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EDITOR .....	PRES. WILHELM PETERSEN
MANAGING EDITOR .....	PRES. WILHELM PETERSEN
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR .....	PROF. ADOLPH HARSTAD
TYPESETTING .....	JESSE JACOBSEN ERICA JACOBSEN
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## Foreword

It is a time-honored tradition at the annual synodical convention of the ELS to have a memorial service for the brethren who have been called to their eternal rest during the year. This issue of the Quarterly begins with a sermon by the editor in memory of Pastors Gottfred Guldberg and John Dukleth.

Included in this issue is a brief report of The Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference (CELC) held April 23-25, 1996, in Puerto Rico. The constituting convention was held in Oberwesel, Germany, in April of 1993. The CELC is built on the same doctrinal principles as The Synodical Conference of North America, which was dissolved in 1967. The CELC consists of fifteen confessional Lutheran churches throughout the world including ELS and WELS from the U.S.A.

The article by Pastor Michael Langlais on Gisle Johnson will be of special interest to our ELS pastors since our roots go back to this confessional Lutheran, who together with Paul Caspari, taught at the University of Christiania in Norway where synodical leaders Herman Amberg Preus, Ulrik Vilhelm Koren, and Jacob Aal Otteson received their theological training, and were instrumental in establishing a confessional Lutheran Church here in America.

The paper by Dr. Ernest Bartels on Hinduism is not only interesting and informative, but also of deep concern to all of us. In an accompanying letter Pastor Bartels writes: "Until I wrote this paper I did not realize the seriousness and subtle nature of the threat posed by this heathen religion to many in our country today."

A good review in homiletics is always in order. The article by Pastor Klebe Brumble is a good refresher. The author gives an interesting comparison of Reu, Fritz, and Lenski, all of whom have influenced many pastors in their study of writing and delivering sermons.

Bugenhagen's Relationship with Luther and the Development of the Bugenhagen Order of Service by Pastor Harry Bartels is of special interest since the Bugenhagen Order is still used in some of our ELS churches and will be one of the orders of service to be printed in the new Hymnary, which will soon be published.

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# Synod Convention Memorial Service

**for Gottfred Guldberg and John Dukleth  
June 22, 1995**

Wilhelm W. Petersen

*Gracious Heavenly Father, we thank thee for the life and ministries of Gottfred Guldberg and John Dukleth. Above all we thank Thee for bringing them to a saving faith in their Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and for preserving them in that faith so that they are now sharing in the glory of heaven. Comfort the families of our departed ones with the assurance of eternal life in heaven. In Thy name and for His sake we ask it. Amen.*

Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovest me before the foundation of the world.  
(John 17:24)

In Christ Jesus, delegates, clergy, friends, and especially the families of Gottfred Guldberg and John Dukleth.

I am deeply honored to be asked to speak at the memorial service for two of our departed brethren, both of whom were close personal friends and whose friendship I cherished highly.

My acquaintance with Pastor Guldberg goes back well over 50 years when he vicared for my father in the Scarville-Center parish, Scarville, Iowa. In those days the vicar lived with the pastor's family. "Slug" as we called him was like an older brother to me. I was enamored with his athletic ability and he would spend time with me playing catch and shooting buckets. He was also the star player on our town basketball and baseball team. After his vicarage he returned to Springfield for his last year at the seminary. Upon his graduation he was assigned a call to serve a neighboring parish and then some years later when I graduated from the seminary and entered the pastoral ministry, it so happened that we were neighboring pastors twice, first in northern Minnesota and then

in the Madison, Wisconsin area. He was always pleasant, had a good sense of humor, laughed heartily, and knew how to relax. He enjoyed fishing and playing golf. But above all he was a faithful pastor who served his people well. He did what he had been called to do and the Lord granted him many years in the pastoral ministry. Had he lived until our convention he would have spent 50 years in the ministry and would have been one of the anniversary honorees.

My acquaintance with John Dukleth goes back about 20 years when he and his wife attended a worship service at Grace Lutheran Church, Madison, Wisconsin, where I was pastor at the time. I called on them during the week. During the visit he asked me some questions about our church. He asked what our position was on the Bible and wondered if we believed that the miracles occurred as recorded in Scripture. I answered by saying that we believed that the Bible was the inspired, inerrant word of God and therefore everything recorded in it is true and that we can in full confidence rest our faith on what it says. In the course of the conversation it came out that he had been exposed to liberal theology and he was happy to hear that we were a confessional Lutheran church. He requested membership and took a very active interest in the Lord's work. He attended Bible class regularly. During those years we were observing the anniversaries of our Lutheran Confessions and we used the *I Believe* series, where we studied the historical background and doctrinal content of the *Book of Concord*. One day after class he asked if he could borrow my copy of the *Book of Concord*, and he studied it with great interest. He asked me to order a copy for him. He expressed interest in studying for the ministry and I encouraged him to give this prayerful consideration.

