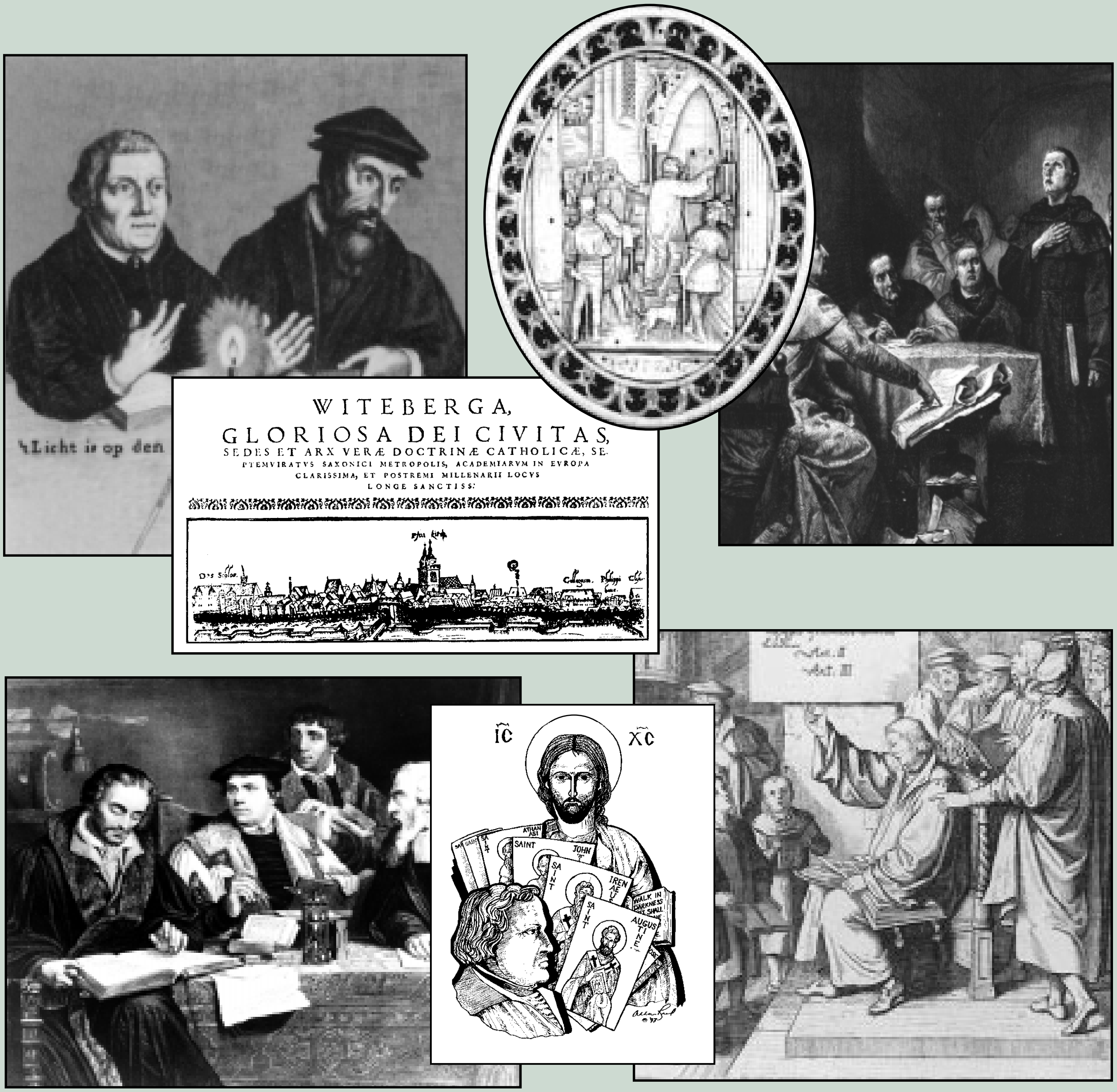
LOGIA

A JOURNAL OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGY



AFTER TEN YEARS …

EPIPHANY 2003 VOLUME XII, NUMBER 1

εἴ τις λαλεῖ,
ὡς λόγια Θεοῦ

LOGIA is a journal of Lutheran theology. As such it publishes articles on exegetical, historical, systematic, and liturgical theology that promote the orthodox theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. We cling to God's divinely instituted marks of the church: the gospel, preached purely in all its articles, and the sacraments, administered according to Christ's institution. This name expresses what this journal wants to be. In Greek, ΛΟΓΙΑ functions either as an adjective meaning "eloquent," "learned," or "cultured," or as a plural noun meaning "divine revelations," "words," or "messages." The word is found in 1 Peter 4:11, Acts 7:38, and Romans 3:2. Its compound forms include ὁμολογία (confession), ἀπολογία (defense), and ἀναλογία (right relationship). Each of these concepts and all of them together express the purpose and method of this journal. LOGIA considers itself a *free conference in print* and is committed to providing an independent theological forum normed by the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions. At the heart of our journal we want our readers to find a love for the sacred Scriptures as the very Word of God, not merely as rule and norm, but especially as Spirit, truth, and life which reveals Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life—Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore, we confess the church, without apology and without rancor, only with a sincere and fervent love for the precious Bride of Christ, the holy Christian church, "the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God," as Martin Luther says in the Large Catechism (LC II, 42). We are animated by the conviction that the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession represents the true expression of the church which we confess as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

LOGIA (ISSN #1064–0398) is published quarterly by the Luther Academy, 9228 Lavant Drive, Crestwood, MO 63126. Non-profit postage paid (permit #4) at Northville, SD and additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to LOGIA, 15825 373rd Ave., Northville, SD 57465.

Editorial Department: 314 Pearl St., Mankato, MN 56001. Unsolicited material is welcomed but cannot be returned unless accompanied by sufficient return postage. All submissions must be accompanied by a 300 word or less abstract of the article.

Book Review Department: 6600 N. Clinton St., Fort Wayne, IN 46825. All books received will be listed.

Correspondence Department: 314 Pearl St., Mankato, MN 56001. Letters selected for publication are subject to editorial modification, must be typed or computer printed, and must contain the writer's name and complete address.a

Logia Forum: 2313 S. Hanna St., Fort Wayne, IN 46803-2477.

Subscription & Advertising Department: 15825 373rd Ave., Northville, SD 57465. Advertising rates and specifications are available upon request. Policy statement: *LOGIA* reserves the right to refuse ads from organizations or individuals whose theological position or churchly demeanor runs counter to the mission of *LOGIA* to provide an independent theological forum normed by the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION: U.S.A.: one year (four issues), $25; two years (eight issues), $46. **Canada and Mexico:** one year, $31; two years, $60. **Overseas:** one year air, $50; one year surface, $36. All funds in U.S. currency only.

THE COVER ART consists of representative art from the first ten volumes of *LOGIA*. Full information about each can be found on the inside covers of the following issues or on page 76 of this issue:

"The Candlestick," *Wittenberg & Geneva,* Vol. XI, No. 4.

"Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Cruciger Translating the Bible," *Luther & Bible Translation,* Vol. X, No. 1.

"Luther before Caftan at 1518 Diet of Augsburg," *Confessional Subscription & Doctrinal Statements,* Vol. VIII, No. 2.

"The Improvement of the Schools and Introduction of the Catechism," *Lutheran Education,* Vol. XI, No. 2.

Center section of a plaque of carved ivory (circa 1750) showing Luther nailing the 95 theses to the church door. *Bondage of the Will,* Vol. VII, No. 4.

"Wittenberg—glorious city of God . . . ," *Wittenberg and/or Constantinople,* Vol. IX, No. 4.

Drawing of Christ, the Fathers, and Luther, *Luther & the Fathers,* Vol. VII, No. 1.

LOGIA is indexed in the ATLA Religion Database, published by the *American Theological Library Association,* 250 S. Wacker Drive, Suite 1600, Chicago, IL 60606, *E-mail:* atla@atla.com ~ *WWW:* http://www.atla.com/

FREQUENTLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

AC [CA]	Augsburg Confession
AE	*Luther's Works,* American Edition
Ap	Apology of the Augsburg Confession
Ep	Epitome of the Formula of Concord
FC	Formula of Concord
LC	Large Catechism
LW	*Lutheran Worship*
SA	Smalcald Articles
SBH	*Service Book and Hymnal*
SC	Small Catechism
SD	Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
SL	St. Louis Edition of Luther's Works
Tappert	*The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert
Triglotta	*Concordia Triglotta*
TLH	*The Lutheran Hymnal*
Tr	Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope
WA	*Luthers Werke,* Weimarer Ausgabe [Weimar Edition]

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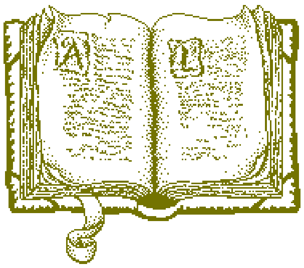
CONTENTS



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Introduction

From the Editors

We have entitled this issue "After Ten Years." That in itself requires a little explaining, since the observant reader notices that this issue is "12-1." The first issue was published at Reformation 1992. Wishing to observe the church year, the editors decided to number Epiphany 1992 Vol. 2, No. 1. So, after the completion of Volume 11, we make our announcement: Ten Years.

Not everyone, including the editors, was convinced that the enterprise would last. At least one predicted less than a five-year life. Those of us at the heart of it didn't even think about how long *Logia* would be on the scene. Above this writer's computer screen, though, is a shelf with ten, handsomely bound, green-covered volumes of *Logia*. We think they contain some significant theological reflection.

For that, we thank our readers and contributors. The debate forums we envisioned for our journal pages have not always been as lively as we imagined they would be. But we have always been gratified to know that *Logia* provided discussion material for pastoral conferences, seminary classrooms, and personal study and discussion. The regular vote of confidence expressed through the renewal of subscriptions has been encouragement enough. Nearly always, our readers and contributing editors have offered us much more material than we could use, often forcing us to make some hard choices in what to include.

We thank our readers for tolerating our sometimes irregular appearance. The entire editorial staff is a volunteer staff, and all have regular duties in the parish and the classroom. Especially parish duties often have had to take precedence over beating a deadline, and those who labor in the classroom often have to give precedence to those duties. The support staff are paid pitifully little, and it is a labor of love that keeps them at their tasks. For all that, we are amazed ourselves to greet our readers in this volume.

For this issue, we asked several of our contributing editors to write on issues they consider important. And you can see how they have responded: Baptism and the Supper; church unity, fellowship, and doctrine; the church's confession and the identity crisis in the twenty-first century, *Was Heisst Lutherisch?,* What does it mean to be Lutheran?; and the church in the world, the problem of the state church, and more importantly, the Christian in the state, the doctrine of the two kingdoms. Other issues could have been addressed as well, but we think our contributing editors have aimed at issues that will continue to be our focus.

Early on *Logia* identified itself as "a free conference in print." The contributing editors represent an approximation of a pan-Lutheran perspective, albeit from the side of conservative confessionalism. The working editors represent the Synodical Conference tradition, particularly Missouri, Wisconsin, and the Norwegian Synod, with a nod to the brethren to the north. The readership is worldwide, with every continent on the mailing list. The readership is largely Lutheran, but with a significant part outside of the Lutheran world as well.

Whether or not we have succeeded in our ideal of being a free conference in print, we will leave it to others to judge. But we have tried to give a voice to those who take the Lutheran Confessions seriously; who are committed to an inspired, inerrant Scripture and to a ministry that is truly apostolic; who believe that the Divine Service belongs to God himself, not to the whims of a trendy generation; and who are convinced that the proclamation of the gospel in this age does not require a revision of our confession.

Logia is a free conference in that the editors and writers speak for themselves and not for their churches. They presuppose a fellowship in the gospel that unites them before the throne of grace, but they do not presuppose a fellowship that can be expressed now in a visible way. They continue to pray for a time soon when confessional Lutherans around the world will come together with a unified confessional voice and practice.

Logia has provided a forum for professional theologians and parish pastors. While the larger part of this issue is written by teachers of theology, at least half the writing in *Logia* has come from parish pastors, and in a few cases, students preparing for the parish ministry. We have been happy also to hear the voices of some lay men and women.

Issues addressed in these ten years have reflected the concerns of the 1990s; the office of the ministry and the nature of worship have been at the forefront, but certainly were not the sole focus. In the present decade, the nature of church fellowship and ecumenical relations, the secularizing slide of world Lutheranism, and syncretism will be important. But it is doubtful that the issues of church and ministry will fade very quickly. The question of the ordination of women is certainly not likely to be discussed (or be discussable) in most of world Lutheranism, but it will undoubtedly be debated in the orb of the Synodical Conference churches and its world associates.

As a journal, *Logia* has not aimed to react immediately to the church news of the day. But we have tried to give deliberate attention to the theological issues behind the church news and the hotly debated issues. We intend to continue to formulate our agenda in that way and to invite our contributors and our readers to offer their study and reflection on current theological issues.

Finally, we wish to renew the pledge we made in *Logia* 1:1, Reformation, 1992:

> In sum, we wish to return to the one source—the Holy Scripture, and our Lutheran understanding of it expressed in the Book of Concord. That, and that alone, will inform and mold our thought in this journal. We do that in unity with the fathers of the church, of both ancient and reformation times as well as from more recent times. We appreciate their struggles and we look to them for guidance in our own struggles. We may not be able to return to the past. Who would want to? But if there is an ecumenical unity possible, surely we have it with our confessing fathers. We want to sit at their feet and hear their teaching and sing with them the praises of him who is the same yesterday, today, and forever. LOGIA

Lured from the Water, the Little Fish Perish

Norman Nagel

Which birthday are we celebrating? How many birthdays has *Logia* had? Of water or of the Spirit? There is evidence of the Spirit. Is that then "born again"? How many years to "the age of discretion"? With that might come the recognition that a Christian surely knows his birth from his baptism. There is no mention of water in volume 1 of 1989, sometimes called *Urlogia*. If we were to do it over again, would we not begin with the water and Name of holy baptism? While not undertaking to do others' repentances, something might yet be attempted to relieve this waterlessness. The *Large Catechism* says we can never finish extolling what it calls "a water of God" [*ein Gotteswasser*] (LC 4,14), but we might nevertheless perhaps attempt a belated, aetiological, beginning.

Our banner is supplied by Tertullian. No one has ever had a more rollicking time with the water than Tertullian. "The sacramentum of our water by which the sins of our former blindness are washed away, and we are liberated into life eternal."[1] Thus Tertullian begins the first treatise we have on holy baptism at the end of the second century. There is never a hint that there was ever a time after Christ without holy baptism, for every Christian knew and confessed that he gave it to the apostolic ministry to do: gift, mandate, institution of the Lord. He was himself baptized in John's baptism for sinners only, with the name of Servant-Son put on him with the water. When our Lord had done all that was given him to do with his baptismal name, he gave the Eleven a baptism to do in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Name and water running together. Water and Spirit running together. "Unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." It is the Spirit's work to deliver the Jesus for us to us. "He will take of mine and give it to you." The Spirit does this with his words delivered by the apostolic ministry (Jn 6:63; 17:20). He delivers the Jesus for us to us with the water; his death and resurrection are then ours (Rom 6:3–11). What we have put to block God off is washed away. With the water the forgiveness of sins. "A washing of regeneration and renewal done by the Holy Spirit" (Ti 3:4).

What all is given and done with the water is given and done with the water. None of what our Lord has running with it may be subtracted, split off, separated, divided up, or spiritualistically lower leveled. "What God has joined together let not man put asunder." Or Dr. Luther: "*Lasse das Sakrament gantz bleiben.*"[2] Faith rejoices in the gifts given in the way our Lord gives them and does not take in hand to decide what we can do without, or devise better ways than he has given for his giving out such gifts with this water. Faith clings to the water conjoined with the Name (LC 4, 29).

There is already a Gnostic smell in what some Corinthians called spiritual things. What they heard of the apostolic message they fit into what was then the going psychology with its three levels of flesh, mind and spirit. Water was bottom level. The Apostles let them have it in bucketfuls. Most vivid is the way of watering animals. If you have ever attempted to do this with a calf or a foal you know how much water gets splashed about, although some does go down the throat. Getting watered is getting Spirited.[3]

Where the water, there the spirit. As in John they go together, and thus they do the rebirth. "Born of water and the Spirit." Water is mentioned first so we need have no doubt where the Spirit is doing his life-bestowing work, and not just blowing about hither or thither. What is here indissolubly together has had heresy working at it to separate them all along the way (LC 4, 7).

The Gnostic attack scorned the water. Of Mani we know that he had little joy of the water. What baptism there was for him was metaphorical and figurative and so a fractioned process of progressive purification through *gnosis*.[4] The Gnostics would rise transcendent to what they supposed was a more God-level spirituality, above and away from the lowly earthly, physical, carnal, specific water. The Gnostic priestess, against whom Tertullian writes, is of the Cainite sect. She was not given to teach, even if done correctly. She knew how to kill the little fish by luring them out of the water. Separated from the water the little fish perish, separated from the Christed water. "We are born in water as little fish in the way of our fish Jesus Christ." *Nos pisciculi secundum ichthus nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur.*[5] Such as that Gnostic priestess carries on where there is no water. There dwell vipers, basilisks and cockatrices. Watch out for vipers, asps, basilisks and cockatrices. If you come upon one of them, you are in peril. No water where they are, and where there is no water, the little fish perish. Apart from the water where Christ is, waterless death. *Nunquam sine aqua Christus.*[6]

A more subtle attempt to diminish this water comes of embarrassment at its utterly unspectacular lowliness: someone is dipped in water with a few words. That should get him to eternity! For Tertullian there is no telling God how he may or may not do what

Norman E. Nagel, a contributing editor of *Logia*, is Graduate Professor of Systematic Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

he does. Lowly simplicity is characteristic of God's way of doing things. "A carnal act with spiritual effect." For Tertullian this is no spiritualizing from lower to higher, or outer to inner. "In the waters our spirit is corporally washed, and in those waters our flesh is spiritually cleansed." Thus "baptism itself."[7] Try a bit of Neo-Platonism on that, if you can.

A more subtle attempt to diminish this water comes of embarrassment at its utterly unspectacular lowliness: someone is dipped in water with a few words.

At ground level Tertullian goes darting about collecting all the water that the Lord may ever have made use of, inquiring, he says, after the *auctoritas* of the liquid element. (Exousia, what the water is granted, permitted, enabled to do—its worth. The translation's authority, *potestas*, power, run less well in the way of a gift.) What he gathers together is not to praise the water, but to confess baptism (*rationes baptismi*), and this not by analogy, but simply by what God has set up and does (*in sacramentis propriis parere fecit*).[8] The water is always his servant as his words tell us. Starting off at the creation waters Tertullian then has a whale of a time finding any water in scripture that can then be used to extol what the water of holy baptism does and gives. Thus: Israel through the waters of the Red Sea. The waters of Marah made to sweet usefulness by the tree Moses threw in: and that tree was Christ. The water from the rock and that rock was Christ.

> See how great is the grace that water has in the presence of God and his Christ for the corroboration of baptism. Wherever Christ is, there is water: he himself is baptized in water; when called to a marriage he inaugurates with water the first rudiments of his power; when engaged in conversation he invites those who are athirst to come to his everlasting water; when teaching of charity he approves of a cup of water offered to a little one as one of the works of affection; at a well-side he recruits his strength; he walks upon the water; by his own choice he crosses over the water; with water he makes himself a servant to his disciples. He continues his witness to baptism right on to his passion: when he is given up to the cross, water is in evidence, as Pilate's hands are aware: when he receives a wound, water bursts forth from his side, as the soldier's spear can tell.[9]

In his edition of Tertullian's *De Baptismo*, Evans points out Tertullian's distinction between "baptism itself" and those things based on "church tradition and custom, and not on scriptural warrant." These Evans observes in Tertullian as "(in their origin) illustrative tokens," and not themselves doing or bestowing what they point to and extol.[10]

We may later observe some extolling getting so carried away that it ends up by itself extolling itself. But first we may observe the pull of an inherent affinity, magnetism, or perhaps valency. (St. Augustine might call it *virtus*; Goethe, *die Wahlverwandtschaften.*) It works as one pulling others into the dance. First our Lord weds his words and the water, and the dance is on. No matter how crowded the dance, this first pair is always there, and without them it dies away—dries away. We attend the liturgy.

Most weighty in Tertullian is what he evidences of the liturgy. Nothing is ever called a baptism that is not done with water. The water by itself does not engage attention. In the Didache (*c.* 100) after confession of what has been taught, baptism is done in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Running water is preferable, but if not available, then other water, cold water, and if not cold, then warm, and if neither, then pour water three times upon the head in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The Name certainly and with water, but the how of the water is no great matter.[11] Justin Martyr speaks of washing "in the water in the Name of the Father and Lord God of all things, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit."[12] We observe how the Name bursts with all that is in it, and when Justin tells us that this washing is called enlightenment, we see how one word, item, gift, pulls another in along with it, and we are on our way swinging into the roundelay of the exulting eastern baptismal liturgies. They all join hands as they circle round the font and each gets gloriously wet. Any one of them that dries out drops out of the dance, dead or dying: no water no life.

Some are wet already in the New Testament. Thus undoubtedly *bath* (loutron) (Ti 3:5), a washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit which joins hands with newness of life (Rom 6:4) and the washing of water with the word (Eph 5:25) thus Christ's bride; by way of a washing a woman came to be a bride (Ez 16:9), as also a man a priest (Ex 29; Lv 8).

> And as Christ the giver of it is called by many various names, so too is this gift, whether it is from the exceeding gladness of its nature (as those who are very fond of a thing take pleasure in using its name), or that the great variety of its benefits has reacted for us upon its names. We call it the gift, the grace, baptism, unction, illumination, the clothing of immortality, the laver of regeneration, the seal, and everything that is honorable (timios). We call it the gift, because it is given to us in return for nothing on our part; grace, because it is conferred even on debtors; baptism, because sin is buried with it in water; unction as priestly and royal; for such were they who were anointed; illumination, because of its splendor; clothing, because it hides our shame; the laver, because it washes us; the seal because it preserves us, and is moreover the indication of dominion [who is now my Lord]. In it the heavens rejoice; it is glorified by angels, because of its kindred splendor. It is the image of the heavenly bliss. We long indeed to sing out its praises, but as befits it we are not able.[13]

Is there any stopping this "exceeding gladness?" Luther's *Freude* and *Herrlichkeit.*[14] Who is to be told you are not welcome into this dance? Mayn't we bring our friends? Have you run out of water? Who can hold a lid down on what is bursting to be extolled? Such vitality of extolling may however swing so free as to end up by itself with what is extolled in itself rather than confessing "baptism itself," the water and the Name.

Worst of all is flying off the ground up and away, away from the water. There is some defense against wafting off transcendent in Tertullian's Stoic style of thought and language in a mono-level world, and also in Rome's spare, lean, straight, solid, no-nonsense liturgical language. For liturgical larking about we go East or beyond the Alps.

In Spain the *Liber Ordinum* gives us:

> Behold, O Lord, we also, humbly observing the commandment of thy majesty, have prepared a way through which we lead thy people who like as the hart [Ps. 42:1] thirst for the fountains of waters. Do thou, O Lord, forgive their iniquity, cover their sins, and lead them as thou hast sworn into the land of promise, that flows with milk and honey. Thou art the Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world [John 1:29]: thou, who hast granted that they who know thee should become the sons of God [John 1:12]: thou who art anointed by the Father with the oil of gladness above thy fellows [Ps. 45:7]. O Lord, pour upon these people the blessing of thy grace. Lest they die in their old sins, let them be cleansed in the blessing of the fount of waters: let them be reborn in the Holy Spirit, and let them see the everlasting altar of Jerusalem: and may the power of the highest overshadow them [Luke 1:35]. Blessed be their generation and blessed be the fruit of the womb [Luke 1:42] of their mother the Church: for the Lord shall magnify his servants in good things, and of his kingdom there shall be no end [Luke 1:73].[15]

That may also be said of these prayers. And from Wittenberg the *Sintflutgebet*:

> Almighty, eternal God, in your strict judgment you damned the unbelieving world with the flood. By your great mercy you preserved faithful Noah and seven with him. You drowned hardened Pharaoh and all his men in the Red Sea. Through it you led your people Israel with dry feet. In this way you signaled ahead with this bath your Holy Baptism. By the Baptism of your dear child, our Lord Jesus Christ, you hallowed and set forth the Jordan and water everywhere to be a blessed flood and boundless washing away of our sins. For the sake of that unfathomable mercy of yours, we implore that you would graciously look upon this N. N. and grant salvation with true faith by the Holy Spirit. Thus through this saving flood drown and put an end to all this as born in him from Adam, and all that he himself has added to that. Separate him from the number of the unbelievers, and preserve him dry and safe in the ark of your holy church. Keep him always fervent in spirit, joyful in hope, serving your Name, so that with all the believers he may come to eternal life according to your promise, made worthy through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.[16]

This prayer, filled to bursting, finds no place in *Lutheran Worship*, which is of mostly Saxon descent with the Flood Prayer until 1982. In the *Lutheran Book of Worship* only some parts of it survive, and they not the weightiest. One can hardly imagine a baptismal prayer heavier with water than the Flood Prayer. It has not been found prior to the *Little Book of Baptism* of 1523, and yet no part of it is original with Luther. Parts of it are found in Aquinas, Damascenus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Origen and Justin Martyr. First water scim à la Tertullian gives us 1 Peter 3:18–22; 2 Peter 2:5; 1 Corinthians 10:1–2; the Jewish lectionary for the New Year (Great Sabbath), Exodus 14; Genesis 7. When is too much too much? A question contrary to the way of the Gospel ("He forgives us more sins than we got"), contrary to his way with the water.

How can you be saved as wet, and then be saved as dry?

The history of the Flood Prayer's use may give a reading on holy baptism in the Lutheran tradition, and so perhaps also in the Anglican tradition where a version of it appears in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, and was in the American Prayer Book until 1928. In 1549 "saving flood" becomes "misticall washing"; the strict judgment according to which the unbelieving world was damned becomes "of thy iustice dydest destroy by fluddes of water the whole world for synne." In 1552 this is all gone and we have first "of thy great merce diddest save Noe and his family." Pharaoh and his army have also disappeared. Already in 1549 Adam didn't make the cut with all that is from him. 1549 has "the holesome laver of regeneration," but thereafter it disappears.[17] No Adam or Pharaoh either in the *Lutheran Book of Worship*; unbelief and faith have also disappeared.

There is so much in the Flood Prayer. Some of it is devastatingly hard to take; no wonder it has been clipped about. There is so much water that a congregation fed mostly on what Chemnitz calls "pleasantries" would almost certainly blow bubbles. How can you be saved as wet, and then be saved as dry? A little fish dried out perishes. Water scorned damns. Inhaled water kills. Water with the Name gives life.

Augustine may help in telling of a shipwreck (*naufragium*) and two waters. The ship is breaking up. In a few minutes the sea water will drown them all. In this emergency a Christian does what he would otherwise not do. He baptizes a catechumen. The baptized catechumen absolves the Christian who has baptized him. Then they drown together to life eternal. Awesome water.[18]

The South Germans did not want to have the Flood Prayer, they would do without exorcism, and when the Enlightenment came it was embarrassed by such heavy talk of sin. What has that to do with water?

Enlightenment recalls the blindness of my days in Papua New Guinea. There the pastor at Arawa on Bougainville told me of the training he had received from Bishop Mufuanu. This bishop, old and wise (in Papua New Guinea that was an hendiadys), took the fresh, green, young missionary from Australia with him as he went on visitations. So they trekked up and down the steep mountainsides crossing the voluble rivers in between. One day they noticed that one of the party was not with them. They looked back, and saw him bent over the water at the bottom of the valley chattering away. The young Australian was much puzzled; Bishop Mufuanu explained: "He is listening to the water and talking to it." Then with their form of the first person plural, which includes and embraces you, he said to the young Australian, "He has not been to school, as we have."

When the watery liturgy of the baptized is over, it is not over, for there flow the waters of life.

When I told this to the pioneer missionary, Willard Burce, Apostle to the Enga, he summed it up with: "You see, they have not been through the Enlightenment." Is there any hope for us who have been? Perhaps the recognition of no hope may be the beginning of hope even for us—us post Enlightenment, post Existentialism, post neo-Hegeleanism, post personalism, post structuralism, post deconstructionism, post semiotics, post narratology, post what comes next? Each methodology has its own particular usefulness, and also its limitations as evidenced in its presuppositions. With some help from each we are in bondage to none, not even the very latest. Of each we may ask whether wet or dry? We should have learned something; we should have unlearned something. One thing may perhaps help us along, and that is the recognition of all the different sorts of language that attempt to control by theory and categorization, on from St. Augustine's *signum* to yesterday's semiotics. The Lord's words and Name alone hold sure. We hear him say it by his use of the mouth he has put there for his use in saying it. We witness what happens. We see a man's hand doing the water. Done in God's name it is "truly God's own act" (LC 4, 10). The Lord's water with the Lord's Name. Whom he waters his Name on is his, no more wreckable than his Name, than he. *Alles was Gottes ist* (LC 4, 17).

If Tertullian has drawn us into rejoicing in the creaturely carnality of the water, we may then not rebel against our creaturely locatedness in time and place but rather rejoice in it for that is where the water is, bestowing what flows from his crucified side. Angels and saints gone ahead are already into the unending liturgies. The water does not run uphill, but carries us on and out into our calling where baptism wets and enlivens everything. "More in baptism to live and exercise than we can get through our whole life doing," says LC 4, 41. The water that goes on thus flowing unfailingly starts from where our Lord put it: Means of Grace, *coram Deo*, liturgy, font, that is, water and Name poured on. On the one hand the bare minimum of holy baptism in cases of emergency, that is when death is imminent, and on the other the liturgy that can't stop growing with always more and more to extol, and so it gets to be as if we are in heaven already, and no longer such creatures as made brothers here by Jesus. From time to time some pruning then, but then only some things that have dried out, or are pretending to work apart from the water.

Sit or kneel beside the fonted water and listen to what it is saying: first the words that our Lord has given it to say, and then all the words that these first words will pull along with them, and then the words that these words will pull from the cloud, the rained on crowd of witnesses, and from what echoes out of the emptiness of our lives and the brimming fullness, and so to a quietness in which the water goes on blessing us as may flow then into the liturgy where our Lord has always more gifts to give out than we could ever have imagined. He never runs dry; our little pint-size receptacles can never hold it all. Unfaith says a pint's enough, thank you. A pint is all I can manage, but that much I can manage. Our laying on limits and our lust to have the management, to get our hands on the tap, are in pitiful contradiction of our Lord's watery way of dealing with us; floods of it and always more.

Deum vidit, et erubuit. The water beheld her Lord, and blushed.[19]

And when the watery liturgy of the baptized is over, it is not over, for there flow the waters of life, the Lord's river and fountain of the water of life flowing, enlivening us through all our days to his consummation. Now it is day by day. "In the morning when you get up, make the sign of the holy cross and say, In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." "The Old Adam in us be drowned and die with all sins and evil desires, and a new man daily emerge and arise to live before God in righteousness and purity forever." And so on to the New Jerusalem with its river of the water of life. "On either side of the river the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit each month (always something more to look forward to); and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations—they shall see his face, and his name shall be on their foreheads" (Rev 22:1 ff).

Prepare yourself Zebulon,
and adorn yourself Naphthali.
Jordan, pause in your flowing
to dance in receiving
the Lord. He comes and would be baptized.
Rejoice O Adam,
with the mother of us all.
Do not hide yourselves
as once you did in paradise.
He who saw you then naked
has appeared to clothe you
with the garment of the beginning.
Christ appeared
to make new the whole of creation.[20]

Rejoice, O Logia. Your sins too are washed away. Clothed in Christ you go on wetly garmented all the way. Vivat, crescat floreat Logia abluta. LOGIA

NOTES

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2. WA 301; 55; 19. WA 23; 266; 26; AE 37; 140.

3. 1 Cor 12:13. R. Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul* (New York: Herder, 1964), 84–85.

4. L. Koenen, "From Baptism to the Gnosis of Manichaeism," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, ed. B. Layton (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 2, 736–752. Schnackenburg 144.

5. De Bap. 1, 3. Evans 4, Hamann 30.

6. De Bap. 9, 4. Evans 20, 15.

7. De Bap. 2, 1; 7, 2. Evans 4, 16, Hamann 31, 36. Ipse baptismus cf. *Little Book of Baptism* 5. BKS 536, 25 and 538, no. 7. WA 12; 48; 17. KW 372.

8. De Bap. 3, 1 and 6. Evans 6 and 8.

9. De Bap. 9, 3–4. Evans 20.

10. Evans xxix. "Holy Baptism" in *Lutheran Worship: History and Practice* (St. Louis: CPH, 1993), 267. Hereafter LWHP.

11. Didache 7, 1–3. E. Whitaker, ed., *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1987), 1. LCC 1, 174.

12. Apology 1, 61. Whitaker 2. LCC 1, 282.

13. Nazianzus, Orations 40; 4. PG 36; 361. NPNF 7; 360. Hamann 89–90.

14. WA 12, 48, 19. BKS 536, n. 7. WA 49, 127, 17: *eitel wolgefallen, lust und Freude*. AE 51, 319.

15. Whitaker 118.

16. BKS 539; WA 12; 43–44. Cl 3; 313. AE 53; 97; KW 373–374. Leiturgia 5, 380–3. A. Adam, "Das Sintflutgebet in der Taufliturgie," in *Wort und Dienst* 52 ed. J. Fichtner (Bethel: Verlagshandlung der Anstalt Bethel, 1952), 11–22. W. Dürig, "Das Sintflutgetet in Luthers Taufbüchlein," in *Wahrheit und Verkündigung* 2, 3d. L. Scheffezyk (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1967), 1035–1047. *Lutheran Book of Worship* 122. LWHP 274–275.

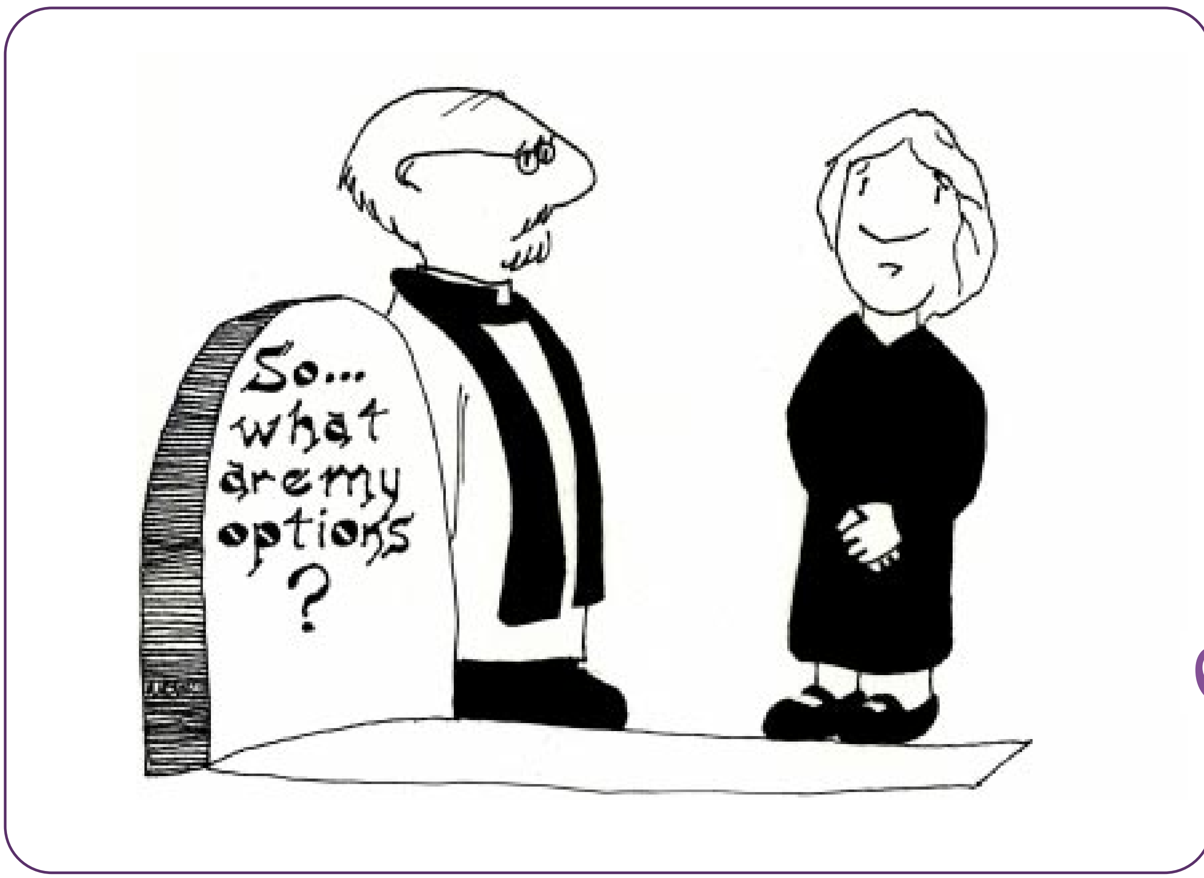
17. E. Gibson, ed., *The First and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI* (London: Dent, 1964), 236, 394. E. Parsons and B. Jones, ed., *The American Prayer Book* (New York: Scribner, 1955), 235.

18. Augustine in a letter to Fortunatus quoted in Gratian's Decretum III, distinction 4, chapter 36. Quoted in Tractate 67. BKS 491, no. 2: the text. Triglotta 522. Tappert 331; his index 651 makes a general rule out of this emergency, as does also KW's index 695, contrary to Tractate 67: in casu necessitatis, which is the point of the story. Thus Triglotta 1246, Jacob's Book of Concord and Müller, 881.

19. L. Martin, ed., Crashaw's Poetical Works (OUP, 1966), 38.

20. Troparion, Orthros January 2. From 5–6 century. Anthologion tou holou eniautou I, 1340; Menaion, 21. Rome, 1967. L. Heiser, *Die Taufe in der orthodoxen Kirche* (Trier: Paulinus, 1987), 216–217.

