *1Enoch 1*, 43.

[67] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 48.

[68] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 187; see also Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Translation with Commentary and Textual Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 167.

[69] See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 249–250.

of the Watchers is read out once more."[70] The language of making suit also occurs in 22:6, 7, and 12. In regard to Abel (22:7), Meira Z. Kensky comments, "*1 Enoch* 22:5–7 understands these cries very literally: as forensic petitions, making lawsuits, crying out for vengeance."[71] She concludes regarding the material in chapter 22, "Thus the Book of Watchers, though not really including a full courtroom scene such as we see in later literature, does include the narration of an extended juridical process that culminates in the judicial sentence handed down in God's throneroom."[72]

Forensic judgment is clearly present in the Book of the Watchers. What is conspicuously absent is de Boer's "cosmic war."[73] *1 Enoch* 1:3–9 describes the theophany of God as he comes from his dwelling and marches upon Sinai (1:3–4). The theophany is based heavily on texts drawn from the Old Testament, such as Numbers 24, Psalm 78, Micah 1, Exodus 19, Habakkuk 3, and Jeremiah 25.[74] With its description of "camp" (1:3) and "10,000 holy ones accompanying God" (1:9) set alongside the awesome theophanic description (the mountains shake and the hills melt like wax; 1:6), the text is a clear example of the Divine Warrior motif.[75] In the face of this arrival, the Watchers shake in fear (1:5).

The Divine Warrior motif is present as the text describes the reaction of creation, humanity, and the Watchers in the face of God's arrival.[76] However, the question remains: in the context of the Book of the Watchers as a whole, is a cosmic war against the Watchers present in 1:3–9? The answer

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[70] Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 18.

[71] Meira Z. Kensky, *Trying Man, Trying God: The Divine Courtroom in Early Jewish and Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 132.

[72] Kensky, *Trying Man, Trying God*, 133.

[73] "When 'this age' is perceived in this way, in terms of subjection to suprahuman angelic powers, it is understandable that the last judgment, the juncture at which 'this age' is replaced with by 'the age to come,' is depicted as a cosmic confrontation, a war, *between God and the Watchers*. Thus we read in *1 Enoch* 1:4–5, 'The God of the universe . . . will come forth from his dwelling. And from there he will march upon Mount Sinai and appear in his camp emerging from heaven with a mighty power. And everyone shall be afraid, and *Watchers shall quiver*." de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175, emphasis added.

[74] Lars Hartmann, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1979), 24–26. Hartman provides a thorough analysis of the Old Testament scriptures from which this text draws.

[75] Vanderkam provides a description of the military language employed (J. Vanderkam, "The Theophany of Enoch I 3b–7, 9," *Vetus Testamentum* 23 (1973): 138–139.

[76] Nickelsburg comments, "In vv 3c–7 the author has developed a terrifying scenario of cosmic dissolution as the angry warrior God storms onto the earth to execute universal judgment." *1 Enoch 1*, 147.

is no, for de Boer's position ignores the entire thrust of chapters 10–22. In chapter 10, prior to the deluge, God commands the angel Raphael to bind the Watcher Azazel and thrust him in the darkness under sharp rocks:

> Bind Azazel by his hand and his feet, and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there forever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire. (*1 En* 10:4–6)[77]

In a similar manner, Michael binds Semyaz and the others and places them beneath the rocks of the ground (10:11–12). This action against the Watchers, their imprisonment until the final day of judgment, serves as a prototype of the final eschatological judgment.[78] Enoch's ascent and heavenly tour confirm this when he sees the prison house for the disobedient stars and the place where the spirits of the angels are kept until the day of judgment (chs. 18–19, 21), as well as the locations where dead humans await the judgment (ch. 22).

The Book of the Watchers offers comfort as it looks forward to completion of what is already in place and what has already taken place. The Watchers who shake in fear at God's theophany (1:5) have *already* been judged and rendered impotent.[79] The final consummation of chapter one awaits, but the process has already begun. Sacchi describes the Book of the Watchers as "the atmosphere of the already and not yet."[80] The Divine Warrior motif in 1:3–9 does not indicate the presence of cosmic war. Instead, it dramatically portrays the fact that the almighty God has arrived

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[77] Nickelsburg comments that, "Like a criminal, Asael is to be arrested and fettered (Acts 21:11) and cast in fetters into a dark prison (Acts 12:7; 16:24–27; Josephus *Ant.* 19.6.1), thus rendering him inoperative and harmless to the world that Raphael will now heal." *1 Enoch 1*, 221.

[78] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 56; Christoph Münchow, *Ethik und Eschatologie: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik mit einem Ausblick auf das Neue Testament* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 21.

[79] This fact becomes very clear when the Watchers must ask Enoch to intercede with God *for them* (15:2). Maxwell J. Davidson notes that "[t]his ironic twist emphasizes the depths to which the angels have fallen." *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 54. See also Randal A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 171.

[80] Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History,* trans. William J. Short (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 54.

and brings the final day of judgment. Hartman comments, "When it is said (1:9) that God comes 'with ten thousands of His holy ones', this seems to be a picture of the same triumphant heavenly power: the divine court and the victorious divine warrior's host represent the overwhelming, other-worldly majesty which at last makes its sway manifest."[81]

This forensic judgment is directed at both the angelic powers and people, and takes place on the basis of a divine standard set by God (both groups are held accountable for behavior that violates God's will). The Book of the Watchers begins by announcing that "there will be a judgment on all" (1:7). The universality of the judgment is emphasized by the repetition of the word "all" in 1:3–9, and the text describes judgment against both groups.[82]

It is clear that the Watchers are carrying out actions that violate the standard set by God, because Semyaz himself describes what they are doing as a "great sin" (6:3).[83] These are actions for which the Watchers ask Enoch to make petition to God *for forgiveness* (13:4, 6).[84] What is narrated in chapters 6–8 is reported to God in 9:6–9 by Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel as actions that are clearly evil. The Watchers have sinned by revealing sins to humanity (9:8). They are actions that prompt the souls of people who have died to bring suit to God (9:3, 10).

Even more important as we consider de Boer's paradigm is the fact that humans are explicitly held accountable for violating a standard set by

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[81] Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 129. If cosmic war were present, it could only be against the spirits of the slain giants mentioned briefly in 15:8—16:3 and 19:1 who would be included in the "all will be afraid" of 1:5. De Boer is correct in that the subjugation of these evil spirits must ultimately be implied by 1:1–9, but this is in no way an emphasis of 1:1–9 or of the rest of the Book of the Watchers. John Collins does not consider *1 En* 1:1–9 to be an example of cosmic war (personal communication at the 2001 Society of Biblical Literature meeting in Denver, and email to author, January 29, 2003).

[82] "The universality God's judgment is underscored by the repetition of the word 'all,' which appears eleven times, in every subunit that describes the context, cause, or result of God's appearance." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 143. Black comments on 1:7, "'All' to be judged and destroyed includes the watchers who fell from heaven and their illegitimate offspring as well as mankind." *The Book of* Enoch, 108. Judgment against angels is found in 1:3–9; 10:4–7; 10:11–14; 12:6; 13:1–7; 13:9–14:7; 16:1; 19:1; 21:7–10, and against people in 1:3–9; 22:3–13; 25:4; 27:1–3.

[83] "With this verse the sinful character of the proposed deed is explicit, as is the watchers' consciousness of this fact." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 176. God calls it sin when he sends Enoch to the Watchers to announce that there will be no "forgiveness of sin" (12:6).

[84] This is hardly the action of a group against whom God needs to wage a "cosmic war."

God. Human beings are directly identified as the object of God's judgment from the start as 1:9 says that God is going "to contend with *all flesh* concerning everything which the sinners and impious have done and wrought."[85] In 2:1 the command is given to "contemplate" and then 2:1—5:3 contains an extended discussion of the obedient ordering of creation. Next 5:4 says, "But you have not persevered, nor observed the law of the Lord. But you have transgressed, and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty."[86] Collins concludes regarding this passage:

> The most obvious 'law of the Lord' in chaps. 2–5 is not the law of Moses, which was unknown in the fictive time of Enoch, but the law of nature. The sinfulness of the wicked is demonstrated in contrast to the orderliness of nature, not by special revelation of Sinai. To be sure, there is no suggestion that Sinai is at variance with the laws of nature, but the ultimate authority is older than Moses and applies not only to Israel but to all humanity.[87]

The separation of the souls of the dead in the heavenly prison (22:3–13) based on their actions and level of prior punishment also demonstrates this.

Finally, the shift to the new creation in the Book of the Watchers does not occur as the result of a "cosmic war," but rather after the final forensic judgment when God sits on the throne. In the early part of the work, the eschatological typology of the author shifts from the binding of the Watchers and destruction of the Giants in 10:1–16a during the days of Noah to the restoration of the postdiluvian world in 10:16b–22, a description that parallels the future new creation.[88] The full depiction of the new creation (a beautiful and fragrant tree—the tree of life; 24:4–5; 25:4–7) only takes place

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[85] Emphasis added.

[86] "The unnamed addresses of the second plural verbs that began at 2:1 are identified as the sinners whose judgment has been announced in 1:9." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 157.

[87] Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 49. In a similar manner Nickelsburg comments, "Pervading 1 Enoch's understanding of law, and reflecting its roots in the sapiental tradition, is a sense of cosmic order . . . . In obedience to their Creator, heaven and earth and the seasons work with complete regularity, and the luminaries do not change their paths or transgress their order. Conversely, human disobedience is perversion and turning aside from God's order (5:4). Similarly, the indictment against the watchers in 15:1–6 depicts their sin as a perversion of God's created order." *1 Enoch 1*, 51.

[88] "Similarly, the renewal of the human race and the postdiluvian world are a paradigm for the renewal or re-creation of the world after the coming judgment." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 224.

after Enoch sees the eschatological mountain throne (24:3) and has Michael tell him it is God's throne when he visits the earth (25:3). Then Enoch sees the blessed Jerusalem (26:1–6) and the final place of judgment, Gehenna (27:1–5). *1 Enoch* 25:3 depicts the throne of God's final eschatological judgment and thus 25:4 indicates that "the coming judgment will constitute a dividing point between the present time, when the fruit of this tree is forbidden, and the future, when it will be given to the righteous."[89] At this juncture, it is important to note the link between forensic judgment at the throne of God and the cosmological new creation. We will see that in Paul, too, the throne-centered forensic judgment of human beings is central, but that inherently this is accompanied by a cosmological outcome.

IV. Forensic Judgment: New Testament and Paul

An examination of the Book of the Watchers reveals that the paradigm employed by Martyn and de Boer imposes a false dichotomy between "cosmological" and "forensic" apocalyptic eschatology.[90] While it is true that there are documents where fallen angelic powers are present and documents where they are not, the dividing line between those documents does not involve the question of whether forensic judgment is present. It is, in truth, common to both of them.[91]

This is not surprising because the Old Testament repeats the expectation that Yahweh, the King who sits on a throne, will come to judge the world. Psalms 96:13 and 98:9 both declare that Yahweh comes "to judge

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[89] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 314.

[90] A consideration of The Similitudes of Enoch (*1 En* 37–71), which de Boer considers to be an example of cosmological apocalyptic eschatology (*The Defeat of Death*, 54–56, 85–86), reveals precisely the same problems: first, judgment is directed against angelic powers and human beings that is forensic (against angelic powers: *1 En* 55:4; against people: *1 En* 45:1–6; 61:8–9; 62:1–10), and there is no "cosmic war" (angels bound waiting judgment: *1 En* 54:5; 64:1–2; 67:4, 12–13). Second, both angelic powers (*1 En* 54:6; 64:2; 67:4, 7; 69:4–15) and people (*1 En* 38:1–3; 41:2; 45:2, 6; 46:4, 7–8; 48:10; 63:1, 7; 67:8) are held accountable and judged because of sin. Third, the shift to the new creation occurs after the final forensic judgment (*1 En* 45:3–6; 51:1–5).

[91] For examples of forensic judgment in works where fallen angelic powers are *present*, see, in addition to material surveyed in Book of Watchers in *1 En* 1–36, the following: Similitudes of Enoch (*1 En* 37–71) *1 En* 41:1; 45:3; 47:3; 49:2–4; 55:4; 60:1–6; 61:8–9; 62:2–9; 63:8; Book of Dreams (*1 En* 83–90) 90:20–27; *Jub.* 5:12–16; *2 En* 44:4–5; 52:15; 53:2–3; *L.A.B.* 3:10. For examples of forensic judgment in works where fallen angelic powers are *absent*, see the following: Epistle of Enoch (*1 En* 91–107) *1 En* 95:5; 96:4, 7; 98:6–8; 100:7; 104:7; *4 Ezra* 3:34–36; 7:32–34; 12:31–34; 14:35; *2 Bar* 14:12–13; 24:1–2; 48:39–40; 83:1–3; *Pss. Sol.* 2:32–35; 5:4; 15:12–13.

the earth; he will judge the world in righteousness."[92] In fact Psalm 96:13 emphatically says, "for he is coming, for he is coming."[93] Both statements provide the reason (כִּי) that creation is to rejoice (96:11–12; 98:7–8), and, in turn, these statements about the reaction of creation are introduced by a statement that says that Yahweh is king (96:10; 98:6).[94] 1 Chronicles 16:33 also declares, "for he comes to judge the earth," and the language in 1 Chronicles 16:23–33 (including the references to nature rejoicing and Yahweh reigning) is virtually identical to Psalm 96:1–13. The statement in Psalms 96:13 and 98:9 that "he will judge the world in righteousness" is significant because the same phrase is found within Psalm 9:8 (MT 9:9): "He judges the world with righteousness; he judges the peoples with uprightness."[95] Here, the preceding verse says, "But Yahweh sits enthroned forever; he has established his throne for judgment" (Ps 9:7; MT 9:8).[96] These texts build on the Old Testament material we have already considered about Yahweh, king, throne, and judgment, and led later readers to conclude that Yahweh the king who sits on the throne will come to judge the world and the peoples (cf. *1 En* 25:3).

This idea is reinforced in Joel 3:1–16 (MT 4:1–16). After the statement about the eschatological outpouring of the Spirit in 2:28–32 (MT 3:1–5), Yahweh announces that he will gather all the nations and bring them down to the Valley of Jehoshaphat ("Yahweh judges"; 3:2; MT 4:2). He goes on to say, "Let the nations stir themselves up and come up to the Valley of Jehoshaphat; for there I will sit to judge (אֵשֵׁב לִשְׁפֹּט) all the surrounding nations" (3:12; MT 4:12).[97] When one considers that the event is described as "the day of the Lord" (יוֹם יְהוָה; 3:14; MT 4:14) and that 3:18 (MT 4:18) contains imagery of a restored creation (cf. Ezek 47:1–12; Zech 14:8), it is not hard to see how Second Temple Judaism and early

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[92] כִּי בָא לִשְׁפֹּט הָאָרֶץ יִשְׁפֹּט־תֵּבֵל בְּצֶדֶק (96:13; 98:9). 96:13 goes on to add "and the peoples in his faithfulness" (וְעַמִּים בֶּאֱמוּנָתוֹ), while 98:9 adds "and the peoples with equity" (וְעַמִּים בְּמֵישָׁרִים). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are from the ESV.

[93] כִּי בָא כִּי בָא

[94] 96:10, "Say among the nations, 'Yahweh reigns! (יְהוָה מָלָךְ). Yes, the world is established, it shall never be moved; he will judge the peoples with equity (יָדִין עַמִּים בְּמֵישָׁרִים).'" 98:6, "With trumpets and the sound of the horn make a joyful noise before the King (לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ), Yahweh!" (ESV modified).

[95] וְהוּא יִשְׁפֹּט־תֵּבֵל בְּצֶדֶק יָדִין לְאֻמִּים בְּמֵישָׁרִים

[96] ESV modified. Literally, MT 9:8 has "will sit" (יֵשֵׁב), but the earlier statement in 9:4 (MT 9:5), "you have sat on the throne (יָשַׁבְתָּ לְכִסֵּא), giving righteous judgment," makes it clear that Yahweh is sitting on the throne.

[97] Yahweh sits on the throne to judge (see the previous footnote about the language in Ps. 9).

Christianity developed the expectations found in apocalyptic eschatology.[98] The throne vision of judgment in Daniel 7:9–10 and the vision of "one like a son of man" in 7:13–14 also played a significant role in creating the expectation of eschatological forensic judgment.[99]

In this Old Testament material we see a continuation of the theme seen at the end the examination of the Book of the Watchers. Texts such as Psalm 96:10–13, Psalm 98:4–9, 1 Chronicles 16:29–33, and Joel 3:9–18 all focus on the forensic judgment of human beings by God, yet they do so in a way that also includes a cosmological perspective. God's forensic judgment is the center of an action that impacts all of creation.

A survey of the New Testament apart from Paul's letters quickly reveals that the early Christians expected forensic judgment. Both Matthew 25:31–46 and Revelation 20:11–15 depict the throne (Matt 25:31; Rev 20:11) and judgment based on what individuals have done (Matt 25:34–46; Rev 20:13).[100] Daniel 7 provides the background for the forensic judgment by the Son of Man in Matthew 16:27 and John 5:26–29, where judgment is again based on deeds.[101] The Paul of Acts says that Jesus has been appointed as "judge of the living and the dead" (Acts 10:42) and that God "will judge the world in righteousness" through him—a phrase that signals forensic judgment.[102] 1 Peter 1:17 and 4:5 describe forensic judg-

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[98] Old Testament eschatology is not yet apocalyptic eschatology but it establishes the themes that will take the form of eschatological expectation we find in Second Temple Judaism and the New Testament. On this, see Donald E. Gowan, *Eschatology in the Old Testament,* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); Charles L. Holman, *Till Jesus Comes: Origins of Christian Apocalyptic Expectation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996).

[99] See *1 En* 46:1–5; 48:1–8; 62:1–9; Matt 16:27; 25:31–46; John 5:26–29.

[100] Jeffrey A. Gibbs points out that Matt 25:31–46 "is a direct description of the judgment scene with only minor parabolic features," *Jerusalem and Parousia: Jesus' Eschatological Discourse in Matthew's Gospel* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 214. See also Matt 12:36–42 which describes a forensic setting, and Rev 22:12.

[101] Gibbs' caution is a necessary one: "It is clear that certain passages in Matthew's Gospel in which Jesus calls himself 'the Son of Man' do make reference to the vision of Daniel 7. Interaction with Daniel 7 will be required in order to understand those texts as the implied reader would understand them. It is not, however, the presence of the mere phrase 'the Son of Man' in those texts that establishes the connection with Daniel 7, but rather additional markers that so function." *Jerusalem and Parousia*, 61. Those features are amply present in Matthew 16:27 with the mention of "in the glory of his Father with his angels" and repaying everyone according to their deeds. Likewise John 5:26–29 mentions giving of authority, judging, (5:26), resurrection (5:28–29), and judgment according to deeds (5:29).

[102] Acts 17:31 has μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαοσύνῃ. The only places where κρίνω occurs with τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαοσύνῃ in the Septuagint are Psalms 9:9; 95:13; and 97:9, where Psalm 9:8 says that God has prepared his throne in judgment

ment, since 1:17 says that the Father judges impartially according to each one's work, and 4:5 warns that people "will give an account to him who is ready to judge the living and the dead" (cf. Acts 10:42).[103] Jude 15 says that God will convict (ἐλέγξαι) people for their deeds and words.[104]

Martyn and de Boer both think that in Galatians Paul is "circumscribing 'the forensic apocalyptic theology of the . . . Teachers with a cosmological apocalyptic theology of his own.'"[105] De Boer applies the same approach to Romans, where he argues that the forensic motifs are present only because of Paul's conversation partners.[106] Such an understanding would put Paul at odds with the early Christian tradition we have just surveyed.

However, an examination of the undisputed Pauline letters does not support this claim. We can set aside Romans 2:1–16, because de Boer agrees that it is forensic—he just does not believe Paul really understands things in this way.[107] The place to start, therefore, is 2 Corinthians 5:10. There Paul brings his discussion about whether a Christian is in the body or with the Lord (5:1–8) to a close by saying that no matter what his or her situation is, a Christian desires to be pleasing to God (5:9). In 5:10, Paul provides the reason for this: "For (γὰρ) we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ (τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ), so that each one may

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(ἡτοιμασεν ἐν κρίσει τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ)—the very passages we have just looked at in the Old Testament background of forensic judgment.

[103] 1 Peter 1:17 (τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἔργον); 4:5 (οἳ ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ ἑτοίμως ἔχοντι κρῖναι ζῶντος καὶ νεκπούς).

[104] This background and the traditional Jewish Christian character of James suggests that "the judge" (ὁ κριτὴς) in James 5:9 should be understood forensically. Likewise the affinities between John and 1 John suggest that the "day of judgment" (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως) in 1 John 4:17 should be understood this way as well.

[105] Martyn quoting de Boer, *Galatians*, 273.

[106] "Why are motifs proper to track 2 present at all? The answer, we may properly assume, has something to do with what J. Louis Martyn likes to call Paul's 'conversation partners.'" de Boer, *Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 182. "Paul's christologically determined apocalyptic eschatology is of the cosmological variety, though in Romans he is in conversation with those (probably both Jews and Christians) who adhere to the forensic type. To some extent, he adopts forensic categories and motifs though he frequently redefines or circumscribes their import cosmologically." de Boer *Defeat of Death*, 183.

[107] Key verses here include 2:6, "He will render to each one according to his works" (ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ) and 2:11, "For God shows no partiality (προσωποληψία)." For a discussion of this important theme in Rom 2, see Jouette M. Bassler, *Divine Impartiality: Paul and a Theological Axiom* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982).

receive (ἵνα κομίσηται) what is due for what he has done in the body, whether good or evil."[108]

This text is important for two reasons. First, in the context of 2 Corinthians it is not possible to argue that Paul has introduced this explicitly forensic statement because of "conversation partners." Paul is the one who has chosen to introduce it because it is a belief he shares with the Corinthians. Second, since Paul refers to "new creation" (καινὴ κτίσις) in 5:17, he shows that he has no difficulty using forensic and cosmological categories side by side. This should not be surprising, since we have seen in the Book of the Watchers and the pertinent Old Testament material that God's forensic judgment of human beings is the center of a larger whole that in its total impact includes creation—the latter is a natural complement of the former. What is different is that in Paul's christologically-focused apocalyptic eschatology, the new creation has already begun in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Paul's use of βῆμα in 2 Corinthians 5:10 leads us next to Romans 14:10b, following Paul's urging of Christians not to judge one another about food and days (14:1–10a). Paul provides the reason the Romans should not do this when he says, "For (γὰρ) we will all stand before the judgment seat of God (τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ)." He substantiates this claim in 14:11 with a quotation from Isaiah 45:23, and concludes with the inference in 14:12, "So then (ἄρα) each of us will give an account of himself to God (λόγον δώσει τῷ θεῷ)."[109]

There are two important points to recognize here. First, the parallel with 2 Corinthians 5:10 means that it is not possible to say Paul is only using this explicitly forensic statement in Romans because of his "conversation partners."[110] Second, the manner in which Paul cites an Old Testament text (Isa

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[108] The βῆμα was the tribunal or judgment seat on which a Roman official sat when rendering judicial decisions; see Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early* Christian *Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 175.3. Thus Paul's language transposes the near eastern idiom of "throne," with its forensic connotations, into that of the Roman world (see also Matt 27:19; John 19:13; Acts 18:12, 16–17; 25:6, 10, 17).

[109] "For it is written, 'As I live, says the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God'" (Rom 14:11). See James D.G. Dunn's helpful comments about the form of the quotation in *Romans 9–16* (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), 809–810. On the textual issue, see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd. ed. (New York: American Bible Society, 1994), 469.

[110] De Boer maintains that "Rom 5.12–21 marks a shift from predominately *forensic* terminology and motifs to predominately *cosmological* ones." *Defeat of Death*, 152; emphasis original. He goes on to say, "Thus, while such texts as 8.1 and 8.33–34 indicate

45:23) that neither in its wording nor in its context mentions the divine throne, in order to demonstrate that Christians will be appear before the judgment seat of God, shows that the forensic judgment seat of God is a basic assumption that helps to order his thought about Scripture.

The significance of the final forensic judgment for Christian behavior in the present age appears again in 1 Corinthians 4:5, where Paul says that Christians are not to think that they can judge the ministry of others (or even their own; 4:3–5) before the time (μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρῖνετε; 4:5a). There can be no true evaluation "before the Lord comes, who will bring to light the things now hidden in darkness (φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους) and will disclose the purposes of the heart. Then each one will receive his commendation from God" (4:5b). The references to the return of Christ, judging (κρῖνετε; 4:5a), and "secret things" (τὰ κρυπτὰ) reveal a thought parallel with the statement in Romans 2:16 about forensic judgment: "God judges the secrets (κρίνει ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ) of men by Christ Jesus."[111] Here again the context of 1 Corinthians does not allow one to say that Paul has introduced forensic judgment because of his "conversation partners."

De Boer grants that Romans 8:33–34 is forensic, though of course he attempts to minimize the importance of this fact.[112] Yet freed by the evi-

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that forensic categories have hardly been given up or left behind, the structure and progression of Paul's arguments in Romans 1–8 suggest that cosmological categories and motifs circumscribe and, to a large extent, overtake forensic categories and motifs." *Defeat of Death*, 153. De Boer's need to stretch this argument throughout the whole letter is not compelling. More damaging for his position is the fact that de Boer never explains how 2 Corinthians 5:10 and Romans 14:10 relate to his interpretation. In fact, I can find no evidence that either verse is even cited in the book (see "Index of Biblical References," *The Defeat of Death*, 271–272). Kensky summarizes the situation well when she writes, "Here the reference to the judgment seat of God is a clear way in which Paul employs the language of the divine courtroom as an assumption that he shares with his audience. It is the acknowledged existence of such a βῆμα that Paul thinks will convince the Romans to cease and desist from judging each other, knowing that they will be judged by God in the end. If this assumption were not a shared one, this argument would not work." *Trying Man, Trying God*, 183.

[111] "One's self-estimate and the estimate of one's fellow Christians do not matter ultimately. Only Christ's judgment counts. No one should be judged before judgment day, and then only the Lord will assume the role of judge." Ben Witherington III, *Conflict & Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 139. The fact that Paul can say God will judge through Christ Jesus (διὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ) explains why Paul can ascribe the judgment seat to both God (Rom 14:10) and Christ (2 Cor 5:10).

[112] "Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies. Who is to condemn? Christ Jesus is the one who died—more than that, who was raised—who is at the right hand of God, who indeed is interceding for us" (Rom 8:33–34).

dence considered thus far, we can appreciate it as yet another example of the forensic judgment that is central to Paul's thought.[113] Equally important, the proximity of 8:18–23 demonstrates once again that Paul finds it very natural to set forensic and cosmological categories side by side. Finally, those who believe that Paul is the author of the disputed letters (as the present writer does) will find there additional evidence for Paul's forensic worldview.[114]

The evidence from Paul's letters surveyed here makes it clear that Paul focuses on God's forensic judgment of human beings. However, Romans 8:18–23, 33–34 (cf. 14:10) and 2 Corinthians 5:10, 17 demonstrate that, like the Book of the Watchers and the Old Testament, this forensic focus does not stand in opposition to cosmological outcomes. Instead the cosmological is the natural complement of the forensic. We will see why this must be so in the final section of this article as we examine God's righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).[115]

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[113] The significance of 8:34 for our topic should not escape our attention. Paul says in 8:34b that Christ is "at the right hand of God" (ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ), an obvious reference to Psalm 110:1 (LXX 109:1), which was "perhaps the most extensively employed text in early Christian apologetic," according to Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 52. The verse itself (which uses ἐκ δεξιῶν μοῦ) is found in Matt 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34; Heb 1:13 (cf. 1 Cor 15:25). An allusion to Ps 110:1 (LXX 109:1) occurs in Paul and elsewhere in the New Testament in statements using ἐν δεξιᾷ: Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; 1 Pet 3:22. The reference point for "at the right hand" is the throne (see 1 Kgs 2:19) of God (see 1 Kgs 22:19; 2 Chr 18:18)—a point made explicit in Heb 8:1 and 12:2. We see here again that the conception of both God the Father and Christ were firmly fixed in relation to the throne of God with all of its forensic significance.

[114] In 2 Tim 4:8, Paul calls Christ "the righteous judge" (ὁ δίκαιος κριτής)—a description that is the perfect complement to 2 Cor 5:10 where he is the one who sits on the judgment seat. In both Eph 6:8–9 and Col 3:25 Paul uses the verb κομίζω ("receive"; Col 3:25; Eph 6:8) to say that slaves (as well as masters in Eph 6:8–9) will receive the outcome of what they have done and remind them that God shows no partiality (προσωπολημψία; Col 3:25; Eph 6:9). Since κομίζω is only used in these three passages, and προσωπολημψία only occurs in Rom 2:11; Eph 6:9; and Col 3:25, the reference to forensic judgment is clear.

[115] The rejection of de Boer's paradigm in which "the last judgment, the juncture at which 'this age' is replaced by 'the age to come', is depicted as a cosmic confrontation, a war," does not entail the denial of spiritual conflict in Paul's thought; de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 175. Colossians 2:14–15 indicates that Paul can understand the cross as the place of Christ's triumph over evil cosmic powers. Yet the "now" of Christ's victory never removes the finality that arrives at the end of the "not yet" when Christ returns and forensic judgment takes place. The concomitant presence of martial and forensic is not surprising. Paul D. Hanson has emphasized the importance the Divine Warrior had for the development of the apocalyptic genre and

V. δικαιόω—To Declare Righteous

Now that the forensic grounding of Paul's apocalyptic theology has been demonstrated, in conclusion we can succinctly show the legitimacy of the Lutheran understanding of δικαιόω by drawing upon the work of Stephen Westerholm[116] and Mark Seifrid.[117] Recognizing the same translation problems noted by Martyn in the δίκαιος cognates, for the sake of discussion Westerholm uses the terms "dikaios," "dikaiosness," and "dikaiosify" (passive: "to be dikaiosified") to indicate the Greek words δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, and δικαιόω.

First, Westerholm describes what he calls "ordinary dikaiosness"—that is, the dikaios language as it normally functions in the Old Testament and Paul. He notes that, "Dikaiosness . . . is what one ought to do and what one has if one has done it; it is required of all human beings."[118] This is determined by noting the contrast between dikaiosness (and its cognates) and

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apocalyptic eschatology in *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 292–294, as indeed the Divine Warrior and his heavenly council were important in the development of earlier prophetic material. Miller points out: "Other examples could be cited, but it is sufficient to say that the conception of the divine assembly around the throne of Yahweh formed a basic element in the Israelite understanding of prophecy." *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, 68. The imagery of Yahweh's heavenly council could take on both a martial and forensic coloring, because Yahweh was both warrior and judge; see Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 105; Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, 67. Nowhere does this become more evident than in Joel 3:9–12 (MT 4:9–12), which depicts a war on the Day of the Lord *and then* Yahweh taking his seat (presumably, as we have seen, on the throne) to judge (3:12; MT 4:12). In Miller's words, "Here is strong indication of the close connection between the imagery of Yahweh as warrior and Yahweh as judge of the nations." *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, 138. The defeat of those forces opposed to God culminates in his forensic judgment from the throne.

[116] Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

[117] Mark A. Seifrid, "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures and Early Judaism," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism: Volume 1—The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. D.A. Carson, Peter T. O' Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 415–442; "Paul's Use of Righteousness Language Against Its Hellenistic Background," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism: Volume 2—The Paradoxes of Paul*, ed. D.A. Carson, Peter T. O' Brien and Mark A. Seifrid; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 39–74; *Christ, our Righteousness: Paul's Theology of Justification* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2000).

[118] Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 272.

sin (and its synonyms).[119] Westerholm points out that for Paul, what "one ought to do" has been established by God in his ordering of creation.[120] It is therefore not surprising to learn that the צדק word group that he draws upon from the Old Testament is closely associated with a norm.[121]

In turn, "One is dikaios . . . when one does dikaiosness—when, in other words, one lives as one ought and does what one should."[122] Finally, "To be dikaiosified . . . is, in effect, to be given the treatment appropriate to one who is dikaios; in a legal context it means to be declared innocent of wrongdoing, or acquitted. When the last judgment is in view, it means to have one's dikaiosness (rectitude) acknowledged by God."[123] These three

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[119] So for example in the Septuagint, Ps 44:8, "you loved dikaiosness and hated lawlessness" (ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν); Ez 18:26 "when the dikaios one turns away from his dikaiosness and commits a trespass" (ἐν τῷ ἀποστέψαι τὸν δίκαιον ἐκ τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήσῃ παράπτωμα; see also Deut 9:5; 2 Sam 22:21–22; Ps 14:2; Prov 8:8; 11:6; 14:34; 15:9; Isa 33:15; Ezek 18:21, 24; 33:14, 19). Seifrid emphasizes that, "If we are to understand the language of righteousness in Paul's letters rightly, we must interpret its central elements as echoes of biblical usage." "Paul's Use of Righteousness Language," 57. The same understanding is found in Paul as he sets dikaiosness in opposition to sin (ἁμαρτία Rom 6:13, 18–20) and lawlessness (ἀνομία, 2 Cor 6:14; see also 2 Tim 2:22).

[120] Referring to the most obvious example of this in Rom 1:18–32 he comments, "We are born into a world not of our own making, and incur thereby, and in the course of living, obligations that we may shirk or defy but that no human fiat can set aside." *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 266. As creatures, humans must worship God (Rom 1:19–21, 25) and human use of sexuality must respect the ordering God has provided (Rom 1:26–27). Paul goes on to argue that God can justly judge all people because they all by nature know this ordering (Rom 2:14–15).

[121] Seifrid is very sensitive to the importance of context for lexical semantics. Yet he strongly states that "the application of righteousness terminology to various inanimate objects, its association with 'uprightness' and 'truth', its connection with retribution in forensic settings, and its relation to parallel conceptions of 'righteousness' in other cultures in the Ancient Near East all render dubious any attempt to dissociate the terminology from the concept of a norm." "Paul's Use of Righteousness Language," 43.

[122] Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 272. Ezek 18:5 says that the man is dikaios who does (ὁ ποιῶν) dikaiosness. The same understanding is stated in a negative form when Paul says in Rom 3:10 that no one is dikaios and then goes on in the rest of the catena (3:11–18) to list the sins they commit (the person is not dikaios who is *not* doing dikaiosness; see also 1 Tim 1:9).

[123] Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 272–273. Within judicial contexts in the Septuagint, δικαιόω means "to find to be dikaios," or "to declare innocent," "to acquit." The Old Testament emphasizes that judgment must dikaiosify those who have the status of being dikaios (Deut 25:1, δικαιώσωσιν τὸν δίκαιον) and it forbids judgment from dikaiosifying the ungodly (Exod 23:7, οὐ δικαιώσεις τὸν ἀσεβῆ; see also Isa 5:23). The same meaning is found in Paul, who after stating the principle that God renders to each according to his works (Rom 2:6) goes on to say in 2:13, "For it is not the hearers of

uses are illustrated by Solomon's prayer that God will τοῦ δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον δοῦναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ.[124]

This "ordinary dikaiosness" provides the foundation for understanding the "extraordinary dikaiosness" that is found in Paul.[125] In Romans 5:8, Paul says that while we were yet sinners (ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν) Christ died for us. Then he adds in 5:9 that dikaiosified now (δικαιωθέντες νῦν) by his blood we will be saved through him from the wrath of God. In ordinary dikaiosness, to dikaiosify a sinner is a violation of God's will (Deut 25:1; Exod 23:7). Yet after describing Christ's role in this process in Romans 3:24–25, Paul explicitly states in 3:26 that God is dikaios as he dikaiosifies (εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα). It becomes clear that because of Christ's saving death, God is dikaios when he judges sinners who have faith in Christ to be dikaios (something that in ordinary dikaiosness they are *not*).[126] Because of Christ's death (and resurrection) in Romans 5:17, Paul speaks of the gift of dikaiosness (τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης), that is, because of Christ the believer possesses what one has for doing what one ought—even though he or she has not done it of their own.[127]

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the law who are dikaios before God, but the doers of the law who will be dikaiosified" (ESV modified). Those who do what God commands are dikaios and this will be acknowledged by God as such (they will be dikaiosified). The same understanding is found in Gal 3:12 when Paul quotes Lev 18:5, "The one who does them shall live by them." The one who does what God commands will have life, that is, will be acknowledged by God as dikaios.