Then I received a call to Mt. Olive in Mankato. About a year later John came to visit me and told me that he had decided to study for the ministry at our seminary. He enrolled at Bethany College for some pre-seminary work and then a couple of years later I was called to the seminary and he was one of my students. The Lord granted him twelve years in the ministry. He was stricken with cancer and died at the age of 50. From a human perspective we may wonder why and may even be tempted to question the wisdom of God, but in our bewilderment comes the quiet answer, "Be still and know that I am God." (Ps. 46:10) God's thoughts are not our thoughts and his ways are not our ways, but we do know that

in yonder life we will know and understand, for then "all questions and doubts will be answered at last." In the meantime "we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to His purpose." (Rom. 8:28)

The text which I have chosen for this service is taken from the 17th chapter of St. John's gospel, which is Christ's high priestly prayer. In this prayer he prays for his immediate disciples and for all believers to the end of time, who through the word of the apostles would be brought to faith. In the words preceding our text he prays, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word." And in our text he prays, that "they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me." Ironically, this beautiful prayer was answered in the death of our departed brothers, as it is in the death of every believer.

Jesus speaks of those "whom thou hast given me." These are the ones whom God from eternity, out of pure grace, has chosen to be his children. These are the ones who in time are brought to faith through the power of the Gospel. St. Paul describes this gracious act of God in these words, "Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." (I Tim. 1:9)

Not only does Jesus pray that they may be brought to faith, but also that "they may behold my glory which thou hast given me: for thou lovest me before the foundation of the world." Before the world was made the eternal Son of God shared in the glory of the Father. Later in time when sin entered into the world and brought death with it, God in his justice could have condemned the world to eternal perdition but in his wondrous love promised and sent a Savior. Luther captures this beautiful truth in his well-known hymn, *Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice*, where he writes,

Then God beheld my wretched state  
 With deep commiseration;  
 He thought upon His mercy great,  
 And willed my soul's salvation;  
 He turned to me a Father's heart;  
 Not small the cost! to heal my smart,  
 He gave His best and dearest.

He spake to His beloved Son:

'Tis time to take compassion:

Then go, bright Jewel of my crown,

And bring to man salvation;

From sin and sorrow set him free,

Slay bitter death for him, that he

May live with Thee forever.

Hymnary 526 v. 4,5

Because of the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ, defeat has now been turned into victory, suffering into glory, and death unto life. Jesus says, "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." (Jn. 11:25) Yes, "He has abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." Therefore, we are not here to mourn a defeat, but to celebrate a victory, for we can say with the apostle that death is "gain" and with the psalmist, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." (Ps. 116:15)

"That they may behold the glory." What a comfort in life to know that the "sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed." (Rom. 8:18) and that "our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." (II Cor. 4:17) Because of Christ's suffering in our stead we have been spared eternal suffering which we deserved and can then in faith look forward to that eternal glory which our Savior shared with the Father before the foundation of the world.

In our life in the flesh we cannot even begin to comprehend what this glory will be like. Scripture says that "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of many, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." (I Cor. 2:9) "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." (I John 3:2) Therefore Dr. Walther can describe death as follows: "a blessed year in which he dies who has a Savior! It is the year of his true birth; it is the year of his everlasting salvation; it is the year in which he celebrates his wedding; it is the truly 'acceptable year of the Lord,'

the eternal year of jubilee, in which all his lamentations will sink into everlasting silence. Then at last will he take his harp from the willows of grief, encircle his brow with the never-fading flowers of spring, and sing and play with angelic choirs forever and ever the new song to God and to the Lamb.”

As we thank and praise our gracious God for the salvation which His Son has earned for us, let us also thank Him for the prayer of our Savior “that we may behold his glory.” We believe that Jesus died and rose in order that his prayer may be fulfilled in us. In the meantime, as we await his call to glory may we faithfully use the precious means of grace through which the Holy Spirit nourishes and strengthens our faith so that his prayer “that they may behold my glory” may be fulfilled in us. May our prayer be,

Haste, then, on from grace to glory,  
Armed by faith and winged by prayer;  
Heaven's eternal day's before thee,  
God's own hand shall guide thee there.  
Soon shall close the earthly mission,  
Swift shall pass thy pilgrim days,  
Hope soon change to glad fruition,  
Faith to sight, and prayer to praise.

TLH 423, v. 6



# **The Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference**

## **An International Lutheran Meeting That Was Different**

by Gaylin Schmeling

An international meeting of Lutherans in total doctrinal agreement is a situation which is quite unique. In most international church organizations there is at most partial agreement, and often they simply agree to disagree. This was not the case at the second triennial convention of the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference (CELC), which was held April 23-25, 1996, in Quebradillas, Puerto Rico. The representatives of the fifteen member churches of the CELC were in complete doctrinal agreement. The common unity of faith based on the inerrant Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions filled everyone present with joy and thanksgiving.

The voting delegates from the ELS were Pres. George Orvick and Rev. Gaylin Schmeling. Advisory delegates were Pres. Wilhelm Petersen, Prof. Juul Madson, Prof. Adolph Harstad, and Prof. John Moldstad, Jr., who also served as the chaplain of the convention. Many guests and visitors attended this convention at the Parador Vistamar overlooking the beautiful Atlantic coast. Approximately 90 people were present including Rev. David Jay Webber and Mr. Robert Brown from the ELS, Rev. Mark Tuffin and Mr. Wilfred Schultz from the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia, and Rev. Abraham Rosario, Rev. Timothy Erickson, and Rev. David Haeuser from the Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Peru.