Inklings



To tell you the truth, Pastor, I think Dave may have been a bit confused about Forensic Justification—anyway, he never read LOGIA.

The Lord's Supper as a Sacrificial Banquet

John W. Kleinig

Jesus did not explain the significance of his death to his disciples. He taught them repeatedly that he had to suffer, be rejected by his own people, be killed by them, and rise from the dead (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:32–34; cf. 12:1–11). Yet, even though this was the goal of his mission as the Messiah, he was strangely reticent about it. Only once did he actually allude to the reason for his death as an act of redemption (Mk 10:45). He did not give his disciples an explanation of his death because that would have been of little use to them. Instead he gave them the sacrament of his body and blood as a ritual enactment.[1] By instituting the Lord's Supper, he conveyed the benefits of his death to them. It announced what they received from him as their crucified, risen Lord. Through that sacred meal he interpreted his death as an act of sacrifice. His death was the perfect, definitive sacrifice for all humanity. And the Lord's Supper is a sacrificial banquet, similar to the holy meals that were a regular part of the divine service at the temple and yet different from them.

The sacrificial character of that meal is evident from its setting within the context of a Passover celebration,[2] as well as the words that Jesus spoke over the bread and wine. When he identified the bread with his body and the wine with his blood, he used technical sacrificial terms for the two parts of an animal that had been ritually slaughtered for presentation to God, the meat that was either burnt or eaten and the blood that was poured out on the altar (Dt 12:27). Moreover, by declaring that his blood, which was to be drunk, was poured out for the forgiveness of sins (Mt 26:27), he interpreted his death as a sin offering for the world[3] and established the sacrament as a priestly meal in which his disciples as his fellow priests ate his body, rather than the flesh of an animal that had been sacrificed as a sin offering.

In 1 Corinthians 10:14–22, St. Paul too treats the Lord's Supper as a sacrificial banquet. On the one hand, he contrasts it with the religious meals that were eaten by pagan people at their gods' temples. The food that had been offered to the idols did not, as they fancied, establish communion with their gods, but with the demons that were evoked by them through these idols. On the other hand, he compares the Lord's Supper with the meals that Israelites ate as God's guests at the temple in Jerusalem. When the Israelites presented their peace offerings there, God provided them with holy meat to eat from his table, the altar for burnt offering. Through the holy meat that had been sanctified by its contact with the altar,[4] they enjoyed fellowship with God and each other. Paul connects the Lord's Supper with these sacred meals in which the Israelites ate the meat from the peace offerings. Like the Israelites, church members are guests at the Lord's table; through their common participation in the holy body of Christ they have communion with God and each other.

Much has been written about whether the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice or not. Even more has been written about what kind of sacrifice it is. The debate on this has been clouded by the semantic confusion that comes from reading general concepts of sacrifice back into the New Testament rather than reading what it has to say about the Lord's Supper and Christ's death in the Old Testament's light. We Lutherans have usually dealt with this topic defensively and offensively by mapping out our opposition to those Protestants who deny the real presence of Christ's body and blood and those Roman Catholics who teach that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice that the church offers to God the Father. This is, of course, useful and most necessary. But we dare not stop there. We need to develop our teaching on the Lord's Supper in positive terms and draw out its full pastoral significance for our people so that they will able to appropriate the riches of Christ that are available to them in it.

It is instructive that there is no general term for sacrifice in the Old Testament. The most general term that comes closest to this English word is *qorban,* which means something that has been brought near to God, something that has been presented directly to him.[5] This word is usually translated rather imprecisely in English by "offering." The only other general term is *'ishsheh leyhwh,* a gift or food gift for the Lord. This refers to those parts of the offerings that are reserved for the Lord and handed over entirely to him.[6] But the Old Testament writers usually avoid general terms and concepts. Instead they refer to the specific classes of offerings, such as the burnt offering, the grain offering, the sin offering, the guilt offering, and the peace offering. Each of these has its own place and its own function in the whole of sacrificial ritual. Each gains its significance from its location and enactment within that context.

In his *Examination of the Council of Trent* Chemnitz wisely clarified the state of the controversy between the Lutherans and the Catholics by using the various classes of offerings in the Old Testament to show what he meant when he used the term *sacrifice* as a ritual-theological term.[7] This essay that commemorates the tenth anniversary of *Logia* and recognizes its contribution to the enrichment of Lutheran sacramental piety will attempt to take a similar approach to discover what light the Old Testament ritual

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legislation throws on the function and significance of the Lord's Supper.[8] Our basic contention is that Christ, as a new kind of sacrificial banquet, instituted the Lord's Supper. It was not just a new Passover meal but also something broader that that. He took the divine service that God had instituted through Moses and inserted the Lord's Supper into it as its new heart, its hub. Just as God had given the daily burnt offering as the sum of his gifts to Israel in the covenant that he made at Sinai,[9] so Jesus gave the Lord's Supper as the sum and new covenant's substance.[10] While it connected the church's liturgy with the temple liturgy, it also reshaped the ritual structure and theological dynamics of the divine service that the church had inherited from Israel.[11]

THE PLACE OF SACRIFICIAL MEALS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Most modern readers would agree with von Rad in his assessment of the jumbled profusion of sacrifices that we find in Leviticus and in its account of the inaugural service at the tabernacle. He says:

> The account of Aaron's first sacrifice shows a quite baroque accumulation of burnt offerings, sin offerings, and peace offerings (Lv 9). This being so, we must abandon from the outset any idea that it is possible to presuppose, behind each kind of sacrifice, a precise theory of the sacral event in question exactly distinguishing it from all other kinds.[12]

He therefore doubts whether Leviticus portrays a well thought out sacrificial system. His remarks reveal the presuppositions that create the problem for him. Like many modern scholars, he holds that the ritual communicates ideas. Thus those who participate in them need to know what they mean. But that is not how ritual works. Its actual significance does not depend on what it means but on what it does, its function. The function of a ritual act is determined by its context.

If we wish to make sense of the various offerings in the Old Testament, we need to place them within the divine service context that was enacted twice each day at the temple.[13] The daily sacrificial liturgy provided the framework and template for all the offerings. The priests performed this service as a public act on behalf of the whole nation. Its basic structure was established by presentation of the daily burnt offering with its grain offering. The order of that service was expanded to include the other public offerings, as well as the personal offerings brought by the people. Additional public offerings were added to the service on special occasions, such as on the Sabbaths as well as on the three great festivals (Nm 28–29). The personal offerings of the Israelites, the chief of which were the peace offerings, were incorporated into pattern established by the daily service.[14] They functioned within its context and gained their significance from it.

The Daily Offerings

The basic order for the divine service was sketched out by the enactment of the daily burnt offering of a male lamb to the Lord (Ex 29:38–46). It was accompanied by the presentation of a grain offering consisting of fine flour, part of which was burnt on the altar and the rest of which was eaten by the priests on duty at the temple (Ex 29:40–41; Lv 6:14–18). The performance of the daily service proceeded in three stages. The first stage centered on the rite of atonement with the blood from the lamb (Lv 1:4). After the lamb had been ritually slaughtered[15] the blood from it was "dashed"[16] against the sides of the altar (Lv 1:5,11; 9:12). Through this act of atonement with the blood, God purified the altar and the priests. The priests could therefore enter the Holy Place to burn the incense on the altar before the curtain (Ex 30:7–8) and approach the altar to lay out the burnt offering on it, without desecrating God's holiness by their impurity and so incurring God's wrath.

He took the divine service that God had instituted through Moses and inserted the Lord's Supper into it as its new heart, its hub.

In the second stage of daily service, the lamb and the grain offering were "sent up in smoke"[17] as "an aroma pleasing to the Lord" (Ex 29:41; Lv 1:8–9, 12–13). By means of this enactment God met with the congregation at the altar for burnt offering and gave them access to his grace, like a king holding an audience with his subjects, so that they could present their petitions to him (Ex 29:42–43);[18] he came to them there to accept them (Lv 1:3) and to bless them (Ex 20:24);[19] by his theophany in the fire and the smoke at the altar he consecrated the temple, the altar, and the priests (Ex 29:43–44; Lv 9:4, 6, 23–24). This was the heart of the daily service, the main purpose for its enactment.

In the third stage, the priests ate the bread made from the flour of the grain offering (Lv 6:14–18).[20] In this meal God was their royal host; they, his courtiers, were his honored guests who ate the food from his table, the altar. Since part of that bread had been burnt on the altar, the rest was most holy (Lv 2:3, 10; 6:17); those who ate it shared in God's holiness (Lv 6:18). Thus after God had cleansed the priests and had met with them to attend to their needs, he provided a sacred meal for them. The daily service culminated in that sacred priestly meal.

The Festival Offerings

The order for daily burnt offering was the framework for the presentation of the offerings that the Israelites brought to the Lord at the temple in Jerusalem. This usually occurred on the three great pilgrim festivals: Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. On these occasions the heads of each household that lived in the land of Israel were obliged to appear before the Lord, the landowner, with their offerings as the annual rent for their use of his land (Ex 23:14–17). While they could, if they wished, bring some of their animals as voluntary burnt offerings, they were required to present their firstborn male livestock as peace offerings (Lv 3:1–17) and the first fruits of their crops as a grain offering (Lv 2:1–16). The peace offerings were, in fact, the main lay offerings.

Like the burnt offering, the rite for the peace offering proceeded in three stages. First, the rite for atonement was performed with the blood from the animal (Lv 3:2, 7–8, 12–13). Next the fat parts of the animal were placed "upon" the public burnt offering on the altar (Lv 3:5) together with the kidneys and the lobe of the liver[21] and part of its accompanying grain offering (Num 15:1–16), so that they could be sent up in smoke as "an aroma pleasing to the Lord" (Lv 3:3–5, 9–11, 14–16). Finally, the ritual enactment culminated in a sacred meal. The priests took their share of the meat and flour home and ate it with their families (Lv 7:29–36); the people who had brought the offering ate the remaining sacred meat and bread with their families and their guests, all of whom needed to be ritually clean (Lv 7:19–21; 19:5–8; Dt 12:17–18, 27). Through the holy meat and bread the Israelites too shared in God's holiness and enjoyed his favor. He sanctified them (Lv 20:7; 22:32), just as he sanctified the priests (Lv 21:8, 15; 22:9).

Public Sin Offerings

The order for the public burnt offering was expanded to include the extra offerings that were added for pastoral reasons. Thus on certain festive occasions when a congregation of people assembled at the sanctuary, a public sin offering[22] was added to purify the sanctuary, the priesthood, and the congregation so that there would be no danger of defilement and desecration.[23] Since the sin offering's main function was to atone for sin and to cleanse from impurity, the rite of atonement was elaborated to accomplish this purpose. The blood was brought into the Holy Place, sprinkled on the curtain, and smeared on the horns of the incense altar, before the rest of it was poured out on the base of the altar for burnt offering (Lv 4:5–7, 16–18). The fat portions of the animals were burnt on the altar, as for the peace offering, while the rest of the animal was burnt at the ash pit outside the city (Lv 4:8–12, 19–21). In this way all the impediments to the priests' safe entry into God's holy presence and to the safe access of the people to the altar were removed. The remarkable feature of this public sin offering is that none of the meat was eaten by anybody, for none of the sin offering's beneficiaries could eat the meat from it (Lv 6:20).

Likewise any Israelite who had sinned inadvertently against God[24] was required to bring his own sin offering so that he could receive release from his sin and approach God at the temple with his offerings, without desecrating his holiness and incurring his wrath (Lv 4:22–5:13).[25] In this case some of the blood was smeared on the horns of the altar for burnt offering before the rest of it was poured out at its base (Lv 4:25, 30, 34). After the fat from this personal sin offering had been burnt on the altar, its meat, which had become most holy (Lv 6:17, 25, 29), was eaten by the priests (Lv 6:25–30).[26] Thus while the blood from the sin offering purified the sinner and brought God's absolution to him, its meat sanctified the priests.

The daily burnt offering that was expanded to include the other animal offerings imposed its basic pattern on them. Each of them began with the rite of atonement, centered on the placement of some parts of the animal offering for sending up in smoke on the altar, and culminated in a sacred meal. In that holy meal God was their royal host and the Israelites were his favored guests. He provided the food for them from his altar-table. The meals provided for the priest differed from the meals provided for the laity. On the one hand, the priests on duty at the temple ate the most holy food that was reserved exclusively for them: the showbread and the bread from the grain offerings as well as the meat from the sin offerings and guilt offerings. Since this food was most holy and since it communicated God's holiness to those who ate it, it could only be eaten by the priests at the temple. They and their families, provided that they were ritually clean, ate the holy meat from the peace offerings in their homes. On the other hand, the Israelites ate the sacred meat from their peace offerings as well as the sacred bread that came from their grain offerings at the temple or in its precincts. For them this was the highlight of their visits to the temple. It was, usually, the only time that they ate meat. They were, in fact, required to reserve their firstborn animals and the first fruits of their produce so that they could eat and rejoice in the presence of the Lord (Dt 12:5–7, 10–12, 17–18). The festivals were therefore times of feasting for them, occasions where they lived like royalty at God's expense, for he retained but a portion of their rent for his land. He gave the rest back to them, sanctified for their enjoyment.

THE LORD'S SUPPER AS A SACRIFICIAL BANQUET

By his death and resurrection Jesus fulfilled the whole of the ritual legislation in the Old Testament (Mt 5:17). In his death he offered himself as the perfect sacrifice for humanity (Eph 5:2; Heb 7:27; 8:14; 10:10, 12–14). He fulfilled the function of all the bloody offerings: the sin offering that cleansed people from the taint of sin, the guilt offering that brought forgiveness for acts of desecration, the burnt offering that gained access to God's grace, and the peace offering that established holy communion with God.[27] He superseded all these. He replaced them with the preaching of the gospel, the good news of what we receive from him by virtue of his great act of sacrifice, and the enactment of the sacraments by which he conveyed what he had gained for them by his death.[28] What's more, through his resurrection and ascension he has been established as the high priest in the heavenly sanctuary, the mediator between God and the human family (Heb 4:14–16; 7:23–28). As our high priest he consecrates his disciples as priests to perform the divine service together with him in the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 2:11). There he now hosts a heavenly banquet in which he conveys all the benefits of his great act of sacrifice for them. He, who took his own flesh and blood into the Father's presence and offered them to him on their behalf, now gives them his own most holy body and blood as

That new sacrificial meal differs from the temple meals by virtue of its context, its host, and its food.

heavenly food and drink to us in the Lord's Supper. That new sacrificial meal differs from the temple meals by virtue of its context, its host, and its food.

The New Sacrifice in the New Jerusalem

Jesus has established a new context for his holy meal. It is not enacted at the temple in Jerusalem, but in the heavenly sanctuary. His disciples, as the writer of Hebrews asserts, eat that meal of grace with food from a different altar outside Jerusalem (Heb 13:9–14). Through the flesh and blood of Jesus they have open access to the Father's presence in heaven itself (Heb 10:19–22). They do not need to go up to the earthly city of Jerusalem to eat and drink in God's presence. Instead, whenever they gather to celebrate the Lord's Supper, they enter heavenly Jerusalem to feast there together with the whole communion of saints in the presence of the angels and God, the gracious judge of all (Heb 12:22–24). That meal then is part and parcel of the heavenly liturgy, the divine service in which Christ is the chief liturgist (Heb 8:2, 6) with the angels as his liturgical assistants (Heb 1:14; 12:22).

The New Host

This meal has a different host who, as a priest, provides this meal for his fellow priests. The risen Lord Jesus is its host. He himself shares the food from his offering to his guests. He differs from all the hosts in the Old Testament by eating none of the meal. Jesus was not just the host of the Passover meal that he ate with his disciples on the night that he instituted this sacred meal. He remains its host. He did not hand it over to his apostles and their successors. Instead he appointed them to host the meal together with him. They were to sit with him at his table and celebrate that meal together with him (Lk 22:28–30). Luke makes it quite clear that Jesus remains the host of the meal by the story of his appearance to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus (24:13–35). He draws a parallel between the actions of Jesus at the last supper and his actions in the disciples' house. In both cases he takes the bread, blesses, breaks, and gives it to his disciples. The performance of this ritual act in their house is quite unexpected, rather presumptuous from a human point of view, for, though present in their house as their guest, he nevertheless acts as their host. So the sacrament is his supper (1 Cor 11:20). It presupposes his presence. The cup from which we drink is his cup; the table that supplies us with this meal is his table (1 Cor 10:21).

The New Meal

In his holy supper Jesus provides his disciples with unique food. The menu at his table differs from the menu that God provided for the Israelites at the temple in Jerusalem. It is both a matter of scandal and a cause of amazement. To be sure, the meal seems similar. Its guests eat bread and drink wine, just as the Israelites did in their meals at the temple. But that bread is his sacrificed body; that blood is his atoning blood.

These astonishing gifts come into their own against the backdrop of the sacrificial banquets of the Old Testament. Jesus, the host of this meal, does not give his disciples the holy meat from an animal that he has offered to God as peace offering. He does not, as a priest, invite them to eat some of the most holy meat that he has presented to God as a sin offering or a guilt offering, which, in any case, was not allowed, nor does he invite them as his fellow priests to join him in eating the most holy bread from the grain offerings. Instead he gives them his own sacrificed body to eat. In this meal he presents himself as the bread of God (Jn 6:32),[29] the life-giving bread who gives his flesh for the life to the world (Jn 6:51). His flesh is not the dead meat of an animal, but the living flesh of Christ, that is his resurrected, life-giving body (Jn 6:52–56). Those who eat it do not gain added physical nourishment and increased biological vitality. They receive eternal life, divine life through the Spirit-filled, Spirit-giving body of Christ (Jn 6:54, 63; 1 Cor 10:3). Through that food they share in Christ's own holiness (1 Cor 1:30; Heb 2:11–15; 10:10).

But even more unexpected and scandalous is the provision of his own blood as a life-giving drink for his disciples.

Christ's provision of his own body as the bread of God from heaven is unexpected and scandalous enough. But even more unexpected and scandalous is the provision of his own blood as a life-giving drink for his disciples.[30] This is utterly new and entirely without precedent in the Old Testament, for the blood from the sacrificed animals was reserved exclusively for God and used only in the rite of atonement.[31] The taboo against drinking blood was so strict that God himself excluded Israelite violators from the congregation of Israel (Lv 17:10, 14). The blood that had been splashed against the altar in the rite of atonement could only be used for one purpose: the ordination of priests. On that occasion some of the blood was placed on the right ear, the right thumb, and the right big toe of the priest to purify him before it was splashed against the altar (Ex 29:20–21; Lv 8:23–24). After that had been done, some of the most holy blood was taken from the altar, mixed with the most holy anointing oil, and sprinkled on the priests and their vestments to consecrate them (Ex 29:21; Lv 8:30). But even then they did not drink it.

When Jesus commanded his disciples to drink his blood in his last meal with them he told them to violate the divine taboo on drinking blood. Yet that act did not really violate that taboo, because it was the ultimate reason for it. He gave them his own blood to drink in Holy Communion (Mt 26:28; Mk 14:24; Lk 22:20; 1 Cor 10:16; 11:25), the blood by which he made atonement for them (Rom 3:25) and established peace on a cosmic scale through his death on the cross (Col 1:20), the most holy blood that he brought with him at his ascension into the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 9:11–12). That blood gives life: his own divine life, eternal life through the Holy Spirit (Jn 6:53–56, 61–63).

Christ's gift of his blood to drink in that sacrificial banquet distinguishes that meal most sharply from all of Israel's sacred meals in the Old Testament. By means of his blood he conveys all the eternal blessings that he gained for the faithful through his self-sacrifice. Through his blood they have redemption, the forgiveness of sins (Mt 26:28; 1 Cor 11:25; Eph 1:7). His blood justifies them before God the Father (Rom 5:9) and cleanses them from all impurity (Heb 9:14; 1 Jn 1:7). They can therefore approach God the Father through his blood in the divine service (Eph 2:13; Heb 10:19). By means of that blood they are consecrated as priests together with Christ (Heb 10:29; 13:12) and equipped well for their priestly service of him (Heb 13:20–21). As priests whose robes have been washed with his holy blood (Rv 7:14), they can use his blood to overcome Satan and triumph over the powers of darkness (Rv 12:11). His blood is a "spiritual drink" for them because it fills them with his Holy Spirit (1 Cor 10:4; 12:13), the Spirit that is given through his blood to bear witness to him (1 Jn 5:6–8).

In the light of all this it comes as no surprise that the divine service description in Hebrews 12:22–24 culminates in "the blood for sprinkling." Our involvement in the heavenly liturgy is only possible through the blood of Jesus, the blood that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel. Through his blood the risen Lord Jesus gives God's holy people access to the heavenly city here on earth; through it he unites them with the angels and the whole communion of saints and presents them as purified sinners before God the Judge. In Holy Communion, Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, "sprinkles"[32] their hearts, their consciences, by giving them his holy blood to drink (Heb 9:13–14; 10:22; 12:24; 1 Pt 1:2). That blood speaks to them of forgiveness and grace, purification from sin and holiness.

By what he accomplished in his death and resurrection, Jesus shifted the center of gravity for us in the divine service from making atonement through the blood of the sacrificed animals to receiving the fruits of his atonement through his blood; from gaining restricted access to his grace in the temple to using our unlimited access by faith to his gracious presence in the heavenly sanctuary for our benefit and the benefit of others; from seeking partial fellowship with God at the temple to enjoying the fullness of Christ's own fellowship with his heavenly Father through union with his resurrected body. And so its focus is on the sacred meal. There Christ waits on us with his body and blood (Luke 22:27); there he conveys himself and all God's gifts to us as we faithfully eat his body and drink his blood. All we do is eat and drink.

CONCLUSION

We Lutherans all too often limit our teaching and preaching on the sacrament to the questions posed by Luther's *Small Catechism.* They do indeed deal with the essence of the sacrament. But there is much more to the sacrament than that, as Luther himself shows in his many tracts and sermons on the Lord's Supper. Pastors preach a sermon on the sacrament at least once a year on Maundy Thursday but seldom go much beyond that. It is almost as if we believe that it is unlutheran to dwell too much on the sacrament. We therefore do not relate the whole of the faith to the Lord's Supper, nor do we relate the Lord's Supper to the whole of our lives. Rather it sits there by itself, disconnected from most other things.

Since Luther quite rightly rejected the teaching that the Mass was a sacrifice that the priest offers to God the Father to atone for the sins of the living and the dead, we are wary about understanding the sacrament in sacrificial terms. We are uneasy about using the teaching on the offerings in the Old Testament to throw light on what happens in it. We therefore forget that it involves us in bringing our thank offering to God the Father. This wariness is complicated by the decrease in the level of biblical literacy in our congregations. Most people know little or nothing about the Old Testament, let alone the ritual legislation in the Pentateuch. If they are versed in that most unpopular part of the Bible, they don't know what to make of it. It's all outmoded Jewish law! No gospel there! So, even though we may celebrate the Lord's Supper more frequently than our predecessors, this does not seem to be matched by an increased appreciation of its inexhaustible riches.

We are uneasy about using the teaching on the offerings in the Old Testament to throw light on what happens in it.

Yet unchurched people who hanker for mystery and long for solid spiritual realities rather than mere religious rhetoric surround us. What could be more wonderful and more appealing to post-modern people than participation in the heavenly banquet that Christ has established here on earth: a banquet in which he is our host and we sinners are his honoured guests; a banquet that is celebrated locally anywhere on earth but is enacted supernaturally in heaven; a banquet in which we are surrounded by the angels and associated with the whole communion of saints; a banquet in which we share in Christ's holiness and have holy communion bodily with each other; a banquet through which we already now participate in the divine life of the Holy Trinity and so receive a foretaste of the glory that will overtake us at the resurrection of our bodies. No wonder that the angel congratulated St. John in Revelation 19:6 with the words: "Blessed are those who are invited to the wedding supper of the Lamb."

NOTES

1. See Hermann Sasse, "Church and Lord's Supper," *The Lonely Way. Selected Essays and Writings by Hermann Sasse* 1 (1927–1939), trans. John R. Stephenson and ed. Matthew C. Harrison (Concordia: St. Louis, 2001), 384.

2. Mt 26:17–19; Mk 14:12–16; Luke 22:7–16. See also Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus,* trans. Norman Perrin (SCM: London, 1966), 15–88.

3. In Rom 8:3 and 2 Cor 5:21 St Paul refers to Christ as a "sin offering."

4. According to Ex 29:37, everything that touched the altar became most holy. The altar therefore sanctified the offerings that were placed on it.

5. See Lv 1:2; 2:1; 3:1; 4:38. This noun is derived from the verb *qarab.* This is used as a technical term in the Qal for approaching God at the altar and in the Hiphil for bringing offerings to him there.

6. See Lv 1:9; 2:3; 3:3, and Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16,* The Anchor Bible (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 161–62. The usual translation for this term is "fire offering."

7. Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent* ii, trans. Fred Kramer (Concordia: St Louis, 1978), 439–498.

8. This article is a summary of the data that will be developed more fully in the commentary on Leviticus that I am preparing for the *Concordia Commentary.*

9. The covenant at Sinai is a bilateral agreement between God and his holy priestly people. Whereas he promises to be their God by meeting with them daily at the altar and dwelling with them in the tabernacle (Ex 20:2; 29:42–46), he requires them to observe the Decalogue as their side of the covenant (Ex 20:2–17). Thus the mandate for the divine service in Exodus 25–31 is to be understood as his gift to them in that covenant.

10. See Mt 26:28; Mk 14:24; Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25; Heb 12:24.

11. In Rom 9:4 Paul asserts that the church received the divine service from the people of Israel.

12. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* 1, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (Oliver and Boyd: Edinburgh and London, 1962), 251–252.

13. See John W. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song. The Basis, Function and Significance of Choral Music in Chronicles,* JSOT Supplement 156 (JSOT: Sheffield, 1993), 101–108.

14. See Lv 9 and 2 Chr 29:30–35 for descriptions of the procedure for an elaborated service of festive occasions.

15. The slaughter of the animal had ritual-theological significance. The animal was not offered to God by slaughtering it but by presenting its blood and its meat to God.

16. The technical Hebrew term for this enactment is *zâraq* (Lv 1:5, 11; 3:8,13). The NIV translates it quite incorrectly with "sprinkle."

17. See Lv 1:9, 13, 17. The Hebrew term for this is *hiqtîr.* It is usually translated by "burn," but this is somewhat misleading. It refers to the ascent of the smoke to the sky as a sign of God's appearance and of his acceptance of the sacrifice.

18. See 2 Chron 7:12–16. Thus because the temple was the place of sacrifice it was also a house of prayer (1 Kgs 8:22–53). The incineration of the offerings created a two-way bridge between heaven and earth, God and Israel.

19. The Lord gave his blessing to the people through the performance of the Aaronic benediction at the completion of the ritual for the burnt offering (Lv 9:23; Num 6:22–27; Sir 50:21–22).

20. In addition to this, on the Sabbath the priests ate the most holy showbread that had been set before the Lord on the table for it in the Holy Place for the previous week (Lv 24:5–9).

21. These were most likely burnt with the fat to prevent their use for augury and fortune telling.

22. See N. Kiuchi, *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature: Its Meaning and Function,* JSOT Supplement 56 (JSOT: Sheffield, 1987), for an analysis of this offering.

23. Lv 4:1–21; 9:8–11, 15; Num 28:15, 22, 30; 29:5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38.

24. A sin offering could not, however, atone for deliberate, defiant sins against God, sins with a high hand (Num 15:30–31).

25. The so-called guilt offering is closely related to the sin offering (Lv 5:14–6:7; 7:1–10). It was offered in cases of desecration or suspected desecration of the holy things. See Jacob Milgrom, 339–78, for a definitive analysis of this puzzling offering.

26. This applied too for the meat from the guilt offering (Lv 6:17; 7:6–7).

27. See Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen* 7 (Stiller'sche Hof-Buchhandlung: Schwerin, 1858), 175–203, for a good summary of this point and much of what follows.

28. See Kliefoth, 183.

29. See Lv 22:6, 8, 17, 21, 22; 22:7, 11, 25, for the use of this term for the meat from the sacrifices.

30. Hermann Sasse, "The Lord's Supper in the New Testament," *We Confess the Sacraments.* We Confess Series, Volume 2, tr. Norman Nagel (Concordia St Louis, 1985), 89–90.

31. See John W. Kleinig, "The Blood for Sprinkling: Atoning Blood in Leviticus and Hebrews," *LTJ* 33, no. 3 (1999), 124–135.

32. The Greek verb *rantizein* translates the Hebrew verb *hizzah* which was used as the technical term for disposal of the blood from the sin offerings by sprinkling it on the curtain in the Holy Place (Lv 4:6, 17) and the vestments of the priests (Ex 29:21; Lv 8:30). On the day of atonement the blood was sprinkled by the high priest on the mercy seat and the floor of Holy of Holies (Lv 16:14, 15) before it was brought out from there and used to sprinkle the incense altar and floor of the Holy Place (Lv 16:16; cf. Ex 30:10), as well as the altar for burnt offering (Lv 16:19). The blood that had been made most holy was therefore used to consecrate the altar.

The Issue of Church Fellowship and Unionism in the Missouri Synod and Its Associated Churches

KURT MARQUART

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING CHURCH FELLOWSHIP, and its corollary "unionism," was a constitutive issue for both the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (1847; hereafter "Missouri Synod" or LCMS) and the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (1872; hereafter "Synodical Conference"). Thesis XXI, C of Walther's *True Visible Church* expresses the self-evident consensus of the founding period: "The Evangelical Lutheran Church rejects every fraternal and ecclesial communion (*Gemeinschaft,* fellowship) with those who reject her confession, be it wholly or in part" (my translation).

In order to place firmly on record this initial common understanding, I should like to begin with Dr. Wilhelm Sihler's Eighteen Theses on the subject, presented at the second and several subsequent conventions of the Synodical Conference, beginning in 1873.[1] "Justification" had, appropriately, been the topic for the first convention in 1872. The founding of the Synodical Conference had been justified in a *Denkschrift* (memorandum) of 1871, which showed that a new general Lutheran body was needed, since the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America (hereafter "General Council") waffled on church fellowship—not to speak of the "General Synod" and the "General Synod South." I provided a translation of some crucial paragraphs of the 1871 *Denkschrift* a few years ago.[2] So far as I know, the Sihler Theses on fellowship have never appeared in English before.[3] I propose then to trace the issue through recent decades of arguments about it, to the present debacle over the notorious case of crass syncretism in New York.

FOUNDATION STONES
Theses About Church Fellowship

The term "church fellowship" (*Kirchengemeinschaft,* ecclesial communion) is not treated here in the wider sense. For in and according to that sense there exists already a certain church fellowship on the basis of the confession of holy scripture as the word of God among all congregations that stand in this confession, as opposed to the heathen, Jews, and Mohammedans.

Rather, the term is taken here in the narrower sense as the fellowship (or communion) of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in opposition to the more or less corrupted heterodox ecclesial communions.

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Thesis 1 The sole inner bond of fellowship among the several Lutheran congregations in various nations and languages is the true justifying and saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, which with and in him also grasps and holds onto his most holy and perfect merit.

Thesis 2 The sole outer bond of fellowship among the several Lutheran congregations in various nations and languages is the unaltered Augsburg Confession. *Note:* Not *absolutely* necessary for Lutheran church fellowship is the acceptance of the other Lutheran confessional writings, so long as it is not denied that they stand in (the) orthodox connection with the unaltered Augsburg Confession.

Thesis 3 Because the Augsburg Confession (which is as historical-particular in its origin as it is ecumenical in its doctrinal content) is in all its articles of faith the pure and unfalsified declaration and exposition of the divine Word, according to doctrine and defense (*nach Lehre und Wehre,* [i.e., positively and negatively, K.M.]), the consciences of all Lutherans, be they individuals or congregations or church bodies, are bound to it.

Thesis 4 Accordingly there is no orthodox Lutheran congregation or Lutheran church-body, which does not accept the teaching and defending [*lehrenden und wehrenden,* i.e. positive and negative, K.M.] words of this confession as they stand.

Thesis 5 Also he who denies the conclusions that the words of this confession consistently yield, is no true member of the Lutheran Church, even if he illicitly holds on to the Lutheran name.

Thesis 6 From the type and nature of this orthodox confession it necessarily follows that churches' practice accord with it. For every churchly action is either a direct expression and actual realization of the confession, or yet such a one as, also when it moves within the realm of Christian liberty, may not contradict the confession by deed (*thaetlich*).

Thesis 7 From this necessary connection between confession and practice it logically follows that a Lutheran synod, in which the prevailing practice accords with the churchly confession, may not unite itself into one church-body with another synod calling itself Lutheran, in which the prevailing practice contradicts the confession.

Thesis 8 This contradiction can take place in various ways. It takes place firstly, when a Lutheran church body, which expressly and emphatically confesses the Symbolical Books, nonetheless tolerates in its fellowship, or even considers legitimate and approves, pulpit-exchange with non-Lutheran preachers and altar-fellowship with non-Lutherans, and does not decisively oppose every form of chiliasm.

Thesis 9 This contradiction takes place further when members of its congregations also continue to be members of secret societies, and when the respective pastors neither raise a thorough public testimony in their sermons against these societies and place their anti-Scriptural and anti-faith nature into a clear light, nor accord the individual lodge brothers special pastoral instruction and care.

Thesis 10 No less is this contradiction present when a Lutheran synod or a composite synodical body tolerates it when some of its pastors, who also call themselves Lutherans, continue to serve congregations which are actually united [*unirt,* i.e. combining Lutherans and Calvinists, K.M.].

Thesis 11 It further contradicts the Confession when the church body puts up with its pastors holding no proper (*ordentlichen*) but only a temporary call from their congregations, or when the church-body itself even strengthens this disorder through the licensing business (*Licenzwesen*).

Thesis 12 It is a crying contradiction of the Confession, when a church body calling itself and wanting to be Lutheran, manifests no seriousness and zeal to do all in its power to bring into being orthodox parochial schools where they do not exist.

Thesis 13 It is further a contradiction of the Confession when a Lutheran body does not see to it that in its congregations only orthodox agendas, hymnals, catechisms, doctrinal and devotional books are used, or does not apply the requisite diligence to eliminate existing heterodox books of this sort and to introduce orthodox ones.

Thesis 14 It contradicts the Confession most decisively when there is no doctrinal discipline in a Lutheran church body, and the beloved theory of "Open Questions" is given homage there.

Thesis 15 It is not in accord with the Confession when a synod or a larger church body does not work towards the goal that in its congregations the discipline of doctrine and of life, willed by Christ and more precisely defined in Matt. 18:15–17, gradually comes into use and exercise.

Thesis 16 It stands in exact connection with the Confession that every Lutheran synod for its part applies all diligence to bring into existence and to help support orthodox educational institutions for the preparation of faithful and competent preachers and schoolteachers for the preservation of the church.

Thesis 17 It is no less in accord with the Confession that the synods show concern about whether and how the several congregations of their affiliation demonstrate active love in providing for needy widows, orphans, the sick, etc.

Thesis 18 It is finally connected with the Confession that the synods stimulate the congregations of their affiliation to cooperate mightily for their part in the extension of the Lutheran doctrine and church, in outer and inner mission.

These theses of 1873 are remarkable for their strictly theological, confessional nature and integrity. There is no bureaucratic sophistry here about when joint services are not joint services! What is decisive is the plain evangelical truth of the Confession, not a casuistry oriented to subtle technicalities in constitutions or bylaws.

Church fellowship is the crucial issue of church practice, for it is a clear litmus test of how seriously one takes everything else.

It is taken for granted that everyone knows just what church fellowship is. It is a distinctly spiritual-churchly relation, not a secular-worldly one. St. Paul put it like this: "I have written you in my letter not to associate with sexually immoral people—not at all meaning the people of this world who are immoral, or the greedy and swindlers, or idolaters. In that case you would have to leave this world" (1 Cor 5:9–10, NIV). It is would-be *"brothers"* of this sort who must be avoided *as such.* There is an interesting disclaimer in Walther's *Pastorale* on this very point. He had quoted Dannhauer to the effect that "syncretism" includes "civic-marital fellowship, by which a Christian unites himself with a Jewish, Turkish, heathen wife,"[4] but adds his own note: "This case likely was so offensive . . . only in earlier times under other circumstances." In other words, the church-state embrace had confused the issue. St. Paul certainly did not consider a marriage of a Christian to a non-Christian as sinful in and of itself (1 Cor 7:12–14).

Saint Paul clearly defines church fellowship as mutual recognition in the one true faith: "James, Peter and John, those reputed to be pillars, gave me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship when they recognized the grace given to me" (Gal 2:9). Luther echoed this precisely a millennium and a half later:

> The enthusiasts want to trivialize the differences in doctrine for the sake of external unity. Such action testifies to a false love, which lacks the truth of God . . . Behind this stands Luther's earnest consideration: to acquiesce (*einwilligen*) in the doctrine of the other, that is church fellowship. For church fellowship is doctrinal fellowship, which exists for Luther only where sameness (*aequitas*) in doctrine obtains (my translation).[5]

How important church fellowship was for Lutherans in nineteenth century North America is clear from the fact that of the "Four Points" which dominated much of the debate between confessional and nominal Lutherans, three dealt with fellowship: altar fellowship, pulpit fellowship, and lodge membership![6] Church fellowship is *the* crucial issue of church practice, for it is a clear litmus test of how seriously one takes everything else.

Whatever the pious palaver in favor of a given position, if one is prepared to practice church fellowship with the adherents of other, opposing views, one is thereby saying that all these views are equally good and legitimate in the church—in other words, it does not really matter what one holds on the point at issue! This is the way into doctrinal chaos and dissolution.