[124] 3 Kgdms 8:32 (cf. 2 Chron 6:23). Westerholm cites this example and indicates that in more normal English it means to "find innocent of any wrongdoing the upright person, and so render to him according to his uprightness" *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 265–266.

[125] Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 273.

[126] In the same way, Paul says in Rom 5:19 that while through the disobedience of the one man the many were made to be sinners (ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν), through the obedience of Christ (his death on the cross) the many will be made dikaios (δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται). Note that in the "now and not yet" of Paul's christologically-focused apocalyptic eschatology he can describe the Christian as dikaiosified *now* (5:9), while also affirming that the believer will be dikaiosified at the final eschatological judgment (5:19).

[127] See Westerholm' s treatment in *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 273–283. He writes, "The necessary point of continuity between Paul's extraordinary and his ordinary usages of the terminology is found in the verb; for Paul, too, it means 'treat as one ought to treat the dikaios,' 'acquit.' Paul's extraordinary usage of the noun and adjective may be said to take their cue from this meaning of the verb: δικαιοσύνη now means not rectitude but the (paradoxically just) acquittal of the heretofore sinful; δίκαιος now means not the upright but the one so acquitted. To adapt our encapsulation of ordinary

Finally, there are texts in Paul that refer to God's dikaiosness. Just as Romans 5:17 speaks of the gift of extraordinary dikaiosness, Philippians 3:9 refers to the righteousness which is from God (τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην) and sets this in contrast to a "righteousness of my own that comes from the law." The same understanding makes good sense in Romans 10:3 where Paul contrasts God's dikaiosness (τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην) with the effort by the Jews to establish their own dikaiosness.[128] Traditionally, Lutherans have seen this gift of extraordinary dikaiosness from God as being expressed in the phrase, "dikaiosness of God" (δικαιοσῦνη γὰρ θεοῦ; Rom 1:17).[129]

More recent work has called attention to the background that Psalm 98:2 provides to Romans 1:16–17 and the manner in which this calls the traditional interpretation into question.[130] Because of the parallel between "salvation" and "righteousness" in Psalm 98:2 (and elsewhere),[131] it has become axiomatic among many Pauline scholars that salvation is essentially a synonym for the dikaiosness of God, and that the latter phrase is to be understood as "covenant faithfulness."[132]

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usage to the extraordinary, we may speak of acquitting (δικαιοῦν) the wicked, thereby granting them the gift of acquittal (δικαιοσύνη) and thus making them acquitted (δίκαιοι)," 277. Naturally, the recurring "it was reckoned as dikaiosness" (ἐλογίσθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην) in Romans 4:3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 22 expresses the same idea.

[128] Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 285.

[129] In the 1519 treatise, "Two Kinds of Righteousness," Luther writes: "Through faith in Christ, therefore, Christ's righteousness becomes our righteousness and all that he has becomes ours; rather, he himself becomes ours. Therefore the Apostle calls it 'the righteousness of God' in Rom. 1 [:17]" 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), 31:298.

[130] In Romans 1:16, Paul describes the Gospel as the power of God for salvation (εἰς σωτηρίαν), and then in 1:17 he says that this is so because the dikaiosness of God (δικαιοσῦνη γὰρ θεοῦ) is revealed in it. This bears an obvious relationship to LXX Psalm 97:2 which says, "The Lord has made known his salvation (τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ); he has revealed his righteousness (δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ) before the nations." In the psalm, "salvation" is parallel to "righteousness" as it speaks of God's saving action (LXX Ps 97:1–3) in a way that makes it difficult to defend the interpretation that "dikaiosness of God" in Rom 1:17 refers *specifically* to a righteousness that God gives to the individual.

[131] Psalm 71:15; Isaiah 46:13; 51:5–6, 8; 59:17; 61:10; 62:1.

[132] Dunn' s comment is typical: "God is 'righteous' when he fulfills the obligations he took upon himself to be Israel's God, that is, to rescue Israel and punish Israel's enemies (e.g., Exod 9:27; 1 Sam 12:7; Dan 9:16; Mic 6:5)—'righteousness' as 'covenant faithfulness' ([Rom] 3:3–5, 25; 10:3; also 9:6 and 15:8). Particularly in the Psalms and Second Isaiah the logic of covenant grace is followed through with the result that righteousness and salvation become virtually synonymous: the righteousness of God as

However, Seifrid has convincingly demonstrated that in the Old Testament dikaiosness is a matter of *creational theology* and not specifically covenantal.[133] God is the King who has ordered his creation, and because of sin and injustice he will carry out a vindicating action to restore the just and proper order.[134] This action is not limited to Israel but, as seen in texts like Psalm 98, includes all people and the whole creation.[135] Although the emphasis falls on the way this dikaiosness brings salvation to the oppressed, it inherently involves judgment on those who pervert and oppose God's order.[136] Yet this action does not only deal with people. It also

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God's act to restore his own and to sustain them within the covenant." Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), 41.

[133] Seifrid observes that **בירת** and **צדק** rarely occur near each other. While covenant (**בירת**) occurs 283 times and **צדק** terminology occurs 524 times, "yet in only seven passages do the terms come into any significant semantic contact." "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures," 423. He goes on to note, "In biblical terms one generally does not 'act righteously or unrighteously' with respect to a covenant. Rather, one 'keeps,' 'remembers,' 'establishes,' a covenant, or the like. Or, conversely, one 'breaks,' 'transgresses,' 'forsakes,' 'despises,' 'forgets, or 'profanes' it." Seifrid concludes, "All 'covenant-keeping' is righteous behavior, but not all righteous behavior is 'covenant-keeping.'" "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures," 424. Furthermore, Seifrid points out that texts like Psalm 7:1–18 and Psalm 11:1–7, in which God is a righteous judge who also brings wrath, prevent us from reducing the concept of dikaiosness to "salvation." "Paul's Use of Righteousness Language," 42–43. This finds confirmation in the fact the Septuagint translators do not translate the **צדק** -terms with σωτηρία or words based on the σωτ-root; see "Paul's Use of Righteousness Language," 51–52. There are other problems as well with the notion that dikaiosness in Paul is "covenant faithfulness"; see Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 286–296.

[134] Seifrid calls attention to the association dikaiosness has with "ruling and judging." The **צדק** root and **שׁפט** root occur within five words of each other in 142 contexts. "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures," 425. His study reveals that the feminine noun **צְדָקָה** refers to a righteous act/vindicating judgment or state that results from it (probably functioning as a nominalization of the *hip' l* stem of the verb), while the masculine **צֶדֶק** signifies the more abstract concept of "right order" or "that which is morally right." "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures," 428.

[135] "Naturally, he acts in faithfulness towards his people, contends with their enemies, and executes judgment on their behalf. Yet his acts of 'justification' do not represent mere 'salvation' for Israel, or even merely 'salvation.' They constitute the establishment of justice in the world which Yahweh made and governs . . . . The nations are to anticipate that Yahweh will bring about justice for them, even as he has done it for Israel." "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures," 441. See also Seifrid's helpful discussion in *Christ, our Righteousness*, 38–45.

[136] Seifrid suggests that the frequency of salvific associations "stems in part from the concreteness which characterizes much of the biblical usage: promises of God's intervention to 'right' the wrongs in this fallen world stand at the center of the biblical

vindicates or "justifies" God *as God* over against disobedient and rebellious creatures.[137]

The creational theology of God's righteousness explains why cosmological outcomes accompany and complement the forensic judgment in Paul's writings. God's eschatological action restores the just and proper order for humanity and creation. The primary focus in Paul's letters rests upon human beings, because they alone were created in God's image (Gen 1:27) and were given stewardship over creation as God's representatives (Gen 1:28, 2:15). This judgment of human beings occurs in a forensic way at the judgment seat (βῆμα; Rom 14:10; 2 Cor 5:10). But at the same time the enactment of God's righteousness—his justifying work—inherently includes a cosmological dimension. It makes all things very good once again (Gen 1:31).[138]

This background helps us to understand that the dikaiosness of God in Romans 1:16 includes the traditional Lutheran understanding, but also involves more than just acquittal based on the gift of extraordinary dikaiosness from God. It is the saving action by which through Christ God shows himself to be dikaios (Rom 3:26), even as he gives the gift of dikaiosness to sinners who have faith in Christ (Rom 3:23–25). It is also the action by which he is vindicated *as God* who judges sinners (Rom 3:4).[139] Westerholm is correct when he concludes regarding Romans 1:17,

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interest. This perspective does not exclude divine recompense of the wicked, it rather presupposes it." "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures," 430.

[137] This is seen in texts like Isa 1:27–29 and 5:14–17, where God's dikaiosness prompts people to repent or be humbled, and exalts God. It is also seen in texts like Exod 9:27; Lams 1:18; Neh 9:33; Dan 9:7, 14, 16, where sinners who have been overcome by God must acknowledge that he is dikaios; see Seifrid, "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures," 430; "Paul's Use of Righteousness Language," 44; *Christ, our Righteousness*, 43–45.

[138] We have seen that the model of "two tracks" used by Martyn and de Boer to privilege the cosomological over the forensic in Paul's thought is not valid. The fact that there is a cosmological/creational aspect to Paul's understanding of righteousness/ justification is itself still a valid point. This emphasis in Martyn continues the line of thought developed by Ernst Käsemann, "The 'Righteousness of God' in Paul," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 168–182. In different ways, Peter Stuhlmacher has also noted the creational setting of righteousness language in Paul in *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments 1: Grundlegung, Von Jesus zu Paulus,* 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1997), 327–341.

[139] "As we have argued elsewhere, it is clear from these contexts that when Paul speaks of the 'righteousness of God' he does not refer to an abstract divine attribute, but the event of God's justification over against fallen humanity, which paradoxically is also

> Hence, if δικαιοσύνη is not simply God's *gift* of acquittal here, we must say it is *that salvific activity by which God's commitment to uphold the right is vindicated at the same time as sinners* (those guilty of the *un*-dikaiosness of 1:18) *who believe the gospel become dikaios* (in accordance with Habakkuk' s dictum). This may seem overloaded, but each aspect of the clarification is amply attested in the chapters that follow, and Paul clearly means 1:17 to serve as a heading for his subsequent argument.[140]

Therefore we can conclude that when explained in the manner described above, "righteous" and "righteousness" serve as very suitable renderings of δίκαιος and δικαιοσύνη. With Westerholm, we can agree that "declare righteous" is an accurate translation of δικαιόω.[141] Since this is what Lutherans mean by "to justify," they are completely accurate and true to Paul when they use this word to translate δικαιόω within the framework of forensic eschatological judgment.[142]

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the justification of the fallen human being." Seifrid, "Paul's Use of Righteousness Language," 55.

[140] Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 285–286; emphasis original. He goes on to add, "In short, *both* ways of understanding the term (as God's gift of acquittal, or as the salvific act by which God's support of the moral order is shown at the same time as sinners are acquitted) are true to Paul's thought; we need not here decide between them in ambiguous cases." *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 286; emphasis original.

[141] Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*, 286.

[142] By identifying justification as the central article of the faith, Lutherans have not simply privileged one biblical metaphor over others. Instead they have focused upon the culminating eschatological event of God's saving work in Christ—the forensic judgment of the Last Day. This event provided the goal for Paul (Rom 14:10; 2 Cor 5;10; 2 Tim 4:8). It did for the Confessors as well, who wrote, "By means of God's grace we, too, intend to persist in this same confession until our blessed end and to appear before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ with a joyful and undaunted heart and conscience." Preface to the Book of Concord, 16.

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The Eucharistic Prayer and Justification

Roland F. Ziegler

The formulation of this topic is a very Lutheran one. The Eucharistic Prayer is an ecumenical phenomenon, but to ask about its relationship to justification is something distinctly Lutheran. For an Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic theologian, this likely would not be a topic that readily comes to mind. But for Lutherans, justification is the center of the Christian faith. And therefore it is natural to ask about the relationship between the Eucharistic Prayer and justification.

Since this is a distinctly Lutheran approach, the suspicion could arise that this is a parochial question, that once more, Lutherans sit in their corner hedging traditional petty concerns, instead of embracing "the fullness" of "the great tradition." Therefore, before we commence our study, it is not inappropriate to justify the topic by explaining why justification has this central position in Lutheranism—unlike in Roman Catholicism or in the theology of the reformed theologian Karl Barth.

I. Justification as the Central Article

When we talk about justification—and here I mean subjective justification—it is helpful to distinguish between the act of justification and the doctrine of justification. The act of justification is God's action: God acquits sinful man and thereby man is righteous, not because of a quality inherent in him, but because of the alien righteousness of Christ. Justification happens through the gospel, because the gospel is "strictly speaking, the promise of the forgiveness of sins and justification on account of Christ" (Ap IV, 43)[1] as our Confessions say. God acts on us in this salvific way through the gospel, which is a verbal communication that is nevertheless not divorced from an earthly element: not only in the sacraments, in which promise and an element are united, but also in a purely verbal gospel

[1] "*. . . evangelium, quod est proprie promissio remissionis peccatorum et iustificationis propter Christum.*" See *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 5th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 168,40–42. This edition is subsequently abbreviated as "BSLK." All English citations of the Book of Concord are from Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, tr. Charles Arand, et al. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

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communication, in which language, a created, earthly means, is necessary. The forms of the gospel are manifold, as Luther explains in a familiar passage in the Smalcald Articles:

> We now want to return to the gospel, which gives guidance and help against sin in more than one way, because God is extravagantly rich in his grace: first, through the spoken word, in which the forgiveness of sins is preached to the whole world (which is the proper function of the gospel); second, through baptism; third, through the holy Sacrament of the Altar; fourth, through the power of the keys and also through the mutual conversation and consolation of brothers and sisters. Matthew 18[:20]: "Where two or three are gathered . . ." (SA III, 4).

The Lord's Supper is thus a gospel communication. In it, God justifies, forgives sins, without man's work or doing, by grace alone, which is received through faith alone. Therefore, the way in which the Lord's Supper is celebrated can either be consonant with its character as a gospel communication, or it can be antagonistic to it, in the worst case scenario, destroying the Lord's Supper as a gospel communication.

When we investigate whether or not the way we celebrate the Lord's Supper is consonant with its being a gospel communication, the doctrine of justification is necessary. The doctrine of justification is the reflection on this act of justification. Such a reflection is not some ivory tower enterprise. In Paul's letters we find a deep reflection on justification because the proclamation and practice of his adversaries were destroying the gospel. Thus, Paul is the great teacher of the doctrine of justification. The doctrine of justification is therefore not a mere human reflection. After all, Paul is the divinely inspired apostle. Therefore, the doctrine of justification is also divinely revealed. In it, the content and the implications of the content of the gospel are reflected for the purpose that, in the practice of the church, its proclamation of the gospel and administration of the sacraments are done in such a way that they are acts of justification and not acts of the law (e.g., acts to improve the moral fiber of society, or acts to help a person become a better self, or acts of family entertainment). The doctrine of justification is therefore no luxury, nor is it abstract. The doctrine of justification provokes continued theological reflection through the centuries and is thus the way in which the Holy Spirit works in the church and keeps her preaching and her administration of the sacraments faithful to God's mandate.

II. Some Definitions

So, what is the Eucharistic Prayer? On a most basic level, it is a prayer of thanksgiving at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Of course, we are not talking about the collect of thanksgiving after communion. Rather, it is a prayer that contains thanksgiving, remembrance, petition, and sometimes other elements as the central liturgical act of the Lord's Supper.[2] The resurgence of the Eucharistic Prayer in its importance for theology and the introduction of Eucharistic Prayers in churches that did not have them historically are 20th-century phenomena.

What is the theology of the Eucharistic Prayer? Obviously, there are differences between the ways in which Lutherans, Presbyterians, Eastern Orthodox, Methodists, or Roman Catholics explain the meaning of the Eucharistic Prayer and also in the way these different traditions write such prayers. Dennis Smolarski, a Jesuit, whose main occupation is teaching computer science in a Jesuit school, but who also wrote a study of the Eucharistic Prayer, summarizes the results of the liturgical movement in the 20th century up to 1982 in this way:

> The Eucharistic Prayer is the central verbal formulation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Its purpose is to be the prayer of blessing corresponding to the prayers of blessing used by Jesus at the Last Supper. As that prayer of blessing, its composition can be and is influenced by different theological positions, for example, positions regarding the "moment of consecration," or the mode of the presence of Christ in the elements of bread and wine. Yet, in any case, the Eucharistic Prayer should perform its function as the main contextualizing formulation, or sacramental "form," of the Sacrament of the Eucharist as well as possible.[3]

The Eucharistic Prayer is addressed to the Father and commences with the introductory dialogue and the proclamation, in which the reason for thanks and praise is given (the Preface). Then follows the Sanctus, followed by a prayer that continues the enumeration of the great deeds of God, leading into the institution narrative as part of the retelling of the story of Jesus as an act of God. Smolarski emphasizes that the institution narrative was connected by a relative pronoun with the antecedent prayer. Though he admits that the relative pronoun in Latin can have the force of a

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[2] Cf. the list of elements in *Baptism, Eucharist & Ministry, Faith and Order Paper No. 111*, Eucharist, §27 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982; reprint St. Louis: Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, n.d.) 25–26.

[3] Dennis Smolarski, *Eucharistia. A Study of the Eucharistic Prayer* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982) 47–48.

demonstrative, he states: "Nevertheless, it is also interesting to note that what has become the primary, all-important section of the Eucharistic Prayer in the piety of many Catholic priests and laity was only (linguistically) a secondary section in prayers written in Latin and Greek."[4] We find here, very typical for many of the proponents of the Eucharistic Prayer, the effort to show that the institution narrative is not *the* central act of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This means also that the doctrine that it is the Words of Institution that consecrate the bread and wine is rejected. In the light of the definition as the *forma* of the sacrament by the councils of Florence-Ferrara and Trent, the shift in the view of the Words of Institution is quite remarkable:

> The Eucharistic Prayer can be considered a prayer of consecration only because it is first a prayer of thankful praise and remembrance. The Institution Narrative plays an important role because it is part of this remembrance and (as mentioned in Chapter 5) it helps [!] to contextualize the action and the elements present. Yet it must itself be seen in the context of the entire Eucharistic Prayer.[5]

Edward J. Kilmartin, another Jesuit, writes even more emphatically in his posthumously published book *The Eucharist in the West*:

> Traditional Catholic theology of the second theological millennium with its dominant Christological orientation has promoted the idea that the eucharistic moment of consecration represents a unique case as regards the shape of celebration of a Christian sacrament. In this erroneous idea the words of consecration, while pronounced by the human minister of Christ, are in reality words spoken by the risen Lord in and through his minister. [6]

Again,

> Likewise, when the Eucharistic Prayer is recognized precisely as a performative form of the act of faith of the Church, the traditional emphasis on the Words of Institution as the sacramental formula appears misdirected . . . . However, this theology of the moment of consecration in which the words of Christ are identified as the essential form of the sacrament holds true only within the splinter theology of the Western scholastic tradition.[7]

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[4] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 60.

[5] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 103

[6] *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998) 348.

[7] Kilmartin, *Eucharist in the West*, 350. The Benedictine Burkard Neunheuser defends the thesis that the entire Eucharistic Prayer consecrates. See "Das eucharistische

Smolarski continues with the "memorial acclamation or proclamation of faith," as it has been added in the Roman rite, following the example of certain eastern liturgies. Then follows the memorial or anamnesis, offertory, and invocation or epiclesis. "Since this section is the explicit statement that the community is fulfilling the command of Christ to perform the Eucharist in his memory, this section is, liturgically, the central section (in relative importance) of the Eucharistic prayer."[8] In the anamnesis, the command "do this in memory of me" is implemented. The memorial or anamnesis is not a mere mental act. "In our 'remembering' we are actually making the event remembered present because of our action of remembering. This is a significant part of the meaning of *zikkaron* or anamnesis."[9] Since the Eucharist is about remembering the sacrifice of Christ, "our remembering is connected to an action of offering, so we word our prayer, 'As we remember, we offer the Body and Blood of Christ,' or, 'As we remember, we unite ourselves to Christ's perfect offering of himself.'"[10] Then, what is offered? "To this question we reply: 'Christ.' "[11] Christ is here not only the person of the God-man, it includes also the mystical body of Christ, the church, so that the offering of Christ's body and blood and the self-offering coincide.

The epiclesis is the "petition for the divine response to the Church's obedience to Christ's command, an obedience which was expressed in the anamnesis-offertory."[12] Thus, it contains a petition for the Spirit, a description of his work as the changing of bread and wine, and the statement of the fruit of the invocation, the unity of all who believe in Christ.[13] The Eucharistic Prayer concludes with the intercessions, a "logical consequence" of the prayer for unity in the epiclesis, and the doxology.[14]

Taking this as a kind of typical theology of the Eucharistic Prayer, let us look at some of the issues that might be problematic from a Lutheran perspective. There is first the identification of the content of the "do this in

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Hochgebet als Konsekrationsgebet," *Gratias Agamus: Studien zum eucharistischen Hochgebet: Für Balthasar Fischer,* ed. Andreas Heinz and Heinrich Hennings (Freiburg, Basel Wien: Herder, 1992), 315–326. For a Lutheran advocate of the Eucharistic Prayer who rejects the consecratory nature of the Words of Institution, see Edgar S. Brown, Jr., "Accedit verbum. . ., The Word or words?" *Ecclesia, Leiturgia, Ministerium: Studia in Honorem Toivo Harjunpää* (Helsinki: Loimaan Kirjapaino, 1977) 19–27.

[8] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 65.

[9] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 68.

[10] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 65.

[11] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 72–73.

[12] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 80.

[13] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 80.

[14] Smolarski, *Eucharistia*, 84–90.

remembrance of me." Does this mean that one should say a prayer of thanksgiving and remembrance, in which the sacrifice of Christ is made present? Is it our commemoration that makes the sacrifice of Christ present? And does the offering naturally flow out of the remembrance? If yes, what exactly is offered? Not surprisingly, in the ecumenical discussion between Lutherans and Roman Catholics, this question, if it is in any way appropriate to speak of the offering of Christ's body and blood, was one of the points where a consensus could not be reached.[15]

The position and function of the institution narrative in the Lord's Supper is another point. Is it just a secondary thought in the prayer, which praises the whole account of God's salvific action? And what makes the sacrament the sacrament, the entire Eucharistic Prayer or the Words of our Lord? Finally, should we have an invocation of the Holy Spirit in the celebration of the Lord's Supper? If yes, what is the function of such a prayer? Since the goal of this paper is not to give an exhaustive discussion of the Eucharistic Prayer, but to relate it to justification, not all of these questions can be addressed. Our task is to answer this question: is the Eucharistic Prayer compatible with an understanding of the Lord's Supper as an act of justification? Does the prayer reflect the theology of justification: the monergism of God in providing and communicating salvation; the sufficiency of Christ's work; that God acts with us graciously in the promise alone; that faith alone receives the gospel?

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[15] More surprisingly, though, might be the fact that among Roman Catholic theologians there are also objections to this language, even though it is enshrined in Eucharistic Prayer I of the Missal and in the decrees of Trent. Eucharistic Prayer I says in the Anamnesis, after the Words of Institution and acclamation, "we, your people . . . offer to you, God of glory and majesty, this holy and perfect sacrifice: the bread of life and the cup of eternal salvation . . . ." See *The New St. Joseph Weekday Missal*, vol. 1: Advent to Pentecost (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Company, 1975), 631. See also the formulation in the fourth Eucharistic Prayer, ". . . and, looking forward to his coming in glory, we offer you his body and blood . . . " (644). Finally, pertinent is the remark by the Roman Catholic theologian Reinhold Meßner on the fourth Eucharistic Prayer: "Christ's action, which solely reconciles, and the action of the church, which receives the reconciling action thankfully, are not distinguished. From that follows the theologically impossible thought that the church offers the sacrifice of reconciliation," *Die Meßreform Martin Luthers und die Eucharistie der Alten Kirche: Ein Beitrag zu einer systematischen Liturgiewissenschaft* (Innsbruck, Vienna: Tyrolia Verlag, 1989), 211.

III. Eucharistic Prayer and Lord's Supper as an Act of Justification

Our investigation begins, therefore, with the question of sacrifice and the Lord's Supper, since the anamnetic, Eucharistic Prayer is proposed as a correct expression of the relationship between Christ's sacrifice and our sacrifice and as the way in which his sacrifice is mediated to us.

The first controversy on the Lord's Supper in the time of the Reformation was on the question of whether or not the Lord's Supper was a good work and a sacrifice.[16] Traditionally, both were asserted by the Roman side.[17] On the Lutheran side, these views were rejected. The Lord's Supper was defined as Christ's body and blood for the forgiveness of sins, "for us Christians to eat and to drink" (SC VI, 2). This could neither be a sacrifice nor an act of man. Melanchthon could, however, speak of a sacrifice that is attached to the Lord's Supper as a consequence, namely, the thanksgiving of the Christians and other acts (Ap XXIV, 25).[18] But the difference is that these are not parts of the sacrament; they are not constitutive for the sacrament but are, rather, consequences of the Lord's Supper.[19] Thus, the language of the liturgy that spoke about the priest or the church offering a sacrifice was excised from the service of the sacrament. The Canon of the Mass, formerly regarded as the holiest part of the mass, clothed with apostolic dignity, was, except for the Words of Institution, completely abolished.

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[16] These two aspects are not the same (cf. Wisloff, *The Gift of Communion*). See David N. Power, "The Anamnesis: Remembering, We Offer," in *New Eucharistic Prayers. An Ecumenical Study of their Development and Structure,* ed. Frank C. Senn, (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 146-168, especially his remark on pg. 151: "It will be remembered that the Reformers repudiated the notion that offering or sacrifice belonged to the essence of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, especially if this was to be understood as propitiatory, or an offering for sins."

[17] The language of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice had a long history, originating probably from an understanding of the prayers as sacrifice. At the eve of the Reformation, it was the common opinion that in the mass the church sacrifices Christ's body and blood to God as a propitiatory sacrifice to obtain forgiveness of sins. Hence, private masses were a valid option, since communion was only one aspect of the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

[18] However, the reception of the Christians could be called a thank-offering, since it is the result of an act of faith, and every act of faith is a thank-offering. Similarly, there is also some (not very common) talk during the Reformation about Christians offering themselves in the celebration.

[19] "Both the sacrifice of thanksgiving and the self-offering of the faithful were, however, seen more as the fruit of communion than as acts that belonged to the essence of the remembrance of Christ's death or sacrifice," Power, *Anamnesis*, 152.

In 20th-century theology, the divergence between Roman Catholics and Lutherans in the time of the Reformation is often seen in a deficient theology of sacrifice in Roman Catholic theology.[20] The problem, it is said, was that both sides had no concept of the Lord's Supper as an effective representation of Christ's sacrifice, and that they did not see the connection between the self-sacrifice of the Christian and the sacrifice of Christ.[21]

This connection has, however, received widespread attention in the 20th century. The thought that in the Lord's Supper not only the body and blood of Christ are present, but that in the sacrament the event of the cross itself is present and that, therefore, it is a sacrifice—the same sacrifice offered at Golgotha—has become widely accepted. One of the most famous proponents was the German Benedictine monk Odo Casel. Joseph Ratzinger called his approach "probably the most fruitful theological idea of our century."[22] Casel's ideas were also positively mentioned in the "Ways of Worship," a study of the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches and have also influenced Lutheran theologians.[23] Casel stated that salvation is mediated through participation in the anamnesis, that is, the liturgical representation, the making present of the paschal mystery, which is the death and resurrection of Christ. This representation is what makes the sacrament a sacrament. It happens in the liturgical celebration, the holy drama or holy game, in which man is God's co-player. Man is not merely passive, but rather he is taken into salvation as a co-agent. And since the liturgical celebration, in which man is a co-agent, is the making present of the sacrifice of Christ, man participates in the sacrifice of Christ.

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[20] While considerable efforts were spent on the discussion on the mode of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper in the Middle Ages, there was not the same effort expended on the issue of how the sacrifice of Christ on the cross and the sacrifice of the mass relate. Roman Catholic theology was, therefore, somewhat unprepared for the onslaught of the Reformation, and modern Roman Catholic theologians concede that the apologetics of someone like Johannes Eck were less than adequate.

[21] "What eluded those on both sides of the controversy was the connection between the sacrifice of thanksgiving and the self-offering of the faithful on the one hand, and the efficacious representation of Christ's sacrifice on the other," Power, *Anamnesis*, 152.

[22] Joseph Ratzinger, *Die sakramentale Begründung christlicher Existenz*, 5, quoted according to Arno Schilson, *Theologie als Sakramententheologie: Die Mysterientheologie Odo Casels* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1982), 22.

[23] *Ways of Worship: The Report of a Theological Commission of Faith and Order*, eds. Pehr Edwall, Eric Hayman, and William D. Maxwell (Rochester, UK: SCM Press, 1951). Wilhelm Averbeck, *Der Opfercharakter des Abendmahls in der Neueren Evangelischen Theologie*, Konfessionskundliche und Kontroverstheologische Studien 19 (Paderborn: Verlag Bonifacius-Druckerei, 1967), 781.

The concept of representation and anamnetic presence of the sacrifice of Christ in the Lord's Supper has been quite influential in ecumenical dialogues. Thus, the final report of the ecumenical group of evangelical (*evangelischer*) and Catholic theologians in Germany states: "Execution and celebration of the Lord's Supper connect in the New Testament in a sacramental manner the execution of a fellowship meal with the memorial representation (*memoria, repraesentatio*) and participation (*participatio*) of the historically unique sacrificial death of the Lord."[24] Thus, it is not surprising that some think that a consensus on the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice has been reached. Gail Ramshaw (ELCA) wrote: "Granting the agreements reached in the Lutheran-Roman Catholic dialogues on the eucharist, and granting current scholarship on the metaphoric use of the word 'sacrifice' in the Christian tradition, it is no longer defensible for Lutherans to continue their eccentric refusal to speak the language of offering and sacrifice in the eucharist."[25]

The Lord's Supper is a sacrifice because in the anamnetic prayer the sacrifice of Christ is present, as is everything else he did. The consensus does not extend to the question if one can speak of the church participating in the sacrifice of Christ or even offering Christ's body and blood. In the Lutheran-Roman dialogue in Germany, this topic was approached first by stating the agreement: "The eucharist is the great sacrifice of praise in

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[24]*Das Opfer Jesu Christi und seine Gegenwart in der Kirche: Klärungen zum Opfercharacter des Herrenmahles*, eds. Karl Lehmann and Eduard Schlink (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 222.

[25] Gail Ramshaw-Schmidt, "Towards Lutheran Eucharistic Prayers," in *New Eucharistic Prayers: An Ecumenical Development and Structure,* ed. Frank C. Senn (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 74–79, 77–78. Similarly, in his essay "The Anamnesis: Remembering, We Offer" in the same volume, the Roman Catholic theologian David N. Power, professor at Catholic University of America, stated: "Recent dialogues between churches have largely resolved this problem [of the eucharistic sacrifice] by use of the biblical image of *anamnesis* or memorial, and by rediscovery of the great prayer of thanksgiving as a memorial proclamation of the salvific works of God," 146. This ecumenical consensus has been summarized in *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry*: "The eucharist is the memorial of the crucified and risen Christ, i.e. the living and effective sign of his sacrifice, accomplished once and for all on the cross and still operative on behalf of all humankind," §5. In this, we have a summary of the ecumenically standard theology on sacrifice as it has been reached in the third quarter of the 20th century. Again, "Christ himself with all he has accomplished for us and for all creation (in his incarnation, servanthood, ministry, teaching, suffering, sacrifice, resurrection, ascension and sending of the Spirit) is present in this *anamnesis*, granting us communion with himself. The eucharist is also the foretaste of his *parousia* and of the final kingdom," §6.

which the church speaks in the name of the entire creation."[26] Furthermore, "In this way *also the congregation celebrating the Lord's Supper participates in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ,* in the commemoration of his death and in the prayer for his Spirit."[27] Thus, anamnesis and epiclesis are the liturgical forms in which the congregation participates in Christ's death. The objects of sacrifice are "Jesus Christ and his Sacrifice," namely, the congregation "puts his merit before the Father's eyes."[28] "Sacrifice of the church means therefore not the offering of a sacred gift standing opposite of us at the altar through the hand of the human priest, but the entering of the church in the devotion of Jesus Christ, i.e., *the offering of ourselves* through, with, and in Jesus Christ *as a living sacrificial gift*."[29]

Eucharistic prayer and sacrifice are intimately connected; it is the prayer through which the church effects the representation of Christ's sacrifice. The meaning of the offering clause in the Eucharistic Prayers of the early church implies that "the praise and thanksgiving which is made to God for the death and resurrection of Christ is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. It is through this act that the salvific mysteries of Christ are represented and rendered efficacious, in the power of the Holy Spirit."[30]

Such an understanding of the Eucharistic Prayer means that the function of the Words of Institution is redefined. Against the concentration on the Words of Institution in the West as the consecratory formula, the entire prayer is emphasized.[31] Many liturgiologists propose that the insti-

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[26] *Das Opfer Jesu Christi*, 235. This quotation is from the document "Towards One Eucharistic Faith" (1971) by the Dombes Group. Agreement is also in the fact that the offering of the church is not by a self-subsisting subject besides Christ, a misunderstanding that has been already excluded in Trent. See *Das Opfer Jesu Christi*, 236, reference to *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum: Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen,* ed. Heinrich Denzinger and Peter Hünermann, 40th ed. (Feiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), no. 1743. The reformation did not understand sacrifice as an inclusion of those who sacrifice into the act of the sacrifice of Christ, but as an act added to it. But even the sacrifice of praise can only be correctly understood as a sacrifice of faith, i.e., as a participation in the praise of Christ, which only then is a participation in the self-giving of Christ on the cross.

[27] *Das Opfer Jesu Christi*, 236; emphasis in original.

[28] *Das Opfer Jesu Christi*, 236.

[29] *Das Opfer Jesu Christi*, 237; emphasis in original.

[30] Power, *Anamnesis*, 163. Power himself is rather critical of the sacrificial terminology as a later development, since he does not think that the concept of "sacrifice" is central as a description for the death of Christ. See Power, *Prayer*, 243.

[31] "In any case, these various hypotheses allow us to move firmly away from attaching a consecratory power to the words of Jesus in the eucharist, while at the same time grasping the import and importance of including the story and the memorial

tution narrative is not original to the Eucharistic Prayer but a later addition; some even suggest that the Words of Institution are not a necessary part of the celebration of the Lord's Supper.[32]

IV. The Eucharistic Prayer and Justification on Collision Course

So, is there an issue with justification? I believe there is. First, the thesis that the Lord's Supper is a making-present of the sacrifice of Christ is wrong. The biblical concept of anamnesis does not mean such a making-present, nevermind the conceptual difficulties of what is meant by this present "sacrifice of Christ." This theology of representation is a platonizing approach that ultimately destroys history and therefore is incompatible with the biblical worldview. Second, the command "do this" does not mean "say a Eucharistic Prayer." Rather, the Formula of Concord is a correct interpretation of this passage when it says that this mandate of Christ "includes the entire action or administration of this sacrament: that in a Christian assembly bread and wine are taken, consecrated, distributed, received, eaten, and drunk, and that thereby [*dabei*; better translated as "there"] the Lord's death is proclaimed" (FC SD VII, 84).

Beyond these objections, one must consider the problems with the concept of anamnetic representation when examined through the lens of justification. First, there is the idea that man receives the benefit of Christ's

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command in the anaphora," Power, *Prayer*, 242. Furthermore, Enrico Mazza writes, "It is the anaphora that 'eucharistifies' the bread and wine, even though it is entirely addressed to the Father and not to the sacred gifts . . . . Even the Words of Institution are part of the anaphora and are addressed to God, not to the bread and wine. It is in our dialogue with God, a dialogue that sanctifies us because he freely enters into it, that the bread and wine become a sacrament. There is no need of directing any words to the bread and wine so that these may be sanctified and become a communion in the body and blood of Christ," *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986), 266.