The theme of the convention was *Justification By Grace Through Faith: Our Heritage From The Lutheran Reformation*. The essays of the convention carried out this theme. The first essayist was Rev. Mark Tuffin of Brisbane, Australia. In his essay, "Justification by Grace," he emphasized that we are saved alone by God's undeserved love without anything we do or accomplish.

The second essay was delivered by Rev. Oto Rodriquez, a pastor of the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Church (Mexico), who has accepted a call as missionary in the ELS mission in Chile. His essay "Justification is Complete" indicated that the glorious resurrection of Christ is the public declaration of justification and absolution for the world.

Rev. Takeshi Nidaira of the Lutheran Evangelical Christian Church-Japan presented the third essay entitled "Justification is for All." This truth is evident from the fact that the Savior was promised to all people, He died as a ransom for all, and the apostles were sent to proclaim the Gospel to all.

The fourth essay was given by Rev. Daison Mabedi of the Lutheran Church of Central Africa (Malawi Conference). In his essay, "Justification is Received Through Faith," Rev. Mabedi explained that faith is a instrument or hand that receives the forgiveness of Christ in the means of grace. Faith is not a cause of our salvation, but it is the means worked in us by the Spirit through which we receive the blessings of the cross.

Prof. Adolph Harstad of Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary in Mankato, MN delivered the next essay entitled "Justification Through Faith Produces Sanctification." Prof. Harstad discussed the connection between justification and sanctification. Out of thanks for all that Christ has done for us the Christian will desire to live a Christ-like life. The Law in its third use shows the Christian what is pleasing to the Lord so that he does not have to invent or guess what is pleasing to Him.

The sixth essay, "Justification Through Faith Gives Immeasurable Blessings," was presented by Rev. Martin Hoffmann of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church (Germany). The essay emphasized the wonderful blessings found in the sinner's justification by grace. In our justification we receive everything that we need: peace with God, new life, and salvation.

The final essay was given by Prof. Arnold Koelpin of Martin Luther College in New Ulm, MN. His essay had the title, "Justification by Grace Through Faith is the Doctrine by Which the Church Either Stands or Falls." Prof. Koelpin spoke of the importance of the central article of our teaching, justification by faith alone. He pointed out that Christ's person and work is the foundation of justification. He also warned against the danger of liberation theology.

Two new church bodies were received into the membership of the CELC: The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Peru, and the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia. This brings the number of member churches to fifteen. It was decided to appoint a committee to prepare a position paper on the theological topic (Holy Scripture) treated at the last convention of the CELC. This statement will be submitted to the respective churches for ratification. The officers of the CELC elected by the convention were Prof. Wilbert Gawrich, president; Prof. Lyle Lange, vice president; Prof. John Moldstad, Jr., secretary; and Pres. George Orvick and Rev. Duane Tomhave, members of the Planning Committee.

The purpose of the conference, according to its constitution, is to give expression to our unity of faith, to encourage and strengthen each other, to encourage the sharing of the Gospel with others, to give a clear, firm, and united testimony to the world, and to prepare and publish scriptural confessional statements on issues that confront the world today.

President Gerhard Wilde of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church (Germany) preached for the opening service of the convention and Pres. George Orvick served as liturgist. The sermon was based on Romans 3:28 with the theme "How Can I Find a Gracious God?" The closing service was conducted by Rev. Timothy Satorius of San Juan, Puerto Rico. Pres. Karl Gurgel of WELS preached the sermon based on Nehemiah 8:9-12: "The Joy of the Lord is Your Strength."

The conference was a most joyous and strengthening experience. Here delegates from throughout the world confessed their adherence to the pure marks of the church, the Word and the Sacraments. The CELC will strengthen each of the member churches through mutual encouragement and consultation. We praise and thank our Triune God who has permitted us to be a part of this new organization on the firm foundation of Jesus and His Word.

# **Gisle Johnson and the Johnsonian Awakening:**

## **19th Century Norwegian Lutheranism and its Importance for America**

Michael J. Langlais

### *Introduction*

Gisle Johnson never set foot on American soil. Yet his career in Norway had a direct bearing on the formation and course of Norwegian Synod history in America through the Norwegian-American pastors of whom Johnson was the beloved teacher. We cannot truly understand the essence of the Old Norwegian Synod in America without an understanding of the situation in Norway in the mid-nineteenth century, both in the capitol city as well as in the countryside, both among the cultured clerical class and among the 'bonder'. What is most highly prized as our spiritual heritage from the Norwegian-American church fathers is directly attributable to Johnson and the movement of which he was the leading personality. The balanced evangelical theology of H.A. Preus, U.V. Koren, and J.A. Ottesen was thoroughly Johnsonian. From Gisle Johnson, and from his colleague at the University of Christiania, Carl Paul Caspari, these men received the true Biblical theology embodied in historic confessional Lutheranism. We turn to Johnson and the Johnsonian Awakening in Norway to better know the men who founded the Old Norwegian Synod in America, and to better understand the course of confessional Lutheranism in America of which it was of the purest expression. In fact, we can know precious little about these things without knowing Johnson. This more than justifies a study of him and the situation within which he labored in Norway, nay, it even *compels* such a study.