FROM *A STATEMENT* (1945) TO *THE OVERSEAS THESES* OF 1961

The first major challenge in the Missouri Synod to the whole historic approach to fellowship no doubt came with the 1945 *A Statement,* also known as the "Chicago Statement" or "The Statement of the Forty-Four"—this latter because of the number of signatories. Although it was ultimately withdrawn "as a basis for discussion," "A Statement" marked a sad change in the Synod's whole approach, yet was lamentably given a ringing endorsement by former Synodical President Dr. Ralph Bohlmann.[7] Future discussions of the subject were placed on a slippery slope owing to four particular features of the twelve theses of the 1945 document. Thesis Five denied that Romans 16:17, 18, one of the chief traditional proof-texts against unionism, applied "to the present situation in the Lutheran Church of America." Thesis Six stressed "the central importance of the *una sancta* and the local congregation also in the matter of determining questions of fellowship." The thesis therefore deplored "the new and improper emphasis on the synodical organization as basic in our consideration of the problems of the church. We believe that no organizational loyalty can take the place of loyalty to Christ and His church." This implied that the Synod was not church, but a mere human "organization." Thirdly, the document treated fellowship in terms of "Christians," in other words, individuals, rather than of churches as such. Finally, the document—expressly so in Thesis Four—treated fellowship fundamentally as a matter of love and ethics, rather than as one of truth and doctrine.

In the wake of the Chicago *Statement* it became fashionable to argue that the evil targeted by Romans 16:17 is not false doctrine but divisiveness. The grammatical-syntactical arguments for this view were effectively demolished in R. Hoerber, *A Grammatical Study of Romans 16:17* (Mankato: Lutheran Synod Book Company, 1963). Nevertheless, uncertainty about the application of Romans 16:17 has persisted to the present day. The 1974 Report *A Lutheran Stance toward Ecumenism* by the Missouri Synod's Commission on Theology and Church Relations (hereafter CTCR) avoided that text altogether. The significance and applicability of Romans 16:17 were fully rehabilitated in *The Lutheran Understanding of Church Fellowship,* issued jointly in 2000 by the Synodical President and the CTCR. See the detailed argumentation on pages 8–9 of that document, and in footnotes 19–26 (19–21).

An odd spin-off of the confusion about Romans 16:17 was a constitutional change that seems to have gone completely unnoticed: Until 1980 the first paragraph of Art. III, "Objectives," of the LCMS constitution read like this:

> 1. The conservation and promotion of the unity of the true faith (Eph 4:3–6; 1 Cor 1:10) and a united defense against schism and sectarianism (Rom 16:17).

This was changed by the 1979 Convention, and the change apparently approved by the required congregational referendum in 1980, to read as follows:

> Art. III, "Objectives" . . . 1. Conserve and promote the unity of the true faith (Eph 4:3–6; 1 Cor 1:10), work through its official structure toward fellowship with other Christian church bodies, and provide a united defense against schism, sectarianism (Rom 16:17), and heresy.

By adding the word heresy, and limiting Romans 16:17 to the area of "schism, sectarianism," as though these were the same, the new misunderstanding of Romans 16:17 was inserted, by stealth, into the Synod's very constitution. This maneuver not only misconstrued the text, but betrayed total ignorance of the historic meaning of "sectarianism." It is perfectly clear in the Synod's founding period that "sectarianism" refers to division caused by false doctrine. This is exactly the same thing as "heresy." Francis Pieper's *Christian Dogmatics* (3: 423) correctly states the historic sense of the church by saying that heterodox church bodies are "sects . . . in so far as they have combined to further their deviations from the doctrine of Christ and thus cause divisions in the Church and by their errors and separate existence constantly threaten the faith of the children of God." A "schism," on the other hand, is a sinful division not over doctrine but, "e.g., a separation because of differences in church customs, church terms, order of worship, etc." (Pieper, 3: 427).

> ***The second fateful aberration of the 1945* Statement *was the suggestion that only congregations are really churches, and that synods are mere human organizations.***

The second fateful aberration of the 1945 *Statement* was the suggestion that only congregations are really churches, and that synods are mere human organizations. Synodical loyalty then is seen not as a matter of doctrinal faithfulness, but as one of "organizational loyalty," which then of course must not "take the place of loyalty to Christ and His Church" (Thesis Six). One of the prominent signatories to that document, Dr. Theodore Graebner, made the implications starkly explicit: "We can say, synod, territorial church, a formation like the EKiD [Evangelical Church in Germany] belong to Christendom, are a part of it, but are not church."[8] Elsewhere I have given ample evidence that for Pieper, as chief representative of our historic doctrinal position, the Synod is indeed church.[9] Let me add here only a reference to the constitution of the old Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, "III. Aim and Purpose . . . the consolidation of all Lutheran synods of America into a single, faithful, devout American Lutheran Church."[10]

With the demotion of synods to mere "organizations" came the demotion of confessional differences to the level of variety in "denominational tags."[11] This is echoed almost verbatim in the 1996 Florida-Georgia District (of the Missouri Synod) plea for open communion, *A Declaration of Eucharistic Understanding and Practice,* on the grounds that "Scripture imposes no denominational requirement."

Church fellowship has always been understood as* communio in sacris *(communion in sacred things) as distinct from mere* cooperatio in externis *(cooperation in externals).

A third "statementarian" fallacy followed directly from the loss of the clear and concrete category "church." That was the individualistic notion of "other Christians," which now came to the fore as the object of "fellowship." For Pieper and all the Synodical founders, the essential distinction was between orthodox and heterodox churches. Here is the classic definition of the *Brief Statement* (par. 28, Church Fellowship):

> Since God ordained that His Word *only,* without the admixture of human doctrine, be taught and believed in the Christian Church, 1 Pet. 4:11; John 8:31, 32; 1 Tim.6:3, 4, all Christians are required by God to discriminate between orthodox and heterodox church-bodies, Matt. 7:15, to have church-fellowship only with orthodox church-bodies, and, in case they have strayed into heterodox church-bodies, to leave them, Rom. 16:17. We repudiate *unionism,* that is, church fellowship with the adherents of false doctrine, as disobedience to God's command, as causing divisions in the Church, Rom. 16:17; 2 John 9, 10, and as involving the constant danger of losing the Word of God entirely, 2 Tim. 2:17–21.

The new thinking—or should one say, feeling?—distinguished instead between "us" and "other Christians." That led the whole discussion into subjectivist, sentimentalist quicksand.

Finally, the overall result of the new approach was that fellowship came to be seen, with Schleiermacher, as lying essentially within the area of love and ethics rather than that of truth and doctrine.

The real focus of the 1945 *Statement* was on the Lutheran union movement of that time, e.g., Thesis Four: "We affirm our conviction that the law of love must also find application to our relationship to other Lutheran bodies." The Synod seemed to have come to agreement with the American Lutheran Church (hereafter ALC) in 1938, but then backed off from church fellowship. The Chicago document expresses deep frustration over this development.

Official Missouri, however, kept negotiating. By 1950 the *Common Confession* was ready, and was adopted both by the ALC and by the Missouri Synod. Further clarification proved necessary, and these were set out in *Common Confession, Part II,* adopted by the ALC in 1953 and by Missouri in 1956. The latter body, however, declared that this bi-partite document was not being adopted as a basis for church fellowship. A combination of internal and external opposition to such fellowship proved decisive. Missouri conservatives objected to the loosely worded 1940 *Pittsburgh Agreement* between the ALC and the liberal The United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA) on holy scripture, and to the ALC's union negotiations with other members of The American Lutheran Conference. Also, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and the Wisconsin Synod, members together with Missouri of the Synodical Conference, had rejected both parts of the *Common Confession.*[12]

The internal confusion within Missouri and its apparent drift towards the ALC alarmed the other members of the Synodical Conference and created great tensions within that body. At last Missouri's president, Dr. John W. Behnken, called upon the synod's overseas sister churches for help. Accordingly a "conclave of theologians" was held in Oakland, California, just prior to the LCMS San Francisco Convention in 1959. By 1961 the "Overseas Committee" was ready with its report, presented to the Synodical Conference convention that year in the form of thirteen theses under the title *Fellowship in Its Necessary Context of the Doctrine of the Church.*[13]

These thirteen theses may be regarded as the apex and highlight of the entire debate. But they came too late to prevent the disintegration of the Synodical Conference. Nor, it seems, was the document taken with sufficient seriousness by either Missouri on the one hand or Wisconsin and ELS on the other. The essence of the overseas diagnosis was made quite explicit at the end:

> This statement bears within it
>
> a) the implication that the member-churches of the Synodical Conference have not enunciated and carried through the principles outlined in it in their documents of fellowship with the necessary clarity and consistency; and the suggestion that the goal of the Synodical Conference discussion is to be reached by the traditional highway of the Doctrine of the Church. Since the premature turning off into the byway of fellowship has led to a dead end, it would seem best, first of all, to return to the highway and there move forward together guided only by the marks of the church.

Church fellowship has always been understood as *communio in sacris* (communion in sacred things) as distinct from mere *cooperatio in externis* (cooperation in externals). Thesis Twelve concludes: "The 'sacred things' (*sacra*) are the Means of Grace, and only by way of them is anything else a 'sacred thing' (*sacrum*)." This means that church fellowship—although it expresses itself in many ways—"shows itself fundamentally in pulpit and altar fellowship." The final thesis, number 13, draws the necessary conclusion:

> Prayer is not one of the marks of the church and should not be coordinated with Word and Sacraments, as though it were

> essentially of the same nature as they. As a response to the divine Word, it is an expression of faith and a fruit of faith, and when spoken before others, a profession of faith. As a profession of faith it must be in harmony with and under the control of the marks of the church.

There is no denigration of prayer here. After all, according to the much-misapplied *Apology XIII,* prayer "has the command of God, and it has many promises," so that it "can most truly be called a sacrament"[14]—more truly indeed than the laying on of hands in ordination, which has no divine command or institution!

It is not simply that the gospel and the sacraments are means of grace and prayer is not. The fact is that preaching and the administration of the sacraments are always public and official actions of the church, but prayer often is not. Private individuals may say prayers in quite unofficial situations. Such private prayers—for example, table prayers with non-Lutheran hosts or guests—do not involve church fellowship, and therefore must not be put on the same level with pulpit and altar fellowship. But Thesis 13 makes it perfectly clear that this does not turn prayer into a free-for-all. Rather, public prayer, as a profession of faith, "must be in harmony with and under the control of the marks of the church." Hence there can be no joint services with official representatives of heresy! Both friends and foes of Missouri's official stand on the matter need to be reminded in this very connection that the Synod's 1944 decision distinguished *not* between church fellowship and prayer fellowship—as though people could do whatever they liked by way of praying with the heterodox—but between prayer fellowship (which is a part of church fellowship) as such, and an occasional *joint prayer* (which could be private, unofficial, or simply a prayer for blessing on a consideration of differences under the Word of God).[15]

It was the late Dr. William Oesch's conviction that by ignoring the central thrust of the thirteen theses—the all-decisive, pivotal position of the pure means of grace, that is, marks of the church—both contending parties within the former Synodical Conference fell prey to subjectivism and individualism: the one pursuing this fallacy in the direction of unionism, the other in that of schism and separatism.

FROM THE *MISSION AFFIRMATIONS* (1965) TO THE *LUTHERAN UNDERSTANDING OF CHURCH FELLOWSHIP* (2000)

The 1965 *Mission Affirmations* marked another epochal turn for Missouri. Unlike the unofficial *Statement* published twenty years earlier, the *Affirmations* were officially adopted. It is difficult to imagine the latter document without the two decades of leavening provided by the former.

The wording of the six sets of *Affirmations* is innocuous enough on the whole. Their real import must be gathered from the background explanations, "Report of Mission Self-Study and Survey," by Mission Study Director Martin L. Kretzmann (*1965 Convention Workbook,* pp. 113–140). There are of course perfectly sound observations and criticisms in both the *Affirmations* and in the background materials. The push for a global, aggressive missionary perspective is certainly refreshing and praiseworthy. The trouble lies in the weakness of the doctrinal foundations. The talk about "the whole society" and "the whole man," for instance, lacks the necessary clear distinctions between the two realms or government. And then there is the ominous resolution

> that we affirm as Lutheran Christians that the Evangelical Lutheran Church is chiefly a confessional movement within the total body of Christ rather than a denomination emphasizing institutional barriers of separation . . . . the Confessions seek to repel all attacks against the Gospel, they are not intended to be a kind of Berlin Wall to stop communication with other Christians (*Proceedings,* 80).

Here are the footloose "other Christians" again, rather than a clear demarcation between orthodox and heterodox *churches* as such. And the language about the Lutheran church as "a confessional movement . . . rather than a denomination emphasizing institutional barriers of separation" was in the following decade

Rather, public prayer, as a profession of faith, "must be in harmony with and under the control of the marks of the church."

taken over into the constitution of the "AELC," the Seminex-oriented body of ex-"Missourians," which together with the ALC and the Lutheran Church in America united into the present Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Kretzmann's explanations were even more concrete and forthcoming:

> In our time God has brought into being various empirical manifestations of the body of Christ in the form of ecumenical organizations such as the Lutheran Council U.S.A., the Lutheran World Federation, and the World Council of Churches (*Workbook,* 120).

Naturally, we must "be obedient to the guiding of the Holy Spirit in our time" (121). Yet "no ecumenical organization is coextensive with the church" but "is no more than an association of socio-religious institutions." There lurks here likely Theodore Graebner's invention that only congregations can be church, and that synods and groups of synods are not church. That implies of course that strict churchly norms do not apply.

In the past, wrote Kretzmann, the Synod had held that it was not possible to belong to various ecumenical organizations, because there was no doctrinal agreement with and within them. But, he continued, this approach

> has in effect denied the all-important character of that oneness which God has created in all of us and has made it

> impossible for us to engage in fruitful ministry to and from one another in growth in understanding of truth (121).

In fact,

> a so-called confessional position is not always and only a concern for truth but is always to some degree conditioned by the historical environment in which the church has lived. A position which may have some validity in a particular historical situation may not have the same validity in an entirely different situation (122).

It follows that the point of mission work "is not to build up a particular denomination or even to found churches which will be in fellowship with us."

Some odd turns of phrase even suggest an extension of this relativism into a syncretistic view of pagan religions:

> The question of whether Christianity, as a religion by which men structure their fellowship with God, is superior or inferior to other religions should no longer arise . . . We must study more intensively than we have in the past the nature of God's revelation to men of other faiths (122, 123).

A great deal of discussion was devoted in the 1960s to the nature of the Lutheran World Federation (hereafter LWF). The Helsinki Assembly of the LWF in 1963 was unable to agree on a statement on justification—certainly an oddity for a would-be Lutheran gathering! A determined effort was made at that Assembly to win over the Missouri Synod, which had sent, I understand, some twenty official observers. The strategy was two-pronged: 1) constitutional amendments to show that the LWF was not a church or a "super-church" but merely a federation of autonomous churches; 2) a constitutional amendment of the confessional paragraph, expressly naming the three ancient Creeds, the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian.

"Can a federation with a specific doctrinal basis act in essential church work **(in sacris)** ***on behalf of its member Churches without itself assuming the character of Church in the New Testament sense?"***

On the first point, the "federation" argument was superficial. Peter Brunner had shown already in 1960 that the LWF was constantly having to make doctrinal, confessional decisions, and was therefore acting as church.[16] The Australian Lutheran Document of Union of 1965 went to the heart of the matter:

> Can a federation with a specific doctrinal basis act in essential church work (*in sacris*) on behalf of its member Churches without itself assuming the character of Church in the New Testament sense?

On the second point, I may be forgiven for putting on record two personal reminiscences. I was at Helsinki as a very young and very unofficial observer. I attended the open discussion session that considered the proposed amendment to the confessional paragraph. When the opportunity arose, I asked: "What will it mean now, practically, if the LWF expressly mentions the three Creeds by name? Will that mean, for instance, that someone like Rudolf Bultmann, for whom everything in the Creed except 'was crucified, dead, and buried' is myth and legend, could no longer take any part in official LWF activities?" The chairman looked at an LWF vice-president in the front row and asked: "Would you like to answer that, Bishop?" That gentleman declined. Thereupon the chairman ventured: "I cannot give you any official answer, but my personal opinion is that we do not want to exclude anyone. If Bultmann cared to come, he would be perfectly welcome here." Thereupon a number of younger men in the audience stood up and said: "Bultmann is here, because we are here, and we are his students and believe exactly as he does."

The opportunity came again a decade later. The Lutheran World Federation's Commission on Church Co-operation was meeting in Adelaide in 1975, no doubt to develop closer relations with the newly formed Lutheran Church of Australia (hereafter LCA). One of the two pre-union churches, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, had belonged to the LWF, but had been obliged to withdraw from it for the sake of Lutheran union in Australia (fellowship, 1965; amalgamation, 1966). The members of the LCA's Commission on Theology and Inter-Church Relations were invited to an evening with the LWF leadership for theological discussions. Dr. Henry Hamann asked: "Since LWF member churches consider themselves in fellowship with all other member churches, what is the basis for this? Is it on the basis of agreement in the gospel and sacraments, as per Augsburg Confession VII?" There was general agreement that that was indeed the case. Then I asked: "If the agreement claimed is about the Gospel, then presumably there are boundaries. Let me ask: where exactly do you draw the boundaries between Gospel and non-Gospel? To be quite concrete about it: would you draw the line at Bultmann, for whom everything in the Creed except 'was crucified, dead, and buried' is mythology?" There was silence. Finally an elderly gentleman said: "Many years ago at a West German pastors' conference I tried to get Bultmann condemned as a heretic. But there arose the most conservative man present and said: 'No, you cannot condemn Bultmann, because he still believes in justification by faith alone'!" I asked: "Faith alone? How alone? Without the Trinity, without the Incarnation, Redemption, Resurrection, and Ascension—that 'alone'?" There was a hurried benediction and the meeting was over!

It is difficult to avoid the impression that much "ecumenical" rhetoric is simply humbug, window-dressing, designed "by good words and fair speeches [to] deceive the hearts of the simple" (Rom 16:18).[17]

At any rate, Missouri did not join the LWF. Thereupon that body made a complete about-face, anchoring full mutual church fellowship in its constitution at the 1984 Assembly, and at the next one declaring itself a "communion" of churches rather than a mere "free association."[18]

In 1977 the LWF adopted "reconciled diversity" as its ecumenical recipe, by which it meant "genuine church fellowship" among the various Christian churches, but also "the legitimacy of the confessional differences and therefore the need to preserve them." Thereby the Prussian Union of 1817, which had become Germany-wide with the formation of the EKiD (Evangelical Church in Germany) in 1948, and Europe-wide with the *Leuenberg Concord* of 1973, became a global reality, under the auspices of the "Lutheran" World Federation!

"But this means also that this fellowship is immediately and directly brought into question whenever our doctrinal unity is loosened and disintegrates."

Meanwhile ALC-Missouri fellowship succeeded officially in 1969, but failed again in 1979, when Missouri declared a state of "Fellowship in Protest," and in 1981 when the LCMS ended the fellowship relations on biblical and confessional grounds.[19] Naturally this was accompanied by a great deal of soul-searching within the Missouri Synod on the exact meaning of church fellowship and unionism.

That question also concerned Missouri's sister churches overseas. And of course the Wisconsin Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod also had overseas churches with which they were in fellowship. The churches associated with the Missouri Synod had held meetings of the International Lutheran Theological Conference since 1952. The report of the 1975 meeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil, shows also the participation of at least one church not in official church fellowship with the Missouri Synod. That was the Lutheran Church of Australia, represented by its president, Dr. L. B. Grope. Dr. Grope cited the following significant statements from the Australian Church's 1968 statement "Fellowship and Declared Fellowships":

> There is a fellowship in Christ, the *communio sanctorum,* which is God-given, but which is also hidden, and which we accordingly believe; and there is a fellowship in the marks of the Church, the Word and the Sacraments, which can be recognized and affirmed . . . .
>
> In the present complex situation it is not easy for us to arrive at responsible decisions with regard to overseas fellowships. While we affirm with our Document of Union that "we acknowledge ourselves to be in church fellowship with all Lutheran Churches which subscribe to the Lutheran Confessions in their constitutions and adhere to them in their public teaching and practice" (par. 9), we fraternally ask these Churches to bear with us patiently if in view of the problematical situation we cannot arrive at official fellowship declarations as promptly as we had hoped or would like. We earnestly appeal to all who sincerely love Christ in His pure word and sacrament to pray and work toward a clear and unambiguous world-wide Lutheran settlement.

A "clear and unambiguous world-wide Lutheran settlement" is infinitely more urgent today. The Lithuanian and Belarussian churches may have shown the way towards such a settlement by naming four water-shed points[20] on which confessional and nominal Lutheran churches divide globally: compromises on justification, that is, the 1999 Vatican and LWF "Augsburg Concession"; on the true presence of the Lord's body and blood in the sacrament, i.e., the Leuenberg Concord, and the twin issues of ordination of women and acceptance of homosexual behavior. These core issues, which presuppose totally incompatible positions on the nature and authority of divine revelation—hence of the marks of the church!—confront world Lutheranism with the necessity of a thorough-going realignment in terms of the one life-giving truth of God, which divides as well as unites.

Many other fine essays appear in the 1975 report. I conclude with a quotation from Prof. Wilbert Kreiss, Vice-President of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Belgium and France. In the "position paper" from that church we read:

> This means that nothing can ever threaten our fraternal fellowship as long as we rest united in the pure proclamation of the Gospel and in the correct administration of the sacraments (Augsburg Confession, Article VII). But this means also that this fellowship is immediately and directly brought into question whenever our doctrinal unity is loosened and disintegrates.

Here we have a totally spiritual, theological understanding of church fellowship rather than a bureaucratic one. It suggests another Australian formulation: "Lutheran Churches in full church fellowship with each other, which are bound by the common bond of the Lutheran Confessions, have co-responsibility for all public teaching and practice in each of them."[21]

In 1962 the Melbourne Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia addressed a formal letter of admonition to its American sister church, the Missouri Synod. Among the concerns listed was

> (f) What appears to be uncertainty of the Lutheran conception of the Church as expressed and confessed in Augustana VII and VIII, and in the corresponding Article of the Apology, with the result that the distinction between orthodox churches and heterodox churches also practically goes by the board.

Representatives of the Missouri Synod's two seminary faculties had produced the initial version of the *Theology of Fellowship,* in response to a resolution of the 1956 Synodical Convention.[22] But in 1962 the Synod reassigned the matter to its newly formed CTCR. The earlier, faculty version was severely criticized by both the European and the Australian sister churches. The latter's official critique said:

> The tendency throughout—and it is intentional—is not to speak of churches, but to speak of individuals. For with them, in accordance with the subjective *proton pseudos* at the basis of the whole presentation, we can . . . distinguish those who are plainly not of Christ . . . and those who are true Christians. . . .

In response to such criticisms the document was strengthened and enlarged, commended for study by the 1965 Convention and adopted in 1967. A very strong feature of the improved *Theology of Fellowship* was the pride of place given to Augsburg Confession VII and the marks of the church. These marks "have throughout the history of orthodox Lutheranism served to establish the limits of pulpit and altar fellowship, and to distinguish the Lutheran Church from other churches" (part II, b, 1). No doubt this echoed the thirteen theses of 1961 by the Overseas Committee.

In 1974, however, a fateful shift occurred. That year's CTCR's document *A Lutheran Stance toward Ecumenism* took over Arthur C. Piepkorn's differentiation between *unitas* (unity) and *concordia* (harmony). The former term was used in Augsburg Confession VII, the latter in Formula of Concord X. That means that the Augsburg Confession deals with a "spiritual" or "God-given" unity, while "Christians have a role in this lesser, external unification," of which the Formula allegedly speaks.[23] This false dichotomy confused much of Missouri's official thinking in the years to come.

In 1977 a Theologians' Convocation was held in St. Louis on the subject "Formula for Concord," and the various essays were published under that title. Dr. Robert Preus, president of the Fort Wayne seminary, rightly held that the

> term "unity" (German: *Einigkeit;* Latin: *unitas* in AC and Apology, *concordia, consonantia, consensio, consensus* in FC) is, I believe, used in essentially the same sense in AC VII and FC X . . . Concord in the FC is not something organizational, not external union at all, but agreement in the doctrine and all its articles, precisely what Melanchthon was talking about in the AC (30).

Dr. Ralph Bohlmann, president of the St. Louis seminary, on the other hand, having taken over the scheme of an internal *unitas* and an external *concordia,* concluded:

> The church in the narrow sense, which consists of believers in Jesus Christ, is united spiritually by its common faith in the Gospel in the narrow sense, but exists within the church in the broad sense whose external unity is to be based on agreement in the Gospel in the broad sense (65).

The essayist never did manage to extricate himself from the conundrum posed by one of the participating theologians: "If as you say the inner, spiritual unity of the church is more basic and important than the outward one, then why is more required for the less important outer unity than for the more important inner unity?"

Note by contrast the thoroughly Chalcedonian ecclesiology of the Lutheran Church of Australia's *Theses of Agreement* (1966):

> The outward unity of the Church as "the fellowship of outward ties and rites" must rest upon the same basis on which the spiritual unity of true believers rests and depends, viz., upon the marks of the One Church: the pure teaching of the Gospel and the right administration of the Sacraments. Where there is truth, there is unity.[24]

"The outward unity of the Church as 'the fellowship of outward ties and rites' must rest upon the same basis on which the spiritual unity of true believers rests and depends."

The CTCR's 1981 statement, *The Nature and Implications of the Concept of Fellowship,* reflects the confusion about Augsburg Confession VII. It formulates nine "Scriptural principles of fellowship," which restrict the application of AC VII to "spiritual fellowship . . . faith in the heart." External unity, or church fellowship on the basis of full doctrinal agreement, is introduced only in Thesis 6, by way of Thesis 4 (Good works flow out of faith and are responses to the Gospel) and Thesis 5 (Love . . . always seeks the edification of the members of the body of Christ). Clearly orthodoxy and orthodox church fellowship here are understood as belonging to the realm of ethics and sanctification, not to that of Gospel-doctrine, which is prior to all faith and love, as their source. Not surprisingly, the document is unable to propose a clear biblical alternative to the rejected schemes of "conciliarity" (World Council of Churches), "reconciled diversity" (Lutheran World Federation), and "selective fellowship." Instead, it lamely proposes a mere *adiaphoron:*

> The [CTCR], therefore, while recognizing that this model is neither divinely ordained nor Scripturally mandated, is convinced that the [LCMS] should continue to seek to carry out the Scriptural principles of fellowship at the church-body level by means of ecclesiastical declarations of altar and pulpit fellowship based on agreement in doctrine and practice (42). [!]

This led directly to the disastrous "levels of fellowship" notion of the 1991 CTCR document *Inter-Christian Relationships: An Instrument for Study.* By that time, however, the Synod was about to elect a more confessional leadership, and the "Relationships" document was put aside. A most revealing comment was made by a leading Missouri Synod participant in a 1987 Puerto Rico symposium on "Fundamental Consensus and Church Fellowship," sponsored in part by the soon to expire Lutheran Council in the U. S. A.:

> As we take a look at Missouri's understanding of fellowship, let us keep in mind the distinction which Elert has

> drawn between Luther's understanding of this concept as "having part in a common thing" and that of Schleiermacher as "the voluntary actions of men." This distinction, it seems to me, can be most helpful to us as we consider "Levels of Fellowship." I want to suggest that Missouri's understanding of fellowship takes into account both of these conceptions.[25]

In 1988 the Fort Wayne Seminary's Department of Systematic Theology asked the faculty's representatives to the CTCR to ask that body, among other things, "to recognize the present situation as a grave crisis in our Synod's confessional unity, and thus ultimately as a threat to our Synod's very existence [Constitution, III. Objectives, 1]." The CTCR resolved in response, at its 15–17 February meeting: "We continue to recognize the present situation in regard to fellowship practices within the Synod as a crisis in our Synod's confessional unity."

The enormous significance of *The Lutheran Understanding of Church Fellowship,* issued jointly in 2000 by Synodical President Alvin Barry and the CTCR, lies in the fact that this document makes a clean break with decades of confusion and returns to the classic[26] Lutheran stand on the matter. The initial drafter, Dr. Ronald Feuerhahn, adopted the standard Lutheran starting point of Augsburg Confession VII and the marks of the church, and the document proceeds accordingly. Gone are abstract "principles" about "fellowship" among isolated individuals; instead there is clarity once more about the church and *her* fellowship, based solely on the life-giving divine truth! The CTCR language currently being misused to justify a case of notorious syncretism in New York comes, not from the *Lutheran Understanding* document, but from an *ad hoc* provisional response to various reactions which that document had provoked. The abuse of some unclear wording elsewhere should not be used to discredit the main document, which is an undeserved gift from God, and could well be the most precious and enduring part of the whole Barry legacy.

The great need now is for a worldwide reappropriation and reassertion of the great truth of AC VII that the sole legitimate criteria for all ecclesiastical actions and relationships are the pure marks—the purely preached Gospel and the rightly administered sacraments. That precludes bureaucratic illusions about outward organizations, and the sophistries used to support these illusions. For instance, one cannot argue that church fellowship is one thing, and inter-communion arrangements another! Nor may one ignore a church's fellowship relations in judging its confessional position. If it is true that churches in fellowship with one another have "co-responsibility for all public teaching and practice in each of them" (13, *supra*), then such fellowship cannot be imposed unilaterally without consulting the other churches involved. To do otherwise is to act bureaucratically rather than theologically. And contrary to clergy-centered medieval fantasies about "apostolic succession" and the like, there is no higher "churchliness" or "churchmanship" than faithfulness to the truth of the Gospel: "Hard indeed it is to want to separate oneself from so many countries and people and to maintain a distinctive doctrine, but here stands God's command, that everyone is to beware and not make common cause with those who maintain false doctrine or seek to maintain it with violence" (FC, SD X, 23, my translation from the German).[27] LOGIA

NOTES

1. *Proceedings of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America* (1873), 5–8.

2. Kurt Marquart, "'Inter-Christian Relationships': A Minority Report," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 57, no. 1–2 (January–April 1993): 82–88.

3. Actually, several of the theses are cited in "The Theology of Fellowship, Part II," in *Proceedings of the 46th Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: 1965), 281–282. (They also appear in Lewis W. Spitz, *Life in Two Worlds* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), 144–145.—ed.)

4. C. F. W. Walther, *Amerikanisch-Lutherische Pastoraltheologie,* 4th ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1897), 342.

5. Armin-Ernst Buchrucker, *Wort, Kirche und Abendmahl bei Luther* (Bremen: Stelten & Co., 1972), 175, n. 70.

6. See Richard C. Wolf, *Documents of Lutheran Unity in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966).

7. Ralph A. Bohlmann, "Missouri Lutheranism, 1945 and 1995," *Lutheran Forum* 30, no. 1 (February 1996): 12–17.

8. Yngve Brilioth, ed., *World Lutheranism Today* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokforlag, 1950), 115.

9. Kurt Marquart, "Francis Pieper on Church Fellowship," in *Church Fellowship,* vol. 2 of *The Pieper Lectures,* ed. Chris Christophersen Boshoven (St. Louis: Concordia Historical Institute and the Luther Academy, 1998): 61–65.

10. Wolf, 196.

11. So another of the "statementarians," Herbert Lindemann, in his "Personal Reflections on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Publication of 'A Statement,'" *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (November 1970): 166.

12. See August R. Suelflow, ed., *Heritage in Motion* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1998), 84.

13. This appears as Document 11 in chapter 2 of Suelflow, 111–113. Unfortunately the biblical and confessional references are omitted. For the official text, see *Proceedings of the Evangelical Lutheran Conference of North America* (1961), 9–13. It seems that even that version has some errors in the references which, I understand, were corrected in the version printed soon thereafter in *Lutherischer Rundblick,* Dr. W. M. Oesch, ed.

14. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 221.

15. See Suelflow, 85.

16. Peter Brunner, "The Lutheran World Federation as an Ecclesiological Problem," *Lutheran World* 7 (December 1960): 237–256.

17. I must report another example, closer to home: Suelflow, 6, refers to a document from LCUSA regarding historical criticism, but fails to tell the real story. The 1981 LCMS Convention adopted a resolution, proposed by our Fort Wayne Seminary Faculty, that "Whereas, A recent essay in Lutheran World Report . . . argues that the whole traditional Christology, from Nicaea and Chalcedon to Art. III of the Augsburg Confession, is unbiblical and untenable in light of modern historical-critical scholarship," the Synodical President be instructed "to request the Division of Theological Studies of LCUSA to place on the division's agenda as a matter of urgency a thorough discussion of the far-reaching implications of historical criticism, as practised in U.S. Lutheranism, for: a) the central, Christological-Trinitarian core of the Gospel; b) the very possibility of confessional subscription; c) the preamble of LCUSA's constitution." The essayist in question had been John Reumann, New Testament scholar in the Lutheran Church in America. His name is not mentioned in the resolution. Yet Edgar Krentz, in his review of Mary Todd's *Authority Vested* (Grand

Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000) claims that Reumann "has the distinction of being the only individual not a member of the Missouri Synod against whom the synod passed a formal motion of condemnation" (*The Christian Century,* 13–20 February, 2002). Most interesting is the aftermath: Five years later the Division of Theological Studies issued six pages of platitudes, admitting "that it has not dealt with the implications of historical criticism for Christology, justification, and confessional subscription. . . Time has not permitted us to do this." But, they concluded, although "sharp disagreement" existed, this "nevertheless did not destroy our sense of oneness in Christ." But what is "oneness in Christ" if there is no agreement about whether He is really God?

18. See Suelflow, 135.

19. For the actual documents, see Suelflow, 118–128.

20. See the Belarussian Church's "Declaration" in *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 65 (April 2001): 177.

21. From a set of theses that used to constitute Appendix I of the Theses of Agreement; see *Crossroads* (The Parish Education Committee of the Queensland District of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, Toowoomba, 1965), 56.

22. See Suelflow, 85.

23. Arthur C. Piepkorn, "What the Symbols Have to Say About the Church," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 25 (October 1954): 736.

24. *Thesis 21 on the Church,* in a sub-section entitled "The Church and Its Unity According to Article VII of the Augsburg Confession," based on papers presented by Dr. H. Hamann, Sr.,and Dr. H. Sasse. One of the two merging churches, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, had for a century been closely associated with, and fully shared the confessional position of, the Missouri Synod.

25. Samuel H. Nafzger, "Levels of Fellowship: A Missouri Synod Perspective," *In Search of Christian Unity,* Joseph A. Burgess, ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 239.

26. Pieper disposes of all nonsense restricting AC VII to some "spiritual" realm and a Gospel "narrower" than all the articles of faith: "If now we look at the pronouncements of our church, like Augsburg Confession 7, we find that that which suffices for true unity is limited to the Gospel and the sacraments. The dogmaticians speak similarly. . . . Also in the Thesis only the Gospel is meant. When we speak of 'articles of the Christian doctrine,' then the revelation and preaching of Christ is to be understood. . . . The Law does not come into consideration here. . . . The expression 'articles of faith' designates a quite definite concept: the doctrines of the Gospel as distinct from the Law" (Francis Pieper, "Von der Einigkeit im Glauben," *The Proceedings of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America* (1888), 5–35). Contrary to recent Missouri mythology, the Gospel in the narrow sense is not an isolated article of justification, but all the articles of faith as distinct from the law. See Formula of Concord, Article V!

27. The Kolb-Wengert version garbles this badly: "To dissent from the consensus of so many nations and peoples and to promote such a peculiar doctrine is a grave matter" (639).

Church Discipline in Early Missouri and Lutheran Identity

DANIEL PREUS

MUCH DISCUSSION AMONG LUTHERANS today is devoted to the subject of identity. In light of recent ecumenical decisions made by Lutherans in America, and the relatively recent adoption of the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* signed by Rome and the Lutheran World Federation as well as many other Lutheran church bodies around the world, it is only natural that the question should arise: What does it mean to be a Lutheran? What has it meant historically to confessional Lutherans when they have said, "I am a Lutheran."? At what point did they feel constrained to say to others, "You are not Lutheran."? In the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod such questions at times are connected with the issue of church discipline, particularly as it pertains to doctrine and the treatment of heresy. What is the place of church discipline in connection with a church body's understanding of its Lutheran identity? Why and at what point should people or congregations be removed or excluded from fellowship with us because they are not Lutheran? Or is church discipline an obsolete practice that has no place among us in today's enlightened ecumenical context?

As we consider what our current practice and attitude should be, it is always helpful to look at how we have done things in the past. Of particular value in considering the matter of church discipline is a careful look at the attitude and practice of the early Missouri Synod fathers. How was church discipline exercised among them? What did they view as legitimate and godly dissent among brothers in the same Lutheran synod? At what point did dissent become heresy and require discipline? When did they in effect say, "This is enough. You have crossed the line. We can no longer be in fellowship with each other. Your practice and/or your doctrine is not Lutheran."?

It is not the intention of this study to present a chronological description of how church discipline has been dealt with from the time of the synod's inception until now. That would be a far more exhaustive task than we have room for within these pages. This study will focus on a relatively short time span. On the other hand, as it was the most formative period for the Missouri Synod, it is possible that as we define what were the parameters or boundaries of these leaders of early Missouri in establishing what it means to be Lutheran, we will then be in a position to make application to our church today. Emphasis will be placed on church discipline of pastors and teachers, particularly in the first forty years.

At first, the discipline of pastors and teachers was exercised by the synodical convention. Not too long after the founding of the synod, the initial steps in disciplining a pastor were undertaken by the district of which he was a member. Final disposition of the cases took place at the synodical convention. Already by the 1870s, however, in view of the limited time available at the synodical and district conventions, investigations were handled mostly by committees. The final ruling, however, continued to be made by the synodical convention. A brief summary of some early cases illustrates the way the synod dealt with such matters.