[32] See the overview in Linards Jansons, "Consecration, Thanksgiving and the Missing Institution Narrative: the Nature of Eucharistic Praying in the Early Church," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 45 (2011), 34–50, and the statement by Edgar J. Brown Jr., "Why, for example should not remembrance of the event at the supper in Emmaus accomplish the same end? Why cannot a rehearsal of the words from John 6 with their powerful imagery of Jesus as the Bread of Life who gives eternal life affirm man's faith in what Jesus did both in the upper room and on Calvary? Perhaps even the miracle of the wine at Cana affords the kind of remembrance that lifts hearts and engenders dedication and devotion. The Word is active in all these, as He is in so many other occasions," in "Accedit verbum . . ., The Word or words?" 25–26.

cross and resurrection through a making-present of the "paschal mystery." In *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, Luther explicitly rejected this approach as he encountered it in the person of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt—albeit in a more mystical, less liturgical form—in which man through spiritual exercises made himself contemporaneous with the cross. Luther writes:

> Our teaching is that bread and wine do not avail. I will go still farther. Christ on the cross and all his suffering and his death do not avail, even if, as you teach, they are "acknowledged and meditated upon" with the utmost "passion, ardor, heartfeltness." Something else must always be there. What is it? The Word, the Word, the Word. Listen, lying spirit, the Word avails. Even if Christ were given for us and crucified a thousand times, it would all be in vain if the Word of God were absent and were not distributed and given to me with the bidding, this is for you, take what is yours.[33]

It is necessary therefore, to distinguish between how forgiveness has been won and how it is distributed. Again, Luther:

> Christ has achieved it on the cross, it is true. But he has not distributed or given it on the cross. He has not won it in the supper or sacrament. There he has distributed and given it through the Word, as also in the gospel, where it is preached . . . . If now I seek the forgiveness of sins, I do not run to the cross, for I will not find it given there . . . . But I will find in the sacrament or gospel the word which distributes, presents, offers, and gives to me that forgiveness which was won on the cross.[34]

This is, of course, not just a private opinion of Luther. Paul distinguishes in 2 Corinthians 5 the reconciliation in Christ from the word of reconciliation, through which the individual receives this reconciliation. And this view has found its way also into the Lutheran Confessions: "Although the work took place on the cross and forgiveness of sins has been acquired, yet it cannot come to us in any other way than through the Word. How should we know that this took place or was to be given to us if it were not proclaimed by preaching, but the oral word?" (LC V, 31).[35] A

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[33] 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), 40: 212–213.

[34] AE 40: 213–214

[35] The words are not just deictic in the Lord's Supper: "That is to say, in brief, that we go to the sacrament because there we receive a great treasure, through and in which we obtain the forgiveness of sins. Why? Because the words are there and they impart it to us! For this reason he bids me eat and drink, that it may be mine and do me good as a

theology of representation and anamnesis, if accepted by Lutherans, is a fundamental shift in the view what the gospel is—for it is no longer the promise, namely, a *verbal* communication, but rather a making-present of Christ through a liturgical action. And it changes also how man receives forgiveness of sins; it is no longer received by faith in that promise but by participation in the liturgical representation of the sacrifice of Christ.

The second problem with the concept of anamnetic representation is the idea that the Lord's Supper is somehow essentially our sacrifice. At the very least, this makes the Lord's Supper ambiguous; it is no longer a pure gospel communication. The Swedish theologian Ragnar Bring put it in stronger words: "The sacrament, then is a gift of God. If the gospel is to be expressed through the sacraments, we must wholeheartedly adopt the conception of God as giver. If there is the slightest thought that the communion is an offering to God, a sacred act in God's direction, then the gospel is rendered null and void."[36] The thought that somehow the Lord's Supper is an action that operates on God, making him gracious or averting his wrath, is deeply problematic. Unfortunately, even Peter Brunner proposed this. For him, Holy Communion releases the "remembering of God" and therefore

> Holy Communion, too, is not a passive, static "mystery" given us for "contemplation," but it is a dynamic event, a kingdom-of-God movement in the heavens, yes, even in the heart of God. In this deeply hidden event, which penetrates all the heavens and actualizes Christ's victory on the cross over all antigodly powers, the end-time mystery of Holy Communion is completed.[37]

However, the true point of the Lord's Supper is that God is ours, that he is reconciled to us in the death of his Son Jesus, and that is what the promise and the body and blood of Christ attached to this promise tell and give to us. To say that in this celebration we need to "present" Christ before God in order to reconcile him is to take a standpoint outside the gospel. We do not need to put anything between God and us to shield us from his wrath; rather, through the gospel we are outside of the wrath of God and inside his love and forgiveness.

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sure pledge and sign—indeed, as the very gift he has provided for me against my sins, death , and all evils," LC V, 22.

[36] Ragnar Bring, "On the Lutheran Concept of the Sacrament," *World Lutheranism of Today: A Tribute to Anders Nygren, 15 November 1950* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1950), 54.

[37] Peter Brunner, *Worship in the Name of Jesus* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), 192–193.

What about our self-offering, which is taken into the sacrifice of Christ? The self-offering has its place; it happens in the *logike latreia*, the reasonable service, in which our bodies are presented as an acceptable sacrifice to God (Romans 12). But this does not happen in the Lord's Supper. It happens in the sacrificial service of Christians who serve their neighbors in works of mercy. Of course, there is a connection between the Lord's Supper and ethics. It is the same as the connection between the gospel or justification and good works. The gospel has as its consequence good works. Once forgiven, the Christian not only forgives, but loves his neighbor. The post-communion collect has it right:

> We give thanks to Thee, Almighty God, that Thou hast refreshed us through this salutary gift; and we beseech Thee that of Thy mercy Thou wouldst strengthen us through the same in faith towards Thee and in fervent love toward one another; through Jesus Christ, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end.[38]

V. Anabatic and Katabatic: Man's Action and God's Action

Two common terms in the field of liturgics are *anabatic* and *katabatic*. Acts in worship can be described as acts of men directed toward God or acts of God toward the congregation, similar to the earlier distinction between sacramental and sacrificial acts. Prayer is an anabatic act; it is directed toward God. Proclamation is a katabatic act; in it, God speaks to us. In discussions about the Eucharistic Prayer, Lutheran opponents of the prayer have used this distinction to maintain that the Lord's Supper is purely a katabatic act, an act from God toward man in which God is the author and man the recipient. Proponents, on the other hand, reject that there are liturgical acts that can be neatly distinguished as katabatic and anabatic. Rather, the Eucharistic Prayer is an example in which katabatic and anabatic are united: it is the church that prays to God the Father (anabatic), but it does so empowered by the Holy Spirit and in this action God acts (katabatic). There are two questions here. First, can one distinguish anabatic and katabatic acts? Second, what does it mean for justification if this distinction is denied?

Gail Ramshaw described the question of proclamation and prayer for Lutherans thus:

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[38] *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), 30; cf. *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006) 201.

> The Reformation stress on the word had developed into an elaborate distinction between proclamation and prayer, the first God's action and the second the assembly's action, which even dictated the posture of the presider, facing toward the people or "toward God." The Eucharistic Prayer then, with its Hebraic combination of proclamation and prayer, did not fit neatly into this distinction. Prayer as human action had been downplayed in Lutheran circles: thus the massive efforts to find appropriate Eucharistic Prayers were unsettling to those for whom the Lord's Supper is solely God's gift.[39]

It is certainly true that those for whom the Lord's Supper is solely God's gift—gospel, and not a work—have problems with a Eucharistic Prayer. The distinction between prayer and proclamation in the Lord's Supper, or to say it differently, between God speaking to us and our speaking to God, is certainly fundamental for a Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper. As Luther puts it in *The Babylonian Captivity*:

> Therefore these two things—mass and prayer, sacrament and work, testament and sacrifice—must not be confused; for the one comes from God to us through the ministration of the priest and demands our faith, the other proceeds from our faith to God through the priest and demands our faith, the other proceeds from our faith to God through the priest and demands his hearing. The former descends, the latter ascends. The former, therefore, does not necessarily require a worthy and godly minister, but the latter does indeed require such a one, for "God does not listen to sinners" [John 9:31].[40]

This is not only Luther's view in 1520. In the Apology, Melanchthon discusses the distinctions between sacrament, sacrifice, and the sacrifice of thanksgiving and confesses the same thing: "The Sacrament is a ceremony or work, in which God presents to us that which the promise connected to the ceremony offers" (Ap XXIV, 18) On the other hand, a sacrifice is a ceremony or work which we give to God so that we honor him. The eucharistic sacrifice does not give forgiveness of sins, but is done by those who already are reconciled and give thanks for the received forgiveness. Only when the "entire mass"—the ceremony with preaching of the gospel, faith, invocation and thanksgiving—is in view can it be called a daily sacrifice, as the Romanists claim when they say that the mass is a the fulfillment of Malachi 1:11. This means that even though the entire Divine Service can be called a sacrifice because there are sacrificial (anabatic) acts in it, this does not invalidate the fact that it also contains sacramental

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[39] Ramshaw-Schmidt, "Toward Lutheran Eucharistic Prayers," 75.

[40] AE 36:56

(katabatic) acts, in which God acts and reconciles, and furthermore that these latter are to be distinguished from the former.

A different attack on the distinction between anabatic and katabatic was leveled by the German theologian Helmut Schwier. In 2000, his monograph on the reform of the agenda of the German Lutheran and United Churches was published.[41] In it he documents the discussions that led to modifications of the liturgy of the Lord's Supper, inaugurated to a great extent by the chairwoman of the Theological Commission of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, Dorothea Wendebourg, who is also well-known because of her criticism of the "Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification." One of the main points of evaluation was the emphasis on the Words of Institution as *vox Christi*, which he calls the "concentrate of katabasis" (*Konzentrat der Katabasis*).[42] Schwier rejects the criticism as a "repristination of theological formulae with exclusively understood sequences . . . which are, on the foundation of elemental critical linguistical reflexions, no longer tenable."[43] Here, he follows the systematician Dietrich Ritschl, who defined the Divine Service as "the place of speaking to and about God."[44] Schwier states: "Just as the 'object' of theology is not God, but 'God-talk,' thus dogmatically the Divine Service can no longer be seen as God's service towards us while ignoring our speaking and doing."[45] If I understand Schwier here correctly, then he is saying that the fundamental reality of all theology, and also of the Divine Service, is that men speak about God. Only in that speaking *of* men then can one conceptualize of God speaking *to* men. Therefore, there is no such thing as a "pure" speech of God.

Phenomenologically, Schwier is certainly right. What one hears is men speaking. But the dogmatic question remains: is it correct to identify certain speech acts of men as God's speech acts, certain words as God's word in contrast to man's word? Lutherans say, yes! Even though God's speaking is mediated, it is nevertheless real, and therefore certain words or certain speech acts are said to come from God or to be said by God. Thus, when the gospel is preached, it is not to be received as man's word, but rather as God's word.

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[41] Helmut Schwier, *Die Erneuerung der Agende: Zur Entstehung und Konzeption des Evangelischen Gottesdienstbuches* (Hannover: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 2000).

[42] Schwier, *Die Erneuerung der Agende*, 360.

[43] Schwier, *Die Erneuerung der Agende*, 360.

[44] Schwier, *Die Erneuerung der Agende*, 133, citing Dietrich Ritschl, *Zur Logik der Theologie* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1984), 130.

[45] Schwier, *Die Erneuerung der Agende*, 133.

But what is meant by that? It is not immediate authorship, obviously, since most of the time when we talk about God's word we do not mean that there is a non-human audible phenomenon we attribute to God's direct causation, like a voice from heaven. This is certainly possible and has happened, but it is rather the exception. And it is certainly not necessary to limit "word of God" to such occasions. Rather, when we say "word of God," we are saying that these words have God as their ultimate author in regard to content (the *forma* of the words). The concept "word of God" therefore presupposes inspiration: that God causes men to say or to write down his word in pure instrumentality.[46] "Pure instrumentality" means here that what is said or written is completely the word of God in human language, that there is no possibility to separate the human and the divine, the shell and the nut.[47] This identity of human and divine speech continues in the church when that which is mandated in Scripture is spoken: the law and the gospel are preached in baptism, absolution, and the Lord's Supper. Thus, there must be an identity between that which is spoken (content) and a mandate and promise from God. Whatever is spoken outside of the content of the word of God and without mandate is not the word of God. To level everything as "man's speech" is to deny the gospel as God's address to man, with catastrophic consequences. To quote Luther:

> And we say that the word, the absolution, the sacrament of the human preacher is not the work of man, but the voice of God, a cleansing and operation of God, but we are only instruments and joint laborers through which God acts and works. We do not want to concede this metaphysical distinction: man preaches, the Spirit works, the servant baptizes, absolves, but God cleanses and works. In no way! But we conclude: God preaches, baptizes, absolves. "For it is not you who speak, who hears you, hears me, whatever you loose on earth" (Mt 10:20; Lk 10:16; Mt 18:18). Therefore I am certain that, when I ascend

[46] I am not discussing the question whether it is not enough to say that word of God is possible because of the incarnation, so that word of God is what comes from Christ or proclaims Christ, so that there is no need to appeal to another miracle, namely, that of inspiration. It is, of course, true, that in Christ as the enfleshed word, and in everything he says, we have the supreme exemplification of Word of God in this world. Without going into the relationship between incarnation and inspiration, to reduce the origin of the word of God to the speaking of the incarnate Son in his earthly life is problematic, because the Old Testament is not the speaking of the incarnate Son. Furthermore, if one rejects inspiration, which for the New Testament depends on the action of the exalted Christ, then what the word of God is can only be discerned by historical reconstruction from the sources that have been transmitted to us. Any identification of Scripture—or even only the New Testament—with word of God is then impossible.

[47] Pure instrumentality does not mean that God does not use the personality of the individual author, without thereby diminishing that the words are God's own.

> into the pulpit, I will preach and read what is not my word, but my tongue is the pen of a ready writer (Ps 42:1). For God speaks in the holy prophets in men of God. There man and God are not to be metaphysically separated, but I should simply say: this man, prophet, apostle, true preacher speaking is the voice of God. There the hearers are to conclude: now I hear not Peter, Paul, etc., or some other man, but God is speaking, baptizing, absolving. Great God, which consolation can the weak conscience receive from a preacher, if it does not believe that these same words are the consolation of God, word of God, opinion of God?[48]

Why is this distinction important? It is important because the ground of faith and the fruits of faith have to be distinguished. Not only has God accomplished salvation alone in Christ, but salvation is also mediated by him alone. It is not our thankfulness or thanksgiving that brings about or constitutes in the least the sacrament. It is not man's faithful turning toward God that brings about God's gracious action. Synergism cannot be avoided when it is stated that the Eucharistic Prayer has been elicited by the Spirit and is therefore a work of God. For then, again, since all prayer presupposes faith (just mouthing words is not a prayer), God's grace comes through the faith of the officiant or the congregation or the individual, and faith rests on faith. But faith does not make the sacrament, it *receives* the sacrament.[49] Therefore, proclamation and prayer, sacrament and sacrifice have to be distinguished in order to avoid any kind of synergism and a faith that depends on faith. This is also important to safeguard the certainty of salvation. Only when the forgiveness distributed depends solely on Christ's institution—and not in any way on the spirit-filledness of the pastor or the congregation as a precondition of a good work—can one be certain that this celebration of the sacrament is the sacrament. Whenever works are included—and, by the way, all good works are spirit-filled and done in the power of the Holy Spirit—uncertainty remains. Only the gospel as God's work can give certainty of faith and thus a comforted conscience. The Christian needs the continued assurance of forgiveness, for he is always afflicted: "Therefore we must always go back to the promise. This must sustain us in our weakness, and we must firmly believe that we are accounted righteous on account of

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[48] Martin Luther, *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* [*Schriften*], 65 vols. (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–1993), vol. 4: page 671.

[49] Cf. FC VII, 121. Among the rejected articles: "Likewise, when it is taught that not the words and omnipotence of Christ alone but also faith make the body of Christ present in the Holy Supper."

Christ, 'who is at the right hand of God, who intercedes for us' (Rom. 8:34)" (Ap IV, 165).[50]

Thus, since the Christian never becomes the coauthor of his faith, so also the Lord's Supper as the promise—as Gospel communication—is never his act in any way, even though it produces and provokes acts of thanksgiving. And thus, it is not just a Lutheran idiosyncrasy to distinguish between proclamation and prayer, between sacrament and sacrifice, but it is at the very heart of the gospel. Finally, as always, it is good to follow the example of our Lord Jesus Christ. He gave thanks, and then he gave them the gifts with the verbal promise, distinguishing in his institution between prayer and promise. We cannot improve on his way of celebrating his supper.

VI. The Words of Institution

This leads us to the final point of our discussion. In the theology of the Eucharistic Prayer, there is a downplaying of the Words of Institution. The Words of Institution are just an appendix, a relative clause, in the narration of the acts of God in the Great Thanksgiving. Even among Roman Catholics, the exclusive consecratory power of the Words of Institution is no longer maintained. Rather, it is the Eucharistic Prayer that consecrates, as we have heard from Smolarski. This is also the position of the Anglican theologian G.D. Kilpatrick:

> The Eucharist is an example of the charter-ritual pattern where the Institution Narrative is present because it is the charter story. It takes its place in the Eucharistic Prayer because it appears there in its chronological place in the saving acts of the Lord. This explanation of the presence and position of the words of Institution in the liturgy undercuts the doctrine about these words which has been dominant in Western Christendom since the fourth century AD, the doctrine that these words are present as constituting the factor of consecration and that the Eucharistic Prayer is built round this story, providing a theological and devotional structure enshrining the act of consecration.[51]

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[50] See Theodore G. Tappert, ed. and trans., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 129. This passage is not found in Kolb-Wengert, but see also BSLK, 193,53-194,2.

[51] G.D. Kilpatrick, *The Eucharist in Bible and Liturgy,* The Moorhouse Lectures 1975 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 79–80. Cf. the statement of the Roman theologian Enrico Mazza, "This means that the explanatory words over the bread and wine [sc. 'This is my body; This is the new testament in my blood'] do not enunciate and

It is therefore not accidental that the German Lutheran theologian Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber characterized Luther's liturgical reform, with its very high view of the Words of Institution and its reduction of the Canon of the Mass, as "going the wrong way of Rome to its end."[52] But Luther did not go the way of Rome to its end. Rather, he drew his liturgical conclusions from his understanding of the Words of Institution as living and acting words, an understanding of the word of God that is deeply rooted in his study of Scripture. If one wants to connect Luther's understanding with a city in church history, it has more in common with the Milan of Ambrose than the Rome of Leo X.

The Words of Institution are giving words, not just the charter story of what we do. The Words of Institution, spoken at the eve of Christ's death, are still effective and, when spoken in the celebration of his meal, are the reason why the communicants receive Christ's body and blood. Hear Luther, as quoted in the Formula of Concord:

> Here, too, if I were to say over all the bread there is, "This is the body of Christ", nothing would happen, but when we follow his institution and command in the Supper and say, "This is my body," then it is his body, not because of our speaking or our declarative word, but because of his command in which he has told us to speak and to do and has attached his own command and deed to our speaking (FC SD VII, 78).

Thus, according to the Formula of Concord, the Words of Institution are not to be omitted, because they are commanded by "do this," because they will strengthen and confirm faith—that is, they are gospel—and because they sanctify and consecrate the elements, effecting the sacramental union (FC SD VII, 80–82). It is Christ's word that does all this, not our thanksgiving. Any liturgical form that pushes the words of Christ to the side and elevates man's thanksgiving is a *de facto* exchange of subjects in the Lord's Supper. Instead of Christ, it is the church, and that means man, that at least

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bring about the sacramental effect produced in the bread and wine on our altars here and now. The reason is simple: the words refer not to the bread and wine on our altars, but to the bread and wine Jesus took into his hands in the upper room two thousand years ago," *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986), 257.

[52] Cf. Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, "Die Eucharistie," *Handbuch der Liturgik,* 3rd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 207–246. Against Schmidt-Lauber's position, cf. Dorothea Wendebourg "Traveled the Full Extent of Rome's Erroneous Path?" *Lutheran Forum* 44 (Winter 2010), 18–33.

partially effects the sacrament through its thanksgiving.[53] That is why I am less than convinced that we should use the term "Eucharist." Of course the word itself is not the problem, but since it has been connected with a very problematic theology, I prefer to speak of the Lord's Supper.

A final word, then, on the liturgical form. What has been called the isolation of the Words of Institution in the Lutheran service is, rather, a liturgical expression that Christ alone is the master of this meal. He speaks to us; we listen and receive. Our prayers are not on the same level as his speaking, and surely our prayers are not more important than his words, which should not be shoved into a relative clause.[54] The traditional Lutheran liturgy is not impoverished. It needs not to be enriched by the introduction of the Eucharistic Prayer, because the richness of any service is not the richness of our speaking, or our actions, or our celebration. The richness of the Divine Service is the richness of the gospel, in which our Lord Jesus Christ gives us his righteousness—the forgiveness of sins—for "where there is forgiveness of sins, there is also life and salvation." In the Lord's Supper, Christ gives us his riches by saying through his instrument, the pastor, "Take, eat, this is my body, given for you. Drink of it, all of you, this cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sins." And so we believe his promise, we eat and drink his body and blood, given and shed for us. This is what the Lord has mandated. This has his promise. Thus we are justified.

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[53] Cf. Enrico Mazza, *Eucharistic Prayers*, 26: "When read during the anaphora or, better, when narrated to the Father, the account [sc. the institution narrative] shows our fidelity to the mandate that established the Eucharist. It shows God that the community intends to do precisely that which Christ left to it as his legacy, and to do it with the same meaning and values that he associated with it. In repeating the account of God, the *ecclesia* repeats to itself the form of the celebration. It repeats it to actualize it successfully, that is, to render the reality present and active. This successful actualization is a gift for which it petitions God." The problem here lies in the fact that the Words of Institution show what the church does, not what her Lord does, and in the relationship between the church rendering the reality present and active and its being a gift from God. This is at least a synergistic understanding of the cause of the sacramental union.

[54] Although several essays in *Through the Church the Song Goes On* (St. Louis: The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod), which was edited by the Commission on Worship of the LCMS in preparation for the publication of *Lutheran Service Book* (*LSB*), were heavily slanted towards a full Eucharistic Prayer, no such prayer was included. *LSB* did not integrate the Words of Institution into a prayer, thereby maintaining liturgically the distinction between prayer and the Words of Institution; neither did the prayers include representation theology or an epiclesis in which the Holy Spirit is asked to effect the sacramental union.

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The Reception of Walther's Theology in the Wisconsin Synod

Mark E. Braun

The year 2003 marked the 200th anniversary of the birth of Johannes Muehlhaeuser, founder of Grace Lutheran congregation in Milwaukee and chief organizer and first president of the Wisconsin Synod. He had arrived in Rochester, New York, in 1837 and was received into the ministerium of the General Synod, where he served for ten years until relocating at Milwaukee in 1848. On May 26, 1850, in Town Granville, northwest of Milwaukee, Muehlhaeuser and four other Lutheran pastors formed *Das Deutsche Evangelium Ministerium von Wisconsin.* He served as Synod president for the next decade and remained pastor at Grace Church on the corner of Broadway and Juneau Avenues until his death in 1867.[1]

To the best of my knowledge, no periodical, theological journal, news release, celebratory gathering or reverential festschrift of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) has marked the bicentennial of Muehlhaeuser's birth. But no one in the Wisconsin Synod would fault the LCMS for that, because scarcely anyone in the Wisconsin noted that anniversary either. In fact, few Wisconsin Synod members have even heard of Muehlhaeuser. There is no Muehlhaeuser Memorial Lutheran Church in the Wisconsin Synod. There is no legacy of young people joining the national Muehlhaeuser League during their teenage years. There is no enterprising merchandiser offering for sale eight-inch-high statuettes of Johannes Muehlhaeuser, suitable for display on one's study desk or attachment to one's dashboard. And no Wisconsin Synod pastor would ever ask, concerning any theological question, "What Would Muehlhaeuser Do?"

By contrast, it comes as no surprise that the Wisconsin Synod also observed the 200th anniversary of the birth of C.F.W. Walther,[2] nor is it surprising that Wisconsin has praised Walther's theology and sought to

[1] See Edward C. Fredrich, *The Wisconsin Synod Lutherans: A History of the Single Synod, Federation, and Merger* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1992), 4–8; Mark E. Braun, "Faith of our Fathers," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 74 (Winter 2002): 198–218.

[2] John F. Brug, "Foreword to Volume 108: Where There Is No Love, Doctrine Cannot Remain Pure," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 108 (Winter 2011): 9.

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emulate it. In 1887, Wisconsin's Gemeinde-Blatt began a long obituary, extending over two issues, by saying, "On May 7 of this year a man was called out of this life who in American Lutheranism has had no equal and whose work, greatly blessed by God, will bear more blessed fruit for many years to come as long as this Lutheranism survives." On the 100th anniversary of Walther's death, Wisconsin's Northwestern Lutheran observed that the obituary had stood up remarkably well. The intervening century had produced no peer to Walther, and "the prediction that Walther's labors would bring blessings in future generations and to us stands validated by the hindsight of a hundred years of history."[3] At certain times, the Wisconsin Synod has even claimed that it, rather than the Missouri Synod, is the true heir of the theology of the old Synodical Conference, and—by extension—the true heir of the theology of Walther.[4]

I. Early Tensions and Contentions

Muehlhaeuser's training at the Pilgermission in Basel did not include an understanding of the Lutheran Confessions as a clear exposition of scriptural teaching.[5] He had not received "a scholarly kind of theological training" but was prepared for work in America "only in a minimal way." The Pilgermission "left its students free to choose affiliation in America either with a Lutheran church body or a United one or even a Reformed one."[6] Muehlhaeuser "meant to be a Lutheran," wrote Wisconsin historian Joh. P. Koehler, yet his experience in Rochester "filled him with antipathy" toward confessional Lutheranism. He "acknowledged the zeal of Old-

[3] See Edward C. Fredrich II, "Dr. C.F.W. Walther: 'American Lutheranism Has Had No Equal,'" *The Northwestern Lutheran* 74 (May 15, 1987): 187.

[4] For examples, see [Joh. P.] M[eyer], "Is Conservatism Traditionalism?" *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 59 (April 1962): 148; C[arleton] Toppe, "Better, a Hallowed Memory," *The Northwestern Lutheran* 51 (January 12, 1964): 3; E[dward] C. Fredrich, "Wisconsin's Theological-Confessional History—Viewed Especially in the Light of Its Fellowship Principles and Practices," *Lutheran Historical Conference Essays and Reports*, VI (1977), 105; Wilbert R. Gawrisch, "'If ye continue in My Word,'" *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 90 (Winter 1993): 4.

[5] Edwin A. Lehmann, "The Pastor Who Possessed an All-Consuming Love," *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 1 (Spring 1983): 9–10.

[6] August Pieper, "Dr. Hoeneckes Bedeutung fuer die Wisconsinsynode und die americanisch-lutherische Kirche," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 32 (July 1935): 161–74; (October 1935): 225–44; 33 (January 1936): 1–19 and (April 1936): 81–101; trans. Werner H. Franzmann, "The Significance of Dr. Adolf Hoenecke for the Wisconsin Synod and American Lutheranism," in *The Wauwatosa Theology*, ed. Curtis A. Jahn (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997), 3:357–358.

Lutherans for the kingdom of God but deplored their insistence on Lutheran doctrine and practice as zealotry and priestcraft."[7]

In Wisconsin, Muehlhaeuser dismissed the Lutheran Confessions as "paper fences" and failed to require a *quia* subscription of his synod's pastors in Wisconsin's articles of organization.[8] In an oft-quoted letter of 1853, he wrote, "Just because I am not strictly or Old-Lutheran, I am in a position to offer every child of God and servant of Christ the hand of fellowship over the ecclesiastical fence."[9] Yet Muehlhaeuser was, in Koehler's estimation, "a simple-hearted Lutheran from his youth, and the idea of surrendering anything of his Lutheran faith would have filled him with consternation." He displayed "a personal living faith, child-like trust in his Savior, and a burning zeal to build His Kingdom and spend himself in the work."[10]

The early Wisconsin Synod "was not of one mold," wrote Wisconsin Professor August Pieper, but was formed by "a conglomeration of people of various confessional leanings," unschooled in Lutheran doctrine and unknown to one another, with neither authoritative leader nor strong unifying force. All of this stood in marked contrast to "the enormous synodical energy" and self-assurance of the Missouri Synod.[11]

It is not surprising, then, that the casual observer in the 1850s "would hardly have imagined two more disparate groups of Lutherans than the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods."[12] Missouri took little initial notice of the Wisconsin Synod, or, if it did, "considered the new body unionistic and for that reason as outside of [its] sphere." After 1858, with the publication of Wisconsin's first synodical report, Missouri regarded Wisconsin's brand of Lutheranism "with misgivings, if not ridicule." When Johannes Bading became Wisconsin's second synodical president in 1860, Missouri

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[7] John Philipp Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod* (St. Cloud, Minn.: Faith-Life, 1970), 40.

[8] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod*, 45, 41.

[9] Johannes Muehlhaeuser to Gotthilf Weitbrecht, November 1853; cited by Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod*, 43–44.

[10] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod*, 72–73.

[11] August Pieper, "Jubilaeumsnachgedanke," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 20 (January 1923): 1–18, (April 1923): 88–112, (July 1923): 161–77, and (October 1923): 254–70; *Theologische Quartalschrift* 21 (January 1924): 22–45 and (April 1924): 104–111; trans. R.E. Wehrwein, "Anniversary Reflections" in *The Wauwatosa Theology* 3:272. See Pieper's entire characterization of Wisconsin's early years, 3:271–276.

[12] David Schmiel, "The History of the Relationship of the Wisconsin Synod to the Missouri Synod until 1925" (master's thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1958), 1.

"recognized its Lutheran confession but doubted that it would endure."[13] Buffalo's *Das Informatorium* and Missouri's *Der Lutheraner* sounded repeated warnings and leveled numerous accusations against Wisconsin.[14] By 1865, *Der Lutheraner* had come to refer to the Wisconsin Synod as a "kindred spirit," yet warned that "especially in practice because of its bold intrusions and its daring raids into the congregations," the Wisconsin Synod merited "careful watching."[15]

It is difficult to determine how much of Missouri's criticisms of Wisconsin came directly from Walther himself, since he enlisted some of his associates to write key articles on behalf of the editors of *Der Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre* and then endorsed the final version. *Der Lutheraner* also contained many unsigned articles, which Walther may or may not have written.[16] Perhaps it is best to say that before 1868 Walther's influence on the Wisconsin Synod was indirect. Wisconsin pastors increasingly found themselves in agreement with Walther's position and would have moved in that direction even without his influence.[17] Early volumes of Missouri publications contained "a simple, instructive, all-embracing and extensive setting-forth of what a Lutheran should know and treasure," which was "unrivalled by any printed word of that day." Yet Wisconsin was slow to embrace Missouri's message because "hostility on the part of the champions of orthodoxy is only too apt to spring from, and certain to foster in its supporters, self-righteousness and pride."[18]

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[13] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 74.

[14] For examples, see *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika* (1854) I, col. 5. Johannes Diendoerfer, "Die Wirksamkeit der evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Iowa in Staate Wisconsin," *Kirchliches Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika* 19 (October 1861): 72–73; Fr. Ruhland, "Kirchliche Nachtrichten aus dem noerdlichen Wisconsin," *Der Lutheraner* 17 (September 18, 1860): 20–22. F. Steinbach, "Neueste Praxis der Wisconsin Synode im Missioniren unter den Deutschen," *Der Lutheraner* 17 (March 5, 1861): 116; J.N. Beyer, "Die Wisconsin Synode," *Der Lutheraner* 18 (March 5, 1862): 120; "Die Synode von Wisconsin," *Lehre und Wehre* 8 (August 1862): 252–253. Koehler documented numerous examples that occurred between 1858 and 1868; see *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 83–86, 93–94, 97–98, 107–108, 115–17.

[15] "Vorwort," *Der Lutheraner* 22 (September 1, 1865): 1; cited and trans. by Armin W. Schuetze, *The Synodical Conference: Ecumenical Endeavor* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2000), 33.

[16] John F. Brug, "Foreword to Volume 106: Recovering Walther," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 106 (January 2009): 7–8.

[17] John M. Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 104 (Winter 2007): 36.

[18] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 80.

Sparks of a deeper confessional spirit had already been rising in Wisconsin apart from, and even in spite of, the harsh charges coming from Missouri.[19] One man who played a significant role in Wisconsin's turn to the right was Johannes Bading, who at his ordination in 1854 insisted that Muehlhaeuser require him to pledge loyalty to the Confessions.[20] Another man who played a key role in the synod's growing confessionalism was Adolf Hoenecke, who, although having received a thoroughly rationalistic education at the University of Halle, became firmly committed to confessional Lutheranism.

Although Missouri-Wisconsin relations "pursued the even tenor of their polemical way" into the early months of 1868,[21] Bading, now president of the Wisconsin Synod, reported to Wisconsin's 1868 convention that "an informed and private discussion with pastors of the Missouri Synod, who sincerely desire peace with us as we do with them, justifies the hopes that our relationship also to this church body will become more and more friendly and brotherly."[22] Bading addressed an overture to Walther, claiming "there was no need of discussing doctrine" between the two bodies "since the orthodoxy of Wisconsin ought to be sufficiently known." Walther replied to Bading on August 17, 1868:

> Reverend Sir! We cannot dispensate ourselves from our instructions. So we would have to submit the matter once more to our Synod. But the conversation should not be understood or carried on as though *we* were the judges or school-masters, but a heart-to-heart talk to determine whether we are devoted to the Word of God without guile. If we find ourselves on common ground in this then the practical matters

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[19] August Pieper wrote, "We see a resolute Lutheranism and an anti-unionistic spirit stirring in several pastors of the Wisconsin Synod even in the early 1850s." "The Significance of Dr. Adolf Hoenecke," in *The Wauwautosa Theology*, 3:371. Koehler attributed this new trend in Wisconsin to a change at the European mission house under the leadership of the school's second inspector, Johann Christian Wallmann; see *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 47. See also Mark Braun, "Wisconsin's 'Turn to the Right,'" *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 75 (Spring 2002): 31–48 and (Summer 2002): 80–100; Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 47–51; Schuetze, *The Synodical Conference*, 36–42.

[20] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 45. At Bading's installation service at Calumet in summer 1854, Muehlhaeuser and Bading "had a somewhat stormy session to begin with" because "Bading demanded to be pledged to the Lutheran Confessions." Muehlhaeuser "finally acceded to Bading's wish," and Bading in his installation sermon then preached on the importance of the confessions.

[21] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 114.

[22] *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1868*; trans. Arnold O. Lehmann, *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 21 (April 2003): 12.

> will easily adjust themselves. No halo of glory for us and humiliation of the others.[23]

In view of the lengthy, public and acrimonious accusations Missouri previously had leveled against Wisconsin, one wonders whether Walther's statement is to be taken entirely at face value.

When, however, Walther and other Missouri representatives met with Wisconsin men in Milwaukee on October 21–22 of that year (1868), they were clearly pleased with the outcome. Walther conceded, "We must admit that all our suspicions against the dear Wisconsin Synod have not merely disappeared but were also put to shame."[24] More significantly, he was heard to say (by Bading, Hoenecke, and Koehler's father, Philip), "Brethren, if we had known before what we know now we might have declared our unity of faith ten years ago.'"[25] Koehler called Walther's remark "a typical exclamation of the man, who when his trust had been won was apt to make impulsive statements of regard and affection." He further understood Walther to have been acknowledging that "the unfortunate denunciations might have been avoided by seeking personal acquaintance."[26] At the formation of the Ev. Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America in 1872, Walther in his opening sermon in the convention exulted, "O blessed and blissful day!"[27]

It has been persistently maintained that Missouri's public attacks and private persuasions furnished the key element in the Wisconsin Synod's turn to the right. Though Walther, the Missouri Synod, *Lehre und Wehre*, and *Der Lutheraner* are frequently cited as blessings God gave Wisconsin,[28] it was "less the polemical writing in Missouri periodicals" and more "the personal and brotherly example and encouragement of a good Missouri neighbor" that helped move Wisconsin to alter its theological direction.[29]

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[23] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 129.

[24] C.F.W. Walther, "Wieder eine Friedenbotschaft," *Der Lutheraner* 25 (November 1, 1868): 37–38; cited by Walter D. Uhlig, "Eighteen Sixty-Eight—Year of Involvement," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 41 (August 1968): 109.

[25] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 74.

[26] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 130.

[27] Fredrich, *The Wisconsin Synod Lutherans,* 55; quote from Bading, *Synodical Conference Proceedings, 1912,* 5.

[28] Fredrich, "American Lutheranism Has Had No Equal,'" 189.

[29] Koehler cites an outstanding example of Missouri's "neighborliness": at one point shortly after his arrival in America, Bading in a mood of frustration applied to Missouri Pastor Fuerbringer in Freistadt, Wisconsin, to become a member of the Missouri Synod. "But Fuerbringer advised him to stick with Wisconsin and lend his influence for raising the standard of doctrine and practice. Thus Bading remained with

"There is no justification for the charges raised a century ago," Wisconsin historian Edward Fredrich has concluded, "that Missouri alone was setting the pace and [that] the other synods, large and small, were simply following her lead."[30] Wisconsin arrived at its confessional state through the careful investigation and personal conviction of its own men.