### *Gisle Johnson, the Johnsonian Awakening and its Theology*

Gisle Johnson and Paul Caspari were the recognized theological mentors of the founders of Norwegian-American Lutheranism. In this

brief sketch we will consider somewhat of the background and theology of Gisle Johnson, and of the religious development in Norway known as the "Johnsonian Awakening" of which he was the leading personality. Johnson, and the movement which bears his name, are crucial elements for understanding the entire course of confessional Lutheranism in America, even up to the present day. The heritage of historic Reformation Lutheranism carried to North America by the fathers of the Norwegian-American church was a legacy inherited from their teachers at Christiania, and of these, Gisle Johnson was the most influential and important. We hope to demonstrate somewhat the great significance of Gisle Johnson not only for the history of Lutheranism but his importance for the whole of the history of the Christian Church. He is truly a key figure in a period of geographic and cultural transition, and proved himself a faithful and stalwart confessor of the faith.

Born in 1822 in Fredrikshald, Gisle Johnson, at the age of ten, moved with his family to Kristiansand, where his father had taken the position of director of the harbor. Early influences upon him included that of his Christian parents and his confirmation instruction, but he was especially impressed by O. Christian Thistedahl, his teacher in the Latin school in Kristiansand. It was Thistedahl who took an early and special interest in this intelligent and pious young man, and it was he who directed young Johnson toward theology as a life study. Johnson later credited Thistedahl with giving him the necessary encouragement and guidance, and accounted his teacher an admirable 'sjalesørger' who had seen him through crises of difficulty and discouragement. This beloved teacher of Gisle Johnson and Laur Larsen was a deeply pious man with an equally deep and balanced theology. He was a non-speculative theologian with a deep respect for the Lutheran Symbolical Writings second only to Holy Scripture. He was, in short, a Biblical theologian whose motto was "*simpliciter standum esse in verbo divino.*" Johnson was to become, like Thistedahl, a Biblical and strongly confessional Lutheran theologian. Like him, too, he was known for his steady and orthodox piety, and for his patient evangelical spirit.

As a student, Johnson was selected as a likely professor at the University when finished with his course of studies. Instead, he resisted attempts to secure his services after graduation, and accepted a stipend for a year's study in Germany. He spent a short time at the University of

Berlin (15 Oct 1847 - 20 Mar 1848) where he studied under the eminent church historian, J.A. Neander (1779-1850), known as the "father of modern church history," and under August D.C. Twesten, also an historian. He was most impressed, however, with Hengstenberg, a teacher of orthodox Lutheran theology. From Berlin he went to Leipzig with a stop along the way at Halle to hear Julius Mueller and the brilliant F. Tholuck who was lecturing on "soul-cure". His study at Leipzig was crucial for the subsequent course of confessionalism in Norway, for while there he experienced in his exposure to the work of Gottlieb Harless and Andreas Rudelbach, German theology returning to confessionalism after long being diverted to rationalism. From Leipzig Johnson traveled to Erlangen where he heard such famous teachers as Thomasius, Hoefling, J.C.K. von Hofmann, and H. Schmidt. From Erlangen he went to Tuebingen, bastion of the Hegelian left in the persons of F.C. Baur and D.F. Strauss, author of the famous *Life of Jesus* (1835). Heidelberg was next in Johnson's tour of German universities, then he was off to Paris, Brussels, Cologne, Hamburg, and Copenhagen before returning to Christiania. By way of contrast, this broad theological experience gained in his travels would serve him well in the formulation of his comprehensive understanding of confessional and orthodox theology.

Not only did Johnson hone and sharpen his theology in Germany, but perhaps even more importantly for the future of the Norwegian church, while there he found a theologian. While at Leipzig he formed a friendship with a young professor there, Carl Paul Caspari. Johnson convinced him to apply for the position of lecturer in Old Testament at the University of Christiania and he was accepted. His rival for the position as new instructor was Grundtvig of Copenhagen, destined to become his most formidable theological opponent in future years. Johnson and Caspari became close friends and co-laborers whose gifts splendidly complemented one another.

In his own estimation, Johnson gained greater scope and sophistication in his theology, and a deeper sense of history from the Germans. In his mature theology the traditional doctrine of "the Word Alone" is strongly upheld against Protestant rationalism, and against Roman ecclesiasticism. Through Gisle Johnson and Paul Caspari, the young students who were to be leaders in the Norwegian-American churches fastened

solidly upon their twin mottos: "gegraptai" and "verbum dei manet in aeternum."

### *The Johnsonian Awakening and its Theology*

In the 1850s and 60s a wave of awakening swept over all of Norway. Historians generally speak of it as the "Johnsonian Awakening," not because he initiated it, but because he was its leading personality and guide. In its far-reaching breadth, and in its impact upon religious life in Norway, it far surpassed the Haugean movement, and eclipsed it in both depth and significance for Lutheran theology and life.