1. The Synodical Proceedings of 1848 refer to a Pastor Romanowski who was investigated following a charge of a willful neglect of duties. He resigned before the investigation was completed.[1]
2. In 1849 a Pastor Schneider, who for some time had been insisting on using only the old Lutheran ceremonies, joined the Roman Catholic Church. No action was taken at the synodical convention since he was considered to have excluded himself.[2]
3. The Western District Convention Proceedings of 1858 describe the events surrounding a Pastor Gruber, who was at odds with the synodical position on chiliasm or millennialism. He had presented certain theses for discussion at the St. Louis Pastoral Conference. The conference called his views dangerous and unscriptural. When it became apparent that the synod would not entertain his position, Gruber voluntarily excluded himself from the synod. A resolution passed by the Western District regarding Pastor Gruber reports:

   > Since Herr Pastor Gruber in a statement to the Synod in part explained his departure from the Synod and in part attempted to defend his chiliasm, the Synod decided to strike his name from the list, but not to deal any further with his chiliastic errors which have been sufficiently refuted elsewhere.[3]

4. In 1860 Pastor N. Volkert resigned voluntarily after accusations of sins of indecency and was considered thereby excluded.[4]
5. In 1863 Teacher Kolb was relieved of duty for reasons unknown. He left the congregation and was seen thereby to have excluded himself.[5]

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6. Pastor J. C. Schneider was convicted in civil court in 1867 of impregnating a schoolgirl. He "voluntarily resigned" from the Ministerium and was thus excluded.[6]

One discovers a rather surprising and interesting pattern. In all of the cases mentioned above, the synod does not appear to have removed anybody except as a sort of formal closure to the matter after he himself had resigned from the synod. What does this mean? The question is difficult to answer since in most cases very few details are included in the district or synodical proceedings describing the cases. There are other cases that describe removal of a teacher or pastor after he has "voluntarily resigned." Not many details are made available to us concerning these cases. Apparently, the leaders of the early Missouri Synod had no desire to overly embarrass those who were accused of sin or wrongdoing. For the sake of the sinner and to encourage repentance and possible return to the church, details were kept to a minimum so that should repentance occur, restoration could take place without undue embarrassment on the part of the penitent.

Early Missouri tolerated neither immorality nor false doctrine on the part of its pastors and teachers, and doctrinal purity was an extremely high priority.

What is clear from all of these cases is that people were not really removed as much as they simply resigned. Is this evidence of an age in which sinners more readily recognized their wrongs, repented and did the right thing? Assuredly not. Rather, it is almost certain that in many of these cases, the one guilty of immorality or of false teaching simply "had things made clear to him." The case of Stephan who was charged both with immorality and false doctrine was surely still vivid enough in the minds of the people that they understood how immorality and false doctrine were viewed and dealt with. In other words, those at odds with the synod understood they had a choice: resign voluntarily or be removed against your will. In either case the result would be the same. Early Missouri tolerated neither immorality nor false doctrine on the part of its pastors and teachers, and doctrinal purity was an extremely high priority.

Even a casual look at the synod's first constitution makes this fact abundantly clear. As one of the reasons for forming a synod, the constitution states: "The preservation and furthering of the unity of pure confession (Eph 4:3–6; 1 Cor 1:10) and to provide common defense against separatism and sectarianism. (Rom 16:17)"[7]

As a condition of congregational membership in the synod, the constitution naturally required "Acceptance of Holy Scripture . . . as the written word of God" and of the Lutheran Confessions "as the pure and unadulterated explanation and presentation of the Word of God."[8] It also stipulated the following: "Separation from all commixture of Church or faith, as, for example serving of mixed congregations by a servant of the Church; taking part in the service and sacraments of heretical or mixed congregations; taking part in any heretical tract distribution and mission projects, etc."[9] The synod also required of congregations,

> The exclusive use of doctrinally pure church books (Agenda, hymnals, readers, etc.). If it is impossible in some congregations to replace immediately the unorthodox hymnals and the like with orthodox ones, then the pastor of such a congregation can become a member of Synod only if he promises to use the unorthodox hymnal only under open protest and to strive in all seriousness for the introduction of an orthodox hymnal.[10]

In the section dealing with the execution of synodical business, the constitution states:

> If it should happen that the president reports a pastor who after having been reprimanded several times by the President, by the particular congregation, and by the ministerium, yet continues in wrong doctrine or in an offensive life, then Synod in its entirety shall make the last attempt to turn him from the error of his ways. If, having been thus reprimanded, he does not listen to Synod, he shall be expelled.[11]

The same section of the constitution gives the following description of the synod's duties:

> It is the duty of Synod to discuss and investigate in its annual convention which articles of church doctrine to emphasize or further especially, also against which heresies and weaknesses in life testimony is to be given and the manner in which this is to be done. In accordance with this, Synod is to pass judgment on the work of the editor of the synodical paper and to give him instructions for his future activity.[12]

It would be difficult in a journal article to thoroughly examine the attention to and insistence upon doctrinal purity found in the first constitution. But one more detailed example demonstrates clearly the desire for pure doctrine and it is particularly relevant to issues before the Missouri Synod today. In describing the business of the synod, the constitution states:

> Synod holds in accordance with the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession that uniformity in ceremonies is not essential; yet on the other hand Synod deems such a uniformity wholesome and useful, namely for the following reasons:
>
> a. because a total difference in outward ceremonies would cause those who are weak in the unity of doctrine to stumble;
>
> b. because in dropping heretofore preserved usages the church is to avoid the appearance of and desire for innovation;
>
> Furthermore Synod deems it necessary for the purification of the Lutheran Church in America, that the emptiness and the poverty in the externals of the service be

> opposed, which, having been introduced here by the false spirit of the Reformed, is now rampant. All pastors and congregations that wish to be recognized as orthodox by Synod are prohibited from adopting or retaining any ceremony which might weaken the confession of the truth or condone or strengthen a heresy, especially if heretics insist upon the continuation or the abolishing of such ceremonies.
>
> The desired uniformity in the ceremonies is to be brought about especially by the adoption of sound Lutheran agendas (church books).
>
> Synod as a whole is to supervise how each individual pastor cares for the souls in his charge. Synod, therefore, has the right of inquiry and judgment. Especially is Synod to investigate whether its pastors have permitted themselves to be misled into applying the so-called "New Measures" which have become prevalent here, or whether they care for their souls according to the sound Scriptural manner of the orthodox Church.[13]

It is noteworthy that the synod is not reluctant to identify the so-called "New Measures" as illustrative of unorthodox, unlutheran worship. In fact, they stick it in the constitution! As we consider our current context, it could be very profitable to compare the "New Measures" of their day to the practice and doctrine of what we today call the "Church Growth Movement."

Early Missouri not only dealt with false doctrine in its midst, but felt compelled to speak out about false doctrine outside its fellowship.

But the main point is that there was a strong consensus among the founders of the synod that the proclamation of pure doctrine was essential to the health and the life of the church. Nor were they embarrassed to say that there was such a thing as pure doctrine, which could be known and therefore be proclaimed boldly. They were firmly convinced that the church lived, was nourished, and grew from the preaching and teaching of the pure Word of God. And they were not reluctant to say that they had this pure Word. In 1873 in fact, C. F. W. Walther delivered an essay at the Western District Convention of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod entitled, *The Doctrine of the Lutheran Church Alone Gives All Glory to God, An Irrefutable Proof that Its Doctrine Alone Is True.*[14] His presentation then provided a number of theses supporting the theme of the essay. For the next thirteen conventions of the Western District Walther continued his treatment of precisely the same theme until just a few months before his death. Of course, Walther was not saying that there was no truth in other Christian churches, nor was he saying, God forbid, that only Lutherans could possess truth and be saved. But he was saying that the teachings of the Lutheran Church are true, and that wherever the teachings of other church bodies conflict with those of the Lutheran Church, their teachings are false and that such false teachings damage and destroy the church and cannot be permitted within an orthodox Lutheran church body.

Today it is common to refer to oneself as a "Lutheran Christian" or a "Methodist Christian." Accompanying such terms is the frequent assumption or statement that the different church bodies represent different faith traditions, all equally valid. In contrast to such a view, in 1866 Walther presented an essay to the Convention of the Missouri Synod entitled *The Evangelical Lutheran Church, the True Visible Church of God upon Earth.* In this presentation Walther certainly did not wish to teach that all Christians are members of the Lutheran Church or that every member of the Lutheran Church is a Christian. Such nonsense would never have occurred to him. But he did mean to teach that the church has marks by which it can be known and identified as the true church of Christ; these marks are the pure teaching of the Gospel and the sacraments rightly administered. The Evangelical Lutheran Church possesses these marks. Other churches do not, or they possess them only partially or impurely. Where this is the case, such infidelity must be pointed out and dealt with. Walther clearly meant to teach, in common with Luther and in opposition to Erasmus,[15] that God's Word is clear, that it is not ambiguous, that doctrinal assertions can be made with the confidence that they are correct, that truth can be known and one can know that one has it. When it comes to doctrine, the line between truth and error is not vague or gray. Therefore when we make a confession of the faith in our creeds and symbols, we do so not with some nebulous hope that what we say may contain a kernel of truth. Rather we confess in the same spirit as the signers of the *Formula of Concord* who wrote concerning the confession they had made, "[This] is our teaching, belief, and confession in which by God's grace we shall appear before the judgment seat of Jesus Christ and for which we shall give an account."[16]

Thus, early Missouri not only dealt with false doctrine in its midst, but felt compelled to speak out about false doctrine outside its fellowship—not out of a sense of pharisaical pride, but for the sake of the flock, which needed to be warned against the wolves intent upon destruction. It is for this reason that Wilhelm Sihler so castigated the liberal General Synod in 1855:

> The Eastern District of our Synod . . . will no doubt have to content itself with setting up the banner of uncompromised Lutheran confessionalism and of pure doctrine in the midst of the apostate, false brethren of the Reformed-methodistic, so called Lutheran General Synod. And neither, on account of the size and prestige of the General Synod, (will it) fail to testify as vigorously and as emphatically as necessary to any article of doctrine suppressed and falsified by this synod and to warn every Lutheran against this harmful leaven.[17]

These words sound harsh in today's ecumenical ears, but perhaps not as harsh as they did a few years ago before the ELCA established what amounts to full altar and pulpit fellowship with the Presbyterian Church USA, the Reformed Church in America, the United Church of Christ and the Episcopal Church, before the ELCA stated its intentions of exploring full fellowship with the United Methodist Church and before the ELCA committed itself to the *Joint Declaration on Justification.* What orthodox Lutheran can deny that a little more of the spirit of Sihler would be useful in the church today?

The Missouri Synod was not alone in warning its people against doctrinal laxity and error, nor was it the only Lutheran church body to know what it meant to be truly Lutheran. In 1867, Herman Amberg Preus, [the writer's great-great-grandfather] delivered a series of seven lectures in Kristiania (now Oslo), Norway, later printed in Gisle Johnson's *Luthersk Kirketidende,* to describe the conditions of the Norwegian Lutheran immigrants in America. At the time Herman Amberg Preus was the pastor of a Norwegian Lutheran church in Spring Prairie, Wisconsin, and the president of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (*Den norsk-evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika*) commonly known simply as the Norwegian Synod. In his lectures he attempted to show the living conditions of Norwegian immigrants, the religious context of America in which the Norwegian Lutheran churches had been planted, the confessional fidelity or the lack of it evident among the members of other Lutheran Scandinavian church bodies with which the Norwegians felt some kinship, and whatever else he thought might encourage the Lutherans in Norway to send desperately needed Lutheran pastors to America.

In spite of the fact that many in the Church of Norway considered the Norwegian Lutherans in America somewhat narrow-minded and argumentative, Preus did not hesitate to describe the doctrinal problems and controversies relevant to the American situation. In his sixth lecture Preus described the lack of doctrinal unity in the Augustana Synod:

> Our conferences with them have shown us that they are not united in even basic doctrines, but that their apparent unity is based in part on pure ignorance and in part on indifference which allows them to keep silent while their brethren in the synod preach quite contradictory, false doctrine.[18]

In this same lecture Preus spoke of the careless and unlutheran practice common in the Augustana Synod. For example, the Augustana Synod,

> has allowed its pastors to use the Reformed formula for the Lord's Supper and the conditional form of absolution . . . . It has allowed Methodist pastors to be teachers in its Sunday schools and a Congregationalist pastor to preach at the dedication of one of its churches. It has allowed prayer meetings and 'revivals' to be conducted Methodist-fashion in its congregations.[19]

After numerous other references to the unorthodox practices rampant in the Augustana Synod, Preus pointed to what he considered one of the most serious problems of all.

> The synod and its pastoral conferences have not only refused forceful invitations on our part to meet jointly with us, but they have even declined to discuss disputed doctrinal points with those among their own pastors who are troubled in conscience and have therefore requested that they do so.
>
> In my opinion all this sufficiently demonstrates the indifference reigning in this synod, how it is all for extending itself and winning respect, how it therefore seeks to avoid strife and controversy and prefers to allow errors and abuses and departures from both the doctrine of the church and good Lutheran ecclesiastical order. There has entered in here a genuinely American speculative spirit, a spirit that does not ask whether something is right, but whether it is clever or "expedient." Thus, in this synod, the Lutheran confession is in reality a display sign to decoy the naïve, since both its doctrine and its practice manifestly controvert this confession and God's Word.
>
> That this spirit of indifference also holds sway in congregational life speaks for itself. It naturally happens that there is a reciprocal effect between congregations and the synod.[20]

Herman Amberg Preus, along with Ulrik Koren and others in the Norwegian Synod, was struggling to establish an immigrant church in America that would be truly Lutheran. The practices criticized by Preus above were not tolerated in the early Norwegian Synod. So it is clear that the Missouri fathers were not alone in their approach to doctrine and practice.

The early Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod carried out church discipline conscientiously in accord with principles laid out in scripture. Because their commitment to scripture was strong and their doctrinal position clear, those placed under church discipline frequently resigned "voluntarily" when guilty of immorality or when their doctrinal position was contrary to that of Missouri. There was little question as to what would happen if they did not resign.

One should not conclude, however, that the way early Missouri dealt with doctrinal issues was unevangelical or heartless. They were committed to retaining their pure doctrine, but they were also reasonable and patient in their approach. A few examples demonstrate this point.

The Missouri fathers were not alone in their approach to doctrine and practice.

The case of Pastor E. M. Bürger demonstrates clearly that there was a willingness to be patient and work through issues in a Christian manner. Bürger was among those who immigrated to the United States and settled in Perry County in 1839. In the aftermath of the doctrinal confusion following Stephan's deposal, Bürger had come to the conclusion that the immigration had been wrong, and that the validity of his own call and ministry were in question. In this state of mind he decided to return to Germany. On his way, while he was still in America, a group of Buffalo, New York Lutherans, who had been excommunicated by Grabau, issued him a call. Bürger concluded that they had been unjustly excommunicated and accepted the call to be their pastor. He then petitioned the Missouri Synod to recognize and affirm the call. However, several members of his previous congregation in Perry County had accused him of false doctrine and of unjustly excommunicating them. Bürger admitted that he had not spoken and acted with enough Christian wisdom and that he may have given the impression that he was the highest court in the church, though publicly he had stated his conviction to the contrary. His accusers, on the other hand, admitted that they had acted contrary to the law of love and dropped their charges against him. The synod concluded in the very first synodical convention in 1847 that Bürger had not been guilty of false doctrine or willful sin or unfaithfulness in his office. They urged him to accept the call he had received from the people in Buffalo and resolved to accept him into voting membership in the synod.[21] All in all, a wonderful and God-pleasing resolution of what had been serious issues.

The example of teacher Knoche demonstrates that the early synod leaders could certainly be reasonable. His conduct became a concern because, although he was a member of the synod, he taught in the school of a heterodox church body. The synod found in 1860 that Knoche had stipulated he taught only Lutheranism, he belonged to a congregation of the Missouri Synod and he partook of the sacrament only in his Missouri Synod congregation. There was, therefore, nothing amiss.[22]

The case of Pastor Georg Albert Schieferdecker is notable for a number of reasons. There is a great deal of documentation; it demonstrates the synod's insistence upon dealing with doctrinal issues; it shows the patient and charitable approach taken by the synod in dealing with those who were in disagreement with synod's doctrine.

Schieferdecker was the pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Altenburg, Perry County, Missouri. Early in 1856 he preached a sermon in which he promoted chiliastic (millennialistic) views for which he was strongly criticized by members of his congregation. As a result of the criticism he had received, he asked the 1856 convention of the Western District, of which he was then president, to address the issue. After lengthy debate, the convention "condemned chiliasm as unscriptural."[23] The convention also stated that chiliasm is not church dividing so long as the one who holds it neither teaches it nor spreads it. At the same time the District insisted that it had a duty to convince chiliasts in its midst that their position was unscriptural. Between then and the synodical convention the following year, President Wyneken tried to bring Schieferdecker back to a scriptural position both through correspondence and by meeting with him, but Schieferdecker remained firm in his position. In February 1857 Wyneken even invited Schieferdecker to a four-day consultation with himself, C. F. W. Walther and some of the other seminary professors. Schieferdecker accepted but was still not convinced he was in error.

At the synodical convention in 1857 Schieferdecker asked the synod to overturn the Western District's condemnation of chiliasm. The convention refused and held an investigation of Schieferdecker's views instead. In each aspect of his position about which he was questioned Schieferdecker was permitted to think through his answers overnight if he so desired. After a great deal of debate, the matter was turned over to a committee consisting of the four district presidents, the seminary professors, and one delegate from each district.[24] The committee concluded that "since Schieferdecker was casting aside articles of faith in favor of his chiliastic views, he was no longer on the same footing of faith with synod and that the synod therefore deemed it necessary to withdraw the hand of fellowship from him."[25] The convention then upheld the findings of the committee and expelled Schieferdecker from the synod.

Two final points regarding this case are worth noting. First, after the convention synodical officials visited Schieferdecker's congregation to see whether they approved of his expulsion. Two thirds of the congregation did; Schieferdecker was relieved of duty and left with his supporters to start a new congregation. Second, after he was expelled Schieferdecker asked whether the synod would consider reinstating him should he ever return to the doctrinal position of the synod in regard to chiliasm. The synod assured him that such would be the case and indeed, eighteen years later, he did recognize and admit his error and was readmitted to the synod in 1875.

Pastors and teachers found guilty of sinful behavior were repeatedly admonished, first privately and then in public.

At this point, a number of observations concerning church discipline in the early Missouri Synod are in order. First of all, every case suggesting the need for discipline was met with an investigation into the facts of the case and into theological issues raised by the case, and an abundant amount of evidence of heterodoxy or of wrongdoing was needed in order to remove someone from office and to exclude him from synod.

Second, pastors and teachers found guilty of sinful behavior were repeatedly admonished, first privately and then in public. Those who did not repent were excluded from the synod. Those who did repent typically resigned from office, and the synod simply left matters at that. Absolution, of course, took place.

Third, pastors and teachers found guilty of false teaching were also urged to repent of their error. Those who did not repent were excluded from synod; those who did repent were welcomed back with open arms.

It is apparent that Lutherans all over the world today are having an identity crisis. Why? Is it possible that we no longer know what it means to be Lutheran? I do not mean to say that no one in our churches knows what it means. But is it possible that the vast majority of Lutherans in all churches have such a fuzzy notion of what it means to be specifically Lutheran, that whenever the issue of Lutheran identity rises, the issue is deflected? We simply don't know how to deal with it. Since we no longer know how to define what Lutheranism is, we are incapable of determining whether a church body is genuinely Lutheran or not.

Hermann Sasse saw this clearly and expressed himself on the subject eloquently. Sasse had lived and been trained and ordained in the Prussian Union Church and was well acquainted with the destruction caused by a false union of two opposing confessions as had happened in the German territorial churches via the Prussian Union. In an essay entitled *Union and Confession* Sasse refers to what he calls the "pious lie."

> Lies have been told in the church because of cowardice and weakness, vanity and avarice. But beyond all these there is in the church one particularly sweet piece of fruit on the broad canopy of the tree of lies. This is the pious lie. It is the hypocrisy by which a man lies to others and the intellectual self-deception by which he lies to himself . . . . The most fearful thing about the pious lie is that it will lie not only to men, but also to God in prayer, in confession, in the Holy Supper, in the sermon, and in theology.[26]

According to Sasse, the pious lie that devastated Lutheranism in Germany was a lie that for the sake of ecumenical ends permitted opposing confessions (in the form of the Lutheran and the Reformed, particularly in regard to the Lord's Supper) to stand side by side with equal validity within the same church. Sasse's observation is relevant to any church body whose pastors are permitted to practice open communion. But what is the result when a church officially adopts the "pious lie"?

Sasse laments the inability of the Prussian Union church to identify and fight doctrinal error, and he makes it clear where such lack of attention to error will finally lead.

> That false doctrine must be fought, and that there could be no church fellowship where there was no unity on the basic understanding of the Gospel—that was indeed an understanding which had been learned from Luther, and which neither the Old Lutheran Church nor the Evangelical Lutheran Church of later times could have given up. Whoever does give it up—as the Enlightenment and Pietism did—abandons the Reformation.[27]

Has the ecumenistic, relativistic spirit of our postmodern time been so pervasive in its influence on Lutheranism that the Reformation itself is being lost in Lutheran churches? Unfortunately, yes. Churches that historically have been Lutheran are, except in name, no longer Lutheran. Hermann Sasse wrote regarding the Prussian Union of 1817,

> The church which came into existence on 31 October in Potsdam was no longer the Old Lutheran Church of Brandenburg-Prussia of the time of Paul Gerhardt. Nor was it any longer the Reformed Church of the great elector. In reality, it was a new church, the Prussian territorial Church so long desired, the soul of the Prussian state which was rising in greatness and coming into global political significance.[28]

In 1998 the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America established a new relationship with certain Reformed churches in North America. She was not forced to do so as was the case in Prussia. Rather, she embraced the ideology of the Prussian Union willingly, with open arms. Having done so, does she even know she is no longer the church she once was? She is no longer the church of the Lutheran Reformation. She has abandoned the Reformation.

Can there really be any doubt whatsoever about this fact when one considers what happened at Augsburg in October 2000? Representatives of the Lutheran World Federation and other Lutheran bodies and representatives of the church of Rome signed together the document entitled *Joint Declaration on Justification,* and thereby declared to all the world that the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics have reached consensus on the article of justification. In the dishonest and treasonous act of adopting this declaration, the Reformation is abandoned and the flock of Christ is viciously attacked by those who bear the name Lutheran. Never mind that the Roman church since the time of the Reformation has not changed its position on Purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the merits of the saints, works of supererogation; never mind that the dogma of the infallibility of the pope, adopted long after the Reformation, stands as strongly as ever and that the veneration of Mary is more vigorously promoted by Pope John Paul—who believes she is co-redemptrix—than by any other in recent memory; never mind that the present pope has offered new indulgences to the faithful; never mind that the Roman church still views grace as an infused quality that gives the Christian the ability to please God with his works rather than as God's gracious disposition of favor toward the completely undeserving sinner; never mind that none of the blasphemous anathemas of Trent has been retracted, anathemas that condemn to Hell the doctrine of justification central to our faith. These doctrinal matters are all ignored and sacrificed once again on the altar of ecumenical fervor and the "pious lie." Hermann Sasse correctly pointed out that in the enforcement of the Prussian Union, it was the Lutherans who lost everything. In the adoption of the *Joint Declaration on Justification* it is once again the Lutherans who lose everything. For when truth meets falsehood in compromise only truth can be the loser.

Churches that historically have been Lutheran are, except in name, no longer Lutheran.

Lutherans all over the world are having an identity crisis. Nor is this crisis confined in our country to the ELCA. In other Lutheran congregations, pastors routinely give the Lord's Supper to those of heterodox church bodies and they are not disciplined in any way. Pastors conduct joint worship services with pastors of other heterodox church bodies and nothing happens. For the sake of what is called "church growth," many churches are opting for a worship experience that is anything but Lutheran. Hymns rich in Lutheran substance are being replaced by Baptist or charismatic songs or by theologically empty ditties. The historic creeds are replaced or rewritten, sermons have in many cases given place to inspirational speeches, and the confession and absolution are often omitted. Some congregations have abandoned the liturgy completely and the time together on Sunday morning that was once called worship would now more accurately be described as entertainment. On the other side are pastors who view ordination as sacramental and for whom Rome and Constantinople definitely hold an attraction.

Who knows what American Lutheranism will look like twenty years from now? One thing is certain: the church that loses its doctrine dies. Therefore, the primary battles of the church militant are always doctrinal. It is only as we strive to eliminate and condemn doctrinal error and preserve doctrinal purity that we demonstrate true love for Christ's church. And in this endeavor we have something to learn from Luther and the orthodox Lutheran theologians, and we have something to learn from the founders of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod: their love for doctrine, their conviction that doctrine comes from God, that it is therefore precious, that it brings life and salvation to a dying world.

Listen to the voice of a few of these Lutherans. Listen to the voice of Georg Stöckhardt in 1888:

> Today there are still such radical heretics, pernicious foes, who deliberately, with all the powers at their disposal, contend against the truth and campaign and propagandize for the lie. Of course, not all who spread abroad false doctrine are that evil and malicious. But without further ceremony we question the faith and Christianity of every teacher who deviates from the truth. In heterodox church bodies there certainly are many pastors who although ensnared in the errors of their sects, are very sincere, who themselves are misled and deluded rather than making it their business to mislead others, who blindly follow the church leaders since they really don't know what they are doing. Nevertheless, in every case false doctrine is a soul-corrupting poison, no matter from whose mouth it is spewed.[29]

Listen to an early member of the Norwegian Synod whose leaders had been called rabid because of their zeal for pure doctrine:

> I shall admit that especially in the beginning after we in the Norwegian Synod had become straight on the doctrine, there may have been something among us which, viewed superficially, appeared to be such a "rabies." . . . [But] I have no doubt that something has often been called "rabies" which in reality was nothing else than the zeal of a faithful theologian for the pure doctrine of God's word, but which may have been displayed in a somewhat ill-timed and annoying way. And finally, I prefer, especially in teachers of the church, even this glowing "rabies" to the ice-cold "indifferentia theologorum" which considers one thing as good as another and like Cain, asks: "Am I my brother's keeper?"[30]

Listen to F. Bente, who in 1923 delivered the essay for the Missouri Synod convention in Fort Wayne:

> The "spirit of Missouri" has frequently been spoken of with aversion. But the truth is that the spirit of our fathers was in every respect none other than the sincere, serious, straightforward, and earnest spirit of our early confessors themselves, Luther included.
>
> Indeed, our fathers were both faithful Bible Christians and genuine Lutherans, and the latter not in addition to, but because of, the former. Genuine Lutherans—for they adhered most faithfully to the doctrines set forth in our symbols. True Bible Christians—for they adopted these symbols only because they had found them to be drawn from the Word of God, which alone they recognized as the final and infallible norm of Christian truth.[31]

We who wish to be and remain children of the Reformation, can we not continue to speak with the voice of our fathers—a voice that is unashamed to call itself Lutheran? After all, we believe that Lutheran is Christian, that Lutheran is evangelical, that Lutheran is ecumenical in the true sense, for the Holy Spirit brings true unity to the church only by means of the pure word and sacraments.

The primary battles of the church militant are always doctrinal.

Such a Christian, evangelical, ecumenical approach will surely recognize the need for proper church discipline. Without church discipline to correct doctrinal error and false practice, no church body can long survive as a faithful bearer and transmitter of the gospel. As St. Paul says, "A little leaven leavens the whole lump" (Gal 5:9). Two quotations, one quite short and one rather extensive, of Charles Porterfield Krauth serve to elaborate on the truth of Paul's statement. In his book, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology,* Krauth states pithily, "Charity does not cover error; because error is the daughter of sin, and charity is the daughter of God."[32] More familiar are the following words of Krauth:

> When error is admitted into the church, it will be found that the stages of its progress are always three. It begins by asking toleration. Its friends say to the majority: You need not be afraid of us; we are few, and weak; only let us alone; we shall not disturb the faith of others. The Church has her standards of doctrine; of course we shall never interfere with them; we only ask for ourselves to be spared interference with our private opinions. Indulged in this for a time, error goes on to assert *equal rights.* Truth and error are two balancing forces. The Church shall do nothing which looks like deciding between them; that would be partiality. It is bigotry to assert any superior right for the truth. We are to agree to differ, and any favoring of the truth, because it is truth, is partisanship. What the friends of truth and error hold in common is fundamental. Anything on which they differ is *ipso facto* nonessential. Anybody who makes account of such a thing is a disturber of the peace of the church. Truth and error are two co-ordinate powers, and the great secret of church-statesmanship is to preserve the balance between them. From this point error soon goes on to its natural end, which is to assert *supremacy.* Truth started with *tolerating;* it comes to be merely tolerated, and that only for a time. Error claims a preference for its judgments on all disputed points. It puts men

> into positions, not as at first in spite of their departure from the Church's faith, but in consequence of it, and to make them skilful in combating it.[33]

The Lutheran Church today needs to take St. Paul's warning seriously and listen attentively once again to Krauth's perceptive analysis. In view of the loss of a sense of Lutheran identity endemic to many Lutheran church bodies today, those who truly value their Lutheran doctrinal heritage, not because they view it as a cultural or even historical treasure, but because it is the truth, cannot afford to ignore scripture's and history's warnings. Orthodox Lutheranism cannot survive the progression of error described by Krauth.

Discipline in the church is frequently described by errorists as an unloving attack by rigid and close-minded bigots.

The temptation in our irenic age to look the other way when doctrinal aberrations arise in the church is not a new one. It is always easier to avoid conflict than to engage in it. In addition, discipline in the church is frequently described by errorists as an unloving attack by rigid and close-minded bigots. And there is no question that at times church discipline has been carried out vindictively with no true love for either the one disciplined or for the church. But it need not be so, and the early history of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod is a powerful testimony to this fact.

In the discipline cases cited at the beginning of this article, the reader cannot miss the fact that the early leaders of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod were intent on being faithful to scripture in their exercise of church discipline of pastors and teachers. This commitment to scripture was accompanied by a true love for the church and a firm, yet evangelical, compassionate and patient approach in the application of discipline. All in all, the approach they took seems eminently reasonable, even by today's standards. The case of Romanowski demonstrates concern for congregations whose pastors do not do what they have been called to do. The case of Gruber demonstrates concern for purity of doctrine. The cases of Volkert and Schneider demonstrate the desire of the synod to avoid scandal in the eyes of the world and to require of its called servants a high standard of Christian conduct that they might be examples to the congregations they served. The case of Schiefendecker makes abundantly clear that the early leaders of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, when carrying out church discipline of pastors, did so not out of a vindictive spirit to exclude the opponent but out of love for the true doctrine and for the church, always willing to consider reconciliation when repentance occurred. The cases of Bürger and Knoche show early Missouri as reasonable, not inclined to rush to rash judgment. At the same time those who were guilty of immoral behavior or who held doctrinal positions contrary to that of the synod saw more clearly than many today the truth of Amos' rhetorical question, "Can two walk together unless they are agreed?" (Amos 3:3).

If a Lutheran church body is to remain Lutheran, she will exercise church discipline, when necessary, upon the church's pastors and teachers. Is it possible to exercise such discipline evangelically? Yes. The practice of the early Missouri Synod illustrates that it is. But such evangelical discipline is not only possible; it is absolutely necessary if Lutheranism as a confessional movement is to survive. Through battles for the pure Gospel the church of Christ will only grow stronger but the toleration of false teaching or indifference to it will destroy her. Dear Father, guide us by Your Word and Spirit that we may remain your faithful children. Thy Kingdom come. Amen. LOGIA

NOTES

1. Synodical Proceedings, 1848, 25.
2. Synodical Proceedings, 1849, 5.
3. Western District Proceedings, 1858, 35. The translation from the German is mine.
4. Synodical Proceedings, 1860, 28.
5. Synodical Proceedings, 1863, 27.
6. Central District Proceedings, 1867.
7. W.G. Polack, ed., "Our First Synodical Constitution," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly,* 16, no. 1 (April 1943): 2. The original constitution, of course, was in German. References to the constitution in this paper are from an English translation.
8. Ibid., 3.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 6.
12. Ibid., 7.
13. Ibid., 11–13.
14. *Selected Writings of C. F. W. Walther: Convention Essays,* trans. Aug. R. Suelflow (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), 11.
15. See J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston, *The Bondage of the Will,* (Fleming H. Revell Company, 1957) or *Luther's Works,* E. Theodore Bachmann and Helmut T. Lehmann, eds., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960), XXXIII.
16. Theodore Tappert, ed., *The Book of Concord* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 636 (SD XII.40).
17. Carl S. Meyer, Ed., *Moving Frontiers* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 254.
18. Todd W. Nichol, ed., *Vivacious Daughter: Seven Lectures on the Religious Situation among Norwegians in America by Herman Amberg Preus* (Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1990), 152.
19. Ibid., 152.
20. Ibid., 153.
21. Synodical Proceedings, 1847, pp. 11–13.
22. Synodical Proceedings, 1860, 78.
23. August Suelflow, *Georg Albert Schieferdecker and His Relation to Chiliasm in the Iowa Synod,* unpublished Bachelor of Divinity thesis, (Concordia Seminary: St. Louis, May 1946), 35.
24. Ibid., 70.
25. Ibid., 70–71.
26. Hermann Sasse, *Christ and His Church, Essays by Hermann Sasse* (St. Louis: Office of the President, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, 1997) Vol. I, *Union and Confession,* 1–2.
27. Ibid., 50–51.
28. Ibid., 13.
29. Daniel Woodring, "Karl Georg Stöckhardt: His Life and Labor," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly,* Vol. 72, No. 1 (Spring 1999): 58.
30. George O. Lillegard, ed., *Faith of our Fathers* (Lutheran Synod Book Co.: Mankato, Minnesota, 1953), 52–53. U. V. Koren quoting A. C. Preus.
31. F. Bente, *Following the Faith of our Fathers: Convention Essay, June 1923* (Holy Cross Press: St. Charles, MO, undated), 6.
32. Charles Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology* (J. B. Lippincott & Co.: Philadelphia, 1871), 143.
33. Ibid., 195–196, italics in the original.

Missouri's Identity Crisis

Rootless in America

David P. Scaer

NOMEN REFORMANDUM EST

Sometimes debated is the correctness of the Latin *ecclesia semper reformanda est,* "the church must always be reformed." If this means that the church and its members must always examine their doctrines and lives, the phrase is right, but if it refers to the *una sancta,* it is wrong. Christ's church is already a perfect unity elected by God in eternity, manifested in his Son and established among us by the Spirit, and hence it cannot be reformed. That said, in each of us lives a little fanatic disguised as a miniature "Luther," determined to set the course of the church on the right path. Such zeal attempts either to repristinate the past or adjust the future. A futuristic motive may have been at the root of a 1998 synodical resolution calling for a commission to investigate whether the synod should give up the name "Missouri" for something more trendy. For some the old name smacked of a sectarian triumphalism, an embarrassment impeding the gospel cause. A new name would have given us a new image and made it easier to put distance between the synod's past and a reshaped future. For others removing barnacles from the hull would have weakened the ship.

MISSOURI AS THE ELCA

We cannot rule out a future name change. With the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) allied with several Reformed bodies, the conglomerate could appropriately be called the "Evangelical Church in America" to match its counterpart the "Evangelical Church in Germany." What Lutherans in Prussia were forced to do 1817–1830 to form the *Union* with the Reformed, their American cousins have done without coercion. Then we could copyright "Lutheran" for Missouri, a coup beyond the wildest imagination of an advertising executive! Images apart from substance do matter. When Coca-Cola attempted to change the taste of its historic soft drink, a revolution broke out and corporate executives had to reinstate the old formula under the title of *Coca-Cola Classic.* Testing had proved that the taste of the revised standard Coke was better than the old, but nostalgia triumphed over fact. Similarly, "Missouri" is a logo recognized worldwide, even if at the prestigious German theological faculties the response may at times be less than positive.[1] "Missouri" ranks with Southern Baptist to signify a theologically conservative church, which in light of other options is not the worst result. We constitute a small fraction of Christendom, but like Rome, "Missouri" is a recognizable name. This is not without irony. If we have a difficulty in defining ourselves as a synod, others do not. Our history is our baggage. We may not be what others think we are, but neither does Rome live up to its image. What people think Rome teaches is not what its clergy actually do. Unknown is the amount of money coughed up by the fraternal life insurance companies to support a commission to tell the rest of us what we did not even want to consider, but the retention of "Missouri" hardly guarantees that things in our church have remained the same or will. At least we have kept our banner, even if wind shifts unfurled it in opposing directions.

THE NINE NATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA

A 1981 book review called my attention to *The Nine Nations of North America* by Joel Garreau.[2] At best it may be classified as pop sociology, but books superficially researched with outrageous hypotheses make for delightful reading and often uncover realities overlooked by more scholarly ones. Garreau holds that cultural boundaries better describe us as a people than do artificially drawn up political ones between states and nations. Since the days of the Roman Empire, Europeans have known that states and nations do not coincide. A person's country is determined by language and culture. Nationality refers to the government to which he is subject. A Turk can be a citizen of Turkey, Kazakstan, Turkestan or China. For us differences between country and nation are strange. Political correctness holds that we are one people. Americans are Americans and hardly more. We need only look north to see that the Québécois consider themselves French and at the same time are Canadians. For them other Canadians are "the English." In the United States Garreau separates New England from an area stretching from New York to Chicago. He argues that the attitudes of the people in the nine nations are different. His hypothesis that one organization can provide cover for a variety of cultural communities or nations can help us understand ourselves as a church. Boundaries between nations also change. Migrations constitute the story of humankind. Shifting cultural boundaries is another way of saying that empires come and go. *Roma semper idem,* but Rome is not always the same. Only God is changeless. George Harrison's death in November 2001 was a poignant reminder to the baby boomers that the 1960s culture left its imprint on the national psyche, but that era has gone and no amount of nostalgia will bring it back. Historical continuity does not translate into historical identity. Though the Missouri Synod claimed an extraordinary unity for itself at the end of the nine-

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teenth century, it cannot do so now. Struggling to keep the name may have been motivated more by an undefined nostalgia for the good old days than by an informed commitment to the Lutheran Confessions. Churches are not immune to change, as Hermann Sasse noted in his critique of apostolic succession,[3] and most of us do not desire a raw repristination, which in any event would be impossible. Luther's reform did not bring the apostolic church back to life, nor did it intend to do so. In our lifetimes the synod has known a succession of changes, and each change has birthed a group or nation to preserve that particular change. One synod, many nations, each with an identifiable cause. Suggestions to do away with the name "Missouri" may have been symptomatic that several nations, to use Garreau's term, live under one roof, and hence the old name does not have the meaning it once did.