II. The Election Controversy

Despite such joyful declarations, however, relations between Missouri and Wisconsin did not immediately become harmonious. When Wisconsin failed to embrace Walther's state synod plan that proposed a single synod with one seminary, Missourians charged that "the Wisconsin Synod does not love the Missouri Synod," and the animosity occasioned by Wisconsin's rejection of Walther's plan "lingered in Wisconsin circles years afterward.[31] Walther called Wisconsin's rejection of his plan an "unholy trespass" against Missouri.[32] By 1878 Walther was "no longer overflowing with human kindness toward Wisconsin," not only because of Wisconsin's rejection of Walther's "pet plan" but also because of his suspicion that Wisconsin Synod students attending the St. Louis seminary "had been prejudiced against him."[33]

When that same year Walther received an honorary doctor of divinity degree from the Ohio Synod's Capital University, he extolled "the dear Ohioans" and again criticized Wisconsin for its disinterest in the state synod plan. It was at that time that Hoenecke remarked that there was "something sectarian" about Missouri. He was referring not to Missouri's doctrinal position but to "a peculiarity of demeanor, a certain bigotry that inclines one to give others the cold shoulder and never rise above one's parochial view, speech and manners." Koehler likened Missouri's "uniformly trained and well-disciplined corps of defenders of the faith" to "the Prussian army which in that decade was scoring its great successes."[34] August Pieper took note of Missouri's "remarkable, intense esprit de

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the Wisconsin Synod" and led the synod faithfully as its second president. *History of the Wisconsin Synod*, 45.

[30] Edward C. Fredrich, "A Few, Faithful in a Few Things: Our Synod's Fathers and the Formation of the Synodical Conference," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 69 (July 1972): 155.

[31] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod*, 160.

[32] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 147–48; see also Mark E. Braun, *A Tale of Two Synods: Events That Led to the Split between Missouri and Wisconsin* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2003), 50–52.

[33] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 154.

[34] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 153.

corps" and its "strongly pronounced synodical patriotism, not only against all enemies, but also against friendly synods," and compared Missouri's doctrinal impregnability to a "Macedonian phalanx."[35]

But Wisconsin and Missouri grew closer to each other during and because of the Election Controversy. For several years beginning in the mid-1870s, Missouri conferences under Walther's leadership had been discussing the general theme, "That Only Through the Teaching of the Lutheran Church God is Given All Honor; This is An Irrefutable Proof that the Teaching of the Lutheran Church is the Only True One." The doctrine of election was one topic presented under this theme. Some of Walther's statements regarding election sounded Calvinistic to Friederich Schmidt of the Norwegian Synod and Henry Allwardt and Frederick Stellhorn of Missouri. Following the 1877 meeting of Missouri's Western District, Walther's opponents voiced public criticisms, first in *Lehre und Wehre,* then in a newly-formed journal *Altes und Neues*. Walther and the Missourians "stressed that the individual believer is predestined *unto* faith, solely on the basis of God's grace and the merit of Christ," while their opponents "insisted that when speaking of God's predestination of the individual believer one must understand that predestination takes place *in view of* his faith which has been foreseen by God."[36] Other member synods of the Synodical Conference soon became embroiled in the conflict.

Considering the turmoil between Missouri and Wisconsin in 1877 and 1878, "one would have expected Wisconsin to leave the Synodical Conference rather than the 'dear Ohioans.'" Yet "contrary to all human logic," Wisconsin firmly supported Walther and his position on election.[37] "It quickly became known that Hoenecke and [Wisconsin's] entire seminary faculty stood on Walther's side," wrote Pieper, and Wisconsin's support "immediately put a strong restraint on the opposing side. Hoenecke stood firmly, calmly, and judiciously with Walther."[38]

Hoenecke authored a series of articles in Wisconsin's *Gemeinde-Blatt* in full support of Walther's position. In 1877, he wrote, "The word of God clearly and plainly teaches that God alone is the one who begins and completes the work of conversion in the heart of man."[39] The next year, he

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[35] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 245.

[36] Eugene L. Fevold, "Coming of Age, 1875–1900," in *The Lutherans in North America*, ed. E. Clifford Nelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 313–317.

[37] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 159.

[38] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 280.

[39] Adolf Hoenecke, "Was kann ich zu meiner Bekehrung bei tragen oder wie werde ich bekehrt," *Gemeinde-Blatt* 13 (November 1, 1877): 1; cited in Jonathan Schroeder, "The

wrote, "The fact that so many men are not converted is not God's fault, but rather solely the guilt of the men who remain unconverted."[40] As the controversy heated up, Hoenecke wrote again: "If we want to consider the doctrine of predestination in a fruitful way, then we must beat down all our thoughts and all the conclusions of our reason which contend against the Word of God alone. We must cling only to the revealed Word of God."[41]

When some statements in Missouri publications seemed open to misinterpretation, Hoenecke initiated efforts at Wisconsin's 1879 pastoral conference to seek for corrections in language.[42] "The prudent Hoenecke" discussed these changes with Walther, "to deprive his opponents of the opportunity for fruitless controversy" and "to remove every occasion for offense on the part of the weak among his friends."[43] Walther subsequently withdrew the language but not the content of three unclear statements, using "the Latin sentence well-known in church history: *Linguam corrigo, sententiam teneo* (I correct the language; the sense I retain)."[44] But Wisconsin remained in full agreement with the substance of Walther's teaching. Pieper insisted, "The man is yet to be born who can prove that even one of the expressions Walther there dropped is contrary to Scripture when used in the sense he intended."[45] The issue, as Hoenecke put it, "was not a peculiar doctrine of Missouri, but the clear, eternal truth of the gospel."[46]

Contribution of Adolf Hoenecke to the Election Controversy of the Synodical Conference and an Appendix of Translated Articles," *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 17 (October 1999): 16.

[40] Adolf Hoenecke, "Wenn Gott allein die Menschen bekehren kann und muss und solches thut ohne es Menschen Zuthun, woher kommt es den, dass so viele Menschen unbekehrt bleiben?" *Gemeinde-Blatt* 13 (January 1, 1878): 1; cited in Schroeder, "The Contribution of Adolf Hoenecke to the Election Controversy," 16.

[41] Adolf Hoenecke, "Zur Lehre von der Gnadenwahl," *Gemeinde-Blatt* 15 (April 15, 1880): 2; cited in Schroeder, "The Contribution of Adolf Hoenecke to the Election Controversy," 17.

[42] See Carl S. Meyer, "The Missouri Synod and Other Lutherans Before 1918," in *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*, ed. Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 273–274.

[43] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 260.

[44] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 158. See [C.F.W.] W[alther], "*Sententiam teneat, linguam corrugate," Lehre und Wehre* 27 (February 1881): 43–54. He corrected his language in three areas: that there are no conditions in God; that those who are lost perish because their perdition is foreseen by God; and that the elect receive a richer grace. See Roy Arthur Suelflow, "The History of the Missouri Synod during the Second Twenty-Five Years of Its Existence" (Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1946), 162.

[45] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 260.

[46] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 280.

Walther's teaching on election was "not Walther's, but the teachings of the Scriptures, of Paul, of Luther, and of the Formula of Concord." He stood "directly on Scripture" while his opponents were "mired in reason." In regard to personalities, Hoenecke granted that there were "several Missourians" who were "hard to bear, but on the score of theology we are of one flesh and blood with Walther. Therefore there can be no talk of separating from Missouri."[47]

Walther expressed joy and appreciation for Hoenecke's support: "Praise God! We Missourians do not stand in this fight alone! The Wisconsin Synod, in the theologians of its faculty and in its many able members, stands at our side."[48] Hoenecke emerged from the conflict as a strong theologian in his own right. Gottfried Fritschel wrote that Hoenecke "proceeded much more logically and exactly than Professor Walther," and "by gentle and conciliatory speech he took the sting out of the Missouri Synod's offensive phraseology, and accomplished much in the interest of peace in the church."[49]

Negatively, the "unrest and confusion and the forces at work in the Synodical Conference" throughout the controversy "hardly were a credit to any of the embattled parties or to the theology of the day." The conflict was marked, as Koehler saw it, by "a mistaken zeal for the house of God and plain partisan policy," by "high emotion and a certain amount of indifference," by "intense loyalties to personalities and synods," and by both "individualism and independence; ruthlessness and ill-breeding." The controversy brought out "the general dogmatical approach to the problem on both sides," which too often resulted in "falling back on the fathers of Lutheran dogmatics, [in] whom Walther's own theological method had invested undue authority."[50]

But the positive outweighed the negative. The controversy "forced everyone to make a careful study of Scripture and the Confessions," which produced "a deeper grasp of the gospel, a great spiritual awakening, and more cheerful cooperation in synodical work."[51] From this came a "revitalizing influence on the method of study and teaching."[52] Pieper called it

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[47] Pieper, "The Significance of Dr. Adolf Hoenecke," 417–418.

[48] Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," 46; [C.F.W.] W[alther], "Das Colloquium," *Der Lutheraner* 37 (January 15, 1881): 1.

[49] Fritschel cited by J.L. Neve, *The History of the Lutheran Church in America,* ed. Willard Allbeck (Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1934), 231.

[50] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 160–61.

[51] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 280–281.

[52] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 171.

nothing less than "a miracle of grace" that "the Synodical Conference did not go to pieces entirely and that the Missouri Synod, on the whole, emerged from the conflict intact, and, in fact, together with Wisconsin, inwardly strengthened and unified." There were losses in the Synodical Conference as a whole, but "a precious Bible truth was more deeply appreciated than ever before," and the bond between Wisconsin and Missouri was "more firmly established."[53]

Wisconsin's role in the Election Controversy was "no blind following where Missouri led but a deep-seated conviction that the Missouri position was the scriptural position."[54]

III. "When we quoted Walther to them, then they believed us"

Because Wisconsin closed its seminary from 1870 to 1878 as part of the ill-fated state synod plan, Koehler, August Pieper, and John Schaller were all seminarians in St. Louis during that time and thus were Walther's students. Pieper called Walther "the teacher who held first place in my heart,"[55] and recalled that "whoever came into personal contact with him had to take a liking to him and involuntarily looked up to him. The longer one knew him, the greater was one's respect for him." Three years at his feet "were enough to make one a Waltherian in doctrine and love."[56] Decades later, Pieper was effusive in his praise for his teacher.

> "*Walther preached [the] doctrine of justification as no one has since Luther.* When he preached sin and wrath, hearts quaked with fear; when he testified to God's grace, they embraced it, rejoiced in it, found peace, and humbled themselves before God. Walther literally compelled those who were conscience-stricken to take hold of God's grace; those who were faint-hearted, he made sure of God's grace."[57]

Walther's "chief work," Pieper wrote in 1912, was that he "repristinated" or "reproduced" the doctrines of justification and church and ministry from Luther and the Confessions "and brought the majority of the Lutheran Church in America to recognize them. That assures him of a place among the greatest theologians of the church and gives him a claim to the

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[53] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 240; Fredrich, *The Wisconsin Synod Lutherans,* 61.

[54] Fredrich, *The Wisconsin Synod Lutherans,* 60.

[55] Edward C. Fredrich, "Reminiscences from Professor August Pieper," *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 1 (Fall 1983): 54.

[56] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 245–246.

[57] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 237; emphasis in the original.

thanks of all who love Zion."[58] In 1923, Pieper maintained that the prevailing disposition in both synods—their strong confessional stance, their inner spirit and outward growth—were to be attributed largely to Walther's influence. "As a Spirit-filled witness of grace to poor sinners, as an immovable confessor of God's pure truth and as an indefatigable, self-denying worker, Walther created what we have today in the Synodical Conference, and all that has come of it."[59]

Yet Pieper criticized Walther for an overdependence on "the secondary sources of theology—Luther and lesser fathers," and for his willingness to take over "dozens of proof passages from Luther and the dogmaticians," even though they "do not prove what they are supposed to prove." Pieper considered Walther a "brilliant dogmatician" but "an inferior exegete." However justified Walther's method may have been at the beginning of his teaching, it was "in principle and in practice wrong" because "it did not rest *directly* on Scripture and did not lead one directly into it." Though his method "did no harm to the correct doctrine of Walther and his students," it nonetheless "stressed too strongly the importance of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions and the Lutheran fathers in comparison with Scripture." At its worst, "it even led to this, that later one did not stop with quoting Luther and the old fathers, but now one also quoted Walther" for proof of correct doctrine.[60] Pieper was reported as having remarked, perhaps only partly tongue-in-cheek, "We could not persuade Missourians with the Bible, but when we quoted Walther to them, then they believed us."[61]

Recalling his own student days, Pieper charged that "the average student in Walther's time made out poorly" in "everything except dogmatics and pastoral theology." New Testament exegesis "consisted mainly of dictated quotations from the Lutheran exegetes of the 16th and 17th centuries." In isagogics "the Bible itself was seldom used in class," and so "students came out of the seminary without having the slightest ability in exegesis" and "had not ever studied a single book of Holy Scripture some-

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[58] August Pieper, "Review of Walther's *Die Stimme Unser Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt*," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 9 (January 1912): 36, 40; cited and trans. by Brug, "Recovering Walther," 3.

[59] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 240.

[60] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 261, 263.

[61] August Pieper, *Tischreden* (Erste Auflage, ungesaeubert, 1937), 1; cited by Mark Jeske, "A Half Century of *Faith-Life:* An analysis of the circumstances surrounding the formation of the Protes'tant Conference" (senior church history paper, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, April 22, 1978), 16.

what thoroughly."[62] Pieper did not reject the legitimate role of systematic theology; in a review of Schaller's *Biblical Christology* in 1919, Pieper wrote that underestimating the value of doctrinal theology was "one of the gravest mistakes the Church could make." History and exegesis provide the necessary foundation and "a full knowledge [of the] Gospel," but "systematic theology must shape its form, and give it the proper finish." Dogmatics fostered "accuracy of thought and the precision of logical expression peculiar," making it "an indispensable study and a most potent factor in the training of masterly minds."[63]

Yet Pieper repeatedly voiced warnings against the dangers inherent in dogmatic theology. "The systemizing tendency of Lutheran dogmatics emphasized" the importance of Scripture "in principle but in the application often failed. And the more they systematized, the greater was the damage. Ever since Calixtus, everything had to fit into the logical straightjacket." The dogmaticians "learned the *disinguendam est* ['a distinction must be made'] to the minutest detail and—without any evil intention—damaged Scripture here and there."[64] While dogmatics is "altogether indispensable" for keeping the gospel pure, it is also "is in constant danger of losing the spirit of the gospel and becoming a dead skeleton as a result of processes that involve the intellect alone."[65] Dogma becomes "the word crystallized into an inflexible form" that "does not express the full content of Scripture."[66]

Koehler likewise warned that "dogmatic training" and "the dogmatism it produces will establish an array of doctrinal theses and make an outward rule of them, without probing their deep content and inner connection." Worse, "it will seek, by means of a supposed logical reasoning, to achieve a connected system of thought, whereby in fact Biblical truth is emptied of it content and the resulting Christian knowledge and life is left superficial."[67]

This overemphasis on dogmatic theology and a corresponding neglect of exegetical theology helped to create what many outsiders referred to as

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[62] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 265.

[63] August Pieper, Review of *Biblical Christology* by John Schaller; in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 16 (October 1919): 298–299.

[64] August Pieper, "Schrift und Verkunft," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 12 (April 1915): 109–128; trans. James Langebartels, "Scripture and Reason," in *The Wauwatosa Theology*, 1:180.

[65] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 283.

[66] August Pieper, "Stoeckhardt's Significance in the Lutheran Church in America," Theologische Quartelschrift 11 (July 1914): 179–189; in *The Wauwatosa Theology* III:423.

[67] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 168.

the "Missouri spirit," evident "in hundreds of concrete cases, in raising suspicions about doctrine, in dead silence about the boycotting of non-synodical literature, in competition in the area of foreign mission work, in a smug tone of criticism of non-synodical church institutions and theological accomplishments and in all kinds of scornful talk and remarks." Most likely referring to his own synod, August Pieper charged that "this attitude is taken not only toward the synods that have remained hostile, but also toward those that in the course of time were recognized as sufficiently Lutheran." This attitude "confronts even the friends of the Missouri Synod again and again to the present day."[68]

Behind the admittedly sharp and possibly overstated remarks of Pieper and Koehler lay the question of the relation between exegetical and systematic theology. Koehler believed it "takes a generation for independent exegetical work to come into its own and assert itself," but the result "will be that faith, faith in the sense of the Bible, comes into its own, and having come to life by this most intimate and direct association with and concentration on the Word itself, it is recognized as wholly the work and gift of the Spirit himself."[69]

Things changed in the Missouri Synod, Koehler believed, when "original exegesis was introduced at the St. Louis school by Pastor-Professor George Stoeckhardt."[70] Pieper assessed their differing approaches: "Walther produced chiefly the Lutheran doctrine and then proved it from the Scriptures," while "Stoeckhardt produced the scriptural doctrine and then showed us that it was also the doctrine of Luther and the Confessions."[71] Stoeckhardt's exegesis of Scripture "compelled not only the understanding, but overcame the heart"; he fixed his hearers' consciences "on the rock of the Word of God and made them glad—not about Quenstedt, Calov, Gerhard, and Luther, but about the Word which God himself spoke through the apostles." Following their teacher, Stoeckhardt's students became "not patristic theologians but Scripture theologians," gaining "new interest, new joy in the gospel, new zeal for the salvation of ourselves and of other sinners and new delight and joy in our call, our work in the kingdom of our Savior."[72]

A comparable change came to the Wisconsin Synod during the height of the so-called "Wauwatosa Theology," in which emphasis was placed on

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[68] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 266–267.
[69] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 161.
[70] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 161.
[71] Pieper, "Stoeckhardt's Significance in the Lutheran Church of America," 422–423.
[72] Pieper, "Stoeckhardt's Significance in the Lutheran Church of America," 425.

original study of the biblical text and in gaining book-by-book familiarity with the Scripture.[73] Most students at Wisconsin's seminary prior to 1900 "concentrated on copying and studying Hoenecke's dictated dogmatics" and paid little attention to other subjects. "Exegesis and history seemed everywhere to have been considered secondary subjects," which, Koehler charged, was as it had been in St. Louis until the arrival of Stoeckhardt.[74] In what may be taken as a position statement of the "Wauwatosa theology" that he, Koehler and Schaller sought to foster, August Pieper wrote in 1913: "We intend to pursue scriptural study even more faithfully than before," promising to submit "in advance to the least word of Scripture," no matter from whom it may come. "But we submit to no man, be his name Luther or Walther, Chemnitz or Hoenecke, Gerhard or Stoeckhardt, so long as we have clear Scripture on our side." Authorities placed on the same level as Scripture or set in opposition to Scripture, he insisted must not be tolerated, "or we shall be practicing idolatry."[75]

And yet Walther himself, in his 1884 essay "Church Fathers and Doctrine," offered a clear defense for the necessity of basing all teaching on Scripture alone.[76] The teachers of the church are "nothing else than *witnesses*. Every true Lutheran believes that. Oh, it is terrible when one always directs people only to human books, instead of to Scripture." Walther feared the "heartbreak" that was yet to come to the Lutheran Church in America "because, only to keep people, some have begun to direct them to human writings and mislead them [by saying], 'Just look at these men! They are highly enlightened, pious, godly, highly gifted church fathers, whom even our opponents cannot reject, and they teach such and such; we must hold fast to it as solely truly Lutheran.'"[77] Critics in Wisconsin could hardly "object to Walther's approach to doctrine as stated in this essay and, in fact, recognized it as Luther's and their own."[78]

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[73] See Mark Braun, "The Wauwatosa Gospel," 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), 131–152; Peter M. Prange, "The Wauwatosa Gospel and the Synodical Conference: A Generation of Pelting Rain," *Logia* 12 (Eastertide 2003): 31–46.

[74] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 207.

[75] August Pieper, "Vorwort zum zehnten Jahrgang," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 10 (January 1913): 1–10; in Jahn, *The Wauwatosa Theology,* 1:116–117.

[76] C.F.W. Walther, "Church Fathers and Doctrine," Synodical Conference Essay, Cleveland, Ohio, August 13–19, 1884, *Essays for the Church, Volume II: 1877–1886* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 67–101. Schuetze offered approving remarks on Walther's essay, *The Synodical Conference*, 208–209.

[77] Walther, "Church Fathers and Doctrine," 80.

[78] Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," 47.

IV. Free Conferences and Church Fellowship

Midway through Muehlhaeuser's decade as the Wisconsin Synod's first president, Walther issued an open invitation to "meetings, held at intervals, by such members of churches as call themselves Lutheran and acknowledge and confess without reservation . . . the unaltered Augsburg Confession," and to "promote and advance the efforts toward the final establishment of one single Evangelical Lutheran Church of America."[79] Some Wisconsin Synod men expressed interest in attending these meetings but were unable to do so. At this time they did not yet have any direct contact with Walther.[80] Between 1856 and 1859, four "free conferences" were held at Columbus, Ohio; Pittsburgh; Cleveland; and Fort Wayne.

Walther can be cited to support various positions regarding inclusiveness toward other Lutherans. In 1844 in *Der Lutheraner* Walther wrote: "The Lutheran Church is not limited to those people who from their youth have borne the name 'Lutheran' or have taken that name later on." He pledged willingness to extend his hand "to every person who honestly submits to the whole written Word of God, bears the true faith in our dear Lord Jesus Christ in his heart and confesses it before the world" and to "regard him as a fellow believer, as a brother in Christ, as a member of our church," regardless "in which sect he may lie concealed and captive."[81] Yet in *The Form of a Christian Congregation,* first published in 1863, Walther urged caution "that neither the congregation nor individual church members enter into any church union with unbelievers or heterodox communions and so become guilty of religious unionism in matters of faith and church."[82] In Thesis XXI of *The Evangelical Lutheran Church*, Walther maintained that the Lutheran Church "rejects *all* fraternal and churchly fellowship with those who reject its confessions in whole or in part."[83]

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[79] C.F.W. Walther, "Vorwort zu Jahrgang 1856," *Lehre und Wehre* 2 (January 1856): 4; trans. Ervin L. Lueker, "Walther and the Free Lutheran Conferences of 1856–1859," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 15 (August 1944): 534–535.

[80] Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," 36.

[81] C.F.W. Walther, "Concerning the name 'Lutheran,'" *Der Lutheraner* 1 (September 7, 1844): 3; trans. in Luecker, "Walther and the Free Lutheran Conferences," 537, n. 18.

[82] C.F.W. Walther, *The Form of a Christian Congregation,* trans. John Theodore Mueller (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987), 137.

[83] Cited by John F. Brug, "The Synodical Conference and Prayer Fellowship," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 102 (Winter 2005): 38. See also C.F.W. Walther, "Do We Draw the Lines of Fellowship Too Narrowly?" in *Editorials from Lehre und Wehre*, trans. Herbert Bouman (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), 74–101, esp. 88–91.

As his biographer August Suelflow tells it, Walther remained agreeable to more open contact with other Lutherans until 1879 and the events surrounding the Election Controversy, when he and Missouri "underwent a radical change in their attitude toward other Lutherans."[84] A delegate to an 1881 colloquy urged Missourians no longer to pray with Lutherans who had accused Missouri of Calvinism.[85] Suelflow calls this "probably the first time in its history that a Missourian had refused to pray with other Lutherans when discussing theological issues." Though "prior to this time Walther was ready, under all circumstances, to discuss theology on the basis of Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions, his thinking now had changed," and Missouri felt "so deeply hurt that it began to withdraw from opportunities for establishing fellowship."[86]

As early as 1889, Missouri voiced a more restrictive policy regarding prayer fellowship.[87] An 1895 essayist, for example, wrote, "People who join in prayer must be of one mind, one faith, one hope, for joint prayer is an expression of a common faith."[88] In the early 20th century, many leading theologians in Missouri expressed similar thoughts:

> August Graebner maintained in 1903, "Where common worship cannot be practiced, Christians are not to carry on prayer fellowship."[89]

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[84] August R. Suelflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C.F.W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 209.

[85] Koehler described the 1881 meeting: "The Missouri delegates, true to form, met in caucus a day in advance to decide on concerted action regarding the seating of Schmidt." When Schmidt's name was called in the roll, "a Missourian protested the seating of this Norwegian delegate on behalf of Missouri." Walther supporters "contended that the controversy had reached such a stage that there was a real difference in doctrine," which "called for separation to avoid unionism, because Schmidt's teaching had been shown up as false doctrine and heresy." Koehler remarked that the Norwegian delegates were "ahead of the Germans" in their "oratory and their views of parliamentary fairness," arguing that "the floor of the Conference was the very place to thresh out the doctrine." But when the vote was taken, Schmidt was denied seating; see *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 160.

[86] Suelflow, *Servant of the Word,* 209.

[87] F[ranz] P[ieper], "Ueber kirchliche Gemeinschaft mit Irrglaeubigen," *Der Lutheraner* 45 (1889): 161–162; cited by John F. Brug, "Can There Ever Be Exceptions To Our Regular Fellowship Practices That Do Not Violate Scripture's Fellowship Principles? Part II," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 99 (Fall 2002): 251.

[88] *Missouri Synod Southern District Proceedings, 1895,* 97; cited in *Fellowship Then and Now: Concerning the Impasse in the Intersynodical Discussions on Church Fellowship* (Milwaukee: WELS Commission on Doctrinal Matters, 1961), 18.

[89] *Missouri Synod Nebraska District Proceedings, 1903;* cited in *Fellowship Then and Now,* 364.

> Friederich Bente wrote in 1904 that prayer fellowship with "adversaries" of other synods would inevitably involve "lies and deceit, controversy and inconsequence."[90]
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> Theodore Graebner argued in 1920 that "any prayer in which we are asked to join those who speak not from the same faith as we, or in which we are asked to withhold an expression of conviction, or by the participation in and utterance of which we are to treat as immaterial those articles of faith in which we differ, cannot be pleasing to God."[91]
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> Francis Pieper insisted in 1924 that to pray with false teachers "would mean to consent to, and to become 'partakers of their evil works.'"[92]
>
> Missouri's *Brief Statement* in 1931 "repudiate[d] unionism, that is, church fellowship with the adherents of false doctrine."[93]
>
> E.W.A. Koehler taught that it was wrong to "join in prayer fellowship with those who 'cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned,' Rom. 16:17."[94]
>
> Theodore Engelder wrote that "the passages which prohibit pulpit fellowship and altar fellowship apply with equal force to prayer fellowship," adding that "if we could fellowship the representatives of false teaching in uniting with them in prayer, we could consistently exchange pulpits with them and meet with them at a common altar."[95]

By the late 1930s, however, it was becoming increasingly apparent that the Missouri Synod was undergoing a change at least in its practice of prayer fellowship. Conservatives sought to demonstrate that their position—that prayer fellowship was to be based only on full agreement in doctrine—had been the position of Walther since the Synod's founding."[96]

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[90] Friederich Bente, "Warum koennen wir keine gemeinsame Gottesdienste mit Ohioern und Iowaern veranstalten und abhalten?" *Lehre und Wehre* 51 (March 1905): 109–110.

[91] [Theodore] G[raebner], "Letters to a Young Preacher: Joint Prayers," *Magazin fuer evang.-Luth. Homiletik und Pastoraltheologie* 44 (May 1920): 231–233.

[92] Francis Pieper, "Unionism," *Oregon and Washington District Proceedings, 1924,* 8; cited in *Fellowship Then And Now,* 20.

[93] "Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 2 (June 1931): 401–416.

[94] E.W.A. Koehler, *A Summary of Christian Doctrine* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), 170.

[95] Engelder cited by Theo. Dierks, "The Doctrine Of The Church With Special Reference to Altar Fellowship and Prayer Fellowship," *The Confessional Lutheran* 7 (February 1946): 18–19.

[96] See John Buenger, "Prayer Fellowship," *The Confessional Lutheran* 3 (March 1942): 34–35; Paul H. Burgdorf, "For the First Time," *The Confessional Lutheran* 3 (June 1942):

But proponents of union between Missouri and the American Lutheran Church first questioned, then denied, that such a restrictive stance on fellowship accurately reflected Walther's position. [97] By 1956, a Wisconsin representative to an intersynodical meeting claimed that Wisconsin's prayer fellowship position, not Missouri's, truly represented a continuation of the position of the Synodical Conference; Missouri, this representative charged, had come to take a fellowship stand "similar to that which the Iowa Synod held."[98]

Wisconsin argued that the free conferences of the 1850s took place during "formative years when [confessional] lines had not yet been clearly drawn" between the various newly-formed Lutheran synods. "Walther was dealing with a situation in which scriptural principles of church fellowship were almost totally unknown among the German immigrants who were being gathered into the congregations of the Missouri Synod."[99] In Wisconsin's view, Walther and his associates regarded the representatives of other Lutheran bodies at that time as "weak brethren."[100] To consider Walther "an advocate of joint prayer with those whom he knew as persistent errorists" is "to slander and misrepresent him." After confessional lines between the Lutheran synods were drawn more clearly following the Election Controversy, Synodical Conference churches discontinued joint prayers with other Lutherans because "it had become plainly evident" that now these other Lutherans "were not weak brethren but persistent errorists."[101] With doctrinal lines between the synods now clearly drawn, joint prayers were no longer offered at future meetings between Lutheran synods.[102]

Thus the Wisconsin and Missouri synods "have quite different interpretations of the significance of the Missouri's Synod's differing actions during the free conferences in the mid-nineteenth century and those in the early twentieth century." In Wisconsin's view, the difference between the

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71–72; Paul E. Kretzmann, "Trying to Force the Issue," *The Confessional Lutheran* 4 (May-June 1943): 61–65; Paul H. Burgdorf, "Prayer Fellowship: The Position of the Missouri Synod," *The Confessional Lutheran* 7 (May 1946): 51.

[97] On the change, see Braun, *A Tale of Two Synods*, 132–138, 170–194; Brug, "The Synodical Conference and Prayer Fellowship," 49–50.

[98] Immanuel P. Frey, "The Voice of the C.U.C.: Joint Prayer and Church Fellowship," *The Northwestern Lutheran* 43 (February 19, 1956): 56–57.

[99] Brug, "Can There Ever Be Exceptions To Our Regular Fellowship Practices?" 249.

[100] "The Time After Confessional Lines Had Been Clearly Drawn," *The Northwestern Lutheran* 48 (March 26, 1961): 101.

[101] Im[manuel] P. Frey, "Joint Prayer" (paper presented to the Missouri-Wisconsin Synods' Presidents' Conference, Milwaukee, January 12–15, 1954), 3–4.

[102] "The Time After Confessional Lines Had Been Clearly Drawn," 101.

free conferences of the 1850s and the union conferences of the 1940s "was not because Missouri had developed a different view of the role of prayer as an expression of fellowship" but because "they were dealing with two different sorts of people." Leaders in the predecessor bodies of the ALC "publicly and persistently condemned Walther's teaching" and "could no longer be considered weak brothers," but persisted in their error.[103] Missouri and Wisconsin both claimed to follow the practice of Walther on prayer fellowship, but they disagreed regarding the nature of Walther's pre-1881 practice.

V. Church and Ministry

The current and most difficult area regarding Wisconsin's reception of Walther's teaching concerns the doctrine of church and ministry.[104] Wisconsin Professor John Brug, whose recently published volume *The Ministry of the Word* provides a comprehensive examination of this subject,[105] has concluded: "The intersynodical controversy over ministry never involved being for or against Walther's view. It was about determining what his view really was."[106]

Dismay among the Saxon immigrants following events associated with Martin Stephan "caused Walther and his fellow immigrants to dig deeply into the biblical teaching on the issue of church and ministry."[107] The result was Walther's 1841 "Altenburg Theses."[108] Koehler credited Walther with restoring "order in this state of chaos" through his "well-considered presentation of the doctrine of the Church"[109] by going back to Scripture, Luther, and the Confessions.[110] Far from looking for an excuse to treat the doctrine of church and ministry, Walther "was forced into it

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[103] Brug, "The Synodical Conference and Prayer Fellowship," 38.

[104] Brug called the doctrine of the ministry "the most debated and the least resolved of all the controversies of American Lutheranism." "Recovering Walther," 3.

[105] John F. Brug, *The Ministry of the Word* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2009).

[106] Brug, "Recovering Walther," 4. Ironically, something of a parallel history took place on this issue. What Walther found it necessary to do in the early 1840s is similar to what Wisconsin theologians Schaller, Pieper, and Koehler found it necessary to do six decades later.

[107] Suelflow, *Servant of the Word,* 163. See also August R. Suelflow, "The Beginnings of 'Missouri, Ohio, and Other States' in America," in *Moving Frontiers,* 135–141.

[108] C.F.W. Walther, "Altenburg Theses," trans. W.G. Polack; cited in Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, 1839–1841* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 523–524.

[109] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 32.

[110] Brug, "Recovering Walther," 4.

through the disturbances in Perry County," Pieper explained, and only later did Walther "go public with it. It would have been the mark of a bungler to ride this doctrine like a hobby horse as if it were an isolated or special article." Pieper considered the Altenburg debate "the real birthday of the Missouri Synod" because "here Walther showed what the church is and that [the immigrants] were still a church. With a single immense pull he again set the desperate little flock of Christians straight."[111]

Walther also opposed the ministry views of J.R.R. Grabau, who taught that the power of the sacraments rests not only on the Word of God but also on the true ministerial office.[112] Grabau believed that the Keys belong to the ministry alone rather than to the congregation.[113] The Second Synodical Report of the Buffalo Synod insisted that the injunction of Romans 13 to obey one's leaders "does not merely apply to preaching but to all good Christian things and affairs which are bound up with the Word of God," and so "Lutheran Christians know" that "honor, love and obedience is demanded through the third and fourth commandment" as "a matter of conscience."[114]

Walther further opposed the ministry views of Wilhelm Loehe, who believed that the office of prophet, with direct communication from God to man, was still present in the church, and that ordination conferred the ministerial office on a person and imparted grace and spiritual powers.[115] This put Loehe on "a collision course with Walther."[116]

Brug has called Walther's 1852 book, *The Voice of Our Church in the Question of Church and Ministry*, the "most important" of "numerous important articles and several books" Walther wrote,[117] yet he and other Wisconsin authors caution that Walther never intended the Altenburg Theses to be "the final word on every aspect of the church and ministry

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[111] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 236–237, 234.

[112] See Brug, *Ministry of the Word,* 292–293.

[113] *Buffalo Synod Proceedings, 1848,* 9–10; cited by Suelflow, *Servant of the Word,* 163.

[114] T. Johannes Grosse, *Unterscheidungslehren* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1889), 5; trans. and cited by Carl J. Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Ministry," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 79 (Spring 1982): 99.

[115] See Brug, *Ministry of the Word,* 293–299.

[116] Thomas P. Nass, review of *Aphorisms on the New Testament Offices and Their Relationship to the Congregation—On the Question of the Church's Polity,* by Wilhelm Loehe, trans. John R. Stephenson (Malone, Tex.: Reprint, 2008); in *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 106 (Spring 2009): 159–160.

[117] Brug, "Where There Is No Love," 9.

question."[118] Later generations of readers must be careful not to read into Walther's theses ideas that he did not express, and must likewise guard against using his theses to try to answer questions he did not address. His intent was only "to set forth those points concerning which difference has arisen and to carry along only as much of what is not controverted as becomes necessary to keep the matters in context."[119] Wisconsin regards Walther's views on the ministry to be correct and the teachings of Grabau, Loehe, and others to be at least "in part erroneous," not because Wisconsin has any "romantic attachment" to Missouri's early history, but because it has "compared Walther's position to Scripture, Luther, and the Confessions and found Walther's position in the debates to be correct in its essentials."[120]

Muehlhaeuser's membership in the General Synod demonstrated, in Pieper's view, that "he was unclear regarding the doctrine of church and ministry" as much as he was indecisive regarding confessionalism. During his synodical presidency, Muehlhaeuser practiced "the disorderly business of licensing pastors and of synods ordaining them."[121] Wisconsin's earliest pastors "did not stand on their office, as was generally the case among the original Old-Lutherans," because they had been trained as missionaries and evangelists, "who in Europe were carefully distinguished from the clergy," and so "they really had no systematic doctrine of office and were not tempted to make a law of the forms of office." In addition, pioneer conditions in mid-nineteenth-century America "did not make for the development of hierarchical forms, as a rule."[122] Until Hoenecke's time, most Wisconsin pastors "lay captive" to what Pieper called "an unclear teaching regarding the pastoral office." They saw "the ministerial office as a class directly ordained by Christ to be in and over the church" and generally believed that God had entrusted the Keys to the pastors, not to the laity. The synod "made" pastors who "understood little about the right administration of the office."[123]

Near the end of the 1870s, Synodical Conference leaders discussed "the divineness of the teacher's call," and their remarks revealed "a difference as to whether the Christian school derives directly from divine or-

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[118] Brug, "Recovering Walther," 4; see also Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Ministry," 105–106; Schuetze, *The Synodical Conference*, 232.