Unlike the movement initiated by Hauge, this Awakening cannot trace its origins to a single personality, or to a single revival preacher. In its earliest phase, it was coincident with the beginnings of the foreign missions movement in Norway. The Norwegian Missionary Society was founded in 1842, and the many local meetings of the Society held all across Norway soon flowed into a general religious movement.

Early supporters and popularizers of the Awakening were such men as Lyder Brun, grandson of Bishop Johann Nordal Brun, and Gustav Adolph Lammers. At Skien in 1848, Lammers became known as a mighty preacher of repentance. He was extraordinarily eloquent and magnetic, preached in a pietistic spirit, and people came from far and near to hear him. It was another famous son of Skien, Henrik Ibsen, who so stoutly resisted Lammers. Ibsen's boyhood home had been in Skiene, and his mother and sister were converted in the revival which took place there. Theodore Jorgenson says that it was Lammers who was the prototype for Ibsen's *Brand* (Jorgenson, *Henrik Ibsen: A Study in Art and Personality*; Northfield, MN, 1945, p. 190).

The Awakening reached the Bergensian aristocracy through the work of Lyder Brun, and came to Christiania through Gisle Johnson. By his own admission, Johnson was "spiritually attuned" to Lammers, and in 1851, after two years as a professor of theology, and at the urging of the city's pastors, he began to conduct public Bible classes. His influence was great, certainly much greater than his contemporary, Hauge, and we can say with a surety that Norway has never had a greater Christian leader than Johnson.

In light of his scholarly background, and his somewhat reticent nature, it is especially surprising that he should become a leading figure of

a powerful, popular movement. His early religious training at home, and later under Thistedahl, was by no means Haugean. During his year in Germany he did not travel in pietistic circles, nor was he influenced by popular German pietism. Many said there was an air of remoteness about him, and his shyness was evident. His physical presence and thin voice were not those of an exhorter. But the accounts of his public lectures, those calm and scholarly expositions of Holy Scripture, were that those classes, some of which lasted for over two hours, were intensely moving. Welle reports that "the whole assembly trembled when Johnson quietly and with his thin voice quoted the prophet's words: 'There is no peace for the ungodly, says my God'" (quoted in Belgum, p. 48).

This period of the Awakening in Norway was contemporary with the years of preparation for the pastors who would emigrate to America and form the Norwegian Synod in 1853, such men as Preus, Koren, and Ottesen. Johnson was their favorite teacher, and the kind of preaching characteristic of these extremely gifted Norwegian-American pastors is traceable in large part to Johnson. From this period of around 1850 to the present says Belgum, "congregations have listened to Johnsonian sermons, characterized by Ivan Welle as 'orthodox pietism,' 'Pontoppidan's explanation in homiletical form,' and 'constructed around *ordo salutis*'" (Belgum, p. 48).

Johnson's influence was not simply restricted to the University or the capitol city. He was in great demand as a teacher and preacher, and as a speaker at Pastoral Conferences. He was not ordained and so helped to bridge the gap between "awakened" townsfolk and farmers and the more privileged clerical class. This important religious and social fact was transplanted to the situation of the church in America. Most of the immigrants were of the *bonder* class in Norway, while nearly all the pastors were of the upper or clerical class. Yet the pastors were genuinely fond of their parishioners and were "set apart" only as shepherds of the flock, and not as members of higher class or rank. Perhaps the greatest representative of this "religious democracy" among the American pastors was U.V. Koren who displayed his love for the farmers by serving the same rural parish for fifty-seven years, declining calls from more wealthy and "prestigious" urban parishes several times in the course of his pastorate. As Pastor Koren once said, "According to God's Word we have reason to be certain that many an unschooled and by the world



despised man and woman has come farther in the knowledge of God and His will than have the vast majority of the most learned pastors and professors. To all of us Jesus has said: 'Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of heaven'" (*Lutheran Sentinel*, vol. 28, no. 2, January 27, 1945, p. 25). The mistaken idea that there was one religion for the cultured class, and another religion for the common folk was effectively neutralized by Johnson and the democratizing process initiated by him. Along with historic Lutheranism, this too was carried to the new land.

Johnson's health began to decline after about ten years of intense activity as both professor and evangelist, but the awakening movement continued without his active participation. The Awakening had spread far and wide by the time of his decline, and had gained many zealous followers. Unlike the Haugean revival, which had touched the homes of a great many laity, the Johnsonian Awakening bridged the social gap between the parsonages and the people, and so became, unlike the *destabilizing* force of the Haugean revival, a *stabilizing* factor in social development. The parsonages, once centers of *social* activity, became centers of *religious* and *moral* uplift as state-church pastors, as well as their people, were deeply affected by the religious and social power of the Awakening. In this way, the impact of the Awakening was felt across church and social lines, and even those inhabiting secular spheres were affected by its results. The Awakening was not simply an ecclesiastical phenomenon, but reverberated at every level of religious and social life in Norway.