Though the Missouri Synod claimed an extraordinary unity for itself at the end of the nineteenth century, it cannot do so now.

ECCLESIAL CHANGES

Within one church several schools of thought can and do exist side by side, though we may be loathe to acknowledge this. The classic example of religious diversity under one umbrella is the Anglican Communion, an honor we may soon share. Three worlds live within the Anglican system: one aspiring to a more catholic liturgy, another with a Reformed worship style, and still another with little use for supernatural religion. This diversity is expressed by the cliche: high and hazy, low and lazy, wide and crazy. A commonwealth of churches under one lackadaisical archbishop may have been successful in the past, but now the Anglican community is groping its way towards extinction.[4] If churches do not take themselves seriously, few others will. Mainline denominations soon find the way leading to self-destruction. Trumpets giving off contradictory sounds from the same orchestra pit soon send the audience to the exits.[5] In spite of Missouri's internal pluralities, we project a unity of doctrine and practice that other churches do not. Still a perceived external monolithic image may belie internal and contradictory diversities. Garreau's *The Nine Nations of North America* provides a skeleton for coming to grips with the diversities which any church can expect to find within its borders.

MISSOURI *NON SEMPER IDEM*

To attempt to reestablish old roots is like sewing patches on wineskins. Even wineskins in good condition can tolerate only so many patches, and all patches will inevitably leak. Sasse notes that Reformed Fundamentalism was already in the synod by 1936.[6] This was twenty years before the synod began to be divided between liberals and conservatives. Even without the influence of American Protestantism, weak sacramental practice is traditionally endemic to Lutheranism.[7] Even now locating sacramental references outside of the *sedes doctrinae* is met with gasps of horror. For years our theological immune systems have been weakened. If we were susceptible to Fundamentalism in the beginning of the twentieth century, we are now no less susceptible to Arminianism and Neo-Evangelicalism in this one. We are fascinated with the Reformed free style of worship and its apologetic proofs for God's existence. Lost is the Lutheran distinctive that God is finally known in Christ's crucifixion, which the faithful encounter in the sacraments. Within more recent years, some patches have come from modern business techniques. Churches are grown like agricultural products. The ground is tested before the gospel is preached, a new twist on the parable of the soils. Another culture or nation within the synod pays attention to things liturgical. This movement is closely related to a group with a lively interest in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheranism and immediate post-apostolic centuries. So the synod looks like a patchwork quilt, an amalgamation of contradicting designs. To use Garreau's terms, we are one church with several nations.[8] Making matters more complex, we may have doctrinal agreement, but when we oppose the ordination of women, we offer different reasons.

NAILING DOWN THE PAST

The 1950s and '60s were cataclysmic for Missouri. Methods of interpretation that questioned the historicity of the biblical miracles were discovered in the lecture halls of our colleges and seminaries. Our founding fathers had a first-hand knowledge of this Rationalistic method spawned in the eighteenth century, and their rejection of it was a reason for establishing the synod. To turn the clock back to an idyllic pristine Eden, in 1959 the synod made the *Brief Statement* more official than it already was. For some, the synod was adding to its confessional basis. Historians will judge whether this action accomplished its intentions.[9] The group gathering around *A Brief Statement* sees the church in nineteenth-century terms and is often called the *bronze-agers,* a term whose frequent usage weakens its meaning and now indicates a lack of verbal creativity. Its influence was evident in the resolution declaring that the ELCA was no longer an orthodox Lutheran church[10] (a self-evident assumption) and another establishing C. F. W. Walther's understanding of the church as *norma normans et normata.*[11] Passing the ELCA resolution put to rest the oft-repeated and false belief that our members did not know how they differ from other Lutherans. A theological diploma is not necessary to know that ELCA fellowship with the Reformed and agreement with Rome on justification detached them from historic Lutheranism.[12] Financial support for abortions and soon for homosexuality puts them at variance with the church catholic.[13] It should be noted that the Walther resolution came out of the Committee on Structure, Planning and Administration and not from the one on Theology and Church Relations, but on the positive side it recognizes the pastoral office as divine. Regretfully it could be used to encourage anti-clericalism and does not resolve the confusion swirling around "minister" and "ministry," words which are incapable of redemptive definition in the present milieu. Resurrecting antiquity, even in well-intentioned resolutions, is like pretending we have not aged. Youth can no more be bottled up in a regimen of exercise and diet than the theology of one age can be carried over to the present. In this case we may have hindered resolving an issue which divided confessional-minded Lutherans from the mid-nineteenth century, as Sasse noted already in 1961.[14] Of course this is exactly what happened with Resolution 7-17a. A theology that lives within the past is reluctant to examine itself, because it assumes that in any controversy it was and therefore is right. Historicism replaces theology. Opponents are wrong not only in the controverted point, but in other parts of their theology. Then comes an irresistible temptation for theologians of the *argumentum ad hominem:* the alleged character aberrations of others disqualify their ideas. Another element of this thinking is that the synod's position is *ipso facto* identical to that of the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions. This was hardly Pieper's intention in his *A Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod* written for the Synod's fiftieth anniversary in 1897, though it could be understood this way:

> Our doctrine is none other than that which God has revealed in the writings of the apostles and prophets, and which the Lutheran church in her public Confessions professes from, and in accordance with, the Scriptures. This fact is attested by every sermon which is preached on Sunday from the pulpits of our congregations. It can also be observed in our periodicals and in other publications of our Synod.

Certainly no one really believes that there can be a one for one equation between what the Bible, the Lutheran Confessions, or the synod and its pastors say on any issue. The flaw in this approach may have been uncovered by a request from a Brookfield, Illinois pastor who has asked the synod's Commission on Theology and Church Relations (CTCR) whether in the matter of ordination we follow the Apology which grants that it could be a sacrament[15] or obey the *Brief Statement,* which makes no such allowance.[16] As Sasse points out, even the Lutheran Confessions must be scrutinized on the basis of the Bible, and certainly this is also true of later church declarations.[17] Ironically the 1897 declaration and the edited version of 1932 do not even reference the Lutheran Confessions once, as Sasse noted.[18]

Church documents can never be received as secondary scriptures, so that we assume for the synod an infallibility that we deny the Bishop of Rome.

Doing theology solely by referencing historic and officially approved documents can become an obstacle to taking the Scriptures on their own terms and to looking to the Confessions in controverted issues. Later documents become theological playing fields and *sola scriptura* and confessional subscription play a lesser role in doing theology. Another step is taken by a complex cross-referencing of CTCR documents. The end product is a midrash requiring knowing the intended sense of the CTCR at the time of their composition and the emotions of the conventions adopting these documents. We are faced with an historical criticism of another kind. Church documents can never be received as secondary scriptures, so that we assume for the synod an infallibility that we deny the Bishop of Rome. Just how useful some of these documents are is another issue, as for example in the ministry resolution of July 2001. *A Brief Statement* is valuable as the word "brief" suggests it did not claim to be exhaustive. Its section on the creation does not discuss the relationship of male and female, a misunderstanding of which has given rise to definition of God as Mother and Father.

CHURCH AS CORPORATION

Another group understands the synod as an association of congregations held together historically by a commitment to the Lutheran Confessions and in practice as members of an ecclesiastical corporation sealed by an oath to uphold the synodical handbook. "Walking together" is the code term for this group. Synod is thought of as also a corporation of congregations and employees bonded together by retirement and health plans. This corporation invests funds and owns properties. Doctrinal differences and disagreements among members are handled as disputes within the corporate structure. District presidents who authorized the ordination of uncertified Seminex graduates were removed for a *Handbook* violation. Though organizational matters are seen as adiaphora, the corporate view affects how ministry is defined. Anyone employed by a member congregation or a synod entity is put into a common pot called "professional church workers," a phrase or idea unknown by the Bible or the Confessions. This kind of language allows congregations to see pastors as just one kind of minister, pushes the pastors into the category of employee, and makes the congregation the final judge in all matters of doctrine, polity and practice. This can be personally disastrous for the pastors and worse, it denies Christ's establishment of the ministry, which is at the heart of the Walther resolution (7-17a). A corporate view of the synod also sees it as an educational system of colleges and seminaries that are virtually autonomous in their funding and governance. Pre-ministerial programs are often subsumed into other departments and their students listed in the general category of "church workers." Lutheran enrollment may have increased in the last years, but rare is the school where Missouri Synod students account for more than half of the student body.

Several resolutions of the 2001 convention reinforced the corporate view of synod.[19] Resolution 7-08, "To Add New Bylaw to Govern Dissolution of Synodwide Corporate Entities,"[20] allows the Board of Directors to dissolve institutions like colleges to limit the synod's liability. Things financial and not theological determine the fate of institutions. Resolution 7-11, "To Move Property Ownership Bylaw to Constitution," reaffirms that the synod is more a corporation than a church by asserting that it has no equity in a congregation's property. This prevents the synod from expanding its financial resources at the expense of congregations, but it can also be used to show that the synod has no responsibilities for its congregations. It allows for a bizarre congregationalism in which any number of people can constitute a legal meeting and can deprive others not in attendance of church property. This follows from seeing the synod as a free association of congregations and not a church. Fellowship between congregations of the same faith is merely voluntary and lacks a confessional center to hold it together.[21] This has its consequences and may be a cause that more and more congregations give less and less or even nothing to support the synod, which then is increasingly dependent on direct bequests and grants from foundations. The synod is now really a not-for-profit organization that resembles other charitable and educational institutions. Not only do its educational institutions have a freer hand in the conduct of their affairs, but congregations are freed up to adopt their own requirements for baptism, confirmation, and admission to the Lord's Supper. Whether or not terms like "sovereign" and "autonomous" are theologically appropriate for congregations, they do describe the state of affairs. Sadly the downside is that the synod loses its churchly character and we see ourselves as members of a mere confederation at best and a free association at worst. How we organize ourselves as a synod does affect how we understand ourselves.

DRIVEN BY STATISTICS

Losses in the Church of England have been so dramatic that it has become a minority religion in its own homeland. With LCMS statistics, the storm flags are also out. Infant baptisms decreased more than 25 percent from 1999 to 2000.[22] To turn the numbers around, some are proposing that we bring our worship and evangelistic practices and organization in line with churches with expanding statistics. Churches held up as models are baptistic and pentecostal in worship style and have borrowed heavily from American marketing techniques. Their preachers are recognized by their high-priced, carefully-pressed suits and resemble successful entrepreneurs with their higher than average salaries. One cause of decline is demographics: our members resemble the general population in delaying marriage and having fewer or even no children. Roman Catholics have compensated for the birth deficit by ministering to new immigrants. Our synod's founding fathers did this initially by rounding up stray Teutonic tribes afoot in the Midwest and then by meeting the boats as they arrived in New York City. Statistic gazing can be problematic, because it often fails to recognize the incorrigible nature of some unbelief (*cur alii non aliis*) and may itself be an act of un-faith because it refuses to believe that Jesus is the Lord of the church who adds those who will believe. Still the belief persists that this or that program or liturgy will produce astonishing results. Enough has been written about this group that nothing more has to be said now.

THE YOUNG TURKS

Upon their arrival into the Synod in the late 1950s, the young Turks were the Preus brothers. Their knowledge of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheran sources spawned an interest in things historical and liturgical.[23] The scholarship of J. A. O. Preus and Robert D. Preus, both presidents of the same seminary (1962–69 and 1974–1993 respectively), further birthed an interest in early post-apostolic church and biblical studies. The first five centuries are given the attention that fifty years ago was not even given to the classical Lutheran sources. If only for their expertise in Latin and German, these younger men are remarkable. Also in this group are biblical scholars who recognize that the historical-grammatical method undergirds the historical nature of the Scriptures, but a method that is hardly more than a science of grammatical structures does not begin to uncover the theology of the New Testament documents. Interest in the older theology has a liturgical dimension. Faced with the onslaught of Assembly of God/Baptist styles of worship, its adherents look to the church's historic roots for authentic worship, but this search has hardly produced uniform results. Lack of liturgical consistency (which is deplored in contemporary forms) surfaces in multiple proposals. A liturgy in one historically sensitive congregation is unlikely to be found in any other church on the same day and in some cases in the same church on the next Sunday. With the photocopy machines running, each Sunday has its own surprise for worshipers. Liturgy delivers Christian doctrine to the people, but doctrine and not liturgy, especially when it comes in a variety of shades, is the final arbiter of what the church believes. *Lex orandi lex credendi* (which is often cited to show that liturgy shapes doctrine) is more correctly interpreted the other way around: dogma is the standard for the liturgy.[24]

The synod is now really a not-for-profit organization that resembles other charitable and educational institutions.

(WOMEN IN THE) MINISTRY: ARTICULUS ECCLESIAE CADENTIS

Many, perhaps most, of the leaders and theologians of Missouri's half-sister in Australia and step-mother in Germany no longer find theological or biblical reasons for not ordaining women. When it becomes evident that their churches will not experience a major split over the issue, seminary-trained women are already in the wings waiting to come on stage, but there might be fewer and fewer churches left for either males or females to pastor. As one commentator notes, "But critics point out that the [feminist] movement is not a sign of health; denominations that have approved women's ordination have been steadily shrinking."[25] Arguments used once to support women's ordination in Lutheran churches are now used for the ordination of homosexuals. A church taking this route will shrink faster.[26] If and when women are ordained pastors in the Missouri Synod, the Dutch boy will have removed his thumb from the dike and we will all be washed away in a torrent of Protestantism which has not been seen since the world began. Not everyone was pleased with the synod's establishing fellowship with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, because it has yet to rid itself of its remnant female clergy, but it may be the only Lutheran church on this planet ever to have ordained women and reversed its decision. Making a distinction between those who ordain women and those who find no theological reasons against the practice but do not actually carry it out is artificial. Arguments in support of women's ordination inevitably include false theology about God and human beings.

FINDING THE ROOTS IN GOD

Using Garreau's model, we propose that one can belong to two nations. By his name the late Canadian Prime Minister Pierre

Elliott Trudeau might be judged to be both French and English. Ironically many proponents and opponents of the ordination of women share a common egalitarian definition of ministry. Thus the views of ministry held by some in the Wisconsin Synod, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, the Missouri Synod, and the ELCA may not be all that different. This definition not only includes pastors, but also professional church workers and finally all Christians. Devaluing the theological currency opens the door for women's ordination. Add to the mix an adiaphoristic definition of ordination, and there is little reason not to ordain women.

This debate begins with biblical references, but the issue can only be finally settled by the prior theological and historical realities that provide the content for these citations. There is "a something" in, with, under and behind the inscripturated Word. According to Paul's own arguments, limiting the pastoral office to males is not a self-contained divine command (this would be Biblicism), but is a projection of the male-female relationship of Genesis 1 and 2 into the church where God is reestablishing his Eden. A woman pastor is a contradiction of Genesis 2, but the roots for all doctrine, including the ministry, must go beyond the garden to God himself. Adam and Eve were created not as automatons, but in God's image. In their relationship to each other, they reflected the Trinitarian life in which the divine persons are equal in regard to deity, but ordered in regard to their persons. Without contradiction, equality and hierarchy are both true of God and of human beings made in his image. A purely egalitarian definition of God allows for a democratic understanding of society in which the roles of men and women are interchangeable. Even the Fourth Commandment becomes arbitrary law.[27] Family units are disposable, men can marry men and women, women. In that world all can be ordained. However, our relationships with one another have their origin in God. "It is this very equality and hierarchy that is reflected in the relation of man and woman; their equality in the image of God does not efface headship of the man any more than the deity of the Son and Holy Spirit effaces the patriarchy of the Father."[28]

Ironically many proponents and opponents of the ordination of women share a common egalitarian definition of ministry.

Our theology dare never be a composite of disparate truths, though I suspect it often is. It can only be and must be derived from the inner Trinitarian life, extended to us in our creation, through our redemption and, finally, by our sanctification, which reaches its conclusion in our resurrection. Even this will be what God is all about, since he is a God of the living and not the dead. As with any doctrine, our cry must be back to the Bible and beyond the Bible to God himself.

Confessional Lutheranism comes with the price of having constantly to examine, define, and defend its theological positions. Unlike Rome, the Anglicans and the Reformed, we do not have a particular polity on which we insist, and as a result we have no organizational model as a unifying principle on which to fall back. Recent ELCA agreements with the Reformed and Rome were not even a possibility half a century ago, when Sasse spoke confidently of a Lutheran future in America.[29] ELCA accommodations follow a path set by the defection of the elector of Brandenburg to Calvinism and the elector of Saxony to Catholicism. In these and in the ELCA, the poor Lutheran people are left defenseless. Recent defections from the Missouri Synod to the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox communions and to conservative Lutheran synods may be attempts to find the Lutheran roots which Missouri lost. If there is no grand exit to the Assemblies of God and Baptist churches, the needs these churches meet may be met in our own.

"LET A MAN EXAMINE HIMSELF"

Paul's admonition first applies to us. Upon examination, we may find that some of our roots may be Lutheran and others not, but it is this self-examination which is so hard for us or anyone who thinks he is by definition right. In this regard the Reverend Todd A. Peperkorn notes in his review of *The Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther* that he did not find one critical sentence in the whole book.

> One of the great oddities of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod is her view of history. We are proud of our history, and hold it up as one of the crown jewels of our church body. At the same time, there is a certain fear of looking too deeply into the past. We may find skeletons in the closet, or inconsistencies that are difficult or impossible to defend historically or theologically. This is never clearer than in the myriad of perspectives one may find on the theological father and first president of the LCMS.[30]

We might not be the Lutherans we think we are, at least in the opinion of others. Leonard Klein recalls a conversation he had when he was a student at Yale. "I met Jaroslav Pelikan and heard him muse that if the Missouri Synod became Baptist and the rest of Lutheranism [read: ELCA] Methodist he would die in the bosom of the Orthodox Church. They have and he will."[31] The time was the 1960s and the words are amazingly accurate in their predictions, but before we give Pelikan all the credit, Sasse said the same things in 1951.[32]

(After my thoughts were in electronic form, John Pless alerted me to Sasse's essays. I had to add the appropriate references and commendations, but I did not have to adjust my thoughts. It is humbling to discover that someone half a century ago was saying the things you thought original. Reincarnation of thoughts would dishonor so great a theologian, but it is amazing how consistent the dilemma of remaining Lutheran is.)

We are learning that, "Faith cannot be bequeathed from one generation to another. It must be born anew in every generation, must be worked by the Holy Spirit." Before God we must answer the question, *"Are we still Lutheran?"*[33] Being rootless in America, we must still ask Sasse's question of ourselves. LOGIA

NOTES

1. Already in 1951, Hermann Sasse noted that Karl Holl characterized the Missouri Synod in his university lectures on church history as Calvinist. “Confession (Confessionalism) and Theology in the Missouri Synod (1951),” *Scripture and Church: Selected Essays of Herman Sasse,* J. Kloha and R. Feuerhahn, ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1995), 194. Though the Lutherans and the Reformed in Germany form one fellowship, Calvinist has a pejorative sense. Missouri’s image was sullied by the 1974 Seminex walkout at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Matters were not helped by the synod declaring fellowship with churches in Lithuania and Latvia or its work in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

2. Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1981).

3. Hermann Sasse, “Apostolic Succession, Letters to Lutheran Pastors, no. 41 April 1956,” *We Confess the Church,* 3, trans. Norman Nagel (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1986), 86. Reprinted in *We Confess Anthology*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999).

4. See *National Review* 53, no. 19 (October 1, 2001), 21. The Roman Catholic Archbishop Cardinal Murphy-O’Connor has declared that Christianity has been vanquished in Britain. His Anglican counterpart, the Archbishop of Canterbury, claims, “A tacit atheism prevails.” Already in 1992 there were more Roman Catholics actually in church than there were Anglicans. See “Uncultured Men and Women,” *Touchstone* 5, no. 4 (Fall 1992): 1.

5. See Louis C. Smith’s comments on his own church’s (ELCA) dilemma with homosexuality. “The Topsy-turvy ELCA,” *Lutheran Forum,* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 9.

6. “Confession (Confessionalism) and Theology in the Missouri Synod (1951),” *Scripture and Church,* 215. Sasse refers to P. E. Kretzmann’s *The Foundations Must Stand! The Inspiration of the Bible and Related Questions.*

7. Hermann Sasse, “The Lord’s Supper in the Lutheran Church, Letter to Lutheran Pastors No. 6 May 1949,” *We Confess the Sacraments,* volume 2, trans. Norman Nagel (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985), 101. Reprinted in *We Confess Anthology,* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999). At the time this was written, only one out of every hundred persons who went to Holy Communion in Germany was Protestant.

8. Robert A. Kelly notes that in the search for authenticity some Lutherans have adopted contemporary American Evangelical style and others look for it in Rome. “Successful or Justified? The North American Doctrine of Salvation by Works,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (July 2001): 225–227. These categories are not exhaustive of the numerous cultures under any Lutheran tent, but they do show two poles that are operating against one another.

9. Before the Synod re-adopted *A Brief Statement* in 1959, Hermann Sasse had grave concerns about its being understood as a confession. “Confession (Confessionalism) and Theology in the Missouri Synod (1951),” *Scripture and Church,* 207. At best it reflected what the synod believed at that time.

10. “To Address Cooperative Pastoral Working Arrangements with Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Resolution 3-21A,” *Convention Proceedings, 61st Regular Convention, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod,* 142.

11. “To Affirm Synod’s Official Position on Church and Ministry, Resolution 7-17A,” *Convention Proceedings,* 172–173.

12. Rome publicly states that it conceded nothing to the Lutherans and that the Council of Trent still stands. For an appraisal of the negotiations which followed the LWF-ELCA adoption of the *Joint Declaration on Justification,* see Gottfried Martens, “Agreement and Disagreement on Justification by Faith Alone,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (July 2001): 195–223.

13. So Richard John Neuhaus commenting on *Sexual Fulfillment: For Single and Married, Straight and Gay, Young and Old* by the former bishop of the ELCA, Herbert Chilstrom. “While We’re at It,” *First Things* 118 (December 2001): 92.

14. *We Confess the Church,* 87. Hermann Sasse offers words of caution in regard to differences on defining church and ministry. “The task which is given our generation cannot be to repeat the formulations of both sides and to take up the discussion where it came to a stop a century ago. Rather our task is again to think through what at that time remained unresolved.” “Ministry and Congregation, Letters to Lutheran Pastors, No. 8 July 1949,” 74.

15. Apology XIII, 11. “But if ordination is understood with reference to the ministry of the Word, we have no objection to calling ordination a sacrament.” Melanchthon has specific reference to the laying on of hands. “If ordination is understood in this way, we will not object to calling the laying on of hands a sacrament.”

16. Sasse notes that the Lutheran Confessions do not provide a precise definition of the sacraments and hence Lutherans should not have gotten into a controversy over what is and what is not a sacrament. “Christ did not institute ‘the sacraments’ but each particular rite.” “The Lutheran Understanding of the Consecration,” *We Confess the Sacraments,* 120.

17. Hermann Sasse has an extensive discussion of this matter in “Church and Confession 1941,” in *We Confess Jesus Christ,* Vol. 1, trans. Norman Nagel (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984), 71–87. Reprinted in *We Confess Anthology,* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999). For example, “Here is not the place to demonstrate the Scripturalness of the Lutheran Confessions. When we assert it, we do not of course mean that they are infallible, unrevisable, or in no need of expansion,” (p. 86).

18. Sasse noted this. *Scripture and Church,* 207. The Statement of the Forty-Four also suffers in making no reference to the Lutheran Confessions, 213.

19. For example, “To Observe Constitution and Bylaw of Synod Resolution 7-03C,” *Convention Proceedings,* 164.

20. *Convention Proceedings,* 168.

21. Sasse took note of what he called Missouri’s “narrow concept of church . . . according to which only the local congregation is really church and can act as a church.” *Scripture and Church,* 209.

22. See *The Lutheran Witness* 120, no. 12 (December 2001): 14. “33,865 children baptized (down 12,000).”

23. Hermann Sasse noted that older conservative theology lacked the joy that inherently belonged to confessional theology. *Scripture and Church,* 208. This failure is not lacking among the newer confessional scholars.

24. Several theologians have questioned the interpretation that the rule of prayer determines what must be believed. Hermann Sasse, “The Lutheran Understanding of the Consecration, Letters to Lutheran Pastors, No. 26 July 1952,” *We Confess the Sacraments,* 117. Also Geoffrey Wainwright as quoted approvingly by Kevin E. Anderson, “*Lex randi, lex credendi* in John’s Gospel,” *Lutheran Forum* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 19.

25. “Uncultured Men and Women,” *Touchstone* 5, no. 4 (Fall 1992): 1. See also S. M. Hutchens: “The institution of women’s ordination is farthest progressed, as might be expected, in the part of Christendom already most deeply ravaged by modernism, whose faith is the weakest and most deeply compromised, and whose spiritual life is the most secularized and chaotic.” “God, Gender, and the Pastoral Office,” *Touchstone* 5, no. 4 (Fall 1992): 13.

26. This 1992 statement was amazingly predictive of a guest editorial by Louis A. Smith, “The Topsy-turvy ELCA,” *Lutheran Forum* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 9. It makes specific reference to the ascending homosexual lobby in his church.

27. See Herman Sasse, *We Confess the Church,* 80.

28. Hutchens, p.15.

29. Unless I have misread him, Sasse is convinced that the Lutheran synods in America will retain their identity. *Scripture and Church,* 205. “Today the existence of the Lutheran church is no longer in question . . . .” Sasse was wrong.

30. Todd A. Peperkorn, review of *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther,* by August R. Suelflow in LOGIA 10, no. 4 (Reformation 2001): 44–45.

31. Leonard Klein, “The Catholic Option,” *Lutheran Forum* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 40.

32. *Scripture and Church,* 217–219.

33. *Scripture and Church,* 202. Emphasis is Sasse’s.

An American Application of Luther's Doctrine of the Two Realms

The Relationship of Government to the Institutional Church

Arnold J. Koelpin

If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it (Thomas Jefferson).

These unvarnished assurances were given the American nation by President Thomas Jefferson in his First Inaugural Address.[1] Even today, they reveal a basic attitude that defines our nation. Citizens of the United States of America seem determined to preserve freedom of expression without government interference. In a republican nation abuse of the right to free speech is to be checked by the people's own right to speak out against abuse.

At the time when Jefferson spoke, Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, wondered out loud whether the democratic experiment would work. He was convinced that Jefferson's election would signal the triumph of atheism. "The Bible will be cast in the bonfire," he stated with sincere concern, "and our wives and daughters dishonored as in the Jacobin frenzy in France and our sons converted into the disciples of Voltaire."[2]

When President Jefferson gave assurances to the contrary, the nation heaved a collective sigh of relief. The freedoms guaranteed in the American Bill of Rights would hold. And time would prove that the republican freedoms would not in principle promote atheism. The Christian church made its way into the nation's history detached from state authorship. Its leaders preached and taught openly and without restraint. There would be no "established religion" according to the First Amendment. Yet churches were established individually and denominationally. The form of religious liberty that Jefferson called a "separation of church and state" came to be regarded as a keystone in the framework of American governance.

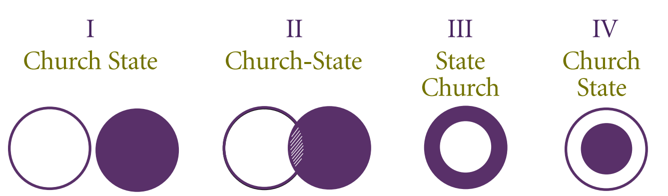
THE PROBLEM OF THE CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIP

But a problem soon surfaced in interpreting the First Amendment's "establishment clause." Simply put, the question is this: How are we to perceive the relationship of the government to the institutional church? Because the question reaches into political life and simultaneously into the precincts of faith, it remains most difficult and touchy.

In wrestling with a problem of this magnitude, we will take the humble position of the historian and the even more modest part of a teacher of God's Word. We will place the relationship of corporate government to corporate church in the spotlight of past actions and test it by God's Word. Under God's blessing our goal is fourfold:

1. To deepen our appreciation for the benefits we have received from our country since its founding;
2. To broaden our understanding of the biblical and political insights into the church-state question;
3. To sharpen our intent of staying alert to developments in this vital area; and, as God wills,
4. To be moved to see and seize the opportunity to preach the gospel, as Christians who have been given a precious moment in time.

The difficulty in understanding the relationship of government to the institutional church lies in our initial impressions. To crystallize the problem of the relationship between these two realms of human activity, we will attempt a drawing of church-state relations by using two circles to represent the two realms. Such interpretive models help to demonstrate what differences in perception exist. Predictably the models come out in one of four basic forms.



The first diagram, with two circles side by side, shows the realms are either entirely separate or touching one another but not crossing. The simple idea of church-state separation is reinforced by that design. But this model has its own difficulties because humans do not live exclusively in one sphere to the exclusion of the other. The second diagram shows the two circles intersecting. When asked to explain, those who hold to this model interpret the area of intersection as the place where Christians move when they act in state affairs. But the impression is left that Christians lead distinct double lives, moving back and forth from church to state along a narrow line of demarcation.

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The third form puts the church as a small circle within the larger sphere of the state. For the majority this illustration seems the most satisfying. Here the Christian is "in the world" but not "of the world." He has access to the state and can influence it. But the one-sided impression remains that the church is a commune isolated within the state. In the fourth the church dominates the state as happened in feudal times.[3]

Many feel frustrated with such diagrams and suggest a three-dimensional model. But the proposal only illustrates the complexity of the problem because Christian church members live a hundred percent in the church and a hundred percent in the state. Perhaps concentric circles of the same dimension are the answer. Then one would neither falsely separate the two realms, nor falsely combine them. But the problem remains that one would still have to distinguish the one realm from the other.

The attempt to diagram the church-state relationship, in a sense, proves to be an exercise in pictographic frustration. The questions of life are not so easily framed. While the exercise highlights the problem, it only proves that a scientific investigation has its limits. Other things than structures shape life. Christians know that there are motives and attitudes so deep that only the Word of God is able to expose them.[4] There are human affairs so elusive that they are best understood against the backdrop of the past.

But God rules in the midst of all. He exercises his authority over nations, institutions, and individuals with his left hand, as Luther put it, as surely he rules the church with his right.[5] With his left hand he preserves life and order according to his eternal will and purpose. This is his kingdom of power. With his right hand he has redeemed the world and leads his children to eternal life with the care of a true Father. This is his kingdom of grace. Despite our frustrations with the problems of life, he has not left us without witness of his will or guidance for our lives. So we turn to his Word for help with our question.

DISTINGUISHING THE TWO REALMS: A BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVE

If we search in vain for reference to the relationship of an *institutional* church to government in the New Testament, the reason is not hard to find. Different from the theocracy in Israel, the New Testament church did not assume a legal status. Christ's rule was the rule of the gospel. He did not establish a kingdom with legal rights. "My kingdom is not of this world," the Prisoner declared to Pilate (Jn 18:36). And with those words two kingdoms were rent in two.

The Two Realms

Jesus' rule was in the hearts of men. By taking hold of their faith, he laid hold of their lives. Followers of Jesus were admonished to live according to the mind of Christ. "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus," the Apostle Paul declares, pointing to the all-encompassing new attitude that results when one becomes a new creation in Christ (Phil 2:5). The Christian way is the way of service to mankind under the lordship of Christ.

Even the newly founded Christian congregations, dotted throughout the Roman world, did not legally incorporate under the Roman state because Christianity was not a *religio licita* (legal religion), though individuals in the church held Roman citizenship. Each assembly of Christians, even if only two or three gathered in Jesus' name, was well aware of the greater rule they were under. "Jesus is Lord," they told the world in simple confession. This faith they proclaimed and by this faith the church was known (Phil 2:6–11).

Jesus was enrolled under Roman authority at birth. Under Roman government he lived and was put to death.

Did Christ's rule then eliminate Roman civic rule for believers? If Christ was Lord, was Caesar their lord also? Did Christians hold a double allegiance? Those questions seemed as perplexing then as they do to us now. The answer is both "yes" and "no" (*sic et non*). There was no getting around the fact that Caesar ruled the Roman Empire. He had power to regulate the fate of individuals and nations. Jesus was enrolled under Roman authority at birth. Under Roman government he lived and was put to death. Under the same authority members of the infant Christian church led their lives.

But in the long run, Caesar's rule was limited. It was bodily, external, and temporal.[6] The emperor at Rome had no power over the eternal destiny of his subjects. He could demand their allegiance, but he could not command their faith. Human authority was certainly necessary to preserve life in this world, and God instituted government for that purpose (Rom 13). But a higher power still overruled its efforts. Caesar was lord to be obeyed in matters of state. But Jesus was Lord to be obeyed over and above all. What then was the key to reconcile such seemingly conflicting loyalties? For Christians the key was to distinguish the two realms—their goals, their duties, and their officers.

But we are unable to grasp the apparent conflict between church-state relations without understanding the ongoing struggle between God and Satan, between good and evil in human life. In this respect Genesis 3 is a microcosm of world history. There Satan attempts to subvert God's order in the world and to cause chaos in the cosmos God created. The Apostle John describes this cosmic chaos by confessing that "the whole world is under the control of the evil one" (1 Jn 5:19). John elaborates further on this revolt:

> And there was a war in heaven. Michael and the angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough, and they lost their place in heaven. The great dragon was hurled down—that ancient serpent called the devil or Satan, who leads the whole world astray. He was hurled to earth, and his angels with him (Rev 12:7–9).

What wonder the early Christians made renunciation of Satan an essential part of their baptism confession before they vowed allegiance to Christ: "I renounce the devil together with his wicked works and wicked ways."

From this vantage point we can begin to understand the institution of government. God established the power of the sword on earth to hold demoniac forces in check. The state operates within the realm of "good and evil," that is, within the moral realm, as Paul states in Roman 13. It has its authority from God to promote the good and to resist what is evil. It uses the tools of reason and law to carry out its difficult task. It calls upon conscience as the witness of God's law written in people's hearts (Rom 2:14 f).

The secret of a government's success among its people lies in tempering law with justice.[7] When rulers promote civic righteousness among men, they fulfill God's purposes for establishing government. When the state punishes the evildoer, it acts in God's stead. "Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also because of conscience," the Apostle Paul states with emphatic clarity, and then concludes with an application: "This is also why you pay taxes, for the authorities are God's servants, who give their full time to governing" (Rom 13:5–6).

But God has established another power to deal with Satan that transcends state authority. God sent his Son into the world not to check the forces of evil, but to rout them. The far-reaching consequences of Christ's work places the church's realm beyond that of good and evil. The church deals with the questions of sin and grace and a higher righteousness that avails before God (Mt 5:20). By the Spirit of God the church preaches the "righteousness of faith" that will stand the test of time in God's presence (Rom 1:17). Its tool is the holy gospel of the glory and grace of God. Its message is so wonderful that no review of world history would be complete without it.

As God sent from God, Christ suffered and died to free the world from the bondage to law. Through faith in him Christians in deed and in truth share his lordship. In Christ we are freed from the power of evil, from sin, from death, and from the strictures of law. But living in this present world we will not use our Christian liberty to despise the worldly power. Precisely because we are freed, we gladly and willingly submit to government authority to which we are no longer bound as a slave, but serve as responsible children of God.

Allegiances Tested

The Jewish sect of Pharisees in Jesus' day never understood such a gospel. They resented the merciful dealings of Jesus. They charged him with breaking down Jewish national tradition by reinterpreting the law. When Jesus said, "Blessed are the meek; blessed are the peacemakers; turn the other cheek, walk the extra mile" (Mt 5:5, 9, 39–41), such notions seemed futile and frail. It appeared to be giving in to the sinful world of Rome rather than avoiding Roman governance as Jewish separatists felt should be done. The test question was this: Where did Jesus stand on relations with Rome—with Moses or with Caesar?

The political party of Pharisees had a perfect test case: Taxes! The question they posed was this: Is it right or wrong for God's people to pay tribute money to Caesar? The logical trap was set. If Jesus said "No," he would be branded a rebel against Rome; if "Yes," Jesus became a traitor to his people. But Jesus recognized the question to be faulty, posing false alternatives. In reply Jesus simply distinguished between the two realms: "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's" (Mt 22:21). Was Jesus merely dodging the issue? By no means! He seized the opportunity to teach by avoiding the trap of separating church obligations from state rights.

The secret of a government's success among its people lies in tempering law with justice.

On another occasion Jesus had opportunity to explain the relationship of the two realms to his disciples. One day temple tax collectors took Peter aside and asked whether Jesus paid his temple taxes to the Jewish nation. The question bothered Peter. If Jesus freed his people from the Mosaic Law, logically they were freed from the temple tax too. "What do you think, Simon?" Jesus asked to give a moment for reflection. "Kings collect tax money. Do they collect it from their own children or from others?" To the obvious answer that others pay, Jesus added the important conclusion, "Then the children are exempt" (Mt 17:24–27).

The application was self-explanatory. Peter had just recently witnessed the transfiguration of Jesus, in which God the Father identified Jesus as his Son. Now the Son was claiming his Father's rights—freedom from the law meant freedom from the tax burden. Now Peter came to understand that life under Christ's rule is truly a life of freedom. But the lesson was only beginning. Jesus told Peter to pay the tax anyway for good reason. Peter should pay taxes out of love for others who were still under the law.

Neither by teaching or action, therefore, did Jesus aim to overthrow secular government but rather to support it. Jesus' proper work on earth was to rescue all creation from the forces of sin, death, and the devil. But this work of redemption remained distinct from the exercise of legal power, just as the realm of the church remains distinct from the state. The two are to serve different purposes in God's rule.

Under God the state's governance is limited to this transient world. Its importance lies in meting out justice and preserving stability in a chaotic world. By doing this well, government serves the church, for Jesus' rule transcends this world and this age. In its life on earth the church enjoys the blessings of good government or must endure the tyranny of the bad. It supports government authority, and its members are pleased to serve insofar as God's Word allows. Though independent in function, church and state are interdependent, deriving their authority from the self-same God. Only by understanding God's Word can we rightly distinguish the function of the two realms.