[119] Walther, quoted by Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Ministry," 87.

[120] Brug, "Recovering Walther," 5–6.

[121] Pieper, "The Significance of Dr. Adolf Hoenecke," 358.

[122] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 61.

[123] Pieper, "The Significance of Dr. Adolf Hoenecke," 380. See also Brug, *Ministry of the Word,* 405–407.

dinance or from the course of development in human education." Some cited Christ's sayings, "Suffer the little children to come unto me," and, "Feed my lambs," which they understood "to indicate a difference between the pastor and teacher and the latter's dependence on the former, in that the Apostles' mission was the pastor's calling, and the teacher's office received its divineness only through the benefit of clergy." In the mid-1880s, a mixed Missouri-Wisconsin conference "witnessed a discussion of the subject that at least broke away from the usual line of dogmatizing." General agreement was expressed at that time that "because the Christian teacher's whole work of teaching is governed by the Word of God, his work in the school merits the same appreciation of being 'divine' as that of the pastor of the congregation." This, Koehler writes, "signaled the beginning of a real exegetical and historical analysis of such questions in Wisconsin, and beyond, that was destined to have its repercussions."[124]

In 1892, Hoenecke presented a paper in which he "attached the teacher's call to the pastorate in the usual way," yet stressed that "the teacher should receive a regular call from the congregation in accordance with the Augsburg Confession's demand that no one is to teach publicly in the church without a regular call."[125] At a 1909 mixed conference of Missouri and Wisconsin pastors in Milwaukee, John Schaller, newly arrived to take Hoenecke's place at the Wauwatosa seminary, "set forth that there is only one office in the church, that of the pastor, which is divinely ordained," and that all other offices created in the church were "deaconate offices, that is auxiliary offices, not ordained by God but branched off from the pastoral office by the church."[126]

But it was during Schaller's tenure as seminary president (1909–1920) that he, Koehler, and Pieper "threshed out" the doctrine of church and ministry "over against the muddled or erroneous ideas that had been current for thirty years or more."[127] Contrary to the approaches usually advanced—that the teacher's call was either "an auxiliary of the pastor's office and hence subordinate to it," or "an auxiliary of the parents' office, not endowed with the peculiar divineness of the ministry" but like "any secular calling and with no greater obligations"[128]—Koehler asked, "Why detour through the office of the pastor in order to establish the divine character of the teacher's call?" The teacher, just as surely as the pastor,

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[124] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 230–231.

[125] Cited by Schuetze, *The Synodical Conference,* 233–234.

[126] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 232.

[127] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 230; see also Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 407–408.

[128] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 187.

was called by the congregation "to labor in word and doctrine" in a public manner and in an official capacity in the congregation. "The very texts cited to substantiate the divine institution of the pastorate in distinction from other offices [were] thereby given a wrong slant." Traditional views on church and ministry had arisen from a "falsely so-called dogmatical method of determining a doctrine by citing doctrinal statements of the Scriptures without paying attention to the historical context and its way of presenting things."[129]

In 1912, in a review of Walther's *Die Stimme Unser Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt*, Pieper charged that because of "Walther's style of mainly submitting quotations from the fathers, there is much room for misunderstanding the fathers or Walther himself," and that sometimes Walther himself may have misunderstood the church fathers.[130] In another 1912 article, Pieper asked, "Is the Wisconsin Synod church or congregation in the strict sense of the word?" His answer was, "Yes. The Christians who form our local congregations and the congregations that form our synod do not cease to be *Christians* and *Christian* congregations because they unite to proclaim together the praises of the Lord." What then "makes a multitude of people into the congregation of God, *congregation* in the proper sense of the word? Answer: *Not the outward organization into an outward local congregation,* but *faith* or being sanctified in Christ Jesus through faith. *A believing synodical assembly is congregation in the proper sense of the word*."[131]

Summarizing the twentieth-century development of the views of the two synods on church and ministry, Brug considers it an oversimplification merely to contrast "Wisconsin" and "Missouri" views. The division "was never strictly along synodical lines." Theologians in both synods were students of Walther and subscribed to Walther's theses. For decades many in Missouri even "publicly endorsed the 'Wisconsin Synod view.'"[132]

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[129] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod*, 232.

[130] Pieper, "Review of Walther's *Die Stimme Unser Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt*," 237–238. Koehler was quick to add, however: "At the same time, [Pieper's] article offers a testimonial to the great appreciation of [Walther's] book all over the Lutheran world and therewith offers a contribution to the Walther centennial celebration that had just taken place the October before (238)."

[131] August Pieper, "Die Lehre von der Kirche und ihren Kenntzeichen in Anwendung auf die Synode," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 9 (April 1912): 83–106; trans. Floyd Brand, rev. James Langebartels in *The Wauwatosa Theology* 3:66–67; emphases in the original. For an extended discussion of the ensuing debate between the synods on the doctrine of church and ministry, see Brug, *Ministry of the Word,* 408–425.

[132] Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 398.

One could, in fact, construct an excellent summary of the "Wisconsin" view using only Missouri sources.[133] Missouri has typically described the "Wisconsin view" of ministry by saying that Wisconsin rejects Luther's and Walther's belief that the pastoral office exists within the church "by divine right and mandate," and that while Luther and Walther identified "public ministry" as synonymous with "parish pastor," Wisconsin "does not recognize them as signifying the same thing."[134] Yet in many cases, "Missouri's practice seemed to be Wisconsin's and Wisconsin's practice was quite Missouri."[135]

Wisconsin Professor Armin Schuetze has reflected on the obvious question asked by many in both synods: how could such differences regarding church and ministry continue for decades, while the two synods remained in church fellowship? Schuetze answered:

> The fact is that the practice within the synods was not all that different. The Missouri Synod functioned in many ways as a church, even though the Communion service at its convention was conducted under the auspices of a "divinely ordained" local congregation. The Wisconsin Synod did not become a super church, which some feared would happen if it were recognized as church in the same way as a local congregation. Professors called to the Wisconsin Synod educational institutions were considered to be in the public ministry by divine call no less than the pastor in a congregation. The fact that in Missouri a professor might be called as assistant (without many practical duties) by a local congregation because it alone could issue a divine call seemed more like an unnecessary action than a false practice that needed correction. The differences often seemed more theoretical than practical. There was also the view that the differences were not doctrinal but in application. What is more, the differences crossed synodical lines and were being worked on by the seminary faculties and not simply ignored. Whatever the reasons, the fact is that the church/ministry controversy did not become divisive until its ramifications became evident in other troubling issues.[136]

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[133] See Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 443–452.

[134] Eugene F.A. Klug, *Church and Ministry: The Role of Church, Pastor, and People from Luther to Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 150–152. For the contrasting Wisconsin view, see Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 363–380.

[135] John F. Brug, *WELS and Other Lutherans,* 2nd ed. (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2009), 49.

[136] Schuetze, *The Synodical Conference Lutherans,* 239; see also Braun, *A Tale of Two Synods,* 66–74; Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 434–440.

Even today, "it is likely that the way church life operates in everyday practice according to the 'Wisconsin' view is probably not much different in most cases than according to the 'Missouri' view," and "one may even conclude that the differences between the 'Wisconsin' view and the 'Missouri' view are a matter of terminology."[137] But today, disagreement between the two synods—and even disagreement within the Missouri Synod itself—is far greater than it was in the days of Pieper and Koehler, or even during the 1940s and 1950s. "If the difference between the so-called Wisconsin and Missouri views [used to be] 5 and 6 on a scale of 1 to 10, the views held by some parties within the Missouri Synod today are at least 3 and 8."[138]

One area of debate centers on the meaning of the term *Predigtamt*.[139] While Missouri authors have said that Luther and Walther identified *Predigtamt* with "pastoral ministry," Wisconsin considers the English translations of some of Walther's major writings "problematic" when *Predigtamt* is rendered "pastoral ministry," even in passages in which it has a wider meaning.[140] "We do not consider Walther's identification of the public preaching office with the pastoral office as a happy one," August Pieper wrote in 1917. "From this some people who have not thought or studied independently have drawn the conclusion that the public office, that is the office of the Word which is transmitted from the church to an individual person, and the pastoral office are equal and exchangeable concepts and that therefore only that form of the preaching office which we call the pastoral office (*Pfarramt*) is of divine origin."[141]

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[137] Thomas P. Nass, "The Revised *This We Believe* of the WELS on the Ministry," *Logia* 10 (Holy Trinity 2001): 37.

[138] Brug, *WELS and Other Lutherans,* 49; see also Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 470–479.

[139] For an extended discussion of this question, see John F. Brug, "The Meaning of *Predigtamt* in Augsburg Confession V," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 102 (Winter 2005): 29–45; Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 332–352. See also John Schaller, "The Office and Development of the New Testament Ministry," first published in Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary catalogue, 1911–1912, 1917–1918; trans. Roger Fleming, Mark Jeske, and Daniel Schaller; rev. Wilbert R. Gawrisch, *The Wauwatosa Theology,* 3:73–94; Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Ministry," 126–136.

[140] See Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Ministry," 133.

[141] August Pieper, "Luthers Lehre von Kirche und Amt," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 14 (July 1917): 211–241; 15 (January 1918): 65–80 and (April 1918): 101–126; trans. Harold R. Johne, "Luther's Doctrine of Church and Ministry," in Jahn, ed., *The Wauwatosa Theology* 3:193.

J.T. Mueller's translation of Walther's Thesis VIII on the Ministry reads: "The pastoral office [*Predigtamt*] is the highest office in the church, and from it stems all other offices in the church." Mueller's translation of *Predigtamt* as "pastoral office" implies "that the pastor of a congregation is the only one who really holds the office of the ministry," yet this appears to contradict Walther's own explanation of the thesis. In explaining Thesis VIII, Walther said that the *Predigtamt* contains other offices beside the office of pastor.[142] But as translated by Mueller, Walther says:

> The highest office is that of the ministry of the Word [*Predigtamt*], with which *all other offices are also conferred at the same time*. Every other public office in the church accordingly is *part of the same or a helping office* that supports [stands beside] the ministry of the Word [*Predigtamt*], whether it be the elders who do not labor in the Word and doctrine (1 Tim 5:17) or the ruling office (Rom 12:8) or the deacons (the office of service in a narrow sense) or whatever other offices the church may entrust to particular persons for special administration.[143]

Wisconsin Professor Wilbert Gawrisch, reviewing Mueller's translation, wrote that "the error of those who assert that Walther claimed that the pastoral office is the highest office in the church in distinction to other forms of the ministry of the Word is not supported by the text. The inaccuracies of the translator contribute to this misconception."[144]

Wisconsin considers it a "terminological problem" that Walther sometimes used *Predigtamt* in a wide sense to refer to all aspects of the ministry of the Word, but at other times as a synonym for *Pfarramt*, the pastoral ministry. *Predigtamt* "is first of all the activity of proclaiming God's Word." *Amt* "is not limited to an office or position," but "often refers to a task or action, or, if you will, a function." Confusion over the meaning of the word *Amt* apparently "had developed already in Walther's day even among native speakers of German, since Walther warned against misreading the Confessions on the basis of this confusion."[145] Walther cautioned against "coming to conclusions concerning the doctrine of the Lutheran church on

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[142] Brug, "Recovering Walther," 6.

[143] C.F.W. Walther, *Church and Ministry: Witnesses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church on the Question of the Church and the Ministry,* trans. J.T. Mueller (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987), 289–290; emphasis added. Regarding this translation, see Marquart, *The Church and Her Fellowship, Ministry and Governance* (Fort Wayne: International Foundation of Confessional Lutheran Research, 1990), 143, notes 72 and 73.

[144] Wilbert R. Gawrisch, review of C.F.W. Walther, *Church and Ministry*, in *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 90 (Fall 1993): 314.

[145] Brug, "Recovering Walther," 8.

the ministry as found in the Confessions when looking at our individual symbols in which the words *Amt* [office], *Predigtamt* [preaching office], and *Schluesselamt* [office of the keys], etc., are found." Walther said that "the presumption must be that where the word 'office' occurs in such texts, it is being used in the simple sense of 'commissioned work' (*aufgetragenen Tuns*) without any other additional meaning because this alone is the essential idea of office in the use of the German language as we have proven above."[146]

Wisconsin understands Walther in "Church and Ministry" to say that *Predigtamt* in Augsburg V "is not concerned with ministry in the concrete or the *Pfarramt*," but instead the topic is "the *Amt in abstracto*" through which God gives the Holy Spirit.[147] "This is an important matter," Walther wrote,

> because of those who make the *Pfarramt* into a means of grace and equate it with the Word and sacraments, and who assert that this office would be absolutely essential to each person for salvation, so that a person without the service of an ordained *Pfarrer* can neither come to faith, nor can receive absolution for his sins. But our church teaches this necessity only in regard to the spoken or physical [*mundlich und leiblich*] Word in opposition to a supposed inner Word and to every type of enthusiasm.[148]

In a similar way, in his essay "The True Visible Church," Walther wrote that in Augsburg V:

> [O]ne can also recognize very clearly what those of old frequently understood by the office of the ministry [*Predigtamt*], namely, that they often took 'office of the ministry' as entirely synonymous with 'gospel.' The Apology does not have Grabau's understanding according to which the office of the ministry [*Predigtamt*] is always equivalent to the office of pastor [*Pfarramt*] . . . . When our old teachers ascribe such great things to the office of the ministry, they thereby

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[146] See Mark Nispel, "Office and Offices: Some Basic Lutheran Philology," *Logia* 6 (Trinity 1997): 10, note 9. Walther reproduced an article from the *Erlanger Zeitschrift*, entitled "*Bemerkungen ueber das Amt*," in *Lehre und Wehre* 7 (1861): 295–296.

[147] Walther, *Die Stimme unserer Kirche* (1862), 198; Brug, "Recovering Walther," 8. See also Adolf Hoenecke, *Evangelical Lutheran Dogmatics, Volume IV*, trans. Joel Fredrich, Paul Prange, and Bill Tackmier (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1999), 187.

[148] Walther, *Die Stimme Unserer Kirche,* 199.

> mean nothing else than the service of the Word [*den Dienst des Wortes*] in whatever way [*Weise*] it may come to us.[149]

Again, in an 1862 sermon, Walther objected to those who insisted that "the preaching office [had] its basis in a particular estate in the New Testament like that [priestly estate] of the Old Testament," passed from one generation to the next "through the laying on of hands" at ordination "in unbroken succession," so that only men thus ordained "can validly and efficaciously administer God's gifts to the laity." Walther called this a "great, dangerous—indeed, anti-Christian" error that "renders Christians uncertain" because "the salvation of those redeemed by Christ is placed in the hands of erring men" and "the preacher is put in [Christ's] place and made an absolute pope."[150]

Walther's understanding of the teacher's call as a part of the ministry of the Word was also evident in his correspondence with J.C.W. Lindemann, instructor at the teachers' seminary in Addison, Illinois. Lindemann had derived the office of teacher from the parent, but Walther disagreed, insisting that the school teacher belonged to the *Predigtamt* and that most Missourians did not embrace the Lindemann view,[151] a claim further supported in an article by C.A. Selle in the *Ev. Luth. Schulblatt* in 1869.[152] Though again recognizing that Missourians were not all in agreement, Walther nonetheless wrote, "We are convinced that only when the principles presented here concerning the mutual relationship of church and school, of the school teacher and the preacher, come into play will school and church remain here in indissoluble association and bring the

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[149] C.F.W. Walther, "The True Visible Church," Theses I–III, 13th Synodical Convention, St. Louis, Mo., beginning October 31, 1866, in *Essays for the Church, Volume I: 1857–1879* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 102.

[150] C.F.W. Walther, "Sermon on the Office of the Ministry, 1862," trans. Matthew C. Harrison, *At Home in the House of My Fathers: Presidential Sermons, Essays, Letters, and Addresses from the Missouri Synod's Great Era of Unity and Growth* (Lutheran Legacy, 2009), 151.

[151] C.F.W. Walther to J.C.W. Lindemann, September 27, 1866, trans. William M. Ewald; in Carl S. Meyer, ed., *Walther Speaks to the Church: Selected Letters by C.F.W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973), 56–57; Brug, "Recovering Walther," 12–13.

[152] C.A.T. Selle, "Das amt des Pastors als Schulaufseher," *Evangelische-Lutherische Schulblatt* 4 (January 1869); trans, Mark Nispel, "The Office of a Pastor as School Overseer," http://www.wlsessays.net/files/SellePastor.pdf; accessed January 17, 2011; Brug, "Recovering Walther," 13.

first of the other gifts which this association should bring according to God's will and order."[153]

Disagreement between Wisconsin and Missouri on the meaning of *Predigtamt* was confirmed in the 1981 LCMS Statement on the Ministry, which defines the "Office of the Public Ministry" as "the divinely established office referred to in Scripture as 'shepherd,' 'elder,' or 'overseer,'" called "equivalent to 'the pastoral office,'" while Auxiliary Offices include "those offices established by the church" in which "those who are called to serve in them are authorized to perform certain function(s) of the public ministry" but are "auxiliary to that unique pastoral office," and "the most common auxiliary office today is the office of the teaching ministry."[154] In Wisconsin's view, "Walther's distinction between helping offices that are *part of* the one ministry of the Word (such as preaching deacons or teachers) and those that are *beside* the ministry of the Word (such as deacons that administer charity) has been lost."[155]

At the other extreme on church and ministry views was Johann W.F. Hoefling, who did not recognize the divine institution of the pastoral ministry.[156] The Wisconsin Synod has been accused—increasingly, it seems—of holding Hoefling's view of the ministry, and that its doctrine of ministry is dependent upon or derived from that of Hoefling.[157]

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[153] Walther, *Der Lutheraner* 25 (February 1, 1869).

[154] *The Ministry: Offices, Procedures and Nomenclatures: A Report of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis, 1981).

[155] Brug, *WELS and Other Lutherans*, 49.

[156] See Brug, *Ministry of the Word,* 387–393; emphasis original.

[157] One can detect the annoyance of some Wisconsin writers in response to this charge who consider Missouri's linking of Wisconsin's church and ministry doctrine to Hoefling as being done in a dismissive, even cavalier fashion. Joel Pless, for example, recalled a 1995 incident at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in which Robert Preus "blithely stated" that "the Wisconsin Synod got its doctrine of the ministry from Hoefling." Challenged on this assertion—apparently by Pless himself—"Dr. Preus replied that while he had not studied the issue in-depth, he had learned about the Hoefling/Wisconsin connection from others." Joel L. Pless, "Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Hoefling: The Man and His Ecclesiology. Part 4—What Connection Exists Between Erlangen and Wauwatosa?" *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 106 (Fall 2009): 248.

In more direct language, Brug, *WELS and Other Lutherans*, 51, charged David Scaer with repeating the "Hoefling/Schleiermacher innuendo at the 1996 Congress on the Lutheran Confessions," which has had the effect of preventing "meaningful discussion of the issue." Such a caricature, Brug wrote, gives little evidence that Missouri critics have actually read or understood either Hoefling or Wisconsin formulations on the ministry. Brug's reference is to David P. Scaer, "The Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope, and a Few Extra Thoughts on Hoefling," in *The Office of the Holy Ministry,* papers presented at

It comes as something of a surprise, then, to learn that Walther himself was accused of being in agreement with Hoefling. "Regrettably" it had come to this, Walther wrote in 1858, "that now everyone who rejects the Romanizing doctrine of the ministry is reckoned to be a Hoeflingite." Walther characterized the views of Hoefling and of Romanizing Lutherans as "opposite extremes, between which in the middle lies the pure Lutheran doctrine, in which alone our Synod has confessed itself and still confesses itself."[158]

Francis Pieper devoted six pages in his *Christian Dogmatics* to describing and then refuting Hoefling's doctrine of the ministry, but he did not address Hoefling's doctrine of the church at all.[159] Likewise Kurt Marquart, in *The Church and Her Fellowship, Ministry, and Governance*, treated Hoefling's understanding of the ministry in greater detail but not his teaching on the church.[160] David Scaer summarized Hoefling's theology by listing eight key teachings gleaned from Walter W.F. Albrecht's index of Pieper's *Dogmatics*. Scaer then referenced the alleged Hoefling/Wisconsin connection again, citing two others who "noted that Hoefling's position

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the Congress of the Lutheran Confessions, Itasca, Ill., ed. John R. Fehrman and Daniel Preus (Crestwood, Missouri: Luther Academy, 1996), 130–149.

[158] C.F.W. Walther, *Lehre und Wehre* 4 (1858): 354; cited by Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 392.

[159] Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 3 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 3:443–449.

[160] "It was Hoefling who, in his reaction to Loehe, framed what may indeed be called a particular *theory* of 'conferral,' or even 'transfer.' According to him, the only divinely established office is that of the priesthood of all believers. The concrete office of Word and Sacrament does not arise out of a direct divine command and institution. Rather, it emerges by an inner necessity out of the priesthood itself, that is, by the [priesthood's] delegation [*Uebertragung*] of its individual members' spiritual rights and powers to one of themselves, for the sake of good order. Hoefling's later attempts to make this scheme add up to a divine institution of the concrete preaching office [*Predigtamt*] after all were really only cosmetic. The real point at issue was whether the church's concrete office of Gospel proclamation rested on a direct divine institution, or whether it arose simply out of the needs and decisions of the priestly community, the church." Kurt E. Marquart, *The Church and Her Fellowship, Ministry, and Governance,* Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics, vol. 9, ed. Robert D. Preus and John R. Stephenson (Fort Wayne: The International Foundation for Lutheran Confessional Research, 1990), 113. Marquart's complete discussion of Hoefling is on pp. 112–119. So also Klug, *Church and Ministry*, 329: "Hoefling, and so also the Wisconsin Synod, held that the pastor's office evolved out of the general priesthood, according to Matthew 28."

was strikingly similar to that of August Pieper" and Schleiermacher[161]—John Wohlrabe[162] and Erling Teigen.[163]

Marquart also wrote in an excursus that "the chief impetus towards 'New Wisconsin'" came from Koehler, "who held that in the 19th-century-German disputes over church and ministry, only Hoefling's position was completely free and correct according to Scripture." Though Marquart granted that Wisconsin's official Church and Ministry statements "formally reject Hoefling's stand," he insisted that "materially" Wisconsin's statements "suggest Hoefling's influence, for instance, in the virtual identification of priesthood and ministry, and the apparent failure to distinguish the one Gospel ministry from auxiliary offices.[164]

Joel Pless of the Wisconsin Synod has done both synods a valuable service by studying Hoefling in greater detail. Hoefling "believed that the means of grace—the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments—were instituted by God, as described in Article V of the Augsburg Confession." Hoefling understood the concept of *ministerium* (ministry) as "strictly functional" and seemed to regard Augsburg V as describing the ministry "only in an abstract sense," and did not mention persons exercising the office until Augsburg XIV. His strong emphasis on the application of the means of grace "compelled him to be skeptical of the establishment of a specific pastoral office," though he did not disavow that

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[161] Scaer, "The Augsburg Confession . . . and a Few Extra Thoughts on Hoefling," 137; "The Lutheran Confessions on the Holy Ministry With a Few Thoughts on Hoefling," 39.

[162] John C. Wohlrabe, Jr., *Ministry in Missouri until 1962. An Historical Analysis of the Doctrine of the Ministry in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.* Th.D. Diss., 1987, privately published by the author.

[163] Erling Teigen, "The Universal Priesthood in the Lutheran Confessions," *Confessional Lutheran Research Society Newsletter,* Letter No. 25 (Advent 1991): 1–7.

[164] Marquart, *The Church and Her Fellowship, Ministry, and Governance*, 220. Commenting on Wisconsin's doctrine of the church, Marquart wrote, 220–221: "A related and very basic difficulty is the [WELS] Statement's concept of 'various groupings in Jesus' name for the proclamation of His Gospel,' of which 'all lie on the same plane. They are all church in one and the same sense' [1967 *WELS Proceedings,* 287]. These 'groupings' are not only local congregations and synods ('larger groupings'), but also 'other groupings,' of all of which it is said: 'The specific forms in which believers group themselves together . . . have not been prescribed by the Lord to His New Testament Church.' Church, ministry, means of grace, marks of the church, all seem to float about too abstractly here, tied too loosely to concrete divine instituting mandates." Marquart later added, however: "As for Walther and [Francis] Pieper, it is not too much to say that they could not have imagined the Missouri Synod as a non-church."

"the ecclesiastical office also includes the pastoral office itself." Hoefling opposed any established forms of the ministry because he saw in them "a return to ceremonialism and legalism, i.e., Roman Catholicism, or at the very least, a Romanist view of the ministry." Further, "in describing the relationship between the universal priesthood of all believers and the public ministry, Hoefling championed the former, seemingly at the expense of the latter." He "saw the church as being the originator of the public ministry, largely from necessity and expediency." The means of grace themselves and the functions of the ministry were, in his view, "divinely instituted, but not the actual ministerial office itself—at least not in the concrete sense." Because Hoefling believed that the concrete office of the ministry was a human institution and because he denied the divine institution of the public ministry, his view of the ministry is clearly "an aberration from biblical truth and sound Lutheran doctrine."[165]

Joel Pless suggests, perhaps optimistically, that Hoefling's views on ministry were a work in progress, recalling Hoefling's "lively conversation with Walther on ecclesiology during Walther's trip to Germany after Walther's *Kirche und Amt* was accepted as the public doctrine of the Missouri Synod in 1851 but before the publication of *Church and Ministry* in 1852."[166] Pless characterizes the surviving evidence of a connection between Hoefling and Wauwatosa as "slim and subjective." True, Wauwatosa professors Koehler, Walther, and Schaller were probably familiar with Hoefling's writings on ecclesiology; page 100 of Koehler's then unpublished *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* contains a "cryptic line" in which Koehler paired Walther and Hoefling in opposition to a "catholicized doctrine of church and ministry." Sometime, then, between 1900 and 1917 Koehler saw Walther and Hoefling standing (though not necessarily together) in opposition to a Romanist view of church and ministry, in favor of a distinctly congregational ecclesiology.[167]

The explanation most commonly offered to explain this "cryptic line" in Koehler's draft is that while he appreciated some things about Hoefling's ecclesiology, he was neither well-read in all Hoefling's ministry positions nor in full agreement with every aspect of them. "Some of the conclusions that Koehler took on the ministry—and [some conclusions

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[165] Joel L. Pless, "Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Hoefling: The Man and His Ecclesiology. Part 3—His Doctrine of the Ministry," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 106 (Summer 2009): 165–169.

[166] Pless, "Hoefling, Part 3," 171.

[167] Joel L. Pless, "Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Hoefling: The Man and His Ecclesiology. Part 4—What Connection Exists between Erlangen and Wauwatosa?" *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 106 (Fall 2009): 251–252.

taken] later [by] the WELS in general—obviously contradicted Hoefling's position. If Koehler had further criticisms of Hoefling's position, they have not come to light."[168] Koehler's opposition to Romanist views on the ministry must be understood in the context of his general disdain for all forms of ceremony. Victor Prange, reviewing Koehler's *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* wrote that Koehler "shows an appreciation for Protestantism," but "one misses an equal appreciation for that which is catholic. Koehler speaks of how the life of the church so easily 'becomes materialistic.'" Prange imagined that Koehler would have felt entirely at home in an unadorned church building, "cleansed of all distractions so that in the plain and bare setting the Word alone could impact the soul."[169]

Pless concludes that it is "simply not accurate to assert that the WELS doctrine of church and ministry is really an American version" of Hoefling's ecclesiology. "If Koehler, Pieper, and Schaller conducted their studies in church and ministry the way they confessed doing it and the way history has recorded them doing it," Hoefling's views would have had little effect on them. By their own account, the Wauwatosa men sought to "return to performing the theological task by momentarily laying aside systematic theology and going back to the source of Christian theology—the Scriptures themselves." Pless acknowledges—as must we all about our synodical fathers—that "gifted as they were," the Wauwatosa men "were not infallible in always making definitions and distinctions in the theological task." It is important to maintain that not everything written by Koehler, Pieper, and Schaller has become part of the public doctrine of the Wisconsin Synod.[170]

What that public doctrine states is contained in *The Doctrinal Statements of the WELS* in its "Theses on the Church and Ministry." Statement II, A, says: "Christ instituted one office in His Church, the ministry of the Gospel." Statement II, D, says: "These public ministers are appointed by God. Ac 20:28; Eph 4:11; 1 Co 12:28. It would be wrong to trace the origin of this public ministry to mere expediency (Hoefling)."[171] Recent Wisconsin publications have agreed in rejecting Hoefling's view of the public ministry as "mere expediency." One says: "Where Christians are

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[168] Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod,* 238; Pless, "Hoefling, Part 4," 252–253.

[169] Victor H. Prange, "Review of J.P. Koehler's 'The History of the Wisconsin Synod,'" *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 1 (Spring 1983): 40.

[170] Pless, "Hoefling, Part 4," 256–258.

[171] Commission on Inter-Church Relations of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, *Doctrinal Statements of the WELS* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997), 48–49. See also Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Ministry," 131–132; Hoenecke, *Evangelical Lutheran Dogmatics, Volume IV*, 188–190.

assembled, God wills that there be servants who shepherd them with the means of grace as Christ's representatives. The public ministry is not optional."[172] Says another: "It is important to know that God himself instituted the public ministry for the church."[173] Says a third: "The origin of the public ministry is with God himself. God has brought it into existence. The public ministry is not a human innovation, created by people to fill a need."[174]

Allow me to add a personal recollection. Each year at Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary on Assignment Day, the Conference of District Presidents and the Synodical Praesidium meet on our Mequon campus. On those Tuesdays in May in 1975, 1976, and 1978 when I was a student, I heard then-Wisconsin Synod President Oscar Naumann address the graduating seniors who would soon be entering the pastoral ministry. Each year he began by surveying the students seated before him and declaring, "You are God's gifts to the church." The biblical referent, of course, was Ephesians 4:11–12, in which the ascended Savior gives apostles, prophets, evangelists and pastors and teachers to His church. Any man who fancies himself as "God's gift to the church" would rightly be dismissed as arrogant, and anyone who would say about another man, "*He thinks* he is God's gift to the church" would be understood to be speaking sarcastically. But upon hearing President Naumann's words each spring, we felt no pride and certainly no sarcasm—only great humility and thankfulness. I cannot imagine any seminarian hearing those words, only to regard his ministry as the result of mere human expediency. God calls through the church.[175]

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[172] Lyle W. Lange, *God So Loved the World: A Study of Christian Doctrine* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2005), 571.

[173] Armin W. Schuetze, *Church—Mission—Ministry* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1995), 99.

[174] Nass, "The Revised *This We Believe* of the WELS on the Ministry," 33. See also Brian R. Keller, "Church and Ministry: An Exegetical Study of Several Key Passages with Reference to Some Contemporary Issues," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 93 (Fall 1996): 267; John F. Brug, "Current Debate Concerning the Doctrine of the Ministry," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 91 (Winter 1994): 33; Brug, *The Ministry of the Word,* 349–350.

[175] See also Schaller, "The Origin and Development of the New Testament Ministry," 92: "The only things that can really be proved with regard to the question before us is the very important fact that God recognized the bishops, elders, pastors and teachers, who were admittedly chosen by the *congregations*, as *divinely* called, as gifts given to the congregation by God. That is also clearly shown by comparing the verbs that are used: Acts 20:28 and 1 Corinthians 12:28 say, 'He has *made* or *set* them' [ἔθετο]; in Ephesians 4:11, however, we read, 'He has *given* them' [ἔδωκεν]. Insofar as the

Brug summarizes: "Walther and his contemporaries placed Missouri in the scriptural middle between Grabau and Hoefling." In the early 20th century, "a narrowing of Walther's view on ministry" occurred in Missouri in which some of "the balance of Walther's position" was lost as focus was placed "too narrowly on the pastor as the only divinely established form." Later in the 20th century, "a counteraction in Missouri" moved back to a "more nuanced view of Walther, but in some cases moved too much away from a strong affirmation of the pastoral ministry toward a minimalist view of the pastorate." Still others are being drawn further into "the Hoefling and Grabau fringes," some even openly repudiating Walther. In their respective eras, Walther and Wisconsin's Wauwatosa faculties were equally "willing to reexamine every detail of their position [on the church and ministry] in light of Scripture alone," and if their study had "revealed areas in which they had been operating with assumptions or interpretations not supported by Scripture, they were ready to correct their view." Such an "*ad fontes* method" provides "a good model for us in the early 21st century."[176]

VI. "We have all been 'Missourians'"

The Wisconsin Synod, celebrating its 161st anniversary in 2011,[177] gratefully acknowledges that its past fellowship with Walther and the Missouri Synod and its ninety-year participation in the Ev. Lutheran Synodical Conference has brought many blessings.

Walther strongly supported a Lutheran elementary school system which instilled Lutheran teaching in generations of Missouri's sons and daughters. "Without Christian schools the children of the church cannot be brought up to be good Christians," August Pieper wrote. "In every [Missouri] parish a parochial school was organized, and Walther proclaimed the motto: Next to every Lutheran church a Lutheran school!" Walther "became the founder of the Lutheran parochial school in this country," and "we see something that was never seen in the church before—hundreds of pastors teaching school," even "to the end of their

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passages are parallel, we have according to this explanation of the Holy Spirit himself that the verb 'set' is to be understood not of the institution of the offices mentioned *in abstracto,* not therefore of a command of God to establish such offices, but of the placing or giving of the individual *persons* who carry out the activity that the title of the office indicates." Emphases in the original.

[176] Brug, "Recovering Walther," 15–16.

[177] That is when this article was presented at the Symposium at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

lives" conducting congregational schools "in addition to doing their pastoral work in one or more congregations."[178]

Under Walther's influence the Missouri Synod developed a ministerial education system that became the envy of other church bodies. "With his colleagues, Walther immediately founded an institution that was at once an elementary school, high school, college [the German *gymnasium* was a combination of the latter two] and seminary."[179] That educational system produced pastors who labored in the tireless, selfless manner of Walther. It was in his "so-called Luther hours," Pieper remembered, that Walther "addressed himself directly to the hearts of his students" and with his testimony of God's grace "changed hearts and produced preachers of grace. He communicated something of his own spirit to many of his students, filled them with love for Christ and his Word, with zeal for God's house, and for the purity of the gospel. Here he made them willing joyfully to put their lives into Christ's service wherever they might be sent without asking, 'What's in it for me?'"[180] Walther's theological writings became the primary reading for two generations of Wisconsin Synod pastors until Wisconsin established its own *Quartalschrift* in 1904.[181]

For decades, Missouri and Wisconsin pastors went to school together, served side by side, and found spouses in each other's synods. "You could write a book about all the evidences of Christian love members of the two synods once felt among and displayed among themselves," one Wisconsin Synod pastor remembered. "Ministers met in mixed conferences, socialized, preached at each other's festivals, accepted calls interchangeably." Pastors of these sister synods were "bound together powerfully in love and fellowship" especially around Walter A. Maier's *Lutheran Hour* broadcasts. "At two o'clock on every Sunday afternoon it was broadcast on countless radio stations across the country and beyond." In its "palmy days the program was called 'Bringing Christ to the Nations,' and nobody laughed."[182] Another Wisconsin Synod pastor recalled that as a high school student he "came and went" in the parsonage of an area Missouri Synod

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[178] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 241–242.

[179] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 241.

[180] See Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 238. In Pieper's teaching at Wisconsin's seminary, his students reported that "he would on occasion lay aside the day's work" and "spend the class period inspiring them for the work of the ministry—something he undoubtedly learned from Walther."

[181] Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," 48.