The Johnsonian Awakening presented a balanced combination of doctrinal orthodoxy and orthodox piety, constituting a truly evangelical Lutheran theology and practice. Johnson theology was the unchallenged standard in the training of Norwegian pastors up to the end of the 1870s. Waldemar Dons noted that Johnson "held sway over every pulpit and congregation, and among them all ruled a private Christendom — the entire country, the whole people, from the University's students and departmental officials to the poorest cottager. Yes, it is quite literally true: from the swank ballroom to the riverfront tavern" (quoted in *Belgum*, p. 51). Johnson's doctrinal orthodoxy was uncompromising, and yet was balanced by true evangelical love and concern for souls. Before him, the Lutheranism of the Norwegian church had largely been taken

for granted, and had become simply and plainly nominal. The period of Pietism, which was marked by a heightened interest in the Christian faith, was nevertheless unconcerned with the Lutheran tradition and with the institution of the Lutheran Church and its doctrinal heritage. It was mostly through the work of Gisle Johnson that the name "Lutheran" began once again to have great significance in Norway. He was Lutheran in the very best sense of the word, and instilled a genuine confessional awareness in the pastors and people. The Johnsonian type of Lutheran orthodoxy was Biblical and confessional, and yet was marked by a profound, true Christian piety. Johnson was aware of, and himself warned against, the legalistic danger of pietistic and sectarian expressions of the Christian faith. His piety never lost sight of Christian liberty, and he never tended toward moralism or perfectionism in any form. He loved his pipe, and was unwilling to condemn dancing, always avoiding the legalism that some of his followers fell into, followers whom, by the way, were also frequently affected by Haugeanism. In those who were balanced, like Johnson himself, we discover a marvelous combination of Lutheran doctrinal orthodoxy along with its concomitant devotional expression that can only be considered as being likewise orthodox. This was not any kind of pietism such as occupied those caught up in enthusiasm and perfectionism, but was the expression of true and orthodox piety, the kind of religious expression that marks the life of the true Christian faith. The Norwegian-American pastors inherited this evangelical balance in their theology from Johnson and from Paul Caspari as well, and from the long line of teachers of whom they were the pinnacle and culmination. Men like Herman Amberg Preus, Ulrik Vilhelm Koren, and Jakob Aal Ottesen carried this priceless heritage to America, and, blending their own influence with the Reformation theology of the transplanted Saxons, became the fathers of historic Lutheranism in the new land. They and their families represented the very best of the Lutheran tradition preserved by the Awakening in Norway, a tradition which stretched back to the very roots of the Reformation in Germany.

During the years when the pastors were emigrating to America, the Christian faith characteristic of the Johnsonian Awakening was supplanting the older religious attitudes represented by Svend Borchmann Hersleb (1784-1836) and Stener Johannes Stenersen (1789-1835). These men were both Lutheran theologians at the (then) University of Oslo in

the early 1800s. They represented a kind of moderate Lutheran orthodoxy which acknowledged a degree of critical Bible study. In the popular mind they represented one of the two generations of pastors: the older, easy-going state officials of untroubled conscience, living a cultured life apart and aloof from their people in the privileged world of the parsonages. At least they were perceived as such, and this was in contrast to the other type of pastor, a more common type bred in the popular religious movements of the day. This type of pastor was pictured as the anti-intellectual, pietistic, zealous preacher ill-at-ease in his state-church position, who because of the air of commonality about him, broke down social convention among the classes. In a caricature of this over-drawn Johnsonian type of pastor, novelist Alexander Kielland wrote, "But was that really his little fat Morten who came here with such an uppish air and gave him such a solemn, almost patronizing shake of the hand, big and bearded, and who looked so sternly at people through his light blue spectacles? The father felt thoroughly uncomfortable.... Indeed, everyone thought that Morten Kruse had become very dignified after he turned his attention to theology. The surliness that had marked him at school had gradually changed to a sour earnestness, which almost of itself led him on to theology" (Alexander Kielland, *Professor Lovdahl*, trans. Rebecca Flandrau, Boston, 1904, p. 51). This kind of characterization is more illustrative, perhaps, of the popular sentiment concerning types of religious leaders than it is revealing of any supposed 'type.' In this sense these kinds of fictive portrayals are manifestly unfair. They do reveal, however, that there was some conflict between the old and new groups of church leaders as represented by Hersleb/Stenersen, and by the Johnsonian class of ecclesiastical leaders. Any kind of social demarcation of religious 'types' of leaders is overdrawn, as many of the older pastors were themselves affected by the Awakening, and many young pastors went into the employ of the state church. The lines between old and new were certainly not clearly drawn. In addition, those who were in the mold of the cultured and aloof state-church official were not known for their desire to engage in social debate and conflict over religious matters, and few protested, or attempted to take action even when their congregations were being decried as dead bodies. The lines were more blurred than popular sentiment and popular fiction would lead us to believe — and yet we must acknowledge the tremendous impact of the

Johnsonian Awakening upon social structures and class consciousness. As already pointed out, the movement initiated by Hauge sharpened existing class stratification and awareness as it was almost exclusively a movement of the 'bonder.' As such, it exacerbated class polarization and even sharpened the class distinctions already felt acutely by common and privileged alike. The Johnsonian movement, more diffuse and thus democratic in its origins, broke down class distinctions and bridged the gap between the privileged world of the parsonage and the lay folk. This effect was not limited to the religious sphere, but was felt at every level of society all across Norway. It was a great depolarizing force, and drew the clerical and cultured classes, as well as the farmers and laboring classes, into a religious awareness of their Lutheran heritage, and placed that new awareness upon the firm foundation of orthodoxy in both belief and practice. This new religious consciousness carried broad implications for secular social and economic spheres as well. Although we cannot explore those issues here, it should be noted that the Johnsonian Awakening had profound and wide-ranging effects in Norway at many different levels.