The Relationship of the Two Realms

Why then do we need to review Christian teaching concerning church and state? Because the Christian view of the church as a realm distinct from government rule must never be taken for granted. The critical question still remains: What happens when the corporate church obtains legal rights? Does legal incorporation of the church by the state bring about a false relationship? Does that step *endanger,* more precisely, does that step *destroy* the work of Christ?

These are searching questions and they deserve our attention because they lie at the heart of our discussion of the relationship of government to the institutional church. Why? Because, properly speaking, the church is not an institution. It is "the assembly of all believers among whom the gospel is preached in its purity and the holy sacraments are administered according to the gospel" (AC VII). By its nature the church is and remains to all eternity the one holy church, the *una sancta,* hidden to the natural eye, known and revealed alone by God (Lk 17:20 f; 1 Cor 2:7–10).

But that holy Christian church is not without form in this world. In its present existence the church needs outward forms precisely because it is in the world and not in heaven. Although the true church, whole and undivided, lives by faith in the word and promises of God, the church goes about its daily tasks in the here and now. In his high priestly prayer, Jesus reflects on the church in the world and the seeming conflict between its faith that *separates* believers from the world, and its life that *unites* believers with the world. "My prayer is not that you take them out of the world but that you protect them from the evil one. They are not of the world, even as I am not of it" (Jn 17:15 f).

The Apostle Paul similarly admonishes the Corinthian congregation to recognize the *tension* of living in the present world, yet not conforming to it. He writes: "What I mean, brothers, is that the time is short. From now on those who use the things of the world [should use them] as if not engrossed in them. For this world in its present form is passing away" (1 Cor 7:29, 31). Therefore in its present condition, the transient church needs outward forms.

In the light of this truth we can raise our question more specifically. Does the church harm its relationship to the state by becoming an institution under the laws of the state? The question is vital. If the church remains committed to preaching the gospel as Jesus wanted it preached, there should be no problem as far as the church is concerned. Nor does achieving legal status itself cause a difficulty. The work of the church remains church, and the operation of the state remains state.

But incorporation forms the basis for a legal relationship, or at least a contract relationship. We do well to remember this. The church now operates with legal privileges from the state. In this form the temptation for the state to function as church is as great as the danger of the church to become a worldly power like the state. The history of the church over the millennia illustrates the point.

Constantinian Privilege

Prior to the accession of the Roman emperor Constantine, the Christian church suffered at the hands of the government. In the dark days of persecution Christians were ordered to sacrifice before the picture of Caesar. In some instances they were obliged to confess, "Caesar is lord; let Christ be accursed!"[8] Failure to do this meant death.

But Emperor Constantine's conversion to the Christian faith changed things drastically. The Christian church achieved legal status as a *religio licita* and the emperor aimed to unite his empire under a Christian confession. The church's privileges included the right to acquire and hold property and to be exempt from taxation. These Constantinian rights were of great importance for the future of church-state relations. They assured the church's legal incorporation.

The end result was the practical elimination of the distinction between the functions of church and state.

The real tragedy of the next thousand years, as far as the church was concerned, did not lie in the tension between princely and priestly rule. Its catastrophe occurred in the gradual, at times almost imperceptible, mixing and commingling of the two realms. The end result was the practical elimination of the distinction between the functions of church and state.

Secular rulers began to exercise spiritual power.[9] Church authorities began to rule like princes. The Pope at Rome laid claim to a triple crown as the tiara he wore on his head symbolized: He was head of the church by divine right, the Lord's vicegerent on earth, and ruler over the angels in heaven.[10] The Gospel got lost in churchly ambition. Under the new legal framework the distinct functions of church and state were intermixed in an amalgam dubbed Caesaro-papism. Church and state are falsely commingled when the church tries to exercise Christ's rule by means of the law, or when government tries to carry out its function by means of the gospel.

The Reformation Corrective

It remained for the Reformation to reassert the biblical distinction of the two realms. As a citizen of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, Professor Luther called for a reformation of the church on the basis of God's Word.[11] But significantly for the future of the church he did not call for the elimination of the church's legal status. Incorporation was not the real problem. Reformation did *not* mean a *repristination* of early Christian life, but a *re-formation* of the present forms in accordance with God's Word.

At issue was the gospel of freedom in Christ. The genius of the German Reformation lay in the peculiar return of a biblical insight of the struggle between God and Satan, within which the rule of church and state takes place. The devil did not create the state even when the state acts in a demoniac way. He can only with God's allowance corrupt it. But government remains God's institution operating within its purposeful realm.

But did Dr. Luther really get at the problem with his teaching of the two realms? A new order of Anabaptists disagreed. The church did not need a reformation in this doctrine, they felt, but a complete overhaul. The radical solution was to return the church to a non-legal status. The magisterial church and secular government, they claimed, are both institutions exercising worldly powers. Both the institutional church and the state government are the devil's tool. Secular government is the realm of evil and not a God-pleasing estate that a Christian can serve.

In the community of believers, according to Anabaptist claims, allegiances are different and the rule separate. Baptized Christians come under the lordship of Christ and no longer need to hold allegiance to secular government. Christians live a separate communal existence and cannot serve government as soldiers or swear oaths to it. By such faith commitments the spiritual revolutionaries had in reality created a church society in isolation from the world of state governance. Church and state stood *radically separated.*[12]

But church and state are falsely separated when life in the state is no longer a field of action for Christian love and charity. Was there no chance that government could live with the institutional church without violating the biblical distinction between them? An even more critical question, could this symbiotic relationship be achieved within the legal framework of the state? Could the church incorporated as an institution live together with the state in harmony? One answer was to come from the new world. It was to be worked out on the background of the bitter experiences of religious wars and religious intolerance in Europe.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM: POLITICAL PRINCIPLE AND PRIVILEGE

A new solution was to be worked out in the Constitution of the United States of America. The breakthrough came with the concept of religious liberty set forth in the religion clauses found in Article VI and the First Amendment of the Constitution. The First Amendment reads, in part: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In the body of the Constitution, Article VI states: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States."[13]

A Wall of Separation?

In the United States the issue of religious liberty is to be interpreted on the basis of one or the other of these citations. In our country churches can legally exist within the framework of government. They continue to enjoy the Constantinian privileges of holding and acquiring property and being tax-exempt. But church and state as distinct institutions are also guaranteed as a political principle and privilege. This simply means that Americans can follow the dictates of their consciences in matters of religion and no group can dictate religious beliefs to any other group or individual.

It is important to note that the phrase "separation of church and state" nowhere appears in the Constitution or the Bill of Rights. For that matter neither are the words "church" and "state" to be found in the nation's original charter. The expression that has become fixed in our everyday speech was first coined in American usage by the Baptist preacher Roger Williams in the colony of Rhode Island and then adopted by Thomas Jefferson. In his famous letter to the Danbury Baptist Association ten years after the adoption of the First Amendment, Jefferson wrote:

> Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers or government reach actions only, not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should "make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building *a wall of separation* between church and state.[14]

Jefferson's "wall of separation" was to become famous as the common metaphor by which religious liberty could be described. Americans generally became convinced that this was the best expression to describe church-state relations. For it guaranteed—and this was the important matter in the beginning—that the church could not encroach on the rights of citizens as it had in the European aristocracy. Contrary to expectations the disestablishment of the church did not destroy churchly activity. The church grew under the new relationship.

But was the United States' frame of government truly the best solution? C. F. W. Walther, leader of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in its infancy, had ambivalent feelings. He honored the American government for the religious freedom it gave the Christian church and its citizens. At the same time he and the synod's leaders "rejected the moral assumptions of the American political philosophy" as foreign to Christian theology.[15] In a sermon on the Pharisees and the tribute money, Walther maintained that Christianity is tied to no political form of government. Christ is Lord in both in a monarchy and in a free republic because his kingdom is not of this world, but in the hearts of men.[16]

Church and state are falsely separated when life in the state is no longer a field of action for Christian love and charity.

Thus even under the new form of government, the *tension* between church and state was not relieved. For the most part it turned inward. The success of the American experiment would depend on the ability to maintain *legal safeguards* against encroachment on one another's realm. The church was not to become politicized, though its corporate rights under the Constitution needed to be defended. The state was to rule with civic righteousness and not with the righteousness of Christ. To maintain this so-called separation was, and is, no easy task.

The Supreme Court Searches for Metaphors

Lest someone thinks we are listening to mere theory, let us test theory with practice. To do so we need to look to the Supreme Court where political action comes in its most crystallized form. Under the United States' form of government the Supreme Court justices are charged with protecting religious liberty and interpreting the religion clauses of the Constitution. Theirs is the awesome responsibility of maintaining political principles in the midst of changing situations. Like the Roman god Janus, the

Court has two faces. It looks back historically over the accumulated wisdom of past generations and ahead to a form of just action that lies just over the horizon.

The Wall of Separation

Jefferson's picture of the "wall of separation" has played a major role in the history of the Court's interpretation of religious freedom. For a century and a half, covering the major immigration phase of our past two-hundred-year existence, shoring up the wall rather than building bridges has settled major challenges to the First Amendment's "establishment of religion" clause. The European experience was still fresh in the immigrant nation's mind.

The Court first incorporated the wall metaphor into our constitutional history in the *Reynold's Opinion* of 1879.[17] From that time on the term "separation of church and state" became part of our national heritage. Citing Jefferson, the Justices affirmed that you can "believe" anything you want to or entertain any idea intellectually. Once the belief is translated into action, however, you are subject to the police powers of government. At issue in this case was polygamy. Reynolds was a Mormon and questioned whether federal statutes regarding polygamy applied to him because of his faith. The Court ruled against him because polygamy was detrimental to the general welfare of society. Thus Jefferson's wall was invoked on the side of state law over against religious encroachment.

Not until sixty years later was the wall of separation more precisely defined. In the landmark case of *Everson vs. the Board of Education* (1947), the Supreme Court applied the "wall" picture to the broadest area of church-state contact—education. The case involved the busing of parochial school students. Everson deemed unconstitutional a New Jersey law that authorized local school boards to reimburse parents whose children were bused to schools of the Roman Catholic Church.

For the first time the "establishment clause" was carefully scrutinized by the Court. It ruled that public subsidies for busing students to parochial schools are not unconstitutional. The simple logic was that money was given to the parents, not to the schools themselves. Hence the state is not supporting the schools, but is interested in a program to help its citizens get safely and expeditiously to and from school without regard to their religious faith. Justice Black wrote:

> The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach,.[18]

The next year, 1948, the Justices used the theory of separation to strike down a "released time" program in the state of Illinois. For the first time the situation was now reversed. Legislation of the state was held in violation of religious freedom. The Illinois plan had made it possible for students to get religious instruction on school time and on school property. Justice Frankfurter wrote:

> Separation means separation, not something less. Jefferson's metaphor in describing the relation between Church and State speaks of a "wall of separation," not a fine line easily overstepped. The public school is at once the symbol of our democracy and the most pervasive means for promoting our common destiny. In no activity of the State is it more vital to keep out divisive forces than in its schools, to avoid confusing, not to say fusing, what the Constitution sought to keep strictly apart.[19]

Cracks in the Wall

Despite the rhetoric, cracks began to appear in the wall. The Illinois released-time case is significant if for no other reason than that it signaled a change in the history of Constitutional interpretation with regard to the principle of religious liberty. The "religion clauses" had been set into the Constitution primarily to get away from the powers of national or regional churches as guaranteed by constitutions in Europe.

Now the shoe was on the other foot. The state was asking itself how far its responsibilities went for the welfare of its citizens. The pressures were coming from within government itself. The income tax had given government a role unparalleled in our nation's history. In the next years the state would have to weigh how far it could go with its programs and policies without damaging the Constitutional guarantees concerning religious freedom.

> ***Jefferson's picture of the "wall of separation" has played a major role in the history of the Court's interpretation of religious freedom.***

Justice Jackson already sensed the problem when he wrote the minority opinion on the Illinois case. He suggested that released-time programs and circumstances would vary widely and would finally turn the Supreme Court into a kind of super board of education "for every school district." The Court, Jackson said, must find some other figure that would work better than the "wall." Otherwise they were, he said, "likely to make the legal 'wall of separation between church and state' as winding as the famous serpentine wall designed by Mr. Jefferson for the University he founded."[20]

His predictions came true. A few years later, "released time" was again on the agenda in a case from New York. It involved permission to give religious instruction *during* school hours, but *off* school property. Under these new circumstances, the Court modified its former interpretation. It stated: "The First Amendment . . . does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of Church and State." If the wall of separation were rigidly held in every situation, "municipalities would not be permitted to render police or fire protection to religious groups."[21] The wall metaphor was losing its usefulness because of the complexity of the national life. A new concept was needed to help explain the church-state relationship.

Why was "separation of church and state" not good terminology? The phrase, first of all, it was agreed, does not appear anywhere in the Constitution. "Church" and "state" are two words that fit the European situation better than ours. The United States is not a "state" in their sense, nor is there any one unit we can point to as "the church." Our churches are voluntary societies whose membership is fluid.

Secondly, the wall of separation conveys a sense of hostility. This does not really describe what actually happens in America. There is a great deal of unofficial exchange between government and the church. So the phrase is not flexible enough to include the kaleidoscopic quality of American religion. A happier expression was needed to express the real relationship. The Court hit on the concept of "neutrality."

The doctrine of neutrality was not entirely new. It came into prominence, however, in the 1960s with the Bible reading and Lord's Prayer cases. The problem involved the place of religion in public education and public institutions. And it proved to be particularly sticky. Public response was sharp. Members of Congress were ready to pass a Constitutional amendment to make prayer in public schools permissible. The state was not godless or amoral, it was argued, as references to God in the pledge of allegiance and on our coinage proved. Throughout the debate, the Supreme Court held to the position of neutrality. They argued that religion has been able to keep its exalted place in American life precisely because the transactions of religion have been performed in

> the home, the church and the inviolate citadel of the individual heart and mind. We have come to recognize through bitter experience that it is not within the power of government to invade that citadel . . . . In the relationship between man and religion, the State is firmly committed to a position of neutrality.[22]

Many were not satisfied with this position of neutrality. They contended the Court was, in fact, establishing a religion of secularism. The Court replied:

> We agree of course that the State may not establish a "religion of secularism" . . . thus "preferring those who believe in no religion over those who do believe." . . . [But] one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities.[23]

Strict neutrality was interpreted to mean that one could not teach religion in a public school, but one could teach *about* religion.

The significant turn-about in the last decades of the twentieth century, therefore, was the adoption of a more pragmatic approach to the relationship of government to the institutional church. The Court was less interested in legal theory and more concerned that fair treatment be given the citizen. Therefore, the wall metaphor was dropped and the concept of neutrality adopted. It seemed more flexible and resilient.

Excessive Entanglement?

In 1970 Chief Justice Burger introduced still another term to describe church-state relations. In his first major opinion on the matter he said, "No perfect or absolute separation is really possible; the very existence of the Religion Clauses is an involvement of sorts—one which seeks to make boundaries to avoid excessive entanglement."[24] Thus the concept of entanglement has become the eye of the storm today.

The term "excessive entanglement" is especially loaded, since the debate over the last years involves tax exemption of churches and tax grants to church institutions. In the broadest context, the Constantinian rights of property ownership and tax privilege that have come down to us under Roman law are under fire. With the growth of tax-exempt holdings in the churches, people have pointed to abuses. This was true in traditional churches as well as in the smaller and growing cults.

"Church" and "state" are two words that fit the European situation better than ours.

In the middle of the debate, the Supreme Court held to the position of "avoiding excessive entanglement." Burger indicated that the grant of a tax exemption is not sponsorship since the government does not transfer part of its revenue to churches but simply abstains from demanding that the church support the state. But then he warned that the matter was one of degree saying:

> Either course, taxation of churches or exemption, occasions some degree of involvement with religion. Elimination of exemption would tend to expand the involvement of government by giving rise to tax valuation of church property, tax liens, tax foreclosures, and the direct confrontation and conflicts that follow in the train of these legal processes.[25]

How does the government keep entanglement down to a minimum? Since the downfall of the legal principle of strict separation, the question has become more volatile. It was tested in a case regarding the *Higher Education Act* of 1963. The act provided construction grants for colleges and universities, excluding facilities used specifically for sectarian instruction or religious worship.

The Supreme Court divided 5–4 on the issue of whether this act endangered religious freedom. The majority maintained such grants were not to be considered excessive entanglement for various reasons. For one, the government has given grants to hospitals operated by religious orders. Secondly, a grant to higher education is different from a grant to secondary or primary schools. College students, the Court said, are less impressionable and less susceptible to religious indoctrination. The risk of entanglement was therefore less. Finally, these grants were to be "one-shot" building grants in contrast to ongoing subsidy. For this reason inspection as to use involved minimal contact.

The parochial aid question, however, would not die. On the same day that the review of the Higher Education Act took place, the Court denied the request for appropriating state funds for paying secondary parochial school teachers. This involved excessive intrusion of the state in religious affairs. Again Chief Justice Burger clarified:

> Our prior holdings do not call for a total separation between church and state . . . . Some relationship between government and religious organizations is inevitable . . . . Fire inspections, building and zoning regulations, and state requirements under compulsory school attendance law are examples of necessary and permissible contacts.[26]

Thus teachers were different in the Court's views from textbooks. For in 1968 they had ruled that a state could provide textbooks on secular subjects for parochial schools. The reason for the difference was that teachers inevitably experience great difficulty in remaining religiously neutral, but a textbook's content is ascertainable.

The American experiment with religious liberty continues. In government action over the past century two motifs stand out. The state is extremely conscious of its obligations to see to the general welfare of its citizens. This duty increases as the services and demands of our life in these United States grow more sophisticated. We cannot have the material advantages we have and want without seeking to share them with the general public.

Government encroachment on the church's role increasingly became a major concern.

At the same time, the state is obligated by our Constitution to keep the role of the church within its proper sphere of action. These two concerns clash, particularly in regard to much of the welfare legislation enacted over the past decades. To lessen the tension, the government has adopted the stance of avoiding excessive entanglement. As citizens, we must appreciate its concerns. Government action should lead us to weigh, define, and redefine the church's role in the state as a legal entity as incorporated before the law.

CONCLUSION: THE HERITAGE IN REVIEW

The pilgrim church has walked a long road from the apostles' time to A.D. 2000. As we pass another milestone of the church's life under the Constitution of the United States of America, we do well to sit down on the wayside marker to reflect. One thing becomes obvious in historical retrospect—the shoe *is on the other foot.* At the beginning of our nation's history, safeguards to religious liberty were built into our constitution because of the intolerable encroachment of ecclesiastical power on state life in Europe. Experiences with the national churches in Europe dictated a course of action that was consummated in the United States by adopting the First Amendment.

But times change. The infant nation grew up fast into an industrial giant and world power. And in the process, church-state relations experienced significant changes. Government encroachment on the church's role increasingly became a major concern.

What does this mean as we face the future? It indicates that the institutional church must continue to define its role in relationship to the state as it exists under the Constitution. Changing circumstances and new questions in the life of the state demand alertness and vigilance. There are areas that need to be highlighted to clarify our thinking and that need further investigation.

Areas of Concern

One such area of concern is understanding incorporation. We need to understand for ourselves what incorporation implies for the church. Incorporation itself is part of our heritage. Clergy still act as state officials in our frame of government, officiating in marriage, burials, and other matters. Congregations and schools are incorporated under state charters.

By incorporation the church becomes an institutional entity before the law. In this respect some church questions become political ones. To recognize this is especially important because the Lord Jesus did not establish an institution of that kind. Biblically speaking, the Christian distinction between the two realms pertains whether the church is incorporated or not. Christ's distinction applies to whatever form of political power the church lives under. But granting legal status to the church gives a peculiar form to the relationship. The church acts before the state in specific legal matters, not through its members as individuals, but as a corporate body.

Within the church this means there may be varying opinions concerning the course of action to be taken by a church body. These differences need not be viewed as disagreement in doctrine. When questions involve reactions to government programs within the limitations of the law of religious liberty, political persuasions of individuals may vary. Situations change. Conservatives generally try to preserve stability and hold to the past tenaciously. Progressives are known to build bridges to the future. Most people have a little of both qualities. But in distinguishing the realms of church and state, all must keep their eyes pinned on the gospel.

The corporate status of the church leads us to another area that calls for clarification. Much of our Lutheran reaction to government programs has been in the field of education, and understandably so. But in its concern for the "general welfare" of its citizenry, the government has taken up issues other than primary and secondary schools. Most of these areas involve general social concerns such as helping the needy, the infirm, and the less fortunate from birth defects. In these areas the state feels special obligations. The debate in the halls of Congress over "faith-based initiatives" seeks to define government support of church institutions and, at the same time, how to avoid the problem of excessive entanglement.

Churches have responded to the needs of their members by organizing efforts of mercy. Geriatric care centers, child and welfare services, hospitals, higher education training for non-religious careers, deaconess training centers, care for the mentally retarded and physically abused—all of these and more are and have been special services in the churches. Many of these institutions that churches have organized in the past experienced a "secular drift" under the pressures of government aid and control, and, institutionally, have virtually lost their church affiliation.

In addition, issues of discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, or creed have become especially critical. The question of the church's ministry relative to its special services needs ongoing clarification in the light of government rules and regulations and the church's primary mission.

Attitude of Service

Mention of the church's special services brings us to a vital area of the necessity of Christian service in the life of each individual Christian. What distinguished Luther's teaching with regard to the two realms, one scholar states, is that his teaching according to Scripture was three dimensional, whereas St. Augustine's was only two-dimensional.[27]

What did he mean? During Roman times, St. Augustine gave a masterful description of the two realms. He identified them as two cities, the "City of God" and the "Secular City." The one, Augustine says, was the society of Cain and represented pagan ideals. The other was the children of Abel and represented God's children. Following Augustine, Luther likewise spoke of the two societies. What distinguished the Christian was his faith in Christ. This made the Christian church distinct from the world.

But Luther also emphasized to a greater degree than Augustine that life in the world was the proving ground for faith. Faith shows itself to be faith indeed when it is active in love. By love we serve in the world. For "a Christian lives not in himself, but in Christ and in his neighbor . . . He lives in Christ through faith, in his neighbor through love. By faith he is caught up beyond himself into God. By love he descends beneath himself into his neighbor. Yet he always remains in God and in his love."[28] The implications and applications are important in relating Christian life to government rule. Here the Christian teaching of vocation is most important for the individual Christian. But that is another chapter.

The Future in Perspective

We have reviewed the relationship of the government to the institutional church as seen from the Scriptures and from our country's legal history to ascertain where we came from and how we arrived at where we are. According to the Scriptures, Christians intend to avoid falsely mixing the two realms or wrongly separating them. According to our government form, we are committed to the principle and privilege of religious liberty.

Is our country's frame of government the best form? Put in another way, is it possible under our frame of government to maintain the flexibility that has entered into the interpretation of religious liberty without eventually moving away from such liberty altogether?

Viewed from the past, we must be proud of our heritage. We have been blessed with state protection and assistance. The Constitution has proven strong and viable precisely because it is flexible enough to meet the changes in the life of its peoples. Our freedom to assemble without hindrance, to preach the gospel freely, to train our children in parochial schools without fear of punishment, is ample proof of our blessings.

If, like Dr. Walther, we notice the conflict between our faith and the philosophy of the world in which we live, it underlines our task as church to preach the gospel of the higher righteousness in Christ with utmost clarity. But at the same time we must remember that the government operates by the righteousness of the law. Without Christ, people live by morals. The state does best where it supports the moral life by encouraging that which is good among its citizens and punishing that which is evil. Such is its reason for being. If the state becomes demoniac and immoral in its ways and judgments, as happened in the Nazi state, we will have to live through the anguish of persecution.

The state does best where it supports the moral life by encouraging that which is good among its citizens and punishing that which is evil.

We pray our freedoms hold under our present form of government. If we are of the opinion that the state is encroaching on the rights of religious liberty, we can exercise two rights, constitutionally speaking. We have the legal right to appeal before the courts, or we can voluntarily avoid participating where possible.

If a matter of Christian doctrine is involved and the Court rules against the institutional church, we would have to disobey and "obey God rather than man" (Acts 5:29). But in such a case we must examine the matter carefully to determine whether it is clearly a matter of clear Christian teaching, not of opinion or an open question. The Apostle Peter underscores Christian attitudes as he lays out the criteria for Christian relations with the state:

> Submit yourselves for the Lord's sake to every authority instituted among men: whether to the king, as the supreme authority, or to governors, who are sent by him to punish those who do wrong, and to commend those who do right. For it is God's will that by doing good you should silence the ignorant talk of foolish men. Live as free men; but do not use your freedom as a cover-up for evil; live as servants of God. Show proper respect to everyone; love the brotherhood of believers, fear God, honor the king (1 Pt 2:13–17).

We have done no particular flag waving in this study. We honor our country best when, as citizens, we maintain eternal vigilance over our freedoms and do so in the fear of God. Therefore we conclude with the prayer to almighty God for his attending care.

God grant us:
State officials who seek to promote justice under the law!
Church leaders who judge according to the mind of Christ!
Citizens who live as is becoming to citizens of the state!
God bless our native land! LOGIA

NOTES

1. Jefferson's First Inaugural can be referenced on the Internet: www.bartleby.com/124/pres16.html
2. Quotation noted in part on Internet: www.hfac.uh/gl/us9.htm
3. "Spiritual power above the temporal" is the first wall behind which the ecclesiastical hierarchy entrenched itself, according to Luther's analysis, LW 44: 126–127.
4. This insight is formulated in FC: Ep I, 8–10.
5. Luther uses the expression of God's left hand and God's right hand to differentiate God's rule by law [left hand] and by Gospel [God's right hand], LW 22: 157; 14, 90.
6. Luther spells out the doctrine of the Two Realms and their relationship in his writing, *Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed* (1523), LW 45: 90–96.
7. Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought*, Martin H. Bertram, trans. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 248.
8. The touching story of *The Martyrdom of Holy Polycarp* (February 22, A.D. 156, in the church at Smyrna) can be found in translation in Eberhard Arnold, *The Early Christians* (Rifton, NY: Plough Publishing House, 1972), 66–71.
9. The Lutheran Reformation began when Albrecht II, a Hohenzollern prince [margrave of Brandenburg, archbishop of Magdeburg and administrator of Halberstadt], sought the powerful political position to become Archbishop of Mainz, one of the seven Electors in Central Europe who elected the Emperor when a vacancy occurred. As a prince-bishop, Albert received his commission from the Pope in Rome. To collect the fee for papal confirmation, Albrecht was given permission to dispense a papal indulgence in his provinces. The sale of these indulgences for the dead was the subject of Luther's Ninety-five Theses.
10. The triple crown of the papacy is explained historically in LW 44: 139–140.
11. *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reform of the Christian Estates* (1520), LW 44: 123–217, contains 27 proposals for reform, fashioned by Luther with the aid of a lawyer, Johann von der Wieck.
12. A simple outline of the difference between sectarian, Roman, and Lutheran views of the church-state relationship can be found in George W. Forell, *Faith Active in Love* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959), 23–25.
13. The Constitution on Internet: www.law.cornell.edu/constitution.overview.html
14. The much debated metaphor for the church and state relationship can be found in: *Thomas Jefferson to Messrs, Nehemiah Dodge, Ephraim Robbins, and Stephen S. Nelson, a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association in the State of Connecticut,* Jan. 1, 1802, Presidential Papers Microfilm, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Ser. 1, reel 25. This reference is found on internet: http://w3.trib.com/FACT/1st.jeVers.2.html
15. Albert G. Huegli, ed., *Church and State under God* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 142.
16. Huegli, 142.
17. *Reynolds vs. U. S.,* 98 U. S. 145 (1878) found on internet: http://members.aol.com/TestOath/Reynolds.html
18. *Everson vs. Board of Education*, 330 U. S. 1, 15–16 (1947).
19. *McCollum vs. Board of Education*, 333 U. S. 203, 216–217 (1948).
20. Found in *McCollum vs. Board of Education*, 333 U. S. 203, 211 ff.
21. Justice Douglas in *Zorach vs. Clausen,* 343 U. S. 306 (1952).
22. Found in 374 U. S. 226.
23. Found in 375 U. S. 225.
24. Found in 397 U. S. 675.
25. Ibid.
26. *Lemon vs. Kurtzman*, 403 U. S. 602 (1971).
27. Bornkamm, 19.
28. This is Luther's graphic formulation in *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520), LW 31, 37.

The Rise and Fall of State Churches in Europe

Jobst Schöne

WHAT HAPPENED IN MAY 325

In May of the year 325, twelve years after Christianity had gained the status of a *religio licita* (a tolerated religion) in the Roman Empire, something unheard of happened. The Emperor Constantine himself welcomed more than 250 bishops from all parts of his empire (though mostly from the east) in his palace at Nicaea, some sixty miles southeast of the new capital Constantinople. The First Ecumenical Council had assembled, the emperor himself presiding over this meeting of church leaders. A new epoch in church history was about to begin. And the alliance of representatives of the church in the Roman Empire and the highest representative of the state became obvious when they together formulated and proclaimed a document that we confess up to the present time, the Nicene Creed. They acted in order to save the church (recently delivered from persecution) from the most dangerous doctrinal disputes and quarrels that threatened to tear the church asunder. Could the bishops not handle this situation without support from "the state"? That's an open question, but it seems as if they had no choice but to cooperate with the emperor.

After the sessions of the council, the bishops were invited to celebrate with the emperor. Passing the ranks of his bodyguards, they entered the same palace from which a few years earlier the imperial decrees of Diocletian had been sent out to persecute the Christians and exterminate the church. Many of the bishops now assembled still bore the signs of torture from those former years: their eyes put out, their limbs mutilated. The emperor kissed the empty eye-socket of a martyr bishop, and all these men were deeply touched. It seemed like a dream. Indeed, everyone could now see that the emperor had become a Christian. What a miracle!

The year 325 was when, what was later to be called a "state church," was born. This was the genesis of a close connection between the secular powers ruling this world and the Christian church that had to proclaim the kingdom of God. At that time, no one could in any way foresee the future problems and defects that would arise from such an alliance. Instead the church, now having permission to organize herself in public rather than having to operate underground, came to imitate the patterns set by the Roman state. The big cities, centers of administration, now became the seats of patriarchs and archbishops; canon law was based on already codified Roman law; and final decisions in matters of doctrine and church discipline were made by bishops and patriarchs in ways similar to how imperial governors had acted. This was in particular true for the patriarch of the West, the Roman pope. The popes gained the authority and esteem of formal servants of the emperor, installed to represent his power.

When the Roman state in the western part of the empire broke down, the church survived, thanks to her organizational system borrowed from the Roman state. In fact, now the pope expected the heads of the newly arising states in the former Roman Empire to recognize his authority, even supremacy, because the church was to have the first place above all secular powers. In the east the development took a different way: There the church was fully under the supremacy of the state, the Byzantine emperor being the formal head of the church (like the Czar in Russia in later times). Consequently the Patriarch of Constantinople was appointed by the emperor and was fully under his control and supervision.

A permanent tension between state and church began to develop, often resulting in open conflict. Not that all church leaders bowed to the power of emperors and kings. St. Ambrose (Bishop of Milan 374–397) is an outstanding example. He not only declared that in matters of faith and doctrine the bishops are not under the emperor, but that Christians in such cases have to obey God rather than men. It is said that he himself dared to resist the Emperor Theodosius in 390 and refused him access to the church and the sacraments, for Theodosius had just massacred several thousand innocent citizens in the city of Thessaloniki. The emperor repented and was absolved. That required courageous men, on both sides. But on the whole such men were the exception.

St. Ambrose could address the emperor as a member of the Christian church, and he could speak to his conscience and remind him of his sin. But this did not guarantee a balance of power in all cases, and conflicts between political and ecclesiastical authorities could not be resolved when neither side would surrender.

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES HAD CHANGED . . .

We have to realize that ever since our Lord said, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mt 22:21), Christians have known about their double obligation. Christians are citizens of two different kingdoms:

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Christ's kingdom, which "is not of this world" (Jn 18:36), and the kingdom that belongs to the "governing authorities" (Rom 13:1) in this world, to which a Christian has to be subject. This obedience extends to the point where a Christian has "to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). But where is that point of conflict? Where do we cross the borderline?

European history of the Middle Ages is full of examples of bishops not performing their pastoral duties anymore, but engaged in a power struggle for influence, wealth and property.

The "governing authorities" can appear as an "authority appointed by God," as an "ordinance of God" (Rom 13:1f) not to be resisted, but they can just as well appear as the "beast rising up out of the sea," to which "the dragon gave his power" (Rev 13:1f). The "governing authorities," the secular powers, the state in its authority is an ambiguous entity wearing a Janus-face.

In the first two centuries of church history this ambiguity became obvious to the Christians. They had to choose between obedience and resistance, whatever was demanded from them. And this depended very much upon local or regional circumstances. Were they persecuted? Were they tolerated? Were they simply neglected? Or were they taken seriously? Were they a threat to the authority of the state? Christians decided what to do as individuals. They went through periods of persecution and toleration. The governing authorities did not take much notice of the church as such. A relationship of any kind, hostile or friendly, between the state and the church had not yet developed. Christians were dealt with as adherents of a religion that was sometimes regarded as nothing but a subspecies of Judaism. Sometimes they were considered to be another new religion like others that came along from time to time. From the first century until the third century the church was not yet a real factor in the political sphere.

THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In the beginning of the fourth century we can notice a complete turnaround. The church was understood as a *civitas coelestis* or *civitas Dei,* a "heavenly state" or "state of God," as St. Augustine expressed it, a counterpart to the *civitas terrestris,* the state on earth, and existing inside the civic state. Both *civitates* now appeared as allies, closely linked with each other. Christianity, declared to be a tolerated religion in 313, soon became a privileged religion and finally (in 380) a formal state religion. The church appeared to the public as a kind of subdivision of the state, always finding support, protection, and financial aid from the governing authorities. The politicians of that time, emperors and kings, opened doors for mission work and establishing church organization in areas so far unchristianized, and this was often done by means of force, compulsion, even warfare. Such methods caused opposition to the political rulers as well as resistance to the church, in the end doing tremendous damage to the church's image.

Spreading Christianity by force was indeed a contradiction in itself. Some theologians were quite aware of it, but in practice it became more and more difficult to make a clear distinction between the "two kingdoms." Political and spiritual objectives were mixed up. To put down political enemies could at the same time go along with mission work among the defeated, but it left deeply rooted distrust and rejection in the hearts of the people. For instance, in Germany one can point out areas where the population never became fully and deeply rooted in Christianity; they were superficially christianized some 1200 years ago, and today there is a widespread abstinence from church life.

But not only did the public image of the church suffer. At the same time the church's self-understanding was gradually changed. The fundamental difference between spiritual and political power, the distinction between the two kingdoms disappeared. A distinction between a church visible and invisible emerged, which centuries later became the shibboleth of Calvin's ecclesiology. In the beginning it was based on St. Augustine's concept of an *ecclesia vera,* the true church, made up of the number of the predestinated, inside but also in contrast to the visibly organized community of the church. This *corpus permixtum* was made up of true believers and "hypocrites and evil people" (to use the language of the Augsburg Confession). Such a distinction allowed one to keep his distance from the questionable or even disgusting side of the church, preserving her true nature by locating it in the invisible sphere. One could not blame the church as such any longer for what was done in her name. But the existing problem was not solved by a concept that tended to separate the visible church from the "true" church. And furthermore this distinction lacked any foundation in the Scriptures.

The church remained in a kind of Babylonian captivity to the state. Emperors, kings and rulers of all kinds considered themselves as heads of churches, local, regional or national. And bishops and the pope turned more and more into secular rulers, fighting their political counterparts. The European history of the Middle Ages is full of examples of bishops not performing their pastoral duties anymore, but engaged in a power struggle for influence, wealth and property, and even in warfare. Their legal status everywhere was that of princes and electors. Secular rulers became envious of the political influence and position and the economic power and wealth of the clergy at large, the monasteries and the bishops in particular. They constantly worked on getting an ever-growing share of influence and power in the church. It became their intention to appoint bishops themselves, to rule over the church, to push the pope aside as much as possible. The nobility tried successfully to place their members into episcopal sees. Sometimes even youngsters, far below the "canonical age," were appointed to be bishops. It happened even among Lutherans in the sixteenth century (for example, in 1578 with the 14-year-old son of the Duke of Brunswick). From 1556 until 1650 the Archbishops of Cologne, though under the pope, did not receive any consecration or ordination, which clearly indicates that their position was merely that of an administrator and ruler of the territory of the archdiocese. They did not perform any pastoral functions.

THE SITUATION CHANGED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Indeed, for a long time the situation called for change and reform. This, however, could only start under the established conditions and within the framework of existing state-church relations. State law and canon law were largely identical; excommunication from the church automatically involved civil consequences; church affairs and doctrinal issues were put on the agenda of (political) diets. The emperor convoked the diet, and in 1530 at the famous Diet of Augsburg it was he and the electors (three of them archbishops!) and other princes, dukes, margraves, landgraves and representatives of municipal governments, but altogether "political" persons who discussed the issue of reforming the church. The Augsburg Confession itself was proclaimed and signed only by the "Imperial Majesty's faithful and humble subjects," and not by the theologians who had written it. Neither Luther nor Melanchthon nor any other theologian subscribed to this document; they stayed in the background. And likewise the list of signatures which we find at the end of the Preface to the Book of Concord in 1580 is exclusively a list of state representatives, while the authors, who were all theologians, subscribed as "confessors" to the text of the Epitome and the Solid Declaration.