[182] Clayton Krug, "Shifts of Fellowship Teachings in WELS, 1860–1996: A Personal View" (paper presented to the Winnebago Pastoral Conference, Northern Wisconsin District, Wisconsin Synod, September 17, 1996), 5–6; in Braun, *Tale of Two Synods,* 58.

pastor "almost as though it were my own," and he added, "The farthest thing from anyone's mind was that this could all one day come to an end."[183]

Most striking, considering Walther's great stress on pure doctrine, was his equally strong emphasis on growth. Wisconsin Professor Edward Fredrich used to tell his students that "one of the real gifts of the Missouri Synod was that it demonstrated that a truly confessional, orthodox Lutheran synod could also be truly mission minded."[184] Lutherans beyond the Synodical Conference took note of this. The Ohio Synod's R.C.H. Lenski (a great friend of neither Missouri nor Wisconsin) remarked in wonder at how Missouri's "strict conservatism" was coupled with her remarkable growth: "Here is a historical fact that refutes all talk trying to persuade us that we must be liberal, accommodate ourselves to the spirit of the times, etc., in order to win [people] and grow externally. The very opposite is seen in the Missouri Synod. Missouri has at all times been unyielding; it is so still." Yet Missouri's "enormous achievements" stood for all to see. "What so many regard as Missouri's weakness has in reality been its strength."[185]

This was the strength the Wisconsin Synod and others saw in Missouri, and what drew them to Missouri. "For three-quarters of a century we have been virtually identified with what is now known as 'The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod,'" wrote Wisconsin's Frederic Blume in 1952. "To those on the outside we of the Synodical Conference have all been 'Missourians,' since we shared Missouri's convictions." Wisconsin admired and echoed Missouri's opposition to "wrong-thinking and wrong-headed trends and movements that have troubled the Lutheran Church."[186] Today, the Wisconsin Synod would owe Walther a debt of gratitude even "if the only thing he ever did was give his thirty-nine evening lectures on the proper distinction between the law and gospel."[187] Wisconsin's (formerly Missouri's) Siegbert Becker urged us that "every

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[183] Theodore A. Sauer to Mark Braun, April 18, 1997; in Braun, *A Tale of Two Synods,* 59.

[184] Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," 48.

[185] [R.C.H.] Lenski, "*Editorielles: Missouris fuenfundsiebzigjaehriges Jubilaeum,*" *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* 63 (May 20, 1922): 305; cited with approval by [W.H.T.] Dau, "The Theological Observer: Ohio Synod," *Theological Monthly* 2 (July 1922): 204–205.

[186] Fredric E. Blume, "A State of Confession: A Study of Its Implications on the Basis of II Thess. 3:14–15," *The Northwestern Lutheran* 39 (November 2, 1952): 345.

[187] Pieper, "Anniversary Reflections," 239, said that Walther "emphasized, taught, and dealt with the distinction between law and gospel as no one had since Luther," and "there can be no more careful and thorough work than Walther's *Law and Gospel*."

Lutheran pastor ought to read through this volume once a year for his first ten years in the ministry."[188]

The beginnings of the Missouri Synod were different from those of the Wisconsin Synod because Missouri had Walther and Wisconsin did not. But the Wisconsin Synod has become what it is through the teaching, preaching, friendship, influence, and good example of C.F.W. Walther. We honor Walther's memory best "by imitating his love for Scripture and pure doctrine, his love for the gospel and desire to proclaim it to others, and by striving to maintain the proper distinction between the law and gospel in all of our teaching, preaching, counseling and pastoral work."[189]

[188] Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," 50.
[189] Brenner, "The Wisconsin Synod's Debt to C.F.W. Walther," 51.

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Righteousness, Mystical Union, and Moral Formation in Christian Worship

Gifford A. Grobien

Ethics is concerned with moral evaluation of people, actions, and institutions—the determination of whether these are good or bad. Lutheranism, which identifies the doctrine of justification apart from works as the central article of the Christian faith, takes various stances toward ethics. Because the central doctrine of Lutheranism is that believers are justified solely on account of Christ apart from human effort, the typical foundations of ethical reflection and discourse are called into question. If a believer can state with confidence that he is free from sin and is completely righteous before God, of what concern are the questions of good or bad behavior? He is already good, at least where it really counts. In some cases, the preaching of justification takes up the full attention of the church and sustained, corporate reflection on ethical questions is neglected. As important as good works are, they are not as important as getting into heaven. Ethics becomes secondary to doctrinal questions, and even when ethics is addressed, it is addressed in doctrinal terms, such as the distinction between law and gospel, or the doctrine of vocation or sanctification.

Lutheranism has been perennially criticized on this basis for its inability to articulate an ethic, to advocate moral behavior, and to teach good works.[1] Although the Lutheran tradition has produced significant work in

[1] Luther had to deny throughout his career that he rejected good works. See, for example, 35:18; 26:137; 41:111–112 in *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). The various confessional writings of the Lutherans include articles that deal specifically with this accusation. The Augsburg Confession denies the charge that the Lutherans forbid good works (AC XX, 1–7), and the greater part of the article on justification in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession falls under the subheading "Of Love and the Fulfilling of the Law," in which the explicit charge of not teaching good works is countered with an extended explanation of the Lutheran understanding of good works and their relationship to justification (Ap IV, 122 and following, and especially 136–140). The Formula of Concord

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ethics,[2] the tradition remains mixed because of the unique methods and concepts that characterize Lutheran ethics. Ethics is typically concerned with questions of norms, intention, means, ends, duty, virtue, and agency, but these kinds of terms are secondary or may even be absent from Lutheran ethical discourses. Instead, Lutherans have distinct categories for reflecting on and discussing ethics: law and gospel, functions of the law, the two kingdoms or realms, sanctification, vocation and the created orders, and the theology of the cross.[3] These distinctly Lutheran ethical categories do not easily translate into other ethical traditions. This difficulty in correlation may suggest to other traditions that Lutherans do not actually engage in ethical reflection, perpetuating the misconception that Lutherans forbid, discourage, or neglect good works.

I. Law and Gospel in Contemporary Lutheran Ethics

Lutheranism does have a powerful, if rather unsystematic, way of speaking of ethical formation. Moral capacity grows through sanctification, the growth in righteousness experienced by a Christian because of the continuous forgiveness of sins. In receiving the full forgiveness of sins in Jesus Christ, the Christian is not left as a blank slate, as if only evil is taken away so that he is now morally neutral. Rather, the righteousness of Christ is given to him. All that Christ lived, suffered, and conquered in his resurrection is given freely to the Christian. The understanding and will of the newly created person is redirected from sin and idolatry outward toward God and the neighbor. The person becomes loving. Faith, which receives the forgiveness of sins, becomes active in love toward God and neighbor. [4] Robert Benne elaborates:

> Dazzled as they are by the wonder and profundity of God's justifying grace in Christ, Lutherans are tempted to think that the only really interesting ethical question is the motivational one. After being

includes an article on good works to reject the idea that good works are harmful to salvation, affirming instead that good works are necessary (SD IV).

[2] See, for example, Werner Elert, *The Christian Ethos* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957); Gustaf Wingren, *Creation and Law* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961); Helmut Thielicke, *Theological Ethics*, ed. William Lazareth (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966–); and numerous writings of George Forell and Gilbert Meilaender. For a more recent treatment, see Benjamin Mayes, *Counsel and Conscience: Lutheran Casuistry and Moral Reasoning after the Reformation* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

[3] Robert Benne, "Lutheran Ethics: Perennial Themes and Contemporary Challenges," in *The Promise of Lutheran Ethics*, ed. Karen L. Bloomquist and John R. Stumme (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 12–17.

[4] Benne, "Lutheran Ethics," 14–15.

> affirmed and reconciled in Christ, Christians are powerfully motivated to live the life of love. The theological problem revealed here is a kind of soteriological reductionism . . . . The ethical weakness that ensues is one of lack of ethical substance. The gospel forgives and motivates, but from what and to do what? Lutherans have shied away from contemporary explications of the Decalogue that would give Old Testament content to the ethical life. Love becomes both a permissive affirmation of any behavior and a rather amorphous serving of the neighbor. Without a richer notion of life in community (covenantal existence) that comes from our Jewish roots, Lutheran ethics does not really know what is "good for the neighbor."[5]

On the one hand, the unconditional nature of God's gracious love empowers the believer to love in an analogous way. On the other hand, the emphasis on this gracious love and divine motivation has been taken as license to neglect questions of ethical content, formation, and ambiguity. Love calls the Christian to serve the neighbor, but efforts must be made to discern the needs of the neighbor. The encompassing power of love does not mean that greater understanding of law, norms, and principles is to be neglected, but that these provide insight into how love expresses itself. The sinful and tragic condition of the world means that the loving action will not always be easily apparent, and that love can benefit from sustained, complex, ethical thinking.

Gerhard Forde claims that, underlying the inadequacy of contemporary Lutheran ethics, there has been a crisis in the Lutheran understanding of the law, which can be traced back to the Formula, although the crisis was not evident until the 19th century. The Formula defines the law of God as his eternal, unchanging will, to which people must conform their life and behavior or suffer God's punishment. According to Forde, this supposedly differs from Luther, who spoke of the law as God's particular claim on a person in order to bring a person to repentance for failing to keep God's demand. This supposed difference was somehow undetected until Johannes von Hoffman began to speak not only of the law in this subjective, personal way, but also the Holy Trinity and the atonement. In particular, the atonement was not Jesus as the divine Son suffering the wrath of God as vicarious punishment for humanity's disobedience to God's law, but a historical suffering at the hands of humanity that reconciled God's wrath and love. By not forsaking the love for his Son, but by raising him up, God reconciled to himself all who believe in the Son. God's wrath against humanity is not punishment for violation of divine

[5] Benne, "Lutheran Ethics," 27–29.

law, per se, but an expression of the displeasure and death in which humanity lives by not receiving the Son of God. There is no eternal law, but a condemning expression of God's wrath against each person in his particular situation of unbelief.[6]

Werner Elert promoted a similar way of thinking about the law: any structure or good order dictated by the law is permanently lost to the lawlessness of sin. God's law persists in this world only to accuse, to announce the failure and consequence of sin. The remedy is the gospel, God's promise of new life, which he grants through faith.[7] Forde also argues this way: the gospel inspires faith which leads to new life, a new good life with no need of the law. The new and old persons are bifurcated, so that there is no place for the law for the new person; for the old nature it only accuses.[8] The law is depicted only as a threat, so it is lost as instruction. Gradually, too, the law comes to be seen as wholly negative, in spite of Psalm 119. The law begins to be seen not as something to be distinguished from the gospel, while remaining good, but as something in opposition to the gospel.[9]

Scott Murray argues that this is the root of gospel reductionism and contemporary antinomianism in American Lutheranism. Murray himself has attempted to overcome this trend in the doctrine of the law by demonstrating that this opposition between law and gospel does not have its roots in Luther, is a new development of the 19th century, and violates Scripture.[10] Yet for those who have adapted this new perspective on the law, Murray's work is not always convincing.

II. The Twofold Righteousness

Another way to support the classical understanding of the law and to recognize it not in opposition to the gospel, but working with the gospel, is to expand on the Lutheran understanding of the two kinds of righteousness. The two kinds of righteousness complements the doctrine of law and gospel, with its special conceptual strength being that it does not

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[6] Gerhard Forde, *The Law-Gospel Debate: An Interpretation of its Historical Development* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1968), esp. 3–9, 12–23, 131–134, 176–181, 191–199.

[7] Werner Elert, *The Christian Ethos* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), 50–62, 297–299.

[8] Forde, *Law-Gospel Debate*, 221, 231.

[9] Joel D. Biermann, "Virtue Ethics and the Place of Character Formation within Lutheran Theology" (PhD diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 2002), 162.

[10] Scott Murray, *Law, Life, and the Living God: The Third Use of the Law in Modern American Lutheranism* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2002), 57, 110–111, 122.

put law and gospel in opposition to each other, but reinforces their proper relationship. The twofold (or two kinds of) righteousness is a traditional way of speaking in Luther and the Confessions, if not as broad or extensive as the teaching of law and gospel.[11]

I prefer to speak of the twofold, rather than two kinds of, righteousness. By referring to righteousness as one, twofold righteousness, I am emphasizing that all true righteousness comes from God through faith, both imputed and active righteousness. Both have Christ as their source. In other words, both the imputed, forensic righteousness that covers sin and the active righteousness of regeneration are received by grace through faith. The first is the merit of Christ; the second is the life and power of Christ, exercised by the Holy Spirit. As Luther says:

> So there is no admitting a separation of the righteousness of faith and works, as though, in the manner of the Sophists, there were two diverse righteousnesses. But there is one, simple righteousness of faith and works, just as God and the human being (in Christ) are one person, and the soul and body are one human being.[12]

I am not saying that justification, strictly speaking, is renewal in the broad sense. As the Formula explains, the regeneration or vivification of justification excludes the renewal, sanctification, and good works that result from justification. But I am saying, as the Formula also affirms, that renewal, sanctification, and good works do in fact result from justification, that is, the righteousness of faith. The active righteousness of faith comes forth from the passive righteousness of faith. The twofold righteousness of a Christian is received and exercised through faith, beginning with God's declaration of righteousness on account of Christ's merit, and continuing with this continued declaration and true renewal and sanctification in the Holy Spirit (SD III, 41). The active righteousness that stems from faith is "instilled" by Christ (cf. Luther's Sermon on Two Kinds of Righteousness)

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[11] The whole first section of Apology IV (8–47) is a contrast between the two kinds of righteousness, the righteousness of reason and the righteousness of faith. See also AC XVI; AC XVIII; AC XX, 13 and 18; AC XXVIII (where the righteousness of faith is emphasized as the purpose of bishops' work); SD III, 32; and Luther's sermons on the two kinds of righteousness (AE 31) and threefold righteousness (*Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* [*Schriften*], 65 vols. [Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–1993], 2:41–47), Rhapsody on Justification (WA 30/2:652–676), his later disputations, and the introduction to his Lectures on Galatians.

[12] "Proinde non est admittenda separatio Iustitiae Fidei et operum, quasi sint duae diversae Iusticiae more Sophistarum. Sed est una Iusticia simplex fidei et operum, Sicut Deus et homo una persona, et anima et corpus unus homo" (WA 30/2:659).

or "created" by the Holy Spirit (SD III, 23). It is real righteousness, which nevertheless exists alongside the persistent, decaying flesh of our old nature (SD III, 32).

A justified person, therefore, is both declared and made righteous through faith, as Melanchthon declares several distinct times in Apology IV (73, 78, 117, 172b). To be made righteous does not mean that a person's works justify him before God, or that he has been transformed into a new person with proper righteousness apart from Christ, but that faith "makes alive, that is, it cheers and consoles consciences and produces eternal life and joy in the heart" (Ap IV, 172b). As fruits of this new life, then, the Holy Spirit works sanctification and good works. Eberhard Jüngel explains:

> If sinners are pronounce righteous by God's judging Word—which is also pre-eminently creative in its judging power—and thus *recognized* by God as being righteous, then they not only *count* as righteous, they *are* righteous. Here we must again remind ourselves that *the Word alone* can in this way do both things at once: a *judgement* and a *creative Word*—a *pardon* and *a Word which sets free*.[13]

A Christian who is really righteous, then, receives the law with joy and is instructed by it. Affirming the twofold righteousness strengthens the proper, confessional distinction between law and gospel, and the three functions of the law. Indeed the law condemns the sinful nature; the new, regenerate nature, however, delights in the law, embraces it, and learns from it.

I have hinted that legalism and antinomianism are the errors toward which Lutheran ethics, and indeed Protestant ethics, of the 20th century have tended. And, to the point of this article, both of these undermine the sustained reflection and practice that contribute to ethical formation. I am hardly the first to notice this or to offer a proposed solution to these tendencies. Stanley Hauerwas has responded to this issue with his now well-known concepts of character and narrative. Hauerwas calls character the interaction of personal qualities that orients or determines a person to be and act in certain ways. Character determines agency. The way one is characterized determines how a person will act. Character, furthermore, is continuously formed by choice. Choice forms character, for by moving in a certain way, one is also inclined that way as through exercising one's

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[13] Eberhard Jüngel, *Justification: The Heart of the Christian Faith*, trans. Jeffrey F. Cayzer (Edinburgh & New York: T&T Clark, 2001), 211; emphasis original.

powers, and by the results affirming the choice. Character makes a person the way he is, according to Hauerwas.[14]

Thus, for Hauerwas, a weakness of a theology that offers continual forgiveness is that it leaves no room for the development of character. If forgiveness wipes the slate clean, then a person's previous actions have done nothing to move him further in a life of virtue. And this is the problem Hauerwas sees with communions that emphasize "too strongly" the doctrine of justification. If a person is being newly created day after day, then this person has no foundation upon which to grow in character, good works, and sanctification. This reveals one of Hauerwas' underlying concerns, that theology not be bifurcated from ethics in some division between theory or belief and practice. Ethics has to express theology in a close-knit way; the justified person must also act righteously in sanctification.[15]

To link justification and sanctification, Hauerwas highlights the uniqueness of conversion in establishing Christian character. Conversion to Christianity is the forgiveness of past sins, a power which not only takes away the punishment for sin, but regenerates the person. This regeneration includes the gift of Christian character—the "orientation" of Jesus Christ. This new orientation is not limited to outward works, but manifests itself both in the interiority of character (new habits and a system of reasons) and the exteriority of works intentional to this character (works pursued according to these new habits and matrix of reasoning).[16] Conversion occurs in a distinct point of time, when the new believer's character changes from sinful to Christ-like. It is not gradual, but instantaneous. Hauerwas does not at all mean that there is no development of character following conversion. The new, Christian character develops just as any other character does, through habit, choice, intention, and circumstances. Rather, it is that the fundamental character of the Christian life is given and defined in conversion.[17] Conversion provides the starting point for the believer to act according to his new agency and to develop this character in conjunction with the Christian community.

To be sure, Lutherans will certainly find a number of problems with Hauerwas, most fundamental of which are an abandonment of the theoretical for the pragmatic, and a failure to distinguish between the

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[14] Stanley Hauerwas, *Character and the Christian Life: A Study in Theological Ethics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 83–128.

[15] Hauerwas, *Character and the Christian Life*, 2–5, 183–188.

[16] Hauerwas, *Character and the Christian Life*, 201–2.

[17] Hauerwas, *Character and the Christian Life*, 206.

spiritual and the temporal. However, his work is noteworthy in his insistence that justification and sanctification be understood as complementary, and that their connection is to be found in the work of Christ in the Christian. In justification, a person is newly born in Christ, which grants him a new Christian character to do good works. This character continues to develop through the exercise of virtues under the guidance of the Christian narrative, that is, the practices of the Christian community, such as preaching, prayer, rituals, and communal good works.

The point of contact with Hauerwas that I want to emphasize is conversion. For Lutherans also confess that in conversion—justification—a person receives the forgiveness of sins and is given the new life, out of which the subsequent fruits of righteousness and good works proceed. Indeed, Joel Biermann has drawn extensively from Hauerwas in developing his understanding of Lutheran ethics and the three kinds of righteousness. Like Hauerwas, Biermann is concerned with the inseparability of theology and ethics, even while he recognizes a distinct place for both, contra the later Hauerwas.[18] Biermann is also concerned with practical questions facing the parish,[19] and asserts that the law-gospel framework is not as appropriate for dealing with temporal, practical questions, as it is for assuring people of their salvation before God.[20] Finally, Biermann also argues that the two—or three—kinds of righteousness is a proper conceptualization for understanding the relationship between justification and sanctification.[21]

For Biermann, *justifying* righteousness is that new righteousness received in justification or conversion. *Sanctifying* righteousness is that righteousness performed by the Christian on behalf of other human beings, and which corresponds to Hauerwas' character development and sanctification.[22] The defining narrative for the Christian, that is, the narrative

[18] Biermann, "Virtue Ethics," 47–50.

[19] Biermann, "Virtue Ethics," 4–8.

[20] Biermann, "Virtue Ethics," 153–164.

[21] Biermann, "Virtue Ethics," 200–213.

[22] Biermann, "Virtue Ethics," 171–182. Biermann clarifies at length the nuances of the kinds of righteousness that were actually expressed by Luther and Melanchthon. Of particular importance is Melanchthon's occasional uses of "civil righteousness" or the "righteousness of reason" to speak of any kind of work that could be considered good by non-theological standards, whether done by a Christian or not. I have distinguished this from specifically Christian good works with the term "active righteousness," as Luther does, while Biermann goes on to speak of three kinds of righteousness: "governing," "justifying," and "sanctifying." Biermann's "justifying" righteousness cor-

that shapes the character of a Christian qua Christian, is the gospel—forgiveness of sins and reconciliation to God. This defines the Christian as Christian and connects sanctifying righteousness to justifying righteousness. This fundamental character of the person cannot cease to be Christian character, without the person ceasing to actually be a Christian, but character does develop in smaller degrees by the influence of other narratives and practices.

For Biermann, then, justification is also new creation, so that our ethical attention can stay where it belongs: in this creation, rather than in attempts to justify oneself before God. In our created setting, we can indeed speak of a sustained character, one that is not erased or reset with each experience of forgiveness. While sanctification may not be predictable and continually on the increase, present acts draw from the possibilities of past acts: the qualification of the self with an orientation.[23] Virtues and character can be developed through participation in the Christian narrative—the Creed—and through the practice of good works. Thus the righteousness of good works is interwoven with the righteousness of justification, which is received through the Word and sacraments.

III. Mystical Union

I essentially agree with Biermann that the twofold righteousness is a helpful way of conceptualizing the connection between justification and sanctification, even while I disagree that it ought to replace the law-gospel paradigm when it comes to ethics. It rather relies on the proper distinction between law and gospel. Furthermore, however, I am not convinced we need to go to Hauerwas to find this link, because it is already in the Confessions and Luther, as I outlined earlier. In fact, when we find ourselves relying too deeply on Hauerwas, we fall into the bugaboo which has plagued Hauerwas throughout his career, and that is the question of the role of grace in conversion, narrative, and ethics. When one reflects on Hauerwas's structure, one wonders what is specifically Christian about it. The narrative is Christian. The practices of the Christian community have the appearance of Christianity. But there is precious little said about the inner working of grace by the Holy Spirit. There is no description in Hauerwas of how grace works through the Christian narrative. This is in contrast to the Lutheran confession, which holds grace to be bestowed

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responds to my "passive" righteousness, and his "sanctifying" righteousness corresponds to my "active" or "proper" righteousness.

[23] Biermann, "Virtue Ethics," 214–215, 220.

through the word and sacraments—a grace that has particular spiritual effect, more foundational than and different from the outer effects of narrative and practices.

Biermann does not substantively address this difference of Hauerwas from Lutheranism. Biermann affirms that the work of grace is not an external, worldly work, and that it comes through the word and sacraments. But there is more that can be said in explaining the relationship between grace and spiritual righteousness, and the formation of character and virtue in a Christian.

Justification does not bring about a new character in the typical way that character is understood, or even in the way that Hauerwas describes it—through the reflective exercise of agency nurtured in a community narrative for the developing new habits. Rather, justification operates by grace. Thus, the question is, how does the grace of justification establish a new character in a believer? How can we describe anthropologically and theologically the reception of the imparted righteousness of Christ?

I propose that we understand the reception of the righteousness of sanctification by the concept of mystical union. This is a classical category in Lutheran dogmatics that has received a new spin in recent years from the Finnish school. The first offering in this area was Tuomo Mannermaa's *In ipsa fide Christus adest* (1979), which argues that the presence of Christ in justifcation implies a real participation of God, which corresponds to an Eastern Orthodox understanding of theosis. The Finns are motivated by the prospect of progress in ecumenical relations with the Orthodox, and they have sometimes been criticized for reading comparisons with Orthodoxy into Luther's writings.[24] Particularly, they have argued that union with Christ, rather than God's Word, is the instrumental cause of justification,[25] a position that is indefensible with the Lutheran Confessions, and with a fair reading of Luther's writings.

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[24] See, e.g., Klaus Schwarzwäller, "Verantwortung Des Glaubens," in *Freiheit als Liebe bei Martin Luther: Referate = Freedom as Love in Martin Luther: Papers*, ed. Dennis D. Bielfeldt and Klaus Schwarzwäller (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1995), 146–148; Timothy Wengert, "Review of *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*," ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, *Theology Today* 56 no. 3 (October 1999): 432–434; R. Scott Clark, "*Iustitia Imputata Christi*: Alien or Proper to Luther's Doctrine of Justification?" *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 70 (2006): 280–284.

[25] Documented in William W. Schumacher, *Who Do I Say that You Are? Anthropology and the Theology of Theosis in the Finnish School of Tuomo Mannermaa* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 88–89. The Finn's connection between atonement and the flesh of Christ leads them to this conclusion. While this connection is generally commendable, it does

Nevertheless, the Finns have contributed positively to Luther studies simply by reinvigorating the conversation about mystical union, and by offering a penetrating critique of the philosophical underpinnings of 19th- and early 20th-century Luther studies. While addressing these philosophical issues is not the purpose of this study, for this context it is worth mentioning Risto Saarinen's published dissertation, *Gottes Wirken Auf Uns*, which traces the theology of Albrecht Ritschl, Karl Holl and other 19th- and 20th-century Lutherans to the Kantianism of philosopher Hermann Lotze. Under Lotze's influence, these theologians denied knowledge of God at an objective or metaphysical level, and correspondingly excluded a relation or intimacy with God's person. Rather, only the effects of God's actions on a believer and in the life of the Christian community could be perceived through the subjective power—or feeling—of faith (note also the similarities to Schleiermacher). In this system, not only objective justification, but also subjective justification in the classic sense, was meaningless, and these had to be reinterpreted under a kind of moral influence theory. Such theology also denied true union with God, a clear contradiction with the Formula of Concord (SD III, 65).[26]

So it is in this sense that the Finn's revitalization of the category of union contributes to the discussion of character and moral formation. Again, let me reiterate: union is not the cause of justification; rather, union follows logically upon justification and imprints the new character of the Christian serving as the basis for moral formation. In fact, union does not merely imprint a new character, but is the hypostasis, if you will, of the new man. To understand this, we need to consider further Luther's theological anthropology.

Departing from customary medieval thought, the significance of personhood for Luther is not rationality and individual substance, but perception, relational experience, and dependence. Luther admitted the need for a ground for individual existence and action, but a human person does not have an independent or autonomous ground or hypostasis. A person is, to an extent, how he is perceived by others, what role he plays in a society, what he gives and receives relationally. There is human sub-

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not require that the only way to benefit from the flesh of Christ is to join in union with it.

[26] Tuomo Mannermaa, "Why Is Luther Research So Fascinating? Modern Finnish Luther Research," in *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*, ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 5, 7; Risto Saarinen, *Gottes Wirken auf uns: die Transzendentale Deutung des Gegenwart-Christi-Motivs in der Lutherforschung* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989), 241.

stance, but that substance is formed by relationships and action to determine personality. Theologically, then, how a person is viewed by God is fundamental to his personhood. [27]

With the righteous judgment of justification, a person receives standing before God, a new *persona*, upon which righteous acts are built.[28] The judgment grants a new being, a new nature, which is the life of Christ in the person: "Not I, but Christ in me," as St Paul says in his epistle to the Galatians.[29] It is the new presence of Christ upon which the new creation is founded. The judgment of justification and the presence of Christ are complementary.[30] The relation with God becomes determinative of the kind of actions the person will produce. The judgment (*Urteil*) of God gives the person a true, meaningful existence. "The person as source of [his] deeds is minted through a judgment issued over [him], a judgment toward which [he]—in acceptance or refusal—aims and shapes [himself]."[31] It is no longer the person making an image for and in himself, but God dwelling in and making the person after his image. Thus union with Christ offers the new imprint, character, and nature, empowered by the Holy Spirit with new faculties (SD II, 25; IV, 7–8).

Union, for Luther, then, is relational union. The human person or spirit takes form in its object, comparable with medieval realism. That is, when intellect considers something, it becomes united to that concept. When a soul loves someone, it becomes united to the beloved. Luther applied this model also to faith: whatever a person trusts, to that he unites himself. Furthermore, the soul becomes formed by the object of faith.[32] When Luther defines man with the sentence, "Man is justified by faith," he is saying this: a true man must have Christ as the object of his belief, for only

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[27] Johannes-Friedrich Albrecht, *Person und Freiheit: Luthers sicht der Dynamik und Struktur des Personseins und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2010), 92–93, 96–97, 99–100. See also AE 27: 206–207, WA 2, 480, 17–20.

[28] Karsten Lehmkühler, *Inhabitatio: Die Einwohnung Gottes im Menschen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 299–301.

[29] Lehmkühler, *Inhabitio*, 301

[30] Lehmkühler, *Inhabitio*, 314

[31] "Die Person als Quelle ihrer Taten ist geprägt durch ein über sie ergehendes Urteil, nach dem sie sich—in Zustimmung oder Ablehnung—richtet und entwirft." Lehmkühler, *Inhabitio*, 301.

[32] "Those who believe this are like God; that is, they think of God altogether as He feels in his heart, and they have the same form in their mind that God or Christ has. This, according to Paul, is to 'be renewed in the spirit of your minds and to put on the new nature, created after the likeness of God' (Eph 4:23–24)," *Lectures on Galatians 1535*, AE 26:431, WA 40/1:650, 29–32.

in Christ does a man live and do as he was created to do. Without such faith, a man is not truly a man.[33] Luther also speaks extensively of Christ as his form and the form of faith in the Galatians lectures:

> [F]aith takes hold of Christ and . . . He is the form that adorns and informs faith as color does the wall. Therefore Christian faith is not an idle quality or an empty husk in the heart, which may exist in a state of mortal sin until love comes along to make it alive. But if it is true faith, it is a sure trust and firm acceptance in the heart. It takes hold of Christ in such a way that Christ is the object of faith, or rather not the object but, so to speak, the One who is present in the faith itself. Thus faith is a sort of knowledge or darkness that nothing can see. Yet the Christ of whom faith takes hold is sitting in this darkness as God sat in the midst of darkness on Sinai and in the temple. Therefore our "formal righteousness" is not a love that informs faith; but it is faith itself, a cloud in our hearts, that is, trust in a thing we do not see, in Christ, who is present especially when He cannot be seen.[34]

Luther also says elsewhere, "Faith is the creator of the divinity, not in [his] person, but in us."[35] This is not just a conceptual grasping, but the present reception of Christ in the soul through faith.

The subsistence of a person's subjectivity, then, is God. Although we think in terms of our personal individuality, we must be grounded in God, whether as creatures, or as new creatures.[36] Christ becomes the ground of the believer, the ground of action. Wilfried Joest, in his classic study of the Luther's ontology of the person, calls the ground of a person's actions in Christ the "transsubjective power." A human person truly wills and acts in Christ, so that his desires and actions are attributable to the person. Yet they are empowered in Christ and remain only so long as the person is in Christ.[37] A person never possesses righteousness innately, such as a *habitus*, or apart from Christ. Joest also refers to this as "nicht-Subjektivität," which I translate as "non-self-subsisting agency of spirituality." Essentially this is human agency, which nevertheless relies on the

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[33] WA 39/1:176, 33–177, 10; AE 34:139.

[34] Luther, *Lectures on Galatians 1535*, AE 26:129–130. See also WA 40/1:282, 21–22; 282, 14–16; AE 25:166–167.

[35] "Fides est creatrix divinitas, non in persona, sed in nobis." WA 40/1:360, 5–25.

[36] Lehmkühler, *Inhabitio*, 245–247. See WA 2:480, 11 for Luther's polemic against Boethius' definition: "A person is an individual substance with a rational nature."

[37] Wilfried Joest, *Ontologie der Person bei Luther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 256–261.

life of Christ and power of the Holy Spirit, and gives up a claim to self-subsistence.[38]

Yet this non-subjectivity is a subjectivity in that the person's will is engaged and active in action in the world. This synergism comes about through the union of the soul with Christ, which Lutherans have traditionally labeled the mystical union. There are points of comparison to the personal union of the two natures in Christ in that some attributes—or the character or virtues of Christ—are communicated to the believer. Proper or imparted righteousness is not simply the change of a person, new habit, or the transference of power, but the grounding of the new person in the person of Christ, in union with him.

To sketch the anthropology of the Christian in union with Christ, there are the two natures of the believer: the old, fleshly, outer nature, which is dying, and the new, inner, spiritual nature, which is alive through faith and grounded in the person of Christ. This spiritual nature is in mystical union with Christ, receiving the character and virtues of Christ.[39]

IV. Worship as Formation

In light of this, how do we speak of ethical formation from the theological conviction that a man is justified through faith on account of Christ, apart from the works of the law? We understand that apart from Christ, a man can do nothing: he is dead in trespasses and sins. Through faith, a person is justified and united to Christ, which creates the new man, grounded in Christ's person and empowered by the Holy Spirit. This new, spiritual man, hears the law, is instructed by it, and loves it. This new man struggles against the old, fleshly, sinful nature. This new man has righteous, Christian character, and this new character can be developed through practice, the development of good habits or virtues, and the continued mediation on the Word of God—both law and gospel. And thus we come to the connection to worship. Union and growth in character occur through faith, but faith itself is not an operation of a person to reach out or to connect with God. Such active work is done by the Word himself, which comes forth from God and presents God to the person. In this presentation of the Word, faith recognizes the person's proper place in relation to God's person.[40]

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[38] Joest, *Ontologie der Person*, 273, 234.

[39] AE 25:332; WA 56:343, 18–23.

[40] Joest, *Ontologie der Person*, 297–298.

Because the means of grace are the means by which a person is justified, they are also the means by which the new character and nature are given. Worship is the primary context for the granting of new character and the strengthening of it. Worship strengthens and develops the new character not through mere habituation or narrative qualification, but through the operation of grace, which endows and develops a new way of being, a new subjectivity. This formative character of worship centers on the word of God and the sacraments, which are supported by the full activity of worship.

God's operation of grace through the word can be understood analogically through recent arguments in the philosophy of language. Louis-Marie Chauvet, a Roman Catholic liturgiologist, criticizes the medieval scholastic metaphysical scheme that imposed a transactional view on language and grace, such that these were purely instrumental in assisting beings to reach their telos. Rather, language should be seen as part of a symbolic order that actually establishes social relationships and expectations. While this can be hijacked by the postmodern deconstructionists and reconstructionists, it actually has analogical applicability to the way we can understand God's words. God's word does what it says. God's word does construct the reality it speaks—the social reality, when we understand God's society to be all of creation. When God speaks to his creation, he creates, establishes, and determines things to be the way he speaks. Thus, God's language is not just information, advice, instructions, or history, but also the gracious working of bringing the believer into the story of salvation by uniting him to the life, death, and new life of Christ.[41] The language of preaching, then, does not form believers simply by unique meaning, but through the accompanying supernatural power of the Holy Spirit, the regeneration to a new life, and the union with Christ. Grace is the spiritual power that converts a person and enables him to understand the spiritual language of the church. Grace, through the preaching of God's language and judgment, communicates the new, Christian life.

Christian ethics, then, begins out of the "judgment" of God.[42] In worship, the gathered faithful assent and acquiesce to God's judgments—through faith, to be sure, not their own abilities. Worship introduces a discontinuity with secular life, calling the worshipper to understand

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[41] Louis-Marie Chauvet, *Symbol and Sacrament* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 84–85, 92–95.

[42] Bernd Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship: Ethics for Christian Citizens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 4–5.

ordinary life differently, through the eyes of faith.[43] The assent to God's judgment teaches, instills and develops a new kind of ethos, forming and structuring the lives of worshipping Christians. From this different, Christian structure of life, faithful people make judgments and take action in the world, according to the circumstances and conditions in which they find themselves.[44]

The word places the believer into a new relationship with God, that of child of the Father, and brother or sister of Jesus. With this new relationship is the empowerment to live as a child of God. This empowerment is the Holy Spirit himself, who enacts in a person what is declared and promised in the word.[45] The Spirit inscribes the word into the body of the believer through the washing of Baptism, through the creative promise, and through the continued nourishing of Jesus' body and blood. This suggests a structure of the Christian life on earth girded by Scripture, sacraments, and ethic. More than this, it suggests a movement or maturing in the Christian life that comes in hearing the word, being embodied through the sacraments in the body of Christ, and living out the Christian life of witness as worship and ethical service to others.[46] The body becomes the place that bears the "marking" or "character" of the word of God. Because this word is embodied, it is also lived out.[47]

I am arguing, then, that Christian worship ought to be recognized as a fundamental source for ethics. Yet, although worship is a source, traditional philosophical methods of deducing actions from principles do not hold. Instead, ethics grows forth from worship. Ethics focuses on the gracious power of the word and its verification in ethical action.[48] Christ gives himself in the speaking of his word in Scripture and sacrament; Christians gives themselves in the life of witness, both confession of faith and acts of love. Nevertheless, even as the liturgical is verified in "ethical reinterpretation," so the ethical always returns to the liturgical and is reinterpreted liturgically, as an action brought forth in response to the grace of

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[43] Philippe Bordeyne, "The Ethical Horizon of Liturgy," in *Sacraments: Revelation of the Humanity of God: Engaging the Fundamental Theology of Louis-Marie Chauvet*, ed. Philippe Bordeyne and Bruce T. Morrill (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008), 124–125.