We will conclude by briefly discussing two very profound effects of the awakening of Lutheran orthodoxy in 19th century Norway, one seemingly belonging strictly to the religious sphere, and the other seemingly social in its implications, yet both effects are but aspects of the return to Biblical-confessional theology.

The first effect of the Johnsonian Awakening was the return to the forms of historic Lutheranism in many quarters of the Norwegian Lutheran Church. The State Church of Norway had become compromised by modern critical theology emanating from Germany, taking form primarily as degrees of rationalism. This influence was most effective at its epicenter, the University of Christiania, which had been founded as the University of Oslo in 1811, with Hersleb and Stenersen as its first professors. Their "moderate Lutheran orthodoxy" tinged with scientific rationalism was supplanted by the confessional orthodoxy of Johnson and Caspari. This effect, which had a much greater impact upon not only the Church of Norway but upon the cultural and social world of the common people as well, was decidedly more powerful and important an effect than the Haugean revivalism which was its contemporary. The long-term effect of the Johnsonian movement is eloquent proof of its

depth in contrast to the popular pietistic enthusiasm which sprung from the revival preaching of Hans Nielsen Hauge. Pietistic fervor soon spent itself in the new land of America as it was taken up into indigenous forms of Reformed puritanism and popular evangelisms. The Biblical theology taught by Johnson and Caspari, however, was transplanted in pure forms by the Norwegian-American pastors who had sat at the feet of these men at Christiania. These pastors would found the Old Norwegian Synod in America in 1853, and they built the Church on the foundation of the pure Reformation theology and faith inherited from their esteemed teachers. By the grace of God, this pure Christian faith founded upon the prophetic and apostolic Word of God has been preserved in our land as the great heritage of today's confessional Lutheranism. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod has kept alive this bright and shining light of the one true faith, and we have much to be thankful for, to our gracious God, and to the faithful fathers of the Lutheran church in Norway who passed on this great heritage to the Norwegian-American pastors who became the fathers of the historic Lutheran church in America.

The second effect is what we have characterized as the democratizing effect of the Johnsonian Awakening. Class distinctions were largely broken down and all classes across Norway were drawn together with a new religious awareness as the focal point. Certainly not all were converted or even made aware of a renewed religious tradition, but even those ignorant of the theological situation felt the impact of class leveling to one degree or another. Class distinctions were by no means eradicated, or profoundly re-oriented, but the effects were great enough that many class attitudes were affected in very practical ways, and religious pluralism was avoided. The democratizing effect of the Johnsonian Awakening was likewise carried to the new land with the emigrant clergy and laity. We noted that U.V. Koren is perhaps the greatest exemplar of this attitude as it was expressed in his long-term ministry to his farmer parishioners.

In the study of the Norwegian Synod history in America, one is struck by the nature and quality of religious attitudes and beliefs among the Norwegian emigrants and by the subsequent steady course of Synod history. The faith of these early pastors and lay people was profoundly Biblical and confessional, rooted firmly in God's Word, and never wavering in the face of great hardship and trial. Their doctrinal orthodoxy

was matched only by an equally orthodox piety that clothed their Christian lives with a beauty and purity of expression unmatched anywhere else, with the possible exception of that of the Wittenberg reformer himself. They were *true Lutherans*, true and faithful disciples of Jesus Christ, and they faithfully and courageously carried this great heritage into the sprawling prairies of the American Midwest. American confessional Lutherans must forever be in their debt, for they were the bearers and reliable transmitters of true Biblical Christianity, true historic Reformation Lutheranism into the new Western world. Their balanced and comprehensive Lutheranism eclipsed even that of Walther and his German Saxons, for while their doctrine was unquestionably orthodox, their piety was uneven at times, qualitatively different, sometimes distant and hard, though sometimes comfortable and close. It is hard to exactly characterize the difference. The Germans and the Scandinavians were undoubtedly brothers in the faith, united in doctrine and practice. Yet the Norwegians had a very special *something*, a very special quality of Christian faith and life, a gift of profoundly deep and rich evangelical faith that was nothing less than a pure distillate of Biblical-confessional Christianity. They possessed an exquisite blend of pure doctrinal orthodoxy and a deep spiritual piety that flowed from the heart of God's written and revealed Word. They were courageous and strong in that faith, of a *patient spirit*, and unshaken by the winds of change or hardship.