This reflects a situation that has a long history behind it. Already in the year 380, the Emperor Theodosius had decreed that only those could enjoy the privileges of citizens of the Roman Empire who had accepted the *doctrina evangelica* (the doctrine of the gospel). This law was still in effect in the sixteenth century. To subscribe to the Augsburg Confession meant subscription to the "catholic faith," thus claiming membership in the *corpus Christianorum,* comprehending all subjects to the emperor. Those who did not confess the "catholic faith" were simply outlawed, excommunicated from the church as well as excluded from society, facing legal persecution. State and church not only cooperated, but in their close connection with each other they gave expression to the unity of the *corpus Christianorum,* the Christian community in which no room was left for the individual's freedom of conviction, confession, opinion or the like, with the exception of the (widely persecuted) Jewish minority.

The problems arising from this situation went on to bother both sides. Luther, however, paved a way to their solution by his concept of the "two kingdoms," the two ways in which God is reigning over this world: by law and force on the one hand, by grace and forgiveness on the other, the first being entrusted to the governing authorities of the state, the second to the church, but both being instruments to carry out the will of God, and both being responsible to God.

God's will is revealed in the law in order to set up and maintain justice, to prevent chaos and anarchy; and the gospel is revealed in order to grant justification and bring salvation. Both have to be distinguished carefully and should never be mingled; otherwise they lose their proper function. The concept of the two kingdoms is based on this distinction of law and gospel. Such a distinction has to be applied also to the two kingdoms, which means the church should never assume governmental rights and authority in secular matters, nor should the state do so in spiritual matters. Both have to respect each other, and avoid the temptation to interfere in each other's affairs or to transfer their own authority into the other's field of responsibility.

Both "powers," however, the one of the church and the one of "the sword," originate from God, who bestows them upon men as his stewards. In a given situation both of these powers may be exercised by one and the same person, as it used to be in the Middle Ages. The Augsburg Confession, Article 28, leaves it to the bishops to be secular rulers at the same time, provided they do not confuse their different powers and abuse them. This privilege was soon applied the other way around, namely that princes and other rulers assumed the right of having power in the church, though primarily in matters of administration, finances and other "worldly" affairs. They called themselves "heads of the church" and were accepted as such. Their status as *praecipua membra ecclesiae* (prime members of the church) seemed to give them a special responsibility along with special rights. They had to protect and sustain the church, to support her work, to defend her against false teaching, to care for the training of future pastors, to pay the clergy, to maintain church buildings, and so on. All of this was ascribed to the prince, the representative of the state as *summus episcopus* (the highest bishop). It was a mixture of spiritual, administrative and juridical duties, summarized in the *jus circa sacra* (right over things surrounding the holy things), while the *jus in sacris* (the right over the holy things themselves), the proclamation of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments were left to the clergy.

Luther, however, paved a way to their solution by his concept of the "two kingdoms," the two ways in which God is reigning over this world.

On this basis the classical state church developed in Germany and all over Europe. And this system of having the secular ruler as "emergency bishop" at first, as a substitute for a real bishop later on, as *summus episcopus* in the end, worked. It worked as long as a king, a prince, or any other ruler understood himself as a faithful member of his church, a Christian confessing the same faith as his subjects.

THE CHURCH SUBJECT TO THE STATE

As soon as the ruler withdrew from his church, this system no longer worked. Such dissociation from the church could result from changing his confession (and so it happened already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in several territories of Germany) or from plain unbelief and nihilism (which was sometimes the case in the time of the Enlightenment). Once she was placed under control and supervision of the authorities, how could the church escape this situation? On the one hand she still enjoyed exceptional privileges (and to lose them threatened her very existence!), but at the same time she felt in bondage to secular forces, authorities and rulers who became alienated from the church and even more and more hostile.

It's amazing to see how far the inventiveness of theologians, clergy, philosophers and jurists went in justifying this state-church system. They honestly believed that a close link between state and church was a God-pleasing matter, and even Lutherans felt no problem with the ruler ("by the grace of God" king, prince, duke or whatever) as the head of the church, at least for a long time. They seemed not to feel the bondage into which the church had fallen.

The church was no longer going to find protection and help from a state which had become neutral.

In the end this situation could no longer be preserved; it called again for change and reform. And this time the change did not come from inside the church, but from the outside. The French Revolution at the very end of the eighteenth century made it perfectly clear: the church was no longer going to find protection and help from a state which had become neutral (if not hostile) to Christianity. Instead, the church found herself forced into a position of total dependence on the state, and lost completely her freedom to decide her own matters, her confession, her mission work. With a non-Christian state as superior (rather than partner), she was forced to obey men rather than God. How could a state-church escape from being misused by state authorities? A clear concept was needed.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CONCEPT OF STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS

The Roman Catholic Church continued to hold to the traditional idea that the church was placed over the state by divine ordinance, and that this position gave her the obligation to direct and influence the state to act in favor of the church. Having gone through severe confrontations and conflicts, from the perspective of the Roman Church it seemed appropriate to organize political parties and associations that could influence the public square, up to the level of parliaments in modern democratic states. A clear distinction between the "two kingdoms" and consequently a separation between state and church was not accepted in general. Wherever such a separation was put into effect (as for instance in France under Napoleon), it happened without the church's consent and often against her resistance.

The Roman Catholic Church as a worldwide organization wanted to negotiate with governing authorities on an equal level. She tried to set up formal concordats wherever this was possible. It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that she conceded some kind of separation and acknowledged a certain freedom of the state from ecclesiastical guardianship.

CHURCH AND STATE IN CALVINISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Likewise Calvinistic churches were not able to accept the concept of the "two kingdoms" as Luther had formulated it. They had already failed to grasp a clear distinction between law and gospel. Intending to safeguard the universal majesty and rule of God himself, they took his gospel to be guidelines for running the state, "Christian principles" to build up a better state—not (yet) fully identical with the kingdom of God, but moving in this direction.

Calvin himself had started a Christian community in Geneva, where state and church became more or less one and the same, the clergy reigning over the city and its people. All opposed to this regime were expelled from the city of Geneva, and those who denied Christian doctrines (for instance, the Holy Trinity) could wind up on a pyre (as happened to Michael Servetus in 1553; Calvin even cooperated with the inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church in order to catch him!). Calvin's heirs of all kinds tried similar concepts, in Europe and in the New World, and their influence is still great.

The Enthusiasts used a burning social grievance, which came on the agenda in the Peasants War in 1524–25, to proclaim their ideal: to bring political-economic problems to a solution by deriving instructions directly from the gospel. But it all ended up in bloodshed and chaos. Anabaptists from the Netherlands started a "Kingdom of Christ" in the city of Muenster, trying to establish by force a "new Jerusalem" on earth, which turned out to be just the opposite: it could only be stopped by military force in 1535. There are numerous examples of other fateful attempts to mingle law and gospel, state and church and the two kingdoms in order to create a God-pleasing world. The results speak for themselves.

In the twentieth century Karl Barth provides an interesting revival of this concept. In his essay *"Christengemeinde und Bürgergemeinde"* ("Christian and Civic Community") of 1946, right after the Second World War, he called for the church to be the "prototype" and "example" for a just and legitimate state, which governs "according to the gospel" and is gathered with all its citizens around the common center, namely Christ the King, forming a set of concentric circles. The gospel, says Barth, is essentially a "political" gospel; it has a "prophetic-political" message. He goes so far as to recommend "a single state-party, excluding all other parties" as a "political equivalent" to the church in the sphere of the state—indeed a remarkable suggestion at a time when half of Europe was already under the power of such a state-party, namely the Communists. Barth, however, did not really have in mind an already existing state, but one to be formed under a strong and decisive Christian influence. In general, his recommendations sound almost like rolling back the separation of state and church that had to some extent developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

LUTHERANS AND THE PROBLEM OF STATE CHURCHES

It was in the first half of the nineteenth century that the church's independence from the state became a realistic possibility in Europe. Uniformity of society started to decline and a kind of pluralism began to replace it. The ideals of the French Revolution included freedom of speech, of writing, of opinion. The state was no longer to determine what had to be in the people's mind. No wonder that the traditional link between state and church seemed to be more and more outdated.

The doctrinal foundation has been weakened to such an extent that the message of the church seems to become irrelevant and meaningless, which leads to an increasing secularization.

Lutherans had a somewhat difficult time coming to grips with this phenomenon. More than others, they had lived in the tradition of state churches with the respective ruler as the church's head. The concept of the two kingdoms had hardly ever brought them to accept the idea of separation between state and church. But now political developments and progress turned the traditional concept around. The former "head of the church" lost his universal, omnipotent position in the state as parliamentary systems, political parties, and elected administrators gradually took over responsibility and a growing part of power.

This was not a best-case scenario for the church. Synodical constitutions adopted from the Reformed churches became popular and seemed to fit the prevailing trend, but at the same time they opened doors to the influence of unchurched people, who were interested only in mastering the church to misuse her for political purposes. August Vilmar in Germany was deeply afraid of *Herrn Omnes* (Mr. Everbody) taking over power in the church and directing her decisions, and he therefore called for a dominating position for the ordained clergy, in order to protect the church from secularization.

Independent Lutheran churches came into being in the 1830s in areas where the governing authorities forced the church into a direction contrary to her confessional heritage. This was the case in those parts of Germany where Unionism replaced the Lutheran confessional basis. Not that these independent churches regarded themselves as champions for religious freedom or similar ideals, nor that they intended to fight for separation between state and church. They understood this separation as something inevitable, since the governing authorities had abdicated their former position as protectors of the church and defenders of the faith. Now it was time for the church to stand on her own feet. She drew up her own constitution, organized for conventions and administration, largely using existing patterns. Lutherans can be flexible in matters of church organization; they don't know of structures by divine ordinance, except for the ministry itself. But some of the church leaders of independent churches in these times (as for instance Eduard Huschke in Silesia, the leader of the so-called Old Lutherans after 1835) realized quite well that the church was losing a lot: influence, presence in the public square, financial support, and the like. But they felt they had no other choice. They were forced into independence by the circumstances.

FROM STATE CHURCH TO "PEOPLE'S CHURCH"

The majority of churches, however, remained in their status as state churches. It was not until the twentieth century that those former state churches in Europe finally reached their freedom from the state, but by then it was already too late to save the church's confessional position. The new concept replacing the state church idea was named the *Volkskirche,* the church of the people, which means to comprehend as many citizens of a given territory as possible, open to all kinds of opinions, influences, and views, reflecting and corresponding to the freedom of speech and writing guaranteed in the public sphere.

Such *Volkskirchen,* territorial churches in Germany and some other parts of Europe today still enjoy a lot of their former privileges and prerogatives: their funds are collected by the state ("church tax"), they receive additional financial support, their clergy are trained in state-funded theological faculties, they teach "religion" in public schools, their influence in public affairs is firmly established, and they enjoy special rights as corporations under public law. But in spite of all these privileges, immunities and the like, they are losing influence and significance. The time for state churches has definitely passed, as has the time for *Volkskirchen* that try to include the majority of the population in their membership.

Today churches all over Europe face the (inevitable?) fate of becoming minority churches, and it's a difficult learning process they have to go through in order to adjust to the new situation. In all of Eastern Europe (with the exception of Poland, where the Roman Catholic Church still has a very strong position), the number of Christians in the population is considerably smaller than the number of non-Christians. Communism has been extremely effective in this respect. And Western Europe is moving in the same direction. There is no way the churches could ever regain their former strength. But the greatest danger does not come from being forced into a minority position in modern society, nor from losing influence or facing hostile surroundings. Instead, it is coming from the inside. The doctrinal foundation has been weakened to such an extent that the message of the church seems to become irrelevant and meaningless, which leads to an increasing secularization.

Under these circumstances it is quite helpful to remember Luther's statement: "It is not we who preserve the church; nor has it been our forefathers; nor will it be our followers; instead, it has been and still is and will ever be the One who says: I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. To *Him* be praise and thanks and honor." LOGIA

Reviews

"It is not many books that make men learned . . . but it is a good book frequently read."

Martin Luther

Review Essay

All Theology Is Christology: Essays in Honor of David P. Scaer. Edited by Dean O. Wenthe [et al.]. Fort Wayne, IN (6600 N. Clinton St., Fort Wayne 46825): Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2000.

A statement like "all theology is Christology" flies in the face of the pluralistic and relativistic worldview of our time. The church also struggles with such a claim. Relativism and its search for "truths" immediately questions not only words like "all" and "is" but goes far beyond that to question God and his word. The church catholic is not immune to the surrounding culture and at times embraces uncritically what is "new" in the culture and then reinterprets the faith that has been delivered to the saints. Modern theology infected the church, for example, with an historical-critical methodology that questions the veracity of the sacred text and then imposes its own biases and presuppositions. Now in this fast-fleeting "postmodern" era, where even historical-criticism can be and is questioned, God's word continues to vie for a position among many "truths." In the Festschrift *All Theology Is Christology: Essays in Honor of David P. Scaer* reviewed here we are reminded that theology is more than information and knowledge, because in the text of holy scripture we meet the person of Jesus Christ. Dr. David P. Scaer writes in an article on sanctification,

> Any attempt to make Christology preliminary to theology [i.e., Barth], or even only its most important part, but not its only part, is a denial of Luther's doctrine and effectively destroys the Gospel of the message of a completed atonement (*Concordia Theological Quarterly,* April/July 1985, 194).

Dr. Scaer argues that Lutheran theology is wholly Christological. (For a more extensive description of the history and theology of the phrase "all theology is Christology" see Dr. Scaer's article, "All Theology Is Christology" in *Modern Reformation,* Sep/Oct 1999, 28 ff.)

This Festschrift was written in honor of Dr. Scaer on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Dr. Scaer is professor of Systematic Theology and New Testament and holder of the David P. Scaer Chair of Biblical and Systematic Theology at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana. He has served the church faithfully in various roles as pastor, seminary professor and author of numerous articles and books and is considered "one of the most noteworthy Lutheran authors of the twentieth century." This volume is a collection of twenty-three essays, written by twenty-six churchmen and scholars, edited by five esteemed colleagues, and including translation work by one. This volume also includes indexes of holy scripture and the Lutheran Confessions and Name and Subject references for his book *Christology,* Dr. Scaer's first contribution to the Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics series. *All Theology Is Christology* includes "A Biographical Appreciation" by colleague Prof. Lawrence R. Rast Jr. in which he writes a detailed overview of Dr. Scaer's life, family, ministry, and academic achievements. He writes that David P. Scaer's personal bibliography, still incomplete, is more than fifty pages long and is "rarely matched" in the LCMS (15). Recent books are on baptism and the Sermon on the Mount. Rast writes:

> The breadth of theological disciplines and traditions of the contributors to this volume testify to Dr. Scaer's influence, as well as to the esteem in which his scholarship is held not only in his own church but in the broader academic and ecclesiastical community . . . (18).

The late C. S. Mann briefly summarizes Dr. Scaer's place in theological studies. He then shows how New Testament studies "have moved farther and farther from the text" (13). The "deterioration of New Testament studies" has been accompanied by the rise of "isms" including "literary interpretation," the "Jesus Seminar," the endless search for "Q," the view advanced that "the Apostle Paul was far more enamored by Hellenistic mystery religions than with his own native Judaism," and feminism and its attacks on the New Testament texts (13–14). Dr. Scaer's response to all these "isms" is "the text, the text, and the text" where there is more than ample material "by which we are, and will be judged" (14).

Dr. Arthur Just's essay, "Why Luke Is Indebted to Matthew as the First Gospel," discusses "the New Testament as catechetical documents." He writes, "both Matthew and Luke are catechists who shape Jesus' teaching so that their Gospels might reveal a Christ who continues to be present among his people with his gifts" (20). This essay explores Luke's "indebtedness to Matthew" as seen in the "missiological context in which they were written" and how Luke's ecclesiology is dependent on Matthew. Finally, a comparison is drawn between Matthew 28 ("church order") and Luke 24 ("christological mission") "as to their programmatic impact on the church's life" (21). Luke's ecclesiology builds on the "full christology" of Matthew with a "finely tuned 'prophet christology'" (22).

The essay by Dr. Peter Scaer entitled "Asaph and Jerusalem" shows the significance of King David's companion Asaph, based on 1 and 2 Chronicles, as a musician, liturgist, hymn-writer, and leader of a guild of musicians whose God chose to dwell in the temple of Jerusalem. Thus Asaph's name became synonymous "with true worship of God" (36). Peter Scaer demonstrates here how the Asaphite Psalter "exhibits a profound appreciation of God's presence in the temple" (41).

In his essay " Observations on the Use of the Synoptic Gospels in the Writings of Justin Martyr" Dr. Gottfried Martens notes how Dr. Scaer stresses "the importance of post-apostolic sources" in understanding the New Testament and in showing the continuity of New Testament history with the post-apostolic church fathers. For Dr. Scaer the writings of Justin Martyr witness to "the liturgical use of the gospels in the worship service in the middle of the second century" (49). This essay shows that Justin is indebted first to Matthew and then to Luke. Justin, in comparison to the apostolic fathers, centers on the essence and person of Christ. "The Lord himself is present in the word of the gospels, as they are read in the worship service" (57).

Dr. Charles Gieschen's essay, "The Divine Name in Holy Baptism" explores the significance of what Jesus understood by "the name" in which we are to be baptized (Mt 28:19). For the first century Jewish reader "the Name" in the New Testament would mean "YHWH." This was "the personal name of God" and meant that the personal reality of God could not be separated from the "Divine Name" (68). The Divine Name is shared by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The baptismal formulae in the New Testament "point to the priority and authenticity of the Trinitarian formula." Dr. David Scaer observes that the YHWH in the psalms and hymns may be the background for "the use of the Gloria Patri at the end of each psalm in the Divine Service" (74).

Pastor Thomas L. Olson's essay is "Matthew 5:48—A Word of God. Sanctification: Whole or In Part?" His thesis is "that the Christian, both with respect to his justification and with respect to his sanctification, is "no longer under law but under grace" (Rom 6:14). Using Matthew 5:48 and Deuteronomy 13:18 and other Old Testament passages, this essay demonstrates that "righteousness" and "completeness" go together (85). One is whole and acts in such a manner because "one has been created anew in the image of the Father" (89). "Therefore, to show mercy is to bear the image of God" (92). Thus, "sanctification is whole, never partial . . . ." (94).

Dr. Bruce G. Schuchard of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, writes in his essay, "The Wedding Feast at Cana and the Christological Monomania of St. John." that this event is tied to the Genesis account of the creation. John 1:19–2:11 is a "prelude" for the rest of the Gospel. The narrative of John is "distinctively concentric in nature." Jesus takes four journeys that reflect his expanding mission and include a "fourfold creation." There are other numerical parallels. The significance of the "third day" at Cana is Jesus' resurrection from the dead, the telos of the Gospel. Therefore Sunday is the day the church celebrates Jesus' resurrection where she feasts "with the Son of God at a great wedding feast" (105). "Cana, therefore, tells the whole story beforehand" (105). God saves the best wine for last: Jesus' blood, "shed for the life of the world" (106).

"Where is Your God? Luther on God's Self-Localization" is an essay written by Dr. John Kleinig of Luther Seminary in Australia. For Luther, God's localization in the temple in the Old Testament "culminated in the incarnation of our Lord" (117). In the Old Testament God located himself in the tabernacle at Mt. Sinai and then in Jerusalem. Luther understood God's self-localization incarnationally. Any form of worship which he does not institute through his word is idolatry (122). For the New Testament and the church today the sanctuary is Jesus himself. Luther developed his understanding of Jesus as the sanctuary in two ways, "christologically by reference to the humanity of Jesus as the place of God's presence, and liturgically by reference to the word and the sacraments as the means of access to his presence" (123).

The application of Luther's theology to marriage and family is discussed by Dr. Carter Lindberg in "The Future of a Tradition: Luther and the Family." For Luther the marriage of clergy was first a theological breakthrough, then marriage and family themselves "also influenced his theological development" (133). Luther's emphasis on righteousness before God as gift and not achievement and his theology freed the clergy from self-guilt for having married. Marriage was more than sexual relations but of keeping the home and raising children. The children belong to God and are not the possession of parents. Catechesis of the children was demanded by Luther. Luther's reflections on marriage and family can be useful in pastoral care and demonstrate his powerful doctrine of vocation with regard to the role of parents (145).

Richard John Neuhaus' contribution in Dr. Scaer's honor, "Luther, Newman and the Punctiliar Church" is a discussion of ecclesiology and how John Henry Newman understood Luther's theology of justification. Newman "made his greatest contributions" to the subject of ecclesiology (154). Neuhaus does not agree with Newman's critique of justification and refers to Lutheran theology's emphasis on the objective and "external basis of the Christian assurance of salvation" in the sacramental life of the church. He concludes, "In sum, justification is Christology" (156). Yet, the fundamental difference between Rome and Lutheranism is "over the historical reality of the Church" (158).

In his essay, "The Question of Theosis in the Perspective of Lutheran Christology" Dr. Lowell C. Green explores this doctrine and how it relates to Lutheran christology and forensic justification. The concept of "salvation through deification" is found both in pagan philosophy and religion and in parts of Christendom both in the ancient church and the medieval church. Tuomo Mannermaa demonstrates "that Luther's theology as a whole is essentially Christological" (168). However, "Mannermaa's Christology contradicts the doctrine of Christ in the Lutheran Confessions" (174). Christology and the doctrine of justification as confessed in the Book of Concord cannot be improved on or corrected with a doctrine of "theosis, apotheosis, or deification" (175).

Dr. Kurt Marquart's essay asks the question "The Church in the Twenty-First Century: Will There Be a Lutheran One?" The Apology "took refuge in the true nature of the church despite all contrary appearances" (181). "The future of goal-setting, trends, methods, techniques, 'Christian music' is something else even if it calls itself 'Lutheran'" (181–2). The Lutheran church cannot be defined "in terms of outward structure or organization . . . . Her one unifying bond is her confession, not her constitution. When the confession is lost, her essential identity is lost . . . ." (183–4). The Lutheran church is identified by justification and the Holy Supper (195–6).

In his essay "More Than Leader, Administrator, and Therapist: The Scriptural Substance of the Pastoral Office" Dr. Dean O. Wenthe, observes,

> the very language of Scripture is being foundationally undermined—not by a frontal challenge to its claims as frequently evidenced in twentieth-century Biblical scholarship—but by a process which formally and publicly uses the language of Sacred Scripture, while at the same time norming and subverting Scriptural language by an alien framework or matrix of meaning (199).

The "language of leadership, administration and therapy has . . . actually supplanted and transformed the church's vocabulary in ways that imperil the self-understanding of God's people on the one hand and of the pastor on the other" (203). "[The] church's confession needs to recover its creational, incarnational, sacramental and eschatological dimensions of the history of Israel and the life of Jesus . . . ." (210).

In his essay, "The Face of Christ as the Hope of the World: Missiology as making Christ Present," Dr. William C. Weinrich argues that "the missiological imperative of the Church [rests] upon the entire witness of the Scriptures" (216). "The impulse and foundation for the mission of the Church to the world arises from the fact that God is the Creator of all things" (216). The mission of the church belongs to the history of redemption and between the time of Jesus' resurrection and his second coming (217). This essay emphasizes the "passion of Jesus" as "the universal mission of God" (219). Our missiology today may represent "the formlessness of therapeutic and social science models rather than the 'hopeful discipline' of preaching, of the centrality of a vibrant sacramental life, and of a liturgy which makes clear that the church might be in the world, but is not of the world" (222). "Church begets Church" (223).

Klaus Detlev Schulz has translated the essay, "*Viva vox Evangelii:* A Necessary Course Correction," by Ulrich Asendorf. Pastor Asendorf shows how modern theology's understanding of God's word as preached word (*kerygma*) fails to appreciate the connection between the preached word and the text of scripture. A false distinction can be and is made that Scholastic theology lacked "a primary connection to preaching" (229). For Luther particularly, there exists this inseparable connection between the preached and written word. Therefore also Scripture must always test the truth of the preached Word" (230). This essay adds to research on early and mature Luther.

Dr. Norman Nagel's essay "The Laying on of Hands" connects God's mandate and promise. "What was done by a man's hands by mandate of the Lord was the Lord's doing" (244). Mandate, ordination, consecration. The Lord chooses his twelve. The Apostles lay their hands on others (Acts 6:6). They are "set apart . . . for the work, to which I have called them" (246). The Lord does the work and he does the giving. (i.e., " we confess holy ordination and holy ministry as a gift given by the Lord [1 Tim. 4:14]") (246). Scripture connects election and prayer to the laying on of hands. In the Confessions there is no objection to calling ordination or the laying on of hands a "sacrament," properly understood as "of the ministry of the word." Ordination and laying on of hands go together. Calling, electing and ordaining go together—"the church elects and pastors ordain" (250).

Dr. Ronald Feuerhahn, in his essay "Confusions in Law and Gospel: A Study in Prolegmonena," shows how law and gospel have been confused in church history. Faith and love were confused in the medieval period. During the sixteenth century Calvinism confused the *Proprium officium* and *Alienum opus*. Pietism was activistic and confused justification and sanctification. The Enlightenment period confused authority by emphasizing the distinction between doctrine and life (and love) (266). The 'Ecumenical' Confusion separated further the distinction of *fides qua creditur* and *fides quae creditur*. "Perhaps the most persistent error in the confusions described here is the presumption of a human-centered theology and piety over a God-centered one" (272).

In the essay "Disputatio: A Needed String to Theology's Bow?" Dr. John Stephenson explores the impact of the Ecumenical Movement and the Second Vatican Council on the method of dialogue and suggests that we can learn something from the disputatio mode of Thomas Aquinas. This essay suggests a "method of which traces can occasionally be discerned in the writings of the Reformer himself" (279). Dr. Stephenson holds up the Augsburg Confession as "an invitation to a dialogue which must continue both inside and outside our own Communion" (286).

Dr. Richard Muller of Calvin Theological Seminary writes on "Johann Augustus Wilhelm Neander: Historical Objectivity and the 'Religious' Element of Church History and the History of Doctrine." Johann Neander adds his own distinct contribution with his "focus on the religious life of Christianity" (291). It was "[Neander's] assumption that the historical and supernatural were not mutually exclusive and in his insistence that the religious consciousness of the Christian community must have been grounded in a 'chain of supernatural facts' present historically in the life and work of Christ" (295). This essay commends Neander's "balance" of "a profound religiosity together with objectivity of analysis . . . ." (308).

In his essay, "Origen and the Canon of Scripture," Dr. Daniel Gard follows the ancient teacher Origen of Alexandria who was "generally recognized as the biblical theologian of his times." This study focuses on the question: "What criterion or criteria did Origen develop for determining whether an individual writing was authoritative?" (314). "It would appear that the three factors of the LXX, tradition and the effects of Origen's travels converge on one central point: the Church" (323–4). For Origen the Bible does not belong to any particular community within the church at large but "the Church determines the canonicity of a book through its use of the book" (324).

In his essay "Evangelicals and the Bible in the Middle Ages" Dr. Cameron MacKenzie writes about the introduction of the Wycliffite Bible and the issues surrounding the introduction of that Bible, namely, biblical interpretation and the office of the ministry. There were "two principal issues" behind this debate over the English Bible: "1) the nature of the Bible and 2) order in the church" (331). The debate continued from issues of translation to the role of the clergy in the translation process. The Lollards stressed piety and denied the need for teachers, that is, learned clergy, and ignored the sacraments. (In footnote 2, p. 342, Dr. MacKenzie cites Herman Sasse, who described Wycliffe's position that the words of institution "must be taken figuratively." (337 ff) In contrast, "learned friars . . . held their position as teachers of the Church by the mandate of God as mediated through the Church . . . . Lay people were not supposed to have the Bible but to learn the Bible." (342).

Professor Lawrence R. Rast Jr. and Pastor Grant A. Knepper write in "Collecting Autographs: Missouri's Assumption of Princeton's Doctrine of the Autographa" that Milton Rudnick's "1966 study . . . showed correctly that "the LCMS's doctrine of inerrancy was consistent with that of Confessional Lutheranism—its roots were in Lutheran Orthodoxy" (349). However, the LCMS adopted "the language of the original autographa" and "assumed the language of Reformed Fundamentalism" (369). Over time the Princeton Theology limited inspiration and inerrancy only to the original autographs (351). Twentieth-century LCMS authors influenced the Missouri Synod and Synodical Conference so that in 1958 the convention adopted the statement, "Inspiration pertains in the first instance to the original autographs of Scripture" (368). (Rast and Knepper mention here Paul E. Kretzmann's *The Foundations Must Stand* and Theodore Engelder's *The Scripture Cannot Be Broken* and the article "Holy Scripture the Word of God" published in *The Abiding Word* in 1947.)

Dr. Paul Hinlicky, in his essay "The Future of Tolerance: In Honor of Dr. Scaer," writes, "the notion of freedom in much contemporary liberalism" has shriveled into a radical, aggressively secular relativism, which regards all things with equal irony, detachment and indifference which begs the question, "What are the limits of tolerance?" (375). All human conflicts of interest or of values can be "harmonized" (378). The "breakdown of modern liberalism" can be found in John Mill's denial of original sin (380). Dr. Hinlicky proposes "a narrative structure of human consciousness" which allows the freedom of the individual "to argue about the truth and sense of the common life" (382). "True tolerance" within Christianity comes from the Gospel of the cross of Christ and a recovery in modern Christian theology of the "faith of the martyrs" (388).

In his essay, "Nation and Glory" Pastor Winthrop Brainerd connects the creation of a people of God and its glory with the Old Testament prophetic "recovery of . . . three criteria of promise, nation, and liturgy" (392). In the prologue to his Gospel of John, there is creation of a "people" by election and ratified by the divine glory which is worked among the faithful in the liturgy. The liturgy includes a liturgy of catechumens and a liturgy of sacrament where the catechumens are already prepared for a "radical confrontation with the resurrected Jesus in sacramental reality" (393). The "assembly" is made into "a new people, the children of God, through [Christ's] incarnation in sacrament . . . to ratify, to justify, to elect the assembly" (394–5).

Dr. David P. Scaer has done the church a great service in calling her back to her theology, which is in all its parts christological. In today's "tolerant" and relativistic world the church struggles by God's grace to remain faithful in her confession of Christ and his words. Dr. Scaer's phrase, "all theology is Christology," reflects the united witness of the scriptures to Christ from creation to eschaton. In Matthew's gospel we are given the church's confession of Jesus, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God." (16:16) This Festschrift should be read by all pastors and laity inside and outside of the church of the Augsburg Confession. The essays in this volume reflect Dr. Scaer's own great contribution to the church catholic "in the Reformation tradition of Martin Luther" (12). *All Theology Is Christology: Essays in Honor of David P. Scaer* will both challenge and encourage the reader to a deeper appreciation of the Christological content of the biblical text and its incarnational, sacramental and liturgical connection to the church "for the life of the world."

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Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching. By Craig A. Satterlee. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2002. 365 pages. Softcover. $34.95.

Catechesis is central to the church's work and to any pastor's ministry. There is perhaps no greater joy and labor than in forming Christ within the young, the middle-aged and the elderly; the next generation of Christians. And yet, how catechesis is actually done remains a mystery to many. Within the LCMS there are several divergent viewpoints as to the function of catechesis and the appropriate methods to actually catechize. However, as with all eras of church history, we must be ready to catechize; to pass on the faith to others and to actually introduce people to the living, breathing, incarnate Christ who remains active in this world through the liturgical actions of the church.

Satterlee has allowed readers of his dissertation from Notre Dame to catch a glimpse of one of the company of heaven, St. Ambrose of Milan. This work is rightly to be seen as a companion piece to William Harmless' *Augustine and the Catechumenate,* since it continues to explore a facet of catechesis from the fourth century. Satterlee's desire in studying Ambrose is twofold: 1) to understand what it meant for Ambrose to preach mystagogically and 2) to ascertain a method of mystagogical preaching for our own era. Before beginning this task, Satterlee lays the groundwork for a proper understanding of mystagogy defined as, ". . . sustained reflection on the Church's rites of initiation, preaching on the 'mysteries' of the Christian faith," and which has as its goal, "the formation of Christians rather than providing religious information to Christians" (xxiii). The 'rites' are those connected with the baptism performed at the Easter vigil and which are then preached upon during the first week of Easter. Central to this preaching, and the foundation of Satterlee's book, is that preaching mystagogically does not merely mean giving an explanation of what happened in baptism, but rather, allowing the baptized to re-experience their union with Christ in a much fuller dimension.

The book has nine chapters. Chapter one establishes the need for mystagogy not just for Ambrose, but for the modern church.

Since the sacraments are indeed mysteries, Satterlee argues that they should be treated as such not only liturgically, but also homiletically. Satterlee calls for preachers of the mysteries to acquire techniques that are oral, rather than written, in character and mystagogical, rather than cognitive, in approach. Satterlee argues that a sermon connected with the mysteries must take into account the rhetorical interactions of preacher, listener, message and setting (classical rhetoric's subdivisions of ethos, pathos, logos). The second chapter offers a peak into the historical background of Ambrose's life: his birth, rise to governorship, election as Bishop, and the specific challenges he faced serving a church in this fallen world (namely Arianism, culturalism, apathy and delinquency).

Chapters three through eight are a series of six historical studies on Ambrose and his church that correspond to his homiletic method. Chapter three reflects Ambrose the preacher. Ambrose is said to have been able to "speak the Bible" through the use of cadence and rhythm. In further establishing his ethos as the bishop of Milan, Ambrose showed great concern for the state of his church using his rhetorical prowess in every defense of the faith. He also intimately shared with his congregation by memorizing his sermons and maintaining constant eye contact; a feat only properly accomplished by a rhetorician of his caliber.

Chapter four explores how the audience embraces a message. Satterlee emphasizes Ambrose's great desire to listen to the spiritual needs of those who listened to him, especially those baptized at the Easter vigil. Much emphasis is placed upon the neophytes' involvement in mystagogy. Again, Ambrose is not at all concerned with explaining the rite of baptism, but rather in having the neophytes meet the living Christ through that spiritual realm and then and only then to open their eyes to the reality they have been brought into. Such revelation is never seen as being purely academic or informative; rather its experiential nature is emphasized. The union with Christ is what is of utmost importance.

Chapter five explores the logos, or text, of the sermon. This lengthy section embraces the neophytes with the mystagogical words of Ambrose from Lent, to their baptism and through the following week of Easter. This chapter unveils the initiation rites connected with the Easter vigil: the ephphatha, entrance into baptistry, prebaptismal anointing, renunciation, exorcism, baptism into the font, postbaptismal anointing, washing of the feet (as peculiar to Milan and not Rome), vesting with white robes, spiritual seal, and finally the procession to the altar. Throughout these elements, Ambrose's mystagogical words ring in the ears of people as they enter into an indescribable union with the crucified and resurrected Christ.

Chapter six describes Ambrose's mystagogical preaching in terms of his use of allegory, typology, and chains of reasoning. Chapter seven emphasizes the need for mystagogical preaching to be full of "milk" since the newly baptized are still realizing the importance of their mysterious union with Christ. Chapter eight reiterates the preacher's need to emphasize character, voice, style of delivery and attitude as well as establishes a need for the architectural structure of the church to complement the spoken word.

Chapter nine concludes the book with Satterlee's call for a need to rediscover mystagogy in preaching. A mystagogical method of preaching emphasizes participation with the rites and with the word rather than a mere explanation of them. Satterlee introduces several points discovered in Ambrose's preaching that might be used by modern preachers to probe the theological depths of the mysteries. Typology, allegory, use of simple language and biblical illustrations are just a few examples called upon to rightly interpret the rites of initiation that may be used in creating a mystagogical sermon. Satterlee ends this chapter with a mystagogical sermon preached in his own congregation at the Easter vigil. The sermon is a modern example of mystagogical preaching closely following Ambrose's own method.

Satterlee's work is excellent for any pastor or lay theologian. His writing style is simple and appropriate for anyone interested in exploring the depths of Christ's mysteries. Satterlee is repetitive but never redundant. Such repetition proved quite necessary. By using such a method, he carefully holds our hand and walks us through Milan, introducing us to one of the greatest bishops in all of history. Satterlee's work is very timely in terms of homiletics and catechesis. Homiletical concerns are causing an increasing weariness with both higher critical principles of interpretation and the lingering odor of intellectualism. Preachers from all denominations are beginning to view sermons as events of meeting the incarnate Christ rather than as opportunities to make an intellectual argument. Satterlee has revealed that Ambrose's fourth-century style of preaching is actually perfect for our time. Ambrose knew how to speak the word to people, to create a realm in which preacher and congregant interacted together around the living, incarnate Christ; something the church in any age could benefit from. Mystagogical preaching is preaching Christ. It is the meeting of Christ in the here and now in a way that is wonderfully removed from our unbelieving world. Mystagogical preaching is indeed a step into another world, into another life: the life of the crucified and risen Christ.

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The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions. By Bruce M. Metzger. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2001.

In a volume apparently written for popular consumption rather than scholarly use, Bruce Meztger provides an overview of the history and texts of almost sixty versions of the Bible in fewer than two hundred pages. The author's approach is fast-moving and engaging, treating some versions of the Bible in a few paragraphs (like the Sodgian and Old Church Slavonic versions), while dedicating an entire chapter to the King James Version. The last half of the book offers a remuda of modern translations and sports a multi-page table arguing for the superiority of the New Revised Standard Version. Metzger's command of the subject matter is impressive, no doubt due to his long and prolific career in biblical studies (my copy of Lexical Aids for Students of New Testament Greek has a 1946 copyright!).

The volume at hand is divided into two parts, the first quarter covering ancient versions, the balance treating English versions. Metzger's discussion of ancient versions begins with the

Septuagint and the Targums. The author takes a high view of the Septuagint, citing its "general fidelity to the original," its influence over the Jews, its relationship to the Greek New Testament, and its "place in the Christian Church."

Those familiar with both the Septuagint and the Masoretic text may find the idea that the LXX is generally faithful to the original difficult to swallow. Metzger does provide six paragraphs of Septuagintal deviations from the Masoretic text a few pages later, stating that the text of the LXX eventually became "so unreliable" that Origen undertook the Hexpla in an attempt to purify it. For Metzger, the decline in the reliability of the Greek text begins here, and spirals downward until finally corrected with the Revised Version in 1885. While the discussion of the Targums is interesting, they find a more natural home in a discussion of Bible commentaries rather than a treatment of Bible versions.