[44] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 6.

[45] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 439–440.

[46] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 527–528.

[47] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 530.

[48] Bordeyne, "The Ethical Horizon of Liturgy," 127.

God in the sacrament. It is this response to grace that makes the action specifically Christian, and specifically ethical for that matter.[49]

Such ethical verification does not mean that the presence of Christ is *dependent* upon the ethical. The presence of Christ depends upon his words and promises. And this presence shapes an ethical stance that receives, is formed by, and begins to act or attempts to act in accordance with the presence of Christ. Christ's presence brings about a new creation, a change in the character of the gathered, faithful people, so that their perspective, intentions, and actions will begin to be different from the way they were prior to or apart from the presence of Christ. Such verification cannot be evaluated by quantity or quality of good works, which would only serve to separate ethics again from worship. Rather, the ethical is a stance of continuously holding forth whatever benefit one has for the benefit of the neighbor. This is a stance of confidence, of faith, that what one has can be given and not be lost. Such verification in faith can only be a theological verification.

The inscription of godly character occurs through word and sacrament, which is verified in the ethical, which is the life of Christian love. It is the love "*to be toward others as God is toward us*."[50] Much of what I have been saying here is drawn from Chauvet, but these things are not foreign to Lutheranism. Luther, in his 1519 treatise on the *Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ*, focuses on the unity of love wrought by the partaking of the Sacrament of the Altar. And lest we think that he discarded this view later in his career, he repeats this theme in a sermon preached for the Vigil of Pentecost, 1528, after his polemical exchanges with Zwingli.[51] This sermon could be considered his most mature and excellent statement on the relationship of the Eucharist, union, and good works. He says that just as the bread is a unity formed from many grains, the church has all things in common when it partakes of Christ. All Christians share "infirmity, folly, lack, poverty."[52] Strength serves weakness—the one with more serves the one with less—until all are restored. Yet this mutual sharing, again, is grounded first in the fellowship they have with Christ. By eating his body and drinking his blood they are

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[49] Bordeyne, "The Ethical Horizon of Liturgy," 128.

[50] Bordeyne, "The Ethical Horizon of Liturgy," 312, emphasis in original.

[51] Translated by Aaron Moldenhauer, "A Translation and Analysis of Martin Luther's 1528 Catechetical Sermons on the Lord's Supper," in *Concordia Journal* 33 (2007), 43–60. See also, *Die erste Reihe des Katechismuspredigten (1528)*, "30 Maij quae erat vig[ilia penth]ecostes 28," WA 30/1:24–27.

[52] Moldenhauer, "Luther's Catechetical Sermons," 47.

in him and receive all good from him. Only then is the believer strengthened to bear his neighbors' burdens.

> Thus we eat the Sacrament bodily and spiritually to strengthen our faith and *thereafter to fulfill the signification* . . . . I offer my sin and death to Christ; He gives righteousness and eternal life. Thus I say to the neighbor, "If you are poor, come to me, and you shall have bread, coat, and so on; similarly if you are ignorant of the faith."[53]

Note the strong unidirectional language of all merit and virtue coming from Christ to the partakers, then to be shared with the neighbor.

Thus, the Christian ethic that grows out of worship is an ethic of interconnection with other people, of identifying with the neighbor and even becoming the neighbor in order to serve and to love the person. Such an identification is not a psychological or sympathetic identification, both of which are limited in their intimacy with the neighbor, and neither of which necessitate the empowering of the Holy Spirit. A person limits psychological and emotional sympathy by filtering the neighbor's experience through his own stance. Rather than entering into the neighbor's experience, the self-orientation tries to fit the neighbor into oneself, overlooking or collapsing the real difference between the subject and the neighbor.[54]

Instead, the Holy Spirit brings about a "transposing" of the believer with the neighbor. The "transposing" that occurs for the Christian is the transposing of oneself into another "as Christ." Because the believer is in unity with Christ, he now addresses and engages the neighbor as Christ would. This union with the neighbor—ideally—is not filtered or corrupted by the person's perspective (although, in practice, it will be flawed if the persisting old nature interferes), but the believer has now put on the mind of Christ and sees the neighbor from Christ's perspective. In this renewed stance, the neighbor does not remain at a distance, nor is his experience subsumed or collapsed into the other. The Christian, in this instance, has become a "little Christ" to the neighbor.[55]

Because the person serves out of the abundance of Christ, he is not afraid of being limited with what he can offer.

> For where the question about justice is seen as a problem about the distribution of goods or opportunities . . . the fundamental point of

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[53] Moldenhauer, "Luther's Catechetical Sermons," 48, emphasis added. See WA 30/1:26–27.

[54] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 328–329.

[55] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 330–331.

> departure is the deficiency. But deficiency makes the other in a threateningly primary way a competitor for restricted goods, and someone who can therefore only in a secondary way become a partner (or accomplice). It is only where abundance "rules" (in the literal sense) that the other is not a threat.[56]

In the realm of Christian abundance, justice is not concerned with the equity of limited resources, but with offering all that is good. When Christians have received everything from Christ, as they do in worship—the word and sacraments—they have abundance to offer. There is no fear of the loss of self, but only the confidence that all will be brought into the great fellowship of Jesus Christ, who gives without qualification.[57]

Love, then, is no mere motivation for good works, nor is it only following the example of Christ (although it includes these). Love shapes the good works of a Christian by binding the Christian to the person he loves, serves, and for whom he works. True love has no fear of losing anything, for the resources available to love are infinite in communion with Christ. While through faith a person is united to Christ, through love the Christian is united to others he loves.[58]

V. Ethics and the Ten Commandments

At the beginning of this article, I noted that contemporary Lutherans may be reticent to explicate the Ten Commandments, for fear of seeming legalistic, irrelevant to contemporary contingencies, or simply wrong for trying to apply the Hebrew Covenant to a new era. But when the two-fold Christian righteousness is affirmed, the commandments do not merely accuse the old, sinful nature and lead to death, they instruct and direct the new nature of the Christian, serving the Christian in the growth and formation of active righteousness. They give instruction of wisdom and love.

Thus the commandments are to be embraced as part of the formative way of life for the Christian. Such an approach is very distinct from the post-Enlightenment Kantian method of moral norms, even though Luther has often been interpreted through such a method.[59] It is true that Luther emphasizes the Ten Commandments in teaching ethics, probably giving them the first priority in this area. Yet it would be a mistake to see the

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[56] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 332–333.
[57] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 334–339.
[58] Luther, *The Freedom of a Christian*, AE 31:371.
[59] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 59.

main difference between a modern, purely rational ethic and Luther's commandment ethic as merely one of secularization. Modern theories of norms may claim to be based on pure reason, but the commandment of God for Luther is never a decontextualized command appealing to pure reason. The divine command comes through the act of hearing the word of God, meaning the command comes in the context of worship and is received through faith.[60] Furthermore, the sense of the command is given meaning by the life, traditions, and relationships in which the Christian lives.

For Luther, this is most clear in the way all commands are particular ways of obeying the first commandment, and only by obeying the first commandment can the others be fulfilled. The stance a person takes towards killing, adultery, lying, stealing, and coveting depends on his stance toward God and the worship of God. Worship is the greatest work of the commandments: "in [hearing and learning his Word], one gives to him his greatest and highest service [*Gottesdienst*]."[61] Luther is not hesitant to describe attending the divine service, listening to the sermon, and receiving the sacraments in faith as work that pleases God and gives him honor, glory, and pleasure.[62]

Worship is tied together with good works not simply because it is commanded, however, but because through worship comes the promise of the gospel. The Word of God, as the one true holy thing, makes those who hear it forgiven and holy, faithful to receive it. This good work of worship is greater than all others, because it is the first good work, it is the activity by which people are made holy and good, and can go forth and do other good works.[63] All good works give honor to God, not just as obedience, but as furthering goodness in the estates of life, thereby speaking forth in word and deed the goodness, mercy, love, and care of God.[64] All of these give God his glory, and in a broad sense are also worship.

In worship, the intertwining of God's gracious forgiveness and gifts of life with the good works of faithful people is clearly seen. To be sure, forgiveness is utterly an act of grace and mercy, in which God takes away sin and makes holy the person he forgives. Yet such forgiveness occurs

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[60] Wannenwetsch, *Political Worship*, 61.

[61] WA 36:353, 11–12; AE 51:260.

[62] WA 36:352–356; AE 51:260–265. The Confessions speak in a similar way, with the activity of worship being the first good works of the saints, acceptable to God when performed in faith; see Ap. XXIV, 25–26; LC, 91–94.

[63] WA 45:682, 22–34; AE 24:242–243

[64] WA 36, 352–354; AE 51, 260–262.

within the human activity of worship: preaching the word of God, listening to the word of God, praying, giving thanks, and communing on the body and blood of Christ.

> At whatever time God's word is taught, preached, heard, read, or pondered, there the person, the day, and the work is hallowed, not on account of the external work but on account of the Word that makes us all saints . . . . Other work and business are really not designated holy activities unless the person doing them is first holy. In this case, however, a work must take place through which a person becomes holy. This work, as we have heard, takes place through God's Word. (LC I, 92–94)

Commandment ethics, for Luther, then, cannot be isolated to the pure commandment or universal norm issued outside of the church's life of worship in which the commandment is heard alongside the promise of life in the gospel.

The old nature is dying under the law, yet the new nature, enlivened through faith, embraces, delights in, and begins to fulfill the law, because the doer and fulfiller of the law, Jesus Christ, is present and active. The righteousness that is Christ's alone through his work, suffering, and merit, is shared and given to each believer, so that believers also work and act righteously, specifically to live according to the structure and direction of the law.[65] After justification, the heart is changed to see the law no longer as a prison, tutor, or slave driver, but as a palace, or a light for the path that leads to eternal life.[66]

The law offers concrete parameters for expressing the love of God in the world. It establishes the church and the worship of God. It sets forth order and respect in society, beginning with parents, and implicitly including other authorities. It expresses the dignity of life, fidelity in marriage, the significance of property, the value of honesty and uplifting speech, and even warns against nurturing temptations that begin in the heart. There is a positive, expansive understanding of the commandments that comes with faith in the Lord as the lover and provider of all things for this life and the life to come. This understanding is a living and growing

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[65] Cf. Rom 7:22; 8:2–10; Gal 2:19–20,

[66] David Yeago, "Martin Luther on Grace, Law and Moral Life: Prolegomena to an Ecumenical Discussion of *Veritatis Splendor*," *The Thomist* 62 (1998): 187–189. Cf. Gal 3:23–26; Ps 19:8; Prov 6:23; Ps 119:105.

embrace of the commandments, in contrast to the prohibitive, deathly way they are understood apart from faith.[67]

The commandments also lead believers further in their understanding of this gracious nature of God. By learning, reflecting on, and practicing the commandments, God's loving nature is better understood and more firmly established in the minds and hearts of believers. The commandments reveal further the gracious, merciful, and sacrificial nature of God, after his gracious, merciful, and sacrificial nature has begun to be understood and believed in the gospel of Jesus Christ through faith.[68] The giving of the Spirit means that the church is the community or the politics to live as God expects of all humankind. This inscription of the Spirit calls Christians to pursue goodness as expressed in the commandments not only so that others experience the goodness God intends for humanity, but also to present a glimpse of God's hope for humanity as an invitation to all people to enter into it.[69]

Thus the law can be seen to be in harmony with the Holy Spirit. The Spirit carries out the work of Jesus Christ in the world; he fulfills the will of God in the world. Whatever fruits of the Spirit he brings forth in Christians are thoughts, words, and deeds in harmony with the will of God.[70] Luther explains this in his preaching for the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1537:

> Thereafter [God] also promises to give the Holy Spirit, by which the heart looks to love God and keep his commandments. For God is not gracious and merciful to sinners because they do not keep the Law, nor so that they should remain as they are. Rather, he endows them and forgives both sin and death for the sake of Christ, who has fulfilled the whole Law. He thereby makes the heart sweet and through the Holy Spirit enkindles and drives the heart that it begins, in contrast to its old way, to love more and more from day to day.[71]

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[67] Stanley Hauerwas, "The Truth about God: The Decalogue as Condition for Truthful Speech," in *Sanctify Them in The Truth: Holiness Exemplified* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 51–54.

[68] Hauerwas, "The Truth about God," 57.

[69] Hauerwas, "The Truth about God," 57–59.

[70] Murray, *Law, Life, and the Living God*, 194.

[71] "Darnach verheisset er auch den heiligen Geist zu geben, damit das hertz ansahe Gott zu lieben unde sein Gebot zu halten, Denn Gott ist nicht darumb den sundern gnedig und barmhertzig, das sie das Gesetz erfuellen hat, das er dadurch das hertz also suess mache und durch den heiligen Geist entzunde und treibe, das es beginne in wider zu lieben von tage zu tage mehr und mehr." WA 45:149, 25–32.

The contrast between the effect of the law on the old nature and its being embraced by the new nature is even more clearly articulated by Luther elsewhere: "Our empty law is ended by Christ, who fills its emptiness first by being outside of us, because he himself fulfills the law for us, and then fills it again by the Holy Spirit in us, because, when we believe in him, he gives us his Holy Spirit, who begins in us this new and eternal obedience."[72]

Dead in our old nature, Christ is outside of us, propitiating the wrath of God in order to count us justified. With the pronouncement of forgiveness, he comes near and enters in, received by faith, granting us his Holy Spirit, and creating the new man in union with him. His one righteousness serves both to impute and impart righteousness. This new creation is also the inscription of a new character, a character that continues to be formed by the working out of God's love in us through the Spirit, by the means of grace and centered in the divine liturgy. Finally, the Spirit works in us to work out God's love toward our neighbor through the learning and practicing of God's commandments.

[72] "Caeterum nostra lex vacua cessat per Christum, qui replet vacuitatem illam, primum per sese extra nos, quia ipsemet implet legem pro nobis, deinde replet etiam per Spiritum sanctum in nobis, quia, quando credimus in eum, dat nobis Spiritum sanctum, qui inchoat hic in nobis novam et aeternam obedientiam." "Second Disputation against the Antinomians," WA 39 I:435, 18. See also WA 39 I:438, 2; 383, 8; 388, 4.

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Theological Observer

God's Word, Three Views, One Bible

[*The following remarks on the ELCA were delivered at Zion Lutheran Church, Brentwood, PA, on May 22, 2011. The Editors*]

We would not be here this afternoon discussing biblical authority in doctrine and practice unless the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) at its August 2009 church-wide assembly had not taken actions that many found distressing. The Episcopal Church in America had taken similar actions, but its history of embracing Reformed and Catholic elements makes innovations in practice less surprising. These actions and similar ones may be one reason for a declining membership in mainline churches. Lack of discipline in sexual matters in the Roman Catholic Church has led some to give up on church altogether. After attending a meeting of the Association for Church Renewal, Mark Chavez reported that the reason for church membership decline is "believed to be the result of doctrinal drift away from historic, biblical faith." [1]

This drift away from the biblical faith may result from the use of certain historical critical methods that see the miraculous in the Scriptures as the imposition of ancient myths and its ethical principles as applicable only to the times and cultures in which they were prescribed. These principles also allow for the elimination of what scholars call interpolations. These are sections of the Bible that belong to the extant manuscripts but which the scholars hold are so out of step with what the writer has said elsewhere that he could not have written them. These sections are at odds with what the writer originally intended and hence should be eliminated. A glaring example of this is the trinitarian formula at the end of Matthew. Jesus' disciples, some argue were not so theologically advanced that they could have written it. When the Bible is stripped of its miraculous and moral core, the contemporary culture fills the vacuum. What a church presents as its message is hardly distinguishable from the platforms of political parties and the goals of special interest groups; it loses its reason for existence, begins to lose its members, and fails to attract new ones.

The challenge to the church since New Testament times is to preach the gospel in terms that can be understood in a particular culture but without embracing that culture. This "but" is the real problem. The Old Testament is the story of how Israel took into its worship the practices of the polytheistic environment that surrounded it. Paul faced this issue head-on in Corinth to the point of the church's faith being destroyed by the denial of the resurrection. No church is immune from being overtaken by the world in which it lives. In

[1] "Association for Church Renewal Examines Church Trends, Leadership Training, Membership," *Core Connection* (April 2011), 5.

addressing people in their particular culture, the church is danger of adjusting its message to accommodate it. A church adjusting its message to its culture may soon find itself out of step with the times, since culture is not a fixed commodity. Culture is in constant flux as the makeup of the community changes. For example, what you think is hip is downright old fashioned to your children.

Across the street from the campus of Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne is Gethsemane Lutheran Church, an ELCA congregation. It was established in the 1950s by the LCMS to serve professors, their families, and students of Concordia Senior College, who after graduation were to continue their education at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Disruption at St. Louis in 1974 led Gethsemane to join the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Church (AELC), presumably with the support of those senior college instructors who were members of that congregation. Small as it was, the AELC, the synod formed by ex-Missourians, became the catalyst for the formation of the ELCA, and its members are seen by some as a cause of the ELCA's current problems.[2] In 1976, two years after the disruption in St. Louis, the LCMS seminary in Springfield, Illinois, moved to the Fort Wayne campus and the senior college closed. The seminary president was Robert D. Preus, who served previously as the chief academic officer of the St. Louis seminary after the faculty walked out. He was also the brother of LCMS president J.A.O. Preus, who had taken decisive action against the Saint Louis faculty. In the thirty-five years the seminary had been in Fort Wayne, there seemed no good reason to cross the threshold of Gethsemane.

In October 2010, the iron curtain that ran down North Clinton Street was lifted. The local newspaper carried a notice that on the following Sunday afternoon Bishop Paull Spring of the North American Lutheran Church (NALC) would be speaking at Gethsemane. Since Mark Chavez had lectured at the seminary at the January 2010 symposium, we knew of the current ELCA trauma. Chavez spoke to a group of mostly LCMS clergy. Bishop Spring was an ELCA bishop speaking to a group of mostly ELCA laity. The dynamics were different. In the 1960s and 70s, ad hoc gatherings of parishioners distressed about what was happening in the LCMS were common. Not so in ELCA, until now. Gethsemane is visible and within walking distance from our campus home. An opportunity to hear the bishop and the reactions from the laity could not be missed. For me, it was a busman's holiday, since I could sit back and listen to others and not make a presentation. Several times Bishop Spring observed how flat Indiana was. Easterners react to the Midwest that

[2] See Carl E. Braaten, "The Crux of Christianity's Case: The Resurrection of Jesus," in *A Report from the Frontlines: Conversations on Public Theology. A Festschrift in Honor of Robert Benne*, ed. Michael Shahan (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 23–34. Robert Benne, "The Trials of American Lutheranism," *First Things* 213 (May 2011): 21.

way, as I did in 1955 on waking up on the train in Ohio on the way to St. Louis and asking what God had done to me. Subsequent assignments to Kansas and Illinois my made world even flatter. My annual antidote for Midwestern flatness are summers in the Poconos. New York is still my home in a way that Indiana can never be.

I made a report on the meeting at Gethsemane to the seminary faculty and commented that rarely had I ever heard such a clear and articulate expression of the Christian faith, even from LCMS synod and district presidents, as I had heard that afternoon from Bishop Spring. To my chagrin, I had not taken into account that newly installed LCMS President Matthew Harrison was in the room. Since in the 1960s and 70s similar gatherings of lay persons were common in the LCMS to address problems, I was familiar with how these meetings were conducted and what could be expected, but there were differences in this ELCA meeting. A not so subtle difference was that the meeting was chaired, and efficiently so, by one of the congregation's pastors, Debra Meuter. One lay person asked the bishop to explain what "orthodox" meant, as in the phrase "orthodox faith." Such a question would not have been likely asked in an LCMS gathering, since in 2001 the LCMS passed a resolution that the ELCA was no longer an orthodox Lutheran church body.[3] At that time, the LCMS resolution was considered an obstacle to ecumenical relations and a bit outrageous in that one church would say something negative about another. Now it is often heard from within ELCA circles. Strikingly, an ELCA bishop was questioning the orthodoxy of his own church and calling those present back to its former orthodoxy, a theme that remains prominent in the bishop's public pronouncements.[4] Other ELCA clergy have done the same.

Another lay person asked if courses in natural law could be taught at the seminary. This question suggests that if the Bible was unclear about prohibited relationships between those of the same sex, then natural law might provide an answer. There was a kind of desperation to it all, with good Lutheran people wondering what was happening to them and how this new set of circumstances came to be. Sitting next to me was a man who was discussing with his wife if he should ask a question. I tried to encourage him but failed; I never learned what his question would have been. Such temerity in public forums is not characteristic of LCMS members. It is hard to avoid a comparison of current ELCA struggles with LCMS ones forty years ago, but both

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[3] During the discussion that followed, the three convocation presenters were asked what "orthodox" meant. Within a Lutheran context, orthodox and orthodoxy may best be defined as adherence to the Lutheran Confessions and sometimes to the 100-year tradition of classical Lutheranism that followed the adoption of The Book of Concord in 1580.

[4] Paull E. Spring, "How can we keep the NALC the NALC?" *NALC News* (April 2011), 3.

have to do with what the Bible says. For the LCMS, the whipping boy that was paraded out was the question of whether Jonah really had a three-day sojourn in the fish's belly. In comparison with the resurrection of Jesus, it seemed a matter of lesser importance, but it was only a cover for the larger issue of whether one could deny miracles (such as the virgin birth) and still remain a clergy member of the LCMS.

In an essay printed in a festschrift for Robert Benne, Carl Braaten implied that the denial of the resurrection of Jesus is an issue in the ELCA.[5] Shortly after the American Lutheran Church (ALC) established fellowship with the LCMS in 1969, it authorized the ordination of women, a practice that had the wide support in the St. Louis faculty and would soon be adopted by the AELC. With a majority of only five to four, the ALC departed from the catholic tradition that only men would be ordained. ALC support for the innovation was hardly unanimous, but the LCA enthusiastically followed suit. At the founding of the ELCA, this was hardly an issue, but for some time it did resist the approval of the blessing of the marriage and ordination of those of same sex marriages. This resistance gave way in August 2009.

In the background was the more significant and never resolved issue of the proposed substitutes for the trinitarian formula of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Could God be called Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier, and what about a baptism administered with this or another alternate formula? To some, Father and Son language implied male domination; a gentler touch to our understanding of God would be advanced by the removal of masculine terms for the trinitarian persons. The issues of who can and cannot be a pastor and who can marry whom are integrally related to the very essence of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Then there was the thought that the biblical formula was only a reflection of the ancient world culture that could be updated for current understandings of the relationships between man and woman. ELCA decisions of how God is to be understood are not only related but are cut from the same cloth; it is hard to say which perspective influenced the other. Liturgy is important because it carries the faith from one generation to another. When preaching goes bad—and it does, as we preachers know—liturgy serves as a defense of the faith against error and false teaching. When the liturgy is dismantled, the people are deprived of this standard in knowing what to believe. Ironically, the Book of Common Prayer has functioned as a standard in the Anglican Communion, providing stability in the midst of theological instability.

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[5] Braaten, "The Crux of Christianity's Case," 23. "To the question, 'Can we still be Christians today without believing in the reality of Jesus' resurrection?' some theologians said ' yes,' and some said ' no.' The result has been a huge controversy, one that has spilled beyond academic debate into the life of the churches, reflected in what is preached from the pulpit and believed in the pews."

Erik Heen of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia follows Vergelius Ferm in placing the introduction of critical studies of the Bible in the predecessor synods of the ELCA just before 1930.[6] As they developed, these approaches to the Bible provided the scholarly fuel for what is happening now. However, by 2009 Americans were acculturated by the times to accept these changes, and they happened quickly. As late as 2001, three quarters of ELCA laity still held to the old Lutheran doctrine of biblical inerrancy, a commitment dropped from the 1988 ELCA constitution.[7] Agreement on biblical inspiration and inerrancy does not guarantee that all who accept this will agree on what the Bible says, but it does provide a common basis for discussion.

In emotionally-laden times, when the world we knew since childhood is dissolving, each will blame the other. One professor facing the ELCA dilemma makes some stunning and judgmental accusations about conservatives engaged in the LCMS battles of the 1970s as "unrelenting, fierce, and remorseless. Participants in the current conflict in the ELCA are playing by the Marquis of Queensbury's rules compared to the bare-knuckle brutality of Missouri's Great Unhappiness." [8] ELCA dissidents may not necessarily agree with his assessment that current ELCA officials are kinder than LCMS officials were in the 1970s. At that time, no obstacles were placed in the way of congregations leaving the LCMS. If we can read between the lines, some ELCA theologians now wish that the LCMS had kept their discontented theologians. Congregations leaving the ELCA are given more and more hoops to jump through.[9] In spite of their differences, Esau and Jacob made peace and went their separate ways, not a bad biblical model for any church facing irreconcilable difficulties as the LCMS once did and the ELCA is now. Controversy in the LCMS that climaxed in the 1970s had been simmering since the 1950s. So when the time of the parting of the ways came, LCMS members knew where the lines of the controversy were drawn, but as in any controversy those on the same side of the lines may not agree among themselves. From my observations, the lines in the ELCA are still being drawn. Not all those who are discontent with the ELCA have left, but there is a steady dribble.

Since its founding, the LCMS has been drawing lines between who and who may not be members of its congregations as well as lines with other Lutheran church bodies. Lodge members were not allowed membership, though the rule was often broken. The LCMS had no fellowship with non-

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[6] Erik M. Heen, "The Interpretation of the Bible among Lutherans in the Twentieth Century," in *Hearing the Word: Lutheran Hermeneutics: Vision of Life under the Gospel* (Minneapolis: Lutheran University Press, 2006), 52–53.

[7] Heen, "The Interpretation of the Bible," 51, 56.

[8] Robert Benne, "The Trials of American Lutheranism," 23.

[9] See the headlines for *CORE Connection* (November 2010): 1. "ELCA council proposes changing rules to make it hard for congregations to leave."

Lutheran churches, a rule that may be broken here and there, but not regularly. In adopting fellowship with Episcopalians, Moravians, Methodists, Reformed and Presbyterians, the ELCA formalized fellowship practices that were common in its predecessor synods. Lines dividing their churches from non-Lutheran ones were less distinct. Fight-to-the-death battles are not new to the LCMS, but they are to the ELCA. Laity in the ELCA do not read and know their Bible any less that LCMS people do, but they do not have the same kind history that the LCMS has had in confronting unacceptable views and practices. The ELCA is eating the bread of sorrows. Some congregations are not leaving, and the denomination as a whole is facing declining support from its members. Reports of the merging of institutions of higher learning and reduction of church staffs are spreading.

Church and culture are always interwoven, but the existence of the church is endangered when the church is seen as no more than the religious expression of the culture of which it is a part. This was the position of the early 19th-century German theologian Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, who came to be regarded as the father of modernism or liberalism. He defined the church as a group of like-minded people, something like a community church. This sociological definition replaced the definition of the Augsburg Confession, that the church was the assembly of believers joined by a common faith. External piety rather than shared beliefs determined membership. Churches have cultural dimensions, and so one church is separated from another not only in what the members believe but by how they relate to one another. Only in the 20th century did Lutherans do away with synods that were partially determined by ethnic origins. Danes, Swedes, Finns, and Germans founded their own synods not only because they accepted the Lutheran Confessions, but because they brought people together who spoke the same language. The force of a particular church's cultural dimension comes to the fore when its members are forced for doctrinal reasons to leave their church body and the congregations in which they were brought up and where they find their closest friends. This church provided our parents, us, and our children with college and theological education.

Disruption of long-held close relationships is the price paid for confessing Christ. Jesus said that he who loves his family members more than him are not worthy of him (Matt 10:37). In determining the composition of its Church Council, the ELCA adopted a variation of Schleiermacher's view of the church, which he understood as an extension of the culture in which it existed. Since America has a diversified culture, members on the Church Council were proportioned according to sex, ethnicity, and race. Church decisions now are less likely to be determined theologically than sociologically. Not only did this no longer follow the early church model that decisions were made by the apostles and the other clergy, but it also did not take into account the fact that culture and ethnic percentages of the population are in constant flux. For example, the

Latino population now accounts for a larger percentage of the overall population than does the African-American, making it the largest minority, yet ELCA membership hardly corresponds to American ethnic divisions. Any church body reducing the theological component to a subsidiary or non-factor in making church decisions has introduced a foreign standard in determining its faith. In these circumstances, the LCMS and dissident ELCA members may come to recognize that they have much in common, especially in how they regard the Bible as the word of God, although current differences are the products of different histories and remain as obstacles to be overcome. Adjusting to new situations is what life is all about, and if our church bodies can recognize commonly held beliefs, necessary adjustments for unity become easier tasks.

Being present for discourse among ELCA members near Reformation Day was exhilarating, simply because it is always great to be among Lutherans contending for the faith once delivered to the saints (Jude 3). There is something Reformation-like in saying, "Here I stand." The ELCA may be facing what seems an impossible situation, but maybe not. Predecessor ELCA churches have overcome challenges to the Lutheran faith. Colonial based Lutheranism at the turn of the 19th century faced an implicit Unitarianism in the person of its New York Synod president, Frederick Quitman. A Reformed-leaning Protestantism took hold at the Gettysburg seminary at mid-19th century in Samuel S. Schmucker's Americanized Rescension of the Augsburg Confession, a document that conceded to the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In a successful response to these aberrations, Charles Porterfield Krauth turned the Reformed tide back to restart the Lutheran heart. In facing problems, the church's history may not be exactly circular, but it is *déjà vu*. No situation is really entirely new.

What about the future? This is on the mind of Bishop Spring, who warns: "What is to prevent the North American Lutheran Church from reverting to what the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America is?"[10] If the factors that brought us to this situation are not addressed, we will return to what we do not want. The bishop's question may really be the subtitle for this conference. Historically, too many churches have already lost the word "Lutheran" in what they believe, and every church that calls itself "Lutheran" remains in the same danger. Then there are those congregations, probably mostly LCMS ones, that, in the interest of gaining outsiders for the church, have dropped the word Lutheran from their names. Recent ELCA alliances with non-Lutheran churches must be reevaluated if any church in its membership wants to be authentically Lutheran. That being said, the real issues are the Bible as the word of God and giving carte blanche to any critical method to interpret it. On the other side of the arena is Evangelicalism with its allurements of inspired

[10] *NALC News* (April 2011), 3.

Scripture and high moral ground, but we will have gained little if, in fleeing from historical criticism and social liberalism, we find ourselves in the arms of a religious movement that substitutes a sovereign God in place of the God known only in Jesus and, in place of baptism, demands a decision for Christ. Without Luther's *simul iustus et peccator*, that we are as much sinners as we are saints, we fall into the false belief that overcoming sin in this world is an achievable goal. Apart from all the attractiveness of Evangelicalism, which can even use popular Reformation slogans such as *sola scriptura*, *sola fide* and *sola gratia*, the movement embraces opposing views of salvation. Its dispensational views of the end times see the kingdom of God in political terms; hence, it is not fundamentally different from the agenda of the old Social Gospel. Opposing views on women's ordination are allowed.[11]

The title for this conference, "God's Word, Three Views, One Bible," presupposes agreement on the Bible as God's word and at the same time allows for differing and even opposing interpretations. By the time or before this essay is given as the last one on the program, we may have proved that there are three views or we may have proved that we agree more than we disagree. Up until 1988, the LCMS and predecessor ELCA synods had virtually identical views on the Bible as God's word. We have faced similar crises with the introduction of critical biblical studies, the ELCA around 1930 and the LCMS just after 1950. Internal LCMS differences came to the breaking point in 1974; ELCA differences came to a head in August 2009. In an essay delivered before a convocation of ELCA theologians in 2003, Erik Heen of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia identified the moment in the decision to ordain women as pastors. Saying that this happened in 1970, Heen writes:

> In the Old Lutheran approach it is impossible to entertain a doctrine of the ministry that includes women clergy. The proof texts (*sedes doctrinae*) are found in such passages 1 Corinthians 14:34 and 1 Timothy 2:11. It seems self-evident that scripture teaches with clarity that women cannot hold such an office in the church. So the decisions of the ELCA predecessor churches in 1970 to ordain women indicates the sea change that had occurred with respect to the way the Bible was interpreted by a significant number of Lutherans in North America.[12]

In Heen's view, and there is little reason to dispute him, the LCMS finds its theological methods in the Reformation and post-Reformation eras of the 16th and 17th centuries. ELCA methods are rooted in methods that came into full bloom in the 19th century and then entered their predecessor synods

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[11] See the review of James M. Hamilton Jr., *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters,* by Philip B. Payne in *Journal of the Evangelical Society*, 54/1 (March 2011): 177–179. Both the reviewer and the author are credentialed Evangelicals.

[12] Heen, "The Interpretation of the Bible," 50.

around 1930. These methods assume that the New Testament is hardly more than a collection of historical documents influenced by the culture of the times, with less attention to their claim as the word of God. Items in the Scriptures that were seen as cultural accruements could be removed without damaging the central message. This approach has now allowed for same-sex marriages and for those in such arrangements to enter the ministry.

We are concerned about how the results of methods of biblical studies have led us to the current situation, but more importantly these methods often see Jesus as nothing more than a fabrication of those who wrote the gospels. These attempts to locate the historical Jesus are called "quests" for the historical Jesus; for the record, we are now in the third "quest" without any hope among the scholars of coming to a near-agreement about how much can be known about him. Without a supernatural Jesus of some kind, Christianity does not have a leg to stand on. Lutherans have the advantage of their confessions. Even if they are regarded as hardly more than historical documents from a particular era of our church's history, they annoyingly remind us what Lutherans once believed. They can serve as antibodies to challenge foreign elements entering the Lutheran bloodstream, but infection by destructive viruses is inevitable since the confessions do not address every situation we might face. Confessional commitment did not prevent the introduction of critical methods from taking hold in biblical studies at the St. Louis seminary in the 1960s and 70s. These former LCMS professors, in joining ELCA faculties in the 1980s, tipped the balances in favor of social and biblical liberalism, at least in the opinion of one ELCA theologian.[13] Changes in any church can have many causes. Current cataclysmic ones can be attributed as much to the methods of biblical interpretation as to radical cultural and societal change. A world that emerged in the middle and late 1960s bore little resemblance to what we knew in the 1950s.

The assignment for this afternoon from the Rev. Natalie L. Gessert came with this question as a guideline: "How in 2000 years has the Bible managed to resist culture and remain fairly consistently interpreted in the face of changing culture?" This may be a rhetorical question, but it does not work out that way, because the Bible, or at least our interpretation of it, has not managed to resist culture. That's why we are having this discussion.

David P. Scaer

[13]Benne, "The Trials of American Lutheranism," 23.

The Mission of the Church in an Age of Zombies

The church is living through an epidemic, a time of deadly serious threats. The situation in which Christians find themselves is best understood as a time of deep existential threat to the faith. If we are to think through this crisis in the church's mission today, the church needs honestly to see itself as living in a time of plague. How the church responds to this situation is in many ways the chief question of the day. How does a church respond to a culture around it infected with a deadly pestilence?

A plea for missions from a church official was published recently. The author made the usual encouragements that the church engage those outside the church. The article relayed statistics and breakdowns of Generation X, Y, and Z, the rise of the "nones," how this should alarm the church, and how ecclesiastical leaders ought to craft the Christian message to appeal to those demographics. What was striking about the piece was the imagery that the author used to portray the church's situation. He wrote that unfortunately many congregations isolated themselves, that many had a "fortress mentality." His contention was that so many Christians and church leaders spend their time inside the walls of the church where it is comfortable and not venturing out into the world, that it hinders the mission to the lost. The author wished to persuade his readers to take the battle into the field, to abandon the fortress and go on the attack.

A second picture the author used was an athletic one, an image borrowed from the football field. Christians, he thought, spend too much time playing defense and not enough time playing offense. His point was that today's church all too often expends energy defending traditions, protecting turf, and reacting rather than going "out there" to share the gospel and seek the unchurched. In other words, the author recommended a game plan centered on the mission-minded forward pass rather than the ecclesiastical prevent defense.