This heritage of the purest form of Biblical Christianity as expressed in true historic Lutheranism was largely the legacy of Gisle Johnson and the Johnsonian Awakening in Norway. His dogmatics was Biblical theology at its finest, and yet in a modern form that spoke to his times; and his teachings, which so moved his contemporaries, were in every detail what is taught in the Lutheran Confessions. This beloved teacher of Herman Amberg Preus, Ulrik Vilhelm Koren, Jakob Aal Ottesen, Nils Brandt, and others, is the one, by the grace of God, largely responsible for the confessional renewal not only in Norway, but in America as well. He was the brilliant and faithful bearer of God's grace to the nations through his equally brilliant and faithful students, and God has preserved that legacy to us through the Old Norwegian Synod, and now through the Evangelical Lutheran Synod. We thank the Lord Almighty for such as these, and we pray that He would mete out to us that same grace that sustained our fathers in the faith!

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a study of the structure of the group  $G$  of automorphisms of the algebra  $A$ . It is shown that  $G$  is a free group of rank  $n$ .

2. In the second part, the structure of the algebra  $A$  is studied. It is shown that  $A$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

3. The third part of the paper is devoted to a study of the structure of the algebra  $B$ . It is shown that  $B$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

4. In the fourth part, the structure of the algebra  $C$  is studied. It is shown that  $C$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

5. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a study of the structure of the algebra  $D$ . It is shown that  $D$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

6. In the sixth part, the structure of the algebra  $E$  is studied. It is shown that  $E$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

7. The seventh part of the paper is devoted to a study of the structure of the algebra  $F$ . It is shown that  $F$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

8. In the eighth part, the structure of the algebra  $G$  is studied. It is shown that  $G$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

9. The ninth part of the paper is devoted to a study of the structure of the algebra  $H$ . It is shown that  $H$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .

10. In the tenth part, the structure of the algebra  $I$  is studied. It is shown that  $I$  is a free algebra of rank  $n$ .



# The Increasing Presence and Influence of Hinduism in the United States

Dr. Ernest Bartels

Hinduism, which had its beginnings in India, and which for centuries was identified almost exclusively with India, has become a world-wide movement. In addition to India there are sizeable numbers of Hindus in such countries as Sri Lanka, Bali, Burma, South Africa, and also in the United States. World-wide the number of Hindus is estimated to be about 700 million persons. Of that number about one million are in the United States, according to David Barrett, a missions researcher and statistician. His estimate is that "there are 1,269,000 Hindus in North America (1 million in the U.S., 200,000 in Canada, and the rest in Bermuda)."<sup>1</sup> Palaniswami, a Hindu monk who resides in Hawaii, puts the number somewhat higher. He divides Hindus in the United States into two groups. He says that there are 600,000 to 800,000 "born Hindus" in America. Many of these are affluent immigrants from India. In addition he states that there are a million more "practicing Hindus" in this country. These are people

who are following a guru, people who have been to India and undertaken the Hindu path of dharma (knowledge of God) as their way, people who are in yoga schools or ashrams around the country, of which there are hundreds.<sup>2</sup>

Charles Page stated that, "Hinduism has never been an active missionary religion like Buddhism, Christianity or Islam."<sup>3</sup> A.R. Victor Raj concurs, saying, "Traditional Hinduism in its essence is not a missionary religion. The ethos of Hinduism is such that a Hindu is born a Hindu."<sup>4</sup> The "born" Hindus he speaks of are the kind of Hindus who number some 600,000 to 800,000 persons in the United States (estimate of Palaniswami in previous paragraph above).

But Hinduism has changed in this respect. Raj continues by telling us, "This self-contained Hindu disposition, however, shifted dramatically since the launching of the grand-scale Christian missionary enter-

prises in the modern era.”<sup>5</sup> Hindus have become very active. In the year 1991 the United States was visited by 90 Hindu “traveling or itinerant evangelists.”<sup>6</sup>

The outreach and missionary approach in Hinduism began in India with the formation of the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj movements in the nineteenth century. In India the members of these groups and their reformation leaders (Ram Mohan Roy of Brahma Samaj and Sri Ramakrishna of Arya Samaj) were responding to the Christian missionary challenge. They did not say that Christianity was all wrong, but in typical Hindu syncretistic style they attempted to confront Christianity in a much more subtle way. Among other things Hinduism revived its purity in accordance with its scriptures, the Vedas. They were skilfully defending Hinduism against the Christian religion.<sup>7</sup> After speaking the activities of Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj (and Prarthana Samaj) the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization said, “The formation of Hindu Missionary Movements...followed.”<sup>8</sup> These movements are tied to the coming of Hinduism to America, and the influence it is exerting today.

An individual who was associated with these defensive Hindu movements was a man whose name was Swami Vivekananda. He was a disciple of Sri Ramakrishna.<sup>9</sup> Swami Vivekananda came to the United States as a representative of Hinduism at the World Parliament of Religions at the World's Fair in Chicago in the year 1893. Raj says of him, “He became the first Indian intellectual to introduce the West to the universal scope and relevance of philosophical Hinduism.”<sup>10</sup> He was a very wise man. He did not attempt to convert people to Hinduism as such. He encouraged people to follow their own religions. He dealt in ideas - ideas that fascinated many thinking persons in America. In less than a year the Vedanta Society was founded in New York by Vivekananda.<sup>11</sup> This organization now has 13 centers nation-