The reader is next presented with the history and development of eleven ancient versions of the Bible intended chiefly for Christians. These include the Syriac Peshitta, the Vulgate and earlier Latin versions, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, and several other seemingly obscure, but old, versions. Metzger's treatment of the individual versions frequently includes a history of Christianity in the region, as well as naming the evangelists or rulers responsible for the spread of the Christian faith. The author uses geography, orthography, philology, linguistics, ecclesiastical tradition and secular history to place the versions into their appropriate culture and age. The discussions of the development of alphabets and the impact of the Bible on the language of ancient cultures are especially informative.

Metzger describes some ancient manuscripts in detail. Codex Argenteus, for instance, is an early sixth-century Gothic manuscript written in silver ink on purple parchment. The first three lines of each of the Gospels is written in gold ink. The author goes on to provide the dimensions of the pages, the number of leaves in the original, and the fact that 188 copies survive. The life of the document before the seventeenth century is "veiled in obscurity." The document survived a salt-water ship wreck, ultimately arriving in Sweden. Three centuries later a missing leaf containing the last eight verses of the Gospel of St. Mark was found in St. Afra's chapel in the cathedral of Speyer during renovations.

The histories presented are fascinating, but the serious reader is disappointed at the lack of references to source documents or citations for most of the historical information. Similarly, while the book includes two indexes (topical and scripture verses), the absence of a bibliography is disappointing. This may be due to the fact that four chapters of the book are reproduced from journal articles, and some material is taken from a lecture at Dallas Theological Seminary. Lacking appropriate references and citations, the reader must be satisfied with Metzger's learned presentation of the material.

The book moves next to English versions predating the King James Version. These include the Wycliffite Bible, the Tyndale Bible, Coverdale's Bible, Matthew's Bible, Taverner's Bible, The Great Bible, Becke's Bibles, the Geneva Bible, the Bishop's Bible, and the Rheims-Douay Bible. As with the ancient versions, Metzger provides historical settings and interesting details regarding the translation, printing, and text of each version. Here the author also provides some footnoting of source documents.

The King James Version warrants its own chapter. The Puritan involvement, the stipulations that the version follow the six English versions that preceded it, the process of translation (really revision according to Metzger), the preface, and the printing of the Authorized Version are discussed. A selective discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the text follows. Open your KJV to Matthew 23:24. Does it read "strain at a gnat"? It was meant to read "strain out a gnat" according to Metzger. The difference was typographic error made in the first printing perpetuated until now. Similarly, in the 1631 edition the word "not" was omitted from the Seventh Commandment, rendering a surprising command. The printers were fined for the error. Closing comments on the NKJV reveal the author's dislike for the translation and his distrust of the underlying Greek text.

The period between the KJV and the late nineteenth century is covered in two chapters, the first of which is entitled "Between the King James Bible and the Revised Version." Of the four versions following the KJV discussed, the author treats Charles Thomson's Bible (1808) in the greatest detail. This Bible carries the distinction of being the first English translation made and published in America. Noah Webster's Bible also appears in this era.

In the chapter on the British Revised Version and the American Standard Version, we see Metzger's low view of the Textus Receptus and Majority Text, and his high view of text criticism. He states "By the middle of the nineteenth century, the study of the Greek manuscripts had shown beyond question that the King James Version was based upon a Greek text that contained the accumulated errors of fifteen centuries of manuscript copying." Erasmus' Greek text underlying the KJV had lost its authority in light of the discovery of more reliable manuscripts. Codex Alexandrinus was discovered in 1627. In 1859 Tischendorf, the editor of Codex Vaticanus, discovered Codex Sinaiticus. For Metzger, it is at this point that, as the title of one of his other books states, the corruption of the biblical text ends and the restoration begins. Many other familiar names appear in this period, including Westcott and Hort, Schaff, and Scrivener. After a translation team worked eleven years, the New Testament was published; another four years were required to finish the entire Bible (1885). The Revised Version was published in England, and the American Standard Version, revised and edited from the RV, was published sixteen years later in the United States.

From this point on the reader is taken through a seemingly endless tour of the texts and histories of modern versions of the Bible in English. Four "Early Modern-Speech Versions" are presented, and then what is clearly a milestone for Metzger, the RSV, gets complimentary treatment:

> Thus, the story of the making of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, is an account of the triumph of ecumenical concern over the more limited sectarian interests. Now, for the first time since the Reformation, one edition of the Bible had received the blessing of leaders of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox churches alike.

Although not stated in the book, it should be remembered that Metzger worked on the RSV project.

Four more contemporary versions are examined in four short chapters. These include the NIV, which receives only a quick mention. A chapter entitled "Revision after Revision" brings us to the distinctly contemporary NRSV, of which Metzger was chairman of the translation committee. This version is clearly his favorite. It is here that the reader is treated to four and a half pages of comparison showing the NRSV to be superior to the RSV. These charts promote the unfortunate elimination of the words "man" and "men," as well as what Metzger calls the "Elimination of Unnecessary Masculine Renderings."

Two final chapters discuss "Simplified, Easy-to-Read Versions" based on a limited vocabulary for those not fluent in English, and "Paraphrases of the English Bible," which interestingly date to 1653. Metzger closes his book with a postscript in which he offers several pages of comments on the process of translation.

The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions is an interesting, fast-paced work that covers an amazing amount of ground. The lack of a bibliography and absence of end notes or references to historical sources is a definite shortcoming. When used, Greek and Hebrew words have been transliterated. Metzger's interest in, and comfort with, text criticism is a strong theme in the last half of the book. The modernization and simplification of biblical language, including the contemporary trend towards gender-neutrality, is espoused by the author in his treatment of modern versions of the Bible.

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Logia Forum

Short Studies and Commentary

Epiphany Mass

Music of J. S. Bach in a Liturgical Setting, Gabrieli Consort and Players directed by Paul McCreesh (*Archiv 457 631–2*)

This recording presents music of Bach as it might have been heard at Epiphany in St Thomas Church, Leipzig, in about the year 1740. Apart from the Creed and Agnus Dei, sung in unison to melodies used and re-worked by Luther (*Luther's Works* 53, pages 151f, 271–273), the various mass settings are by Bach. The recording is an eye-opener (mainly by way of the ear) to liturgical practice prior to the triumph of pietism and rationalism among Lutherans in Germany.

Dr Robin Leaver, professor of sacred music, Rider University, was liturgical director for the recording. His exhaustive research on liturgical practices in Leipzig during the time of Bach is in agreement with that of Guenther Stiller, as published in *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig* (Concordia, 1984). In the Leaver-McCreesh reconstruction, no detail has been spared, even to the ringing of a sanctuary bell during the consecration. (This practice was brought to an end by the rationalistic superintendent S G Rosenmueller in 1787 [Stiller, 106, 108, 160].)

Though the music of J. S. Bach is not as spectacular as that of Michael Praetorius in *Lutheran Mass for Christmas Morning* (Archiv 439250-2), it has profound, untiring depth. The recording is valuable for the Kyrie alone. In this brilliant setting, as the consort sings the Kyrie, Bach has a horn blend in the melody of the Agnus Dei.

Two cantatas have been included in the recording. According to the practice at St Thomas Church, the first comes immediately after the Gospel and is based on it. The other, an exquisite rendition of *Schmuecke dich, o liebe Seele,* (BWV 180) is given during the Distribution, an additional possible location for a cantata.

Some hymns on this recording are sung unaccompanied, since the date when organ began to be used with hymns in Leipzig is uncertain. To provide an authentic touch to the unaccompanied hymns, some voices sing an octave lower. In the Creed, also sung unaccompanied by the whole congregation (using Luther's versified setting), extraneous notes can even be heard in places. Hymn singing is slow, but the final hymn, "From heaven above," is particularly strong and stirring.

For this reviewer, *Epiphany Mass* was an eye-opener also for the following reasons:

It helped dispel the impression that an immediate fruit of the reformation was that congregations participated in singing the mass. In this recording, the congregation does not sing until the Gradual hymn (between Epistle and Gospel). It sings the Creed, a brief Pulpit hymn (before the sermon), and hymns after the sermon, during the Distribution and at conclusion of the mass. It also sings the Agnus Dei at the conclusion of the Distribution, and a response after the Benediction. Everything else is sung by the celebrant, the choir, or, in the case of the Epistle, by the deacon.

It shows that, in Leipzig at least, for major festivals large sections of the mass continued to be sung in Latin. This is so for the Introit hymn, Gloria, Collect (including greeting and seasonal verse), Preface and Sanctus.

Epiphany Mass begins with an Introit hymn, not general confession. This is presumably because "in Leipzig throughout the eighteenth century only the form of private confession was used." Opportunity for private confession was given "before the communion services themselves as well as on the previous day from noon onward" [Stiller, 44].

J. S. Bach came to Leipzig during a time of astonishing church life in a city exceptional for its times. At the two main city churches alone (the churches of St. Thomas and St. Nicholas) various services were held each day of the week. Sunday morning mass began at 7 A.M. and lasted from three to four hours, depending on the number of communicants. The sermon usually lasted for at least an hour. The music in this recording, which comprises two CDs, continues for two hours and twenty minutes.

Congregational choirs from Dresden and Freiberg provide the unison hymn singing, while the Gabrieli Consort, under the expert direction of Paul McCreesh, gives all the choral parts. The entire text of the mass, including all the hymns and readings, is given in an accompanying booklet, together with literal translations in English and French.

The Apology of the Augsburg Confession in its conclusion to the article on the mass (Article XXIV), says, ". . . we most zealously preserve the dignity of the Mass . . . ." [Tappert, 268]. This was done by early Lutherans not only in their teaching, but also in their conduct of the mass. For at least two hundred years, Lutheran practice followed the principles laid down by Luther in his masses of 1523 and 1526. What came to fruition in Bach's music has its roots in Luther and Lutheran theology. Paul McCreesh has written, "I'm fascinated how the spirit of Luther seems to hover over all this great religious art, and few theologians can have understood the relationship of music and liturgy so profoundly." That Bach wonderfully embellished Lutheran theology and music with his own music is demonstrated in this very fine recording.

David Buck
Glandore-Underdale, Australia

Cruciform Shepherding

A sermon on St. John 21:15–19 preached by the Rev. John T. Pless at Kramer Chapel, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, IN, April 17, 2002.

"But when you are old, you will stretch out your hands and another will dress you and carry you where you do not want to go." Ominous words. If you are looking forward to vicarage assignments and call service, they might even raise your anxiety level a notch or two. Admittedly this saying of Jesus does not bring any consolation for those who think of the Ministry as a career that ought to conform to one's personal wants and wishes.

These words of course are directed to Peter. The Evangelist John quickly notes that Jesus spoke these words to Peter to show by what death he was to glorify God. Jesus, who is lifted up on the cross to draw all men unto himself, draws Peter to himself. Just as the Good Shepherd laid down his life for the sheep, so Peter will suffer for the Gospel's sake. Crucified upside down so the story goes. However his cross was configured, Peter would by his death glorify God.

When Jesus calls a man to follow him, he bids him come and die, says Bonhoeffer. Bonhoeffer does not always get it right. But here he is on target. The Christian life is cruciform in shape. This is especially true for the life of the pastor. Say whatever you will about character of the pastoral office, but this much you must say with the Apostle Paul: We are "always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. For we who live are always being given over to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh" (2 Cor 4:10–11). This is the Ministry seen through the lens of the theology of the cross.

The theology of the cross leaves its imprint on Peter. Not only in his bold boasting that comes back to haunt and judge him in his threefold denial of our Lord, but also here by the Sea of Tiberias as that threefold denial is met by the threefold restoration of the Savior. Three times Peter confesses his love for the Lord Jesus Christ and three times Christ gives to Peter the work of a pastor, a shepherd: Feed my lambs. Tend my sheep. Feed my sheep.

Then after that third commission, Jesus speaks this unsettling word that sets forth the cross that is there also for Peter. When he was young, he dressed himself and went wherever he pleased. When he becomes old, others stretch out his hands, dress him and carry him off to where he does not want to go. This is more than an observation about geriatrics; it is a prophecy about Peter and beyond him to all faithful shepherds. Don't expect the office without the cross. I am not talking about the jewel-studied pectoral cross that might hang over your chest, but the cross that is laid upon those who faithfully stand in the stead and by the command of the Good Shepherd as servants of his word.

You cannot choose its shape or size. But the cross will come to those who feed and tend Christ's holy sheep. It is part of the territory. Don't be surprised or caught off guard, but look to him who is the Shepherd and Overseer of your souls. For he bore your sins in his body on the tree that you might die to sin and live to righteousness. "By his wounds you have been healed" (1 Pt 2:24).

By his wounds you know Jesus to be the Shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep. The sight of nail-scarred hands and spear-pierced side, Jesus' breath and words made of Peter and the others apostles. Sent by the Father, they speak the words that forgive sins. The word is the voice of the Good Shepherd, and his sheep hear that voice and follow him out of death into life. They give the gifts Christ has bestowed on them to
distribute. They feed the flock purchased with Christ's own blood. They tend the sheep, not only pasturing them with the food of God's word but also guarding and defending them from the satanic schemes of false shepherds who come to scatter and destroy.

It is for this work that God gives pastors to his church. Pastors feed and tend God's sheep. The layman C. S. Lewis once quipped that he wished the clergy in his own Anglican Church would remember that Christ's words to Peter were not "teach my dogs new tricks but feed my sheep." Good advice for us as well. Christ did not place pastors in his church to experiment with the sheep, organize the sheep into seminars so that they might be more effective in their sheepishness, promote an "every sheep a shepherd" emphasis, or entertain the sheep, but to feed the sheep and tend to the sheep as men who must one day give account.

Whoever aspires to the office of bishop aspires to a noble task, wrote the Apostle Paul. Indeed it is a noble task to feed God's flock with the precious food of the Gospel and the body and blood of Christ. Surely it is a noble task to guard and tend the flock that Christ has purchased with his own blood. But it is a demanding task. It took Peter's life. It is a task that will take your life. Perhaps not on an upside down cross but in daily dying, the thousand little deaths that come in the course of faithfulness to your vocation. Nonetheless a cross awaits you as well. "Who is sufficient for these things?" Peter? You? Me? No, our sufficiency is in the One who was crucified and raised, the One who says "Follow Me." Amen.

Academy of Apologetics

The seventh annual European summer study session of the International Academy of Apologetics, Evangelism, and Human Rights is scheduled to meet in Strasbourg, France, July 8–19, 2003. Professors in residence include John Warwick Montgomery, Craig Parton, Michael Saward, and Oliver H. G. Wilder Smith. The list of ten subjects include topics like "The Apologetic Task Today," "Scientific Apologetics," "Aesthetics and the Defence of the Faith," "Historical and Legal Apologetics," and "Apologetics and Medical Issues." Only twenty registrants will be accepted and the registration deadline is March 15, 2003. For further information or to receive a brochure, contact Craig A. Parton, Esq., United States Director, 33 Langlo Terrace, Santa Barbara, CA 93105, phone (805) 682-3020; e-mail: parton1@juno.com.

Worship and Doctrine

Greg Alms offers this review of Friederich Kalb's Theology of Worship in Seventeenth-Century Lutheranism (*St. Louis: Concordia, 1965; Translated by Henry P. Hamann*).

The marriage of doctrine and worship is the fruitful union from which a healthy Lutheran church body takes its birth. The Lutherans Confessions supply that doctrine; they serve as the critical pattern of truth drawn from and filled with Scriptural, Christological, Gospel content. But the Confessions in isolation become mere historical documents. They need liturgy, the church at worship, in order to truly live in a church body. The Confessions are not static documents but a living guide to Christ, marking the boundaries of truth where Christ and his salvation are found. Worship is that pasture whose fences are the Confessions. In the Divine Service the faithful feed on God's Truth Incarnate for salvation; the God of grace and mercy works righteousness in dead sinners and his people acclaim him. What the Confessions guarantee, the service delivers: God and his salvation.

That these two go together, worship and doctrine, is not always obvious in the life of the what claims to be confessional Lutheranism in America. Aberrations of church growth methodologies and claustrophobic conservatism centered on repristinating bygone eras both cut the natural bond between the Confessions and the Divine service. In the former, content and confession are unloosed so that worship gallops free from specific beliefs to entertain the masses, while the latter doctrine serves mainly to preserve the form and patterns of the cherished past. In both confessional Lutheranism is still-born, the product of an unhappy, uneven marriage.

What is needed is a viewpoint that connects worship and doctrine, liturgy and the Confessions. It is precisely that outlook which is supplied in this masterful little book by Friederich Kalb. The book offers a glimpse into a theological way of thinking sorely needed in this day when a comprehensive theology that integrates all aspects of authentic Lutheran theology in a living way is hard to find. The strength of Kalb's book is the peek it offers into an attempt (not perfect) at a holistic theological system where doctrine and worship are incorporated into a complete vision of Lutheran church life. There are scores of lessons to be learned from seeing the relation of worship and doctrine in the mind of the Orthodox Lutheran fathers; however, three can be noted for now.

The first lesson comes from learning the context in which the Orthodox Lutheran systematicians wrote. The seventeenth century was a century of Orthodoxy but also of incipient pietism within Lutheranism and, on the outside, Reformed enemies of Lutheran doctrine and a robust Romanism. Kalb's presentation of the atmosphere in which the orthodox doctrine of worship was formulated helps to dispel a persistent notion in our day: that our situation is so unique and new that it calls for new and daring changes in worship. In fact, what Kalb reminds us is that the church has always had to formulate and practice her worship in the midst of the constant urge from within and without to nudge Christ and his gifts to the side and put man and his work in the center. Whether the Roman sacrifice of the Mass, the creeping fog of mysticism, or the glowing heart of the pietist, the individualistic, anthropocentric impulse is never far from the church at worship.

A second lesson to be gleaned is the relation of worship to the whole of the theological enterprise and the Christian life. Kalb makes clear that the orthodox fathers managed to connect the whole of Christian doctrine and life to worship. The orthodox doctrine of worship was comprehensive; for these Lutherans, worship was not one section of dogmatics but was the whole subject of dogmatics and ethics. "Worship" was shorthand for the relation of God and man; it is the meeting of God and man in Christ. As such it stands at the center of all ecclesiastical action. When God deals with us it necessarily involves worship. A deep desire for true doctrine in the orthodox fathers led them not away from worship as mere adiaphoron or to a dead formalism, but precisely to the realization that worship pervades all Christian experience and thought. Lutheranism in the twentieth century has found it difficult to maintain both a integral liturgical worship while at the same time maintaining a deep and live attachment to true doctrine. These systematicians show us that this need not be the case.

This realization of the pervasiveness of worship in the Christian life led the dogmaticians to consider not only the essence and theological underpinnings of worship, but the concrete aspects of worship in the congregation. The perennial problem that must be faced in dealing with Lutheran worship is adiaphora. If the service is adiaphora, what saves it from complete irrelevance? If salvation is not to be found in the human aspects of the liturgy, why must there be a liturgy or organized forms of worship at all? Adiaphora, the escape hatch of current contemporary worship faddists, is carefully considered by the domgaticians.

Kalb brings to the surface in the Orthodox Lutheran dogmaticians what might be termed the paradox of adiaphora. While they are free and not commanded or essential for salvation, worship cannot happen apart from human ceremonies not commanded in scripture. No Christian service can exist without adiaphora since what is commanded by Christ in regards to baptism, preaching and Lord's Supper cannot be carried out without adiaphoristic ceremony. The Verba and Distribution and Trinitarian baptism must somehow happen within a service in a congregation. Adiaphora are, on the one hand, not essential, yet on the other they are. This tension lies at the heart of all practical Lutheran theology of worship.

The dogmaticians do not dissipate this tension but harness it in service of the Gospel. Adiaphora are never rites that must be carried out to give salvation, yet they are related to the Gospel as to their ultimate source and reason for being. The category "adiaphora" is not a junk drawer into which all extra-sacramental actions are thrown to so that they may be used in a pinch or ignored at will. They exist as servant to the Gospel: to assist, arrange and beautify. The Gospel sacraments and the adiaphora of the liturgy go together and must always be together. Ceremonies are the structures and means by which the Gospel and sacraments take shape within the liturgy. Never empty or neutral, humanly devised rites and ceremonies are always organically related and united to the concrete sacramental Gospel of the Lutheran liturgy.

The theology of the seventeenth century Lutheran fathers was not perfect, nor will it serve as an instant solution to the worship woes engulfing Lutheranism today. Their shortcomings (a drift toward legalism, a dry scholastic form of expression among others) are apparent. However, an integrated theological vision which encompasses both doctrine and liturgy in a harmonious whole is a helpful challenge to us and our age, which thrives on fragmentation and atomization. A deep look back into one generation's unifying expression of the relation of doctrine and liturgy will assist us to not put asunder what God has joined together.

NELA 2002 Symposium

The world is getting smaller. The communication-technology revolution, along with the relative ease, speed, and low cost of international travel, has made neighbors of people who in the past would never even have known of each other's existence. Now colleagues in the ministry are not just those from Los Angeles, St. Louis, or Pittsburgh, but also those from Nairobi, Riga, Bergen, Copenhagen, and Gothenburg. Mutual Christian edification across borders is a privilege and a necessity.

The sister institution of the Luther Academy (U. S.), the North European Luther Academy (NELA), held its annual symposium August 15–18, Thursday through Sunday, in Gothenburg, Sweden. NELA's "mission is, on the foundation of The Holy Scripture and in faithfulness to the Evangelical-Lutheran confession (The Book of Concord), to pursue dynamic theological research and education, that rediscovers treasures in the theological heritage of our Churches and confronts the biblical truths with today's questions" ("The Foundations of the North European Luther Academy," 1). This mission is accomplished through "publications, theological symposia, and contacts with confessional Lutheran groups and institutions throughout the world" (*"Stadgar för Nordeuropeisk Luther-akademi,"* paragraph 3, my translation).

As such, representatives from eight different countries attended the recent conference: nine were from the United States, including First Vice President of the Missouri Synod and President of the Luther Academy, the Rev. Daniel Preus, the Lutheran Heritage Foundation's Director of Mission Advancement, the Rev. John Fehrmann, as well as two professors from Concordia Theological Seminary, the Rev. Dr. Timothy Quill and *Logia* contributing editor, the Rev. Dr. David Scaer.

Twelve speakers from six different nations, including the LCMS's Scaer and the Rev. John Maxfield, Director of the Luther Academy (U. S.), addressed the symposium's theme: "'True God and True Man': Christology and Anthropology." Immediate translation was provided via microphones and headsets.

Besides engaging theological presentations and discussion, highlights of the conference included the singing of the participants' national anthems at the Saturday evening fine dinner, as well as the beautiful closing Divine Service and powerful preaching of NELA president, the Rev. Fredrik Sidenvall of Gothenburg, on Sunday morning.

After the close of the symposium on Sunday afternoon, my father, the Rev. Hans Andrae, and I traveled to Torpa parish and parsonage, approximately four and a half hours east of Gothenburg. Torpa is the tiny rural parish where Bo Giertz served as associate pastor 1938–1949. It was during his tenure at this small church, and at the tender age of 36, that Giertz wrote *The Hammer of God,* the widely known and beloved Law-Gospel narrative which is required reading at LCMS seminaries today. From there Giertz went on to the bishopric of Gothenburg. In 1999, one year after his death at age ninety-three, a poll named him the most influential Swedish churchman of the twentieth century. He is buried in the Torpa, under the inscription *Verbum crucis Dei virtus.*

Along with symposia, a planned high-school youth exchange, translation of more Giertz material, the distribution of a film based on the first chapter of *The Hammer of God,* an international conference at First Trinity-Pittsburgh planned for 2005 (the centennial year of Giertz's birth), and other projects, this marks an especially exciting and opportune time for Swedish-American Lutheran relations.

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Awash in Multiculturalism

Alvin J. Schmidt's recent book, Under the Influence: How Christianity Transformed Civilization, (*Zondervan Publishing House—Harper and Colins Publishers: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2001; 423 pages*) *prompted this response from Rev. Mark Bartling.*

What has made the last 2000 years of civilization different from the first 4000 years of history? Alvin J. Schmidt demonstrates why our world is a very different place because of Christianity. The book is a survey of the vast, pervasive influence that Christianity has had for two thousand years and how it has transformed civilization. It discloses how far and how deep the influence of Christ extends.

Setting Christianity against its historical Greek and Roman backdrop and against pagan cultures worldwide, the book reveals the full, radical nature of the Christian faith as a shaping force that has knit the moral fabric and inspired the highest achievements of Western Civilization, with untold benefits to the entire world. Schmidt writes:

> Unlike the leaders of so many other religious movements, Jesus was no political figure; he had no connection with Herod or the Sanhedrin; he took no political action; his disciples were relatively uneducated. Yet he changed millions more than Alexander the Great, Mohammed, and Napoleon put together. It all happened because his message and his physical resurrection transformed his early followers, who did not pick up the sword to defend themselves even during brutal persecutions, but rather they went about spreading his love and the need for his forgiveness by word and deed to all—regardless of race, sex, ethnicity, poverty, or wealth. They did so because they believed with all their heart, soul, and might the words of Jesus; "I am the way the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me" (John 14:6). They echoed the conviction of Peter's words spoken to his fellow Jews: "Salvation is found in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given to men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12).

They took this stance because they *knew* that Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, did in fact physically and empirically rise from the dead. They knew that it was not their faith that validated Christ's resurrection, as many of today's modern theologians teach and preach, but that it was his physical resurrection that validated their faith (45).

Alvin Schmidt maintains that along with the message of Christianity came new ideas and institutions that even most non-Christians today consider being basic requirements for civilized life. In fifteen chapters he presents a brilliant and comprehensive survey on how Christianity has profoundly influenced for two thousand years such areas as education, morality, marriage, women's rights, medicine, public health, economics, scientific knowledge, liberty, justice, art, architecture, music, and literature. The author carefully records how all these things that we cherish most and take for granted can be traced to the teachings of Christianity. The book is filled with many photographs, timelines, and charts to illustrate the author's position. Meticulous documentation is provided. Schmidt has done extensive research to document how Christianity's influence actually extends further and deeper than most people realize.

Dr. Alvin Schmidt, author of *The Menace of Multiculturalism,* (Praeger, 1997) is regarded as one of the leaders in the defense of historic Christianity and Western Civilization. Anyone who is interested in how Christianity has influenced our civilization today should read this book by Dr. Alvin Schmidt. Paul Maier, in the foreword to the book, writes:

> With the increasing secularization of society and the current emphasis on multiculturalism—especially in matters religious—the massive impact that Christianity has had on civilization is often overlooked, obscured, or even denied. For this and many other reasons, a powerful response is long overdue, not only in the interest of defending the faith, but more urgently to set the historical record straight. This book delivers that compelling response (7, 8).

Schmidt was compelled by three major reasons to write this book. First, while researching for a Christmas sermon in 1993, he discovered a pronounced paucity of information available regarding the influence and impact that Jesus Christ has had on the world for two thousand years. Schmidt thus seeks to discuss and cite the multitude of influences and effects that Jesus Christ, through his followers, has had on the world, lifting civilization to the highest plateau ever known. His second reason for writing is to provide a one-volume resource by which the average reader could learn about the magnanimous influences that Jesus Christ, through his followers, has had for centuries on billions of people and social institutions to this very day. His third reason is to try to convince those who disparage Christianity, that were it not for Christianity, they would not have the freedom that they now presently enjoy.

In chapter 2, "The Sanctification of Human Life," Schmidt exhibits how the Christians defied the entire system of Rome's morality. The pagan gods taught the people no morals, however, Christianity saw human beings as the crown of God's creation; they believed that man was made in the image of God, Genesis.1:27 (48). Thus Schmidt displays how the early Christians countered the depravity of such things as infanticide, abortion, gladiatorial shows, human sacrifices, and suicide. The chapter has a chart that summarizes the Greco-Roman view, the views of other cultures, and the position of Christianity on the mores of human life. Schmidt concludes this chapter:

> People who today see murder and mass atrocities as immoral may not realize that their beliefs in this regard are largely the result of their having internalized the Christian ethic that holds human life to be sacred. There is no indication that the wanton taking of human life was morally revolting to the ancient Romans. One finds no evidence in Roman literature that indicates that incidents such as the ethnic cleansing atrocities in the former Yugoslavia during

> the 1990s or the Columbine High School massacre in Colorado in 1999, for example, would have been morally abhorrent to the ancient leaders of Rome or to its populace. . . . The moral revulsion in regard to the taking of innocent life of humans, on a large or small scale, came about largely as the result of Christianity's doctrine that human life is sacred. . . . However, recent trends indicate that its salutary value is diminishing (75).

In the same chapter, the author also deals with the controversial subject of burying, not cremating, the dead. He writes:

> So strong was the Christians' belief that the dead were "asleep," waiting to be resurrected, that they called every burial place a *koimeterion,* a word borrowed from the Greek that meant a dormitory where people slumbered. *Koimeterion* became "cemetery" in the English language. Thus, every time people use the word *cemetery* they are using a term that harks back to the early Christians and their belief that the dead are merely slumbering until the day of their resurrection. . . . Today, contrary to centuries of Christian opposition, more and more Christian denominations, even some conservative ones, are permitting their members to cremate the deceased bodies of their loved one. . . . What accounts for the recent increase in cremation practices? Among many Christians it probably reflects ignorance about how strongly the early Christians felt in rejecting the custom (72, 73).

In Chapter 4 Schmidt demonstrates how Jesus and His followers gave unprecedented dignity, equality, and freedom to women. He documents how the Church, like Jesus, often broke with the social customs of the day. He concludes,

> In numerous ways the church has always treated women as man's equal. For instance, before becoming a member of the church, she received the same catechetical instruction as did a man, she was baptized like a man, she participated equally with men in receiving the Lord's Supper, and she prayed and sang with men in the same worship settings (110).

But it should have also been pointed out that Jesus did not call a woman to be one of his apostles. The disciples did not choose a women to take the place of Judas, although several women fulfilled the qualifications (Acts 1:21, 22) better than the man who was chosen. Paul did not permit women to occupy a church office that would exercise authority over men (1 Tim 2:11, 12). And the orthodox Church never ordained a woman as a pastor, priest, or a bishop. Was the reason because this role for women was always looked upon as a doctrine, and never as a custom or a tradition?

Schmidt, in the chapter "Christianity's Imprint on Education," points out that although the sex ratio in education was decidedly titled in favor of boys, there were still some prominent and well-educated women which appeared throughout the Middle Ages. He lists a few: Lioba was a co-missionary worker of St. Boniface (eighth century). Hrotsvitha of Gandesheim (932–1002) was a canoness and was well versed in the Latin classics and wrote plays, poems, legends, and epics. Hildegard of Bingen (1098– 1179) founded her own monastery, wrote a mass, and corresponded with popes, emperors, and bishops. Brigitta of Sweden (1303–73) opposed high taxes and founded a religious order. Catherine of Siena (1347–89), one of the most famous women in the medieval church, labored for peace and wrote letters of counsel to men in authority. Christine de Pizan (fourteenth century) authored a number of books. Queen Isabella (1451–1504) of Spain underwrote Columbus's trip to America. Young women who received their education in the nunneries were usually schooled in the liberal arts. Some of these women were as competent as the men in literary matters.

However, it might have also been pointed out that although the Church often broke with the customs of the day concerning its treatment of women, it never ordained women as ministers. When the Church in the twentieth century ordains women as pastors and bishops, this is not only a break with the entire history and practice of the orthodox Church, but also a departure from the doctrines of Holy Scripture.

Schmidt also reveals (177) how Luther's and Calvin's desire to educate everyone is not the product of the modern secular world, but rather a concept that is the logical outgrowth of two of Christianity's biblical tenets. God is no respecter of persons (Acts 10:34). And every individual is responsible for his or her own salvation (John 3:16).

Schmidt discloses why slavery might well have remained an institution until today, were it not for Christianity. He points out how the concerns for human rights, equality under the law, and economic freedom are deeply rooted in the Christian ethic. He also deals with how Christianity influenced both the Abolitionist and Civil Rights movements. However, it might have been pointed out that Martin Luther King was more influenced by Ghandi of India, than by Christianity.

In chapter 14, "Hallmarks of Literature: Their Christian Imprint," the author gives brief summaries of important literary contributions, beginning with the early Christian Church and continuing down to the twentieth century. He has a chart giving the titles of major works, type of literature, and the author's name and status. The reader might be surprised to find the name of Shakespeare omitted here. Some explanation should have been given as to why this great author is not even mentioned in this chapter on literature.

Schmidt shows Christianity's countless contributions, but he also is aware that over the centuries those who bore the name Christian unfortunately perpetrated many sins of omission and commission. Yet, in spite of them God continued to furnish faithful followers of his Son Jesus Christ, who, as a by-product of their faith in him, introduced and established immense improvements for two thousand years in virtually every human endeavor.

Dealing frankly with the highs and lows of Christianity as its influence spread throughout the globe, Schmidt corrects common misconceptions and unearths little-known facts about cultural settings, circumstance, events, competing ideologies, and key heroes and antiheroes of the faith.

Mark F. Bartling
LaCrosse, WI

Evaluating Sunday School Curricula

1. Does the material clearly distinguish justification from sanctification, law from gospel so that the gospel always predominates? Does the material attempt to coerce, cajole, or challenge believers to a life of obedience or does it set forth Jesus Christ as the center and foundation for Christian life (Col 2:7)? See Andrew Pfeiffer, "A Comparative Study of Ephesians, Colossians, and First Peter: Implications for the Evangelisation of Adults" *Lutheran Theological Journal* (August 2000), 61–72.
2. How does the material understand the sacred scriptures? Is the Bible understood to be the inerrant word of God? What kind of hermeneutic is evidenced in the interpretation of the scriptures? Is the efficacy of the word of God clearly taught or are the scriptures seen as a collection of spiritual principles? What Bible translation is used?
3. What is the place of baptism and the Lord's Supper in the material? Are they understood in a symbolic fashion? Are they ignored altogether?
4. How does the material relate to the Catechism? Are Luther's principles for catechesis (see the Preface to the Small Catechism) followed? Are portions of the Catechism related to the individual lessons? Is provision made for learning the chief parts of the Catechism by heart in a way that is appropriate to the age level of the student?
5. Does the material utilize the liturgy and hymnody? Are the lessons coordinated with the church year? Are solid hymns suggested for use in opening and closing devotions? Are connections made with the various parts of the liturgy? See C. Schalk, *First Person Singular: Reflections on Worship, Liturgy, and Children* (Morningstar Publishers).
6. Does the material distinguish between the Office of the Holy Ministry and the Royal Priesthood? How is the doctrine of vocation expressed? Are applications chiefly in the area of "church work"? Does the material contain references to (or photographs or drawings of) female pastors?
7. How is prayer taught? Is prayer described in a way that would transform it into a means of grace?

John T. Pless
Fort Wayne, IN

Cover Art—More information

"The Candlestick," *Wittenberg & Geneva,* Vol. xi, No. 4.

This illustration is a detail from a Dutch engraving from the seventeenth century. The Gospel's light has been rekindled by the reformers Martin Luther and John Calvin, reminiscent of Jesus' words in Matthew 5:15, "Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house" (KJV). The image is from the archive of Concordia Historical Institute.

"Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Cruciger Translating the Bible," *Luther & Bible Translation,* Vol. x, No. 1.

The cover art illustration is from a lithograph by Labouchere, printed by W. Zawitz, Berlin. Original in the collection of Concordia Historical Institute.

"Luther before Caftan at 1518 Diet of Augsburg," *Confessional Subscription & Doctrinal Statements,* Vol. viii, No. 2.

Cardinal Cajetan went as the papal legate to the imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1518. Once in Augsburg, he was also mandated to examine Martin Luther. Cajetan examined Luther's available writings. Source: Jared Wicks. Entry on "Cajetan," page 234. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation,* 1996.

"The Improvement of the Schools and Introduction of the Catechism," *Lutheran Education,* Vol. xi, No. 2.

This is an engraving by Gustav König from the illustrated volume *Dr. Martin Luther der deutsche Reformator.* The illustrated volume of 48 scenes from Luther's life was published in 1883 in Leipzig, commemorating the 400th anniversary of the Reformer's birth. It includes a foreword by noted Luther scholar Julius Köstlin. Scene xxxiii depicts *The Improvement of the Schools and Introduction of the Catechism.* Luther is romantically portrayed as a beloved teacher of children, instructing them in the *Small Catechism.*

Center section of a plaque of carved ivory (circa 1750) showing Luther nailing the 95 theses to the church door. *Bondage of the Will,* Vol. vii, No. 4.

This was given to the Concordia Seminary Library, Saint Louis, by Mrs. Lydia and the Rev. Paul Kluender in 1964. Its origin is Austrian, and the artist is unknown.

"Wittenberg—glorious city of God . . . ," *Wittenberg and/or Constantinople,* Vol. ix, No. 4.

This view of Wittenberg shows (left to right) the Castle Church, the city church, the college, Philipp Melanchthon's house and the Black Cloister, which was Martin Luther's house. It is from about 1558 and was printed by the Cranach workshop. The title reads in Latin: "Wittenberg—glorious city of God, seat and citadel of the true catholic doctrine, charted Saxon metropolis, most glorious of European schools, and by far the most holy place of the last millennium."

All of the above art was provided by the Rev. Mark A. Loest, assistant director for reference and museum at Concordia Historical Institute.

Drawing of Christ, the Fathers, and Luther, *Luther & the Fathers,* Vol. vii, No. 1.

This is an original drawing by Allan Reed, pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church in Britton, South Dakota, done especially for Logia. Other works of his include the original artwork for the stained glass windows in the visitor's center at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. The drawing reflects the theme of its issue, Luther and the Fathers. Christ is in the background holding the Word of God in his left hand, symbolizing the Twelve Apostles (taken from an icon of Christ as Teacher). This shows the source from which the Fathers drew their doctrine. Symbols of the Fathers come next, taken from various icon representations. In the foreground we see Luther examining the Fathers, showing his high regard for them. *Used by permission of the artist.*