It is important to consider the language used to discuss the mission of the church. Many insist on speaking not just in terms of warfare or athletics but in terms of commerce and competition. The mission of the church is seen and discussed in terms dealing with customers, attracting clientele, and crafting a product that appeals to the vast throngs of people who do not come to church. It ends up being seen as a marketing problem. If we can just come up with a Christianity that is labeled and marketed the right way, then the crowds will flock to the church and her mission will succeed. Often, such frantic appeals to grow the church spring from the palpable sense of panic at the shrinking numerical and cultural clout the church has in the Western world.

Such panic is understandable. There is a crisis in western Christianity. The church is shrinking or even disappearing in many quarters. The numbers of

"nones" is rising rapidly.[1] Mission thinking, strategies, and emphases are critical now. But what is fascinating about these approaches are the metaphors that are used. While the situation changes and worsens, the language used does not fit that situation. Are the pictures and images we use adequate to the situation we face? An excessively market-based church life also falls flat in an age when children are gorged on media well before their teens and have been deeply inoculated against the appeals of advertising and promotion. The point is that the church in the West faces an unprecedented, existential threat. There is real animosity against the Christian message in many sectors. The statistics are beyond alarming and every pastor and every congregation can feel it and notice it in daily life. But often, talk about missions is shallow and misplaced. Fortresses and football? Marketing salvation like a hamburger or a latte? The emergent and missional church movements recognize these dangers[2] and are in many ways a flawed reaction to the over-emphasis on church marketing and success-based visions of the evangelistic enterprise in the older church growth movement.[3]

Speech about the church and mission is vital. Speaking affects actions. More is needed than cheerleading and scary statistics. What is called for is imagination and thought that explores what is happening around the church today. Critical questions need to be asked. What is it that we are facing? What is it like? What can it be compared to? To deploy an overused word, what is the hermeneutics of mission? This concerns itself not with how the Bible is interpreted but how the culture is understood in which the church finds itself and to which it proclaims the Scriptures. The church does not need more strategies or techniques, but should seek to relate theology to the prevailing culture. Wilbert Shenk writes that "Christians living in modern culture face a fundamental challenge . . . to learn to think about their culture in missional

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[1] The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (2012, October 9). *"Nones" on the Rise: One-in-Five Adults Have No Religious Affiliation*, from http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Religious_Affiliation/Unaffiliated/NonesOnTheRise-full.pdf. Accessed January 29, 2013.

[2] "It is individuals and communities on the proactive path that converge in many ways with the Missional Church Movement, which emphasizes that the church has to move from a marketing mentality to a missional mentality. The missional church is seen as an incarnational (versus an attractional) ministry, sent to engage a postmodern, post-Christendom, globalized context. This understanding requires every congregation to take on a missionary posture for engaging its local context, with this missionary engagement shaping everything a congregation does." R.J.A. Doornenbal, *Crossroads: An Exploration of the Emerging-Missional Conversation with a Special Focus on Missional Leadership and Its Challenges for Theological Education* (The Netherlands: Eburon Academic Publisher, 2012), 40.

[3] For an introduction to the methods of the emergent church movement, see James S. Bielo, "The 'Emerging Church' in America: Notes on the Interaction of Christianities," *Religion* 39 (2009), 219–232.

terms."[4] How do we understand the existing situation? What is "out there" is surely not like an army of British redcoats with muskets or a strong-armed quarterback trying to score a touchdown. It is not a consumer deciding whether to buy this product or that product. It is something more serious and more basic.

An effective way to diagnose a society is to look at its popular arts. The popular imagination of a culture tells stories. It gives clues to its self-understanding. Writing about zombie movies, Paul Pastor comments that "really, the films are about us, about all of us, in this time and place in history, and about our hopes and fears."[5] A society discloses its ailments with fairy tales, movies, video games, television, and social media. The stories that resonate today are very revealing about the mission of the church. There are tales of zombie apocalypses, vampires, contagions, and epidemic diseases threatening the stability of the world. These may sound frivolous, but societies live out their dreams and nightmares. The form these nightmares take clarifies what the church faces. The forces arrayed against Christianity are more like deadly zombies, brutal disease, and vampires than rifle-toting soldiers in straight lines or professional athletes in a stadium.

These images suggest the direction in which the church might move to meet its real enemies. Diagnosing such mass entertainment or social media fads does not yield programs or specific strategies. Such fads suggest ways to think and how best to approach the problem of missions in age of apathy and hostility to the message. They show us ways in which current approaches are mismatched with the world the church inhabits. The fact is simply that such adversaries are not easily conquered. The movies and stories about such adversaries are tales of terror, loss, and fear. They are not feel good-stories with happy endings where everyone gets away clean and safe. The evil that the church faces today is deep and difficult. There is an awareness among even the most energetic proponents of mission and outreach that something is different about the atmosphere in which churches and pastors labor. The easy answers don't work.

These realities suggest that mission starts with prayer. This seems a facile and clichéd thing to advocate. Often prayer is brought up simply to fill another bullet point in an outreach presentation otherwise jammed with practical, hands-on activities. But when faced with the existential threats the church now sees outside its doors, prayer goes from being a perfunctory embellishment to being closer to the focus of the entire enterprise. Missional prayer in an age of

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[4] Cited in Ed Stetzer and G. A. Alpharetta, "The Evolution of Church Growth, Church Health, and the Missional Church: An Overview of the Church Growth Movement from, and back to, its Missional Roots," *Journal of the American Society for Church Growth* 17 (2006), 98.

[5] Paul Pastor, "The Zombie Apocalypse," *Christianity Today* 57(2013), 80.

zombies is serious. It is sober, liturgical, and churchly prayer that flows from the hearing of God's word and is a weapon in a spiritual war. This kind of prayer is not a pious covering on what we would do anyway, but a plea that recognizes no other option. It is prayer that bases itself squarely on the promises of God not to forsake his church, prayer that comes from hearing that God's word will not return void, prayer that receives the life-giving sacraments of Christ and then faces the world and Satan with trust only in God's saving will, prayer that one might employ when facing a deadly virus or a ravenous zombie. Missional prayer will be much like what Luther describes in the Large Catechism:

> All this is nothing more than to say: " Dear Father, we ask you first to give us your Word, so that the gospel may be properly preached throughout the world and then that it may also be received in faith and may work and dwell in us, so that your kingdom may pervade among us through the Word and the power of the Holy Spirit and the devil's kingdom may be destroyed so that he may have no right or power over us until finally his kingdom is utterly eradicated and sin, death, and hell wiped out, that we may live forever in perfect righteousness and blessedness (LC III, 54).[6]

Such prayer comes from the means of grace and circles back to those same means. Missions in an age of hostility to God must rely on the promises of God.

When standing face-to-face with a deadly vampire, one does not sit down for a nice chat. Rather, the afflicted cries out to God and shoves a crucifix in its face. It is interesting to hear how, in the popular imagination, zombies and vampires are overcome. The scientific and rational world quickly gets stripped away and the superstitions of the Middle Ages come roaring back: crucifixes, incantations, magic rituals, potions, and prayer. Vampires succumb to holy water, crucifixes, and a wooden stake (the cross!) to the heart. Zombies are susceptible to fire and water. Here the church must learn that what it is often eager to throw away or hide is what the world often secretly yearns for: ancient truth, supernatural power disclosed in the service of the good, concrete salvation that does not evaporate with the whim and fads of time. The sacraments, rich and authentic liturgy, the use of the arts and mystery and ritual all fit the imagination of people haunted by the supernatural and by dark forces they do not understand.

Mission in an age of zombies suggests that the church again take the presence and power of evil seriously. The popularity of horror movies, the zombie apocalypse, and fear of mass disease or pandemic indicate that our

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[6] Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, tr. Charles Arand, et al. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 447.

civilization knows there is such a thing as evil and malevolence. Evil does not succumb to marketing. Doing one more witnessing workshop will not drain a vampire of its lust for blood. Designing a winsome church sign will not ward off a deadly strain of influenza. The threat to the church is more foundational and existential. Luther's view of the church as an entity in constant battle with Satan is a missional insight.[7] For Luther, "the coming of the kingdom depended on God's own sovereign power and freedom, working through his word and the Holy Spirit. God himself engaged the devil in conflict on a cosmic scale, and his kingdom of grace and righteousness would ultimately triumph over the devil's kingdom of sin and death."[8] Seeing the atmosphere in which the church works as a demonically-contested arena suggests that the church is better off not acting like an entrepreneur who constantly seeks to reinvent or disguise herself in order to attract a customer who is looking for its product. What is more and more accurate is that there are less and less people interested in the church. The devil is active. Offering great coffee or a zumba class will not change that. Instead, the church is better off acting like what the scripture says it is and what our culture unconsciously understands: a super-natural miracle of God in the midst of an evil and hostile place. The church offers mysteries, not products.

The reality of evil suggests that a church serious about mission will look for mission texts in the Scriptures in more than the normal "Great Commission" places. The temptation scene following Jesus' baptism is such a mission text. As Christ goes forth to battle Satan, so also do his followers. The body of Christ is baptized and the words of the Father are ringing out as the Spirit leads the baptized people of God with Christ out into the demonic wilderness. The same Spirit that brings the blessed light of heaven's promise and hovers over the water pushes the church into mission, face to face with Satan. But this is no easy parade, no 1950s triumphal march through happy streets where victory follows victory and the crowds just keep getting larger. It is fighting the devil. It is a self-denying journey for the salvation of the world, where suffering and clinging to the promises of God constitute victory. Here, the only strength is to follow Christ to the cross and endure and hold on and point to the Savior.

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[7] The 19th-century view that Luther and the reformers had little or nothing to say about the mission of the church has been almost completely overturned. Luther's writings have become a deep source for thinking about missions. See Charles Chaney, "Martin Luther and the Mission of the Church," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 13 no.1 (Winter 1970): 15–41. See also Martin Luther and Stolle Volker, *The Church Comes from All Nations: Luther Texts on Mission*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2003.

[8] James Scherer, "Luther And Mission: A Rich But Untested Potential," *Missio Apostolica* 2 (1994), 21.

In the current culture, one recurring shared nightmare is epidemic. Books and movies and television have repeatedly sketched out scenarios where the ability of science and medicine to give and preserve life (and abundant life) fails.[9] We put our faith in modern medical science, and so the fear that it might give way is a persistent one. It is also one ripe with missiological meaning. Disease and sin have long been linked in theological and even Scriptural discourse. How we treat sickness discloses clues as to how the church "saves sinners."[10] It has long been noted that the Greek word meaning to "save" (σώζω) can have a physical or a spiritual meaning, either to heal or to rescue one from sin. The Gospel writers seem to use the word in an intentionally ambiguous way, so that both physical wholeness and forgiveness are proclaimed.

In an extreme epidemic, health officials do two things. First they protect the vulnerable and put up walls so that the contagion cannot spread. A true and necessary fortress mentality takes hold where there is need of places where a plague cannot enter. Whenever a flu outbreak is serious, there are signs at the hospital advising all affected people to stay out of the hospital so the sickness does not spread. Walls and barriers are erected to stop the spread of the virus. But medical professionals also go out with vaccines, practices, or medicines into public places, so that people can be saved. They seek to treat as many as will listen. Medical practice in such times is centripetal. It pulls sick and at risk people out of the danger, out of the epidemic, into the safe place where the walls keep out the sickness so they may be treated.

An age of epidemics, real and imaginary, suggests that the church see itself as living in a time of plague, spiritual plague. It must have protective walls around itself for the very sake of the mission. It is not unloving or parochial when the church seeks to ward off the world and guard the treasure of the gospel against change or corruption. In a time of evil, when deadly plagues are ravaging the surrounding culture, the church must quarantine itself. It does this precisely for the mission, so that there is a place of safety and healing. But the church does not brick itself off completely. It also carries blessed medicine out to the folks who need it. This happens in utmost seriousness, as a matter of life and death. Mission is not an entertainment revue seeking customers or an audience. Rather, the church wishes to save the dying, to pull the infected, the diseased, the sinners all around her to where there is safety and salvation. The church's mission is both centrifugal and centripetal. The church goes out to

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[9] A comprehensive list of such media is beyond the scope of this paper. Some notable recent examples of movies dealing with fictional epidemics include *Contagion* (2011), *I am Legend* (2007), *Rise of the Planet of the Apes* (2011), and *Carriers* (2009).

[10] Joel Green, commenting on Luke 17:19, notes that the Samaritan who was "saved" from leprosy "on account of faith gained something more—namely insight into Jesus' role in the inbreaking kingdom. He is enabled to see and is thus enlightened, itself a metaphor for redemption." Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 627.

pull sinners in. The missionary impulse embedded in the church from the Ascension charge of Jesus to make disciples is a centrifugal outward movement. However, the church has also always recognized an equal centripetal movement, pulling disciples back towards the center, into the church. Richard Bauckham has noted the prevalence and complementary nature of these mission impulses in both the Old and New Testaments.[11]

Differing models of outreach emphasize differing sides of these forces. An attractional model of outreach recognizes the centripetal logic of missions. It wishes to bring people into the church. However, an attractional model assumes that people "out there" desires to come to Christ and only have to be lured. They are hungry fish looking for food. It is the job of churches to find the right bait. This is simply no longer the case in the Western world. The "incarnational" movement in missional thought recognizes this weakness of the attractional model in a hostile society. An incarnational model assumes that the non-believers will not come to the church, but that the church and individual Christians must go to them and engage them on their own terms and foster relationships with them. Such a model, however, has a problem with the centripetal impulse. If the church consists solely of "going out there," to what place does the church bring non-believers?[12] The popular, incarnational, missional model of the church risks having no center. It can become a trajectory that does outreach, that goes out into the world, but has no church to which to come home.

What is needed is a model of the church's mission that can both go out to the lost and bring them back into the church. The history of the church supplies an unlikely template for this: monasteries. A monastery can be a model of a type of missional thinking that recognizes both the outward and inward push of missions. Monasteries were constructed as places to flee the world, but also as places where combat against Satan continued and even intensified. Monasticism gives an example of churchly practice that both fled from the noxious elements in the world but retained a sense of purpose and mission to that same world. The monastic movement, of course, turned into much more than that, much of it unhealthy and associated with unscriptural notions of works righteousness and abandonment of vocational calling. But monasteries also preserved a great deal of the divine truth in times of peril and disaster, especially in the earlier centuries of the church. When civilization was col-

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[11] Richard Bauckham, "Mission as Hermeneutic for Scriptural Interpretation," unpublished lecture given at Cambridge University, 5. See also, Richard Bauckham, *Bible and Mission: Christian Witness in a Postmodern World* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003).

[12] Alan Hirsch and Michael Frost detail what an "incarnational" approach to missions looks like. An incarnational and missional paradigm speaks in terms of "go to them" while an attractional model says "come to us." Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch, *The Shaping of Things to Come* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2003) 41.

lapsing and corruption was eating away at the church, monasteries were quarantined places where the truth was kept and from where it was eventually sent forth. The Irish church of the sixth and seventh centuries is an example of a monasticism that both preserved the church in a hostile culture as well provided vigorous missionary activity.[13] The Irish monastic movement was centered on the preservation and extension of sacred learning in the midst of an Ireland that knew little of these things. Yet, at the same time, it was strongly missionary in character. The monasteries had a role not only in converting a deeply pagan Ireland, but also in bringing Christianity to a still largely pagan Europe.[14] Monasteries at times became missionary centers where, in the midst of decay, falsehood, and danger, preachers were sent forth to preach the Gospel to pagans and to extend the church.

The point is not that churches today somehow seek to renew or start a monastic movement. Rather, the point is to seek ways to talk about the church and to seek models of how the church should respond in mission to the world in our day. Each congregation can be seen as a "monastery" where the saints of God flee the dangerous world to be in the presence of the living and forgiving God and to receive and safeguard his word and truth. But the ministry of pastors and the vocation of the baptized also send them out into that very same poisonous context from which they seek to flee.[15] The world is both an enemy to be fought against and, at the same time, loved and embraced as an object of God's own crucified compassion. The congregation as a monastery is both a bulwark against error and confusion and a missionary outpost where the saints of God, fed and forgiven, take the light of the gospel into the dying world and lead the dying back into the safety behind the walls of the fortress church.

The images that are used to speak about the church and the mission of the church are important. It is vital that the words and practices used to describe that mission match the actual situation. In a time of when Christianity is shrinking in the West and is under serious attack, popular arts provide a framework and a language for the mission challenge. Understanding that phenomena such as zombies, vampires, and fear of epidemics reveal in society an intuitive knowledge of deep-seated evil and the reality of demonic forces can help the church re-orient its missional stance. Mission in an age of zombies

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[13] See John R. Walsh, *A History of the Irish Church 400–700 AD* (Blackrock, Co; Dublin: Columba Press, 2003).

[14] See Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 80–96.

[15] "The church's mission requires both the individuals who, authorized by God to communicate his message, go out from the community to others, near or far, and also the community that manifests God's presence in its midst by its life together and its relationships to others." Bauckham, "Mission as Hermeneutic for Scriptural Interpretation," 5.

uses prayer seriously as a real outreach tool; so the church must remember the nature of prayer as an outgrowth of salvation through faith alone. We have no resources to combat Satan other than to ask our Father in heaven to deliver us. Such mission thinking also takes the reality of evil seriously and seeks both to protect the truth from error and contamination while also seeking to bring the lost into the church. The church can be seen as a place of safety in the midst of spiritual plagues and a sort of "monastic" fortress where the gospel is both protected and proclaimed.

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One Nation under God: Thoughts Regarding "Patriotic Services"

At least since the middle of the first century, the church included intercessory prayers for government leaders: "First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all people, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a peaceful and quiet life, godly and dignified in every way" (1 Tim 2:1–2).

Prayers for political figures in a highly polarized political climate do have some drawbacks. Those who identify themselves as progressive, for example, may have found their fists clenching and teeth grinding as prayers were offered for the immediate past incumbent in the White House. Now, the tables are turned, with some conservatives having similar reactions in regard to the present incumbent. Regardless of our political leanings, we follow Paul in offering prayers for our leaders.

General prayers for the nation are not so difficult, especially in this perpetual post-9/11 era, most recently renewed by the attack during the Boston Marathon. Our congregations seem attuned to the importance of praying for the nation and especially for those who protect and defend us. Matters once taken for granted no longer are. This is a bit humbling for a nation whose role as a superpower was assumed to mean that we maintained a strong defense as much for the sake of others as for the actual defense of our own shores.

All this leads me to raise a cautionary flag (pardon the pun) regarding a practice in some churches of holding patriotic services, usually on the Sunday nearest to the Fourth of July, to give thanks for the freedoms granted to us in our constitution and to pray for God's continued blessings on our nation. Patriotic services vary from congregation to congregation, but they generally include such standard hymns as "God Bless Our Native Land," "Faith of Our

Fathers," and "God of Our Fathers." It is another thing when the services have the congregation sing the national anthem and patriotic songs like "God Bless the U.S.A" with its refrain, "I'm proud to be an American." Alongside or in place of the creed, the congregation is sometimes even asked recite the Pledge of Allegiance

Now, what are we to make of associating the church with love for country? Let us address that question by means of this scenario. A member of the Lutheran Church—Canada (or any other church in another country in fellowship with the LCMS) attends an LCMS congregation on the Sunday closest to the Fourth of July only to discover that the service includes the Pledge of Allegiance accompanied by patriotic songs and perhaps even a sermon extolling the virtues of the nation. Reciting the Pledge of Allegiance with hand on heart and singing the Star-Spangled Banner is a real dilemma for fellow Lutherans from outside our borders, as it would be for us if we were attending such a service in another country. The situation may be more common than we realize, since the LCMS has long-time relations with churches in Europe, Africa, South America, and Asia and is working to establish new ones. The confessional fellowship of the LCMS is not confined to national borders and never has been.

Here is the question. Should anyone ever be made to feel like an outsider during the Divine Service? Admittedly, this is not the only way a visitor becomes aware that he or she may be an outsider; each congregation has unique customs that other congregations may not have. Asking allegiance to a particular government, however, goes much deeper because it gets to the heart of what the church is all about as citizens of heaven and members of God's household (Eph 2:19). All this is made more sensitive by the current debate over citizenship for resident immigrants. The liturgy brings worshipers together as the body of Christ regardless of national citizenship. It dare not contain elements that disenfranchise visitors from other countries. Today, Lutherans from countries from all over the world come to our shores to do business. They are also here for educational opportunities and are enrolled in our colleges and seminaries. Patriotic services put our fellow Christians in an embarrassing, and maybe even compromising, position.

Perhaps it is time to tone down the patriotic services a bit. Certainly, we can still pray for our leaders and those of other nations. And we can petition God to bless the citizens of our land as we give thanks for the freedom he has granted us, not to mention praying on behalf of those in other lands. I love to sing the national anthem and other patriotic songs, but this is best left to Memorial Day and Fourth of July commemorations and the opening of athletic events. After all, what would a baseball game be without the national anthem?

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Book Reviews

***The Missiological Implications of the Theology of Gerhard Forde.* By Mark Lewellyn Nygard. Minneapolis: Lutheran University Press, 2011. 260 pages. Softcover.**

Writing a book on a well-loved mentor is a hazardous undertaking, since the writer might be tempted to produce something of a hagiography. While his deep admiration of the late Gerhard Forde is evident, Nygard has, for the most part, avoided the temptation to canonize his teacher. Nygard, an ELCA missionary serving at the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Cairo, Egypt, has combined his appreciation for Forde's theological project with his passion for evangelical outreach. While the manner in which these themes are brought together is not always even, Nygard has succeeded in demonstrating that there is a missional thrust inherent in Forde's take on Lutheran theology, even though that thrust is more latent or implicit than fully developed within the corpus of Forde's writings.

Nygard confesses that he was not always a Forde fan. He admits to making a concerted effort to avoid taking him for any classes during his first two years as a student at Luther Seminary in St. Paul. When he finally enrolled in one of Forde's classes, the author attests to how he was both attracted to and irritated by Forde's staunchly Gnesio-Lutheran insistence on the singular activity of God in salvation. As a student interested in overseas mission, Nygard could see nothing in Forde that would drive and sustain such mission. Yet Forde's theological approach exercised a magnetic power on Nygard, ultimately prompting him to devote his doctoral research to the missiological implications of Forde's theology. This book is the dissertation that resulted. While it could have been more carefully edited for a less dissertation-like style, the book is a comprehensive study of Forde's theology, including a good amount of material that may be found nowhere else. In addition to a lucid biography of Forde, Nygard has carefully catalogued Forde's sermons, both published and unpublished, paving the way for further research into his preaching.

After rehearsing his methodological assumptions in a dissertation-like manner, the author provides a biographical overview of Forde's life from his early days in the parsonage in Starbuck, Minnesota, where he was deeply steeped in the theology and piety of the Norwegian Synod, through his educational career culminating in a Th.D. from Harvard. Nygard reviews theological influences that shaped Forde, including the orthodox confessional stance of Herman Preus in his seminary days, Karl Barth, Hans Joachim Iwand, Lauri Haikola, Gerhard Ebeling, Gustav Wingren, and, to a lesser extent, Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

A substantial section of the book is a descriptive overview of Forde's theological proposal centering in his understanding of the law/gospel dis-

tinction, the eschatological character of revelation, Christology, justification by faith, proclamation, and freedom. Here controversial aspects of Forde's theology (e.g., atonement and the third use of the law) are brought up but not critically engaged. One would expect a more robust and comprehensive treatment of Forde's work on the captivation of the will and the theology of the cross, as these aspects carry substantial potential for a Lutheran approach to missions.

Nygard draws heavily (though not exclusively) on Timothy Yates' *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1994) to provide a survey of contemporary missiological themes and their connection with Luther studies. This survey is offered as a frame of reference for his investigation of the potency of Forde's theology for the evangelical enterprise of outreach. Observing that Forde seldom speaks of mission as an isolated theme, Nygard is suggestive of ways in which Forde's understanding of proclamation might enrich and strengthen contemporary mission paradigms.

Nygard's book includes a complete bibliography of Forde's published works. It will serve as a helpful resource for those interested in Forde's theology and especially his take on preaching, which is after all at the heart of evangelical mission. A more careful proof-reading and attention to factual errors (e.g., Wilhelm Löhe died in 1872, not 1875, as stated on page 135) would enhance the volume.

John T. Pless

***The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate.* By John H. Walton. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2009. 192 pages. Softcover. $16.00.**

The debate between theologians and scientists about the origins of the cosmos is over. By reading Genesis 1 as an account of functional origins and cosmic temple inauguration, armistice is achieved between Scripture and science. This is what John H. Walton proposes in 18 sequential propositions in *The Lost World of Genesis One*.

In Propositions 1–11, Walton proffers a new "face-value" reading of Genesis 1. Walton begins by arguing for a comparative method that relies on similarities with the ancient near-east (ANE). Because Genesis 1 is ancient cosmogony, it needs to be read in light of its ANE context to be interpreted properly. The purpose of ANE cosmogonies is to explain the origin of functions and the ordering of the cosmos from a non-functional state. ANE cosmogonies presume matter as part of existence, but are not interested in material origins like modern science. They espouse a functional ontology where "something exist[s] not by virtue of its material properties, *but by virtue of its*

having a function in an ordered system" (26). To create, then, "is to assign something its functioning role in the ordered system" (27).

Taking this cue from the ANE, Walton argues that Genesis 1 is about God creating functions and installing functionaries in six days and resting in his cosmic temple on seventh day. The verb "to create" (ברא) is used to support this reading. It has often been noted that the material from which something is created is never mentioned with ברא. This absence is traditionally taken to indicate that God creates matter *ex nihilo*. Walton takes this silence to mean that ברא refers only to God's creation of functions (see, e.g., Isa 45:7). After examining every instance of ברא in the Old Testament, Walton concludes that there is "no clear example . . . that demands a material perspective for the verb, though many are ambiguous. In contrast, a large percentage of the contexts require a functional understanding" (43).

Walton further contends that God creates the primary foundations for life in days one through three and principal functionaries on days four through six. With pre-existent earth in a non-functional state (תהו ובהו), God begins to create by assigning light as the basis for time, sky for weather, and land and seed-bearing vegetation as the bases for food. In assigning the sun, moon, and stars to mark day, night, signs, seasons, days, and years, God installs functionaries for time. In creating birds and fish on the fifth day, God installs functionaries that multiply in the sky and sea. On the sixth day, God creates land animals and mankind as functionaries on the land. Mankind's creation likewise focuses on their functions to proliferate and rule, not the material out of which they were created (ברא).

The seventh day is interpreted as a cosmic temple inauguration. This reading is based on analogies with ANE texts wherein the creation of the cosmos is sometimes concluded with the building of a temple in which a god dwells to take up administrative tasks over the cosmos. It further rests on an argument that God ceasing (שׁבת) from the work of creation in Genesis 2:2 leads to God resting (נוח) in Exodus 20:11. This rest alludes to God's rest (מנוחה) in his temple in Zion (Ps 132:7–8, 13–14), and implies that God rested in his cosmic temple on the seventh day after ceasing from his creative work on days one through six (cf. Isa 66:1–2).

In all of this, Walton maintains that God is not creating material objects. God is establishing functions and assigning functionaries in his cosmic temple where he takes up residence and from whence he runs the cosmos. God's creation of material objects is not recounted in Genesis 1. When and how God made material objects—before and/or after Genesis 1—is "left to [us] to figure out as best we can with the intellectual capacity and other tools that God gave us" (169).

With this fresh—but purportedly ancient "face-value"—interpretation established, Walton turns his attention in Propositions 12–18 to an assessment of the modern scene. Young Earth Creationism, Old Earth Creationism, Framework Hypothesis, and other modern theories of Genesis 1 all mistakenly treat the text as an account of material origins. As a result, they needlessly try to bring Scripture and science into harmony.

Instead of pursuing concordism, Walton argues, theologians and scientists should recognize the limits of their data and methods. Genesis 1 is only about functional origins. It reveals teleology, i.e., who created the cosmic functions and what they are. Contrary to some proponents of Intelligent Design and Neo-Darwinists, science can neither prove nor deny teleology, since that is a metaphysical issue and science is bound methodologically to naturalism. Science can, however, detect and trace how the material cosmos came to be. These boundaries allow Scripture and science to co-exist as non-overlapping magisteria.

Walton offers a provocative and corrective interpretation of Genesis 1. In our modern scientific context, where material ontology is a dominant paradigm, it is important to place ourselves—as best we can—in the ancient Israelite context to read Scripture more accurately. When we do this, we see that function is a crucial component of ANE and ancient Israelite ontology. To exist is to have a function. This is seen at the start of the Babylonian *Enuma elish* when it says, "When no gods whatever had been brought into being, uncalled by name, their destinies undetermined" (*ANET*, 61). It is also seen in Genesis 1:6–8 where God made the firmament, which God named "sky," to separate the waters below and above it. Walton also rightly cautions that Scripture and science have their own dominions and limitations.

Nevertheless, Walton's view of Genesis 1 and the ANE goes too far. ANE cosmogony was concerned with material and functional (and nominal) origins. *Enuma elish* does not just read, "When destinies were undetermined"; rather, it binds separated matter (no gods), name (no names), and function (no destinies) together in its ontological description of the pre-creation cosmic state. Marduk's creation of the cosmos in *Enuma elish* reflects this ontological mixture: Marduk made the firmament from half of Tiamat's corpse to cover the deep waters below and hold back the heavenly waters above; he made the earth out of the other half to uphold heaven. So also the Egyptian Papyrus Insinger, which Walton quotes, shows the same ontological elements in its cosmogony: "He created sinews and bones out of the same semen . . . . He created sleep to end weariness, waking for looking after food" (33).

It is equally dubious that the verb ברא shows ancient Israel's ontology and cosmogony to be purely functional. In Isaiah 4:5, God will create (ברא) cloud, smoke, and a flaming fire, which will be seen day and night and signify God's presence. In Isaiah 40:26, God created (ברא) the celestial host, which God brings

out, names, everyone can see, and indicates God's power. In Isaiah 41:17–20, God will create (ברא) by opening rivers upon heights and fountains in valleys; making wilderness into pools of water and dry land into springs of water; placing cedars, acacia, myrtle, and olive trees in the wilderness; and putting cypress, plane, and pine trees in the desert. God will create this water and these trees for the poor who thirst. In Isaiah 42:5 God created (ברא) the heavens and stretched them out. In Sirach 38:4 "God created spices from the earth" (אל מארץ ברא שמים). In each instance, God creates a material object—often from another material object—that can be sensed, used, or altered; has a name; and usually has a function.

The last major issue addressed here is the cosmic temple inauguration view. While this is an interesting idea, it is difficult to sustain. First, the verb "rest" (נוח) in Exodus 20:11 is in a context of work (vv. 9–10) and connects back to God's ceasing (שׁבת) from work in Genesis 2:2. The same two verbs occur later in Exodus 23:12, again in the context of ceasing from work (cf. Deut 5:12–14). Given this, נוח in Exod 20:11 is best understood as reposing *from* work—not resting *in* a cosmic temple. Second, if Genesis 1 intends to convey God's cosmic temple inauguration, then it is woefully opaque. Compared to *Enuma elish*, which is replete with explicit statements about Marduk's kingship and rule from his temple in Babylon, Genesis 1 contains no overt reference to God's kingship or rule in a temple. Third, if Genesis 1 intends to inaugurate anyone's rule, the best candidate is mankind's dominion over the earth. This is the only rulership explicitly proclaimed in this chapter (vv. 26, 28).

Despite these problems, *The Lost World of Genesis One* still makes an important contribution toward a functional understanding of ANE and biblical ontology and cosmogony. The novelty and implications of Walton's book will undoubtedly influence discussions of ontology and cosmogony in Genesis 1 and the ANE as well as the relationship between Scripture and science. The book and its arguments are well laid-out and accessible to scholars, pastors, and laypeople alike. Those who read it will be provoked to profitable thought.

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***Two Wars We Must Not Lose*. By Bill Hecht. Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2012. 544 pages. Softcover. $14.95.**

This is a book that is unique in many respects. It bears the subtitle, "What Christians Need to Know about Radical Islamists, Radical Secularists, and Why We Can't Leave the Battle Up to Our Divided Government." Its author, Bill Hecht, is a 1960 graduate of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. After serving as a pastor for seven years, he was offered the position of executive director of the Missouri

Republican Party. This led to his becoming a lobbyist in Washington, DC. In 1981, he founded his own lobbying firm. He is still active in national politics and has acquired a close acquaintanceship with presidents, congressmen, and others in our nation's capital.

The first two chapters deal with Hecht's 41 years on what he calls the Washington "front lines." He points out what is so painfully apparent today, that there has developed a "major polarization" of the Republican and Democratic parties. He says, "It is truly difficult for a radically divided government to function above the level of a bare minimum" (118).

The third chapter is devoted to the challenge President Obama presents for the nation and the Christian church. He judges Obama to be the "Most secular president in U.S. history." Here and elsewhere Hecht points out that "the United States was founded as an intensely religious country that believes our rights come from God" (184). Obama, however, ignores this fact. Instead, Obama claims, "America is a secular country that is respectful of religious freedom" (184). Hecht provides a comprehensive view of Obama's background, political and religious views, and his view of America's role in world politics.

In the preface of his book, Hecht states that the two threats that confront our country and the church are "1) the war declared on America by Islamic radical terrorists, and 2) the cultural war being waged by radical secularists on the traditional and spiritual foundations of our country" (13).

Chapter 4 describes in detail modern-day Muslims, and chapter 5 our modern-day war with Islamic terrorists, a war we dare not lose. From the beginning of the Muslim religion by Mohammed, his disciples have waged war against Christians. This "holy war" has gone on for fourteen centuries. In the Middle Ages, Islamic armies conquered Spain, Portugal, and southern Italy. Coming from the east, they penetrated Europe as far as Vienna. They believed they had a divine obligation to spread their religion by violence. Hecht writes that "if the Crusades had not succeeded we might all be reading the Koran in our native Arabic language" (368).

Hecht writes that today we are facing a new phenomenon: Muslims by the millions are migrating to non-Muslim countries such as Germany, France, England, and the United States. The majority of Muslims appear to be peaceful, but significant minorities are terrorists who believe they have a divine obligation to spread their religion by violence. This terrorist activity is not limited to the United States. Hecht writes that, since the September 11 attack on New York and Washington, there have been over 10,000 jihadist terror attacks around the world in such locations as London, Madrid, Moscow, and Thailand (225).

In chapters 6 and 7, Hecht analyzes the second war that threatens the USA. It is the cultural war being waged by radical secularists. He states that a war on the moral and religious foundations of the American republic was declared in earnest

in 1920 with the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Its purpose was to attack the moral and religious values of our nation. A gradual approach has been followed with a slow but steady infiltration of academia, law and the courts, the media, various elements of government, etc. The purpose was to relegate religion to a purely private matter with no place or authority in public debate or laws governing public morality and behavior.

Little progress was made until 1947, when a Supreme Court decision ruled that "the First Amendment (of the Constitution) has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable" (394). Hecht then traces the effect of this ruling through the years. Prayer was banned in public schools. Only evolution could be taught in public schools; creationism was banned. Ministers of religion were banned from offering prayer at public school activities. In 1973, the Supreme Court decision in Roe vs. Wade had the effect of drastically increasing the number of abortions. These and many other actions reflect the ACLU's goal of expelling God from the public square. A war has even been waged against the observance of Christmas by seeking to ban publicly-displayed nativity scenes.

Chapter 8 bears the title, "The Role Lutherans Can and Should Play in this Life and Death Struggle for the Soul of Our Country." Hecht points out that The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod has had little involvement in politics. At the time of his writing, only 26 Lutherans were in the Congress. The clergy has also failed to enter the political fight against secularism.

However, Hecht writes that leaders of the LCMS have begun to recognize the problem and take action. He points out the speakers of the Lutheran Hour and their positive influence. Synodical presidents have also become more active in the public square. President Jack Preus led a delegation of American church leaders in an around-the-world humanitarian mission on behalf of POWs in Vietnam. President Jerry Kieschnick led a "Rally for Life" march to the Supreme Court, and after the march preached a sermon on the sanctity of life. Just seven months after his election, President Matthew Harrison testified before a congressional committee in defense of religious liberties. He has continued to be active in this respect and has written a strong recommendation of Hecht's book.

Future editions of *Two Wars We Must Not Lose* should include an index. Another problem is that Hecht appears weak on the subject of evolution versus creation. On page 478, he makes a case for creation and indicates that Christians should have a say about what is taught in public schools. However, in note 60 on page 495, he writes, "I am not suggesting that any Christians get involved in the fight since it has too much historic baggage."

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Books Received

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Cannings, Paul. *Making Your Vision a Reality: Proven Steps to Develop and Implement Your Church Vision Plan*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2013. 176 pages. Softcover. $12.99.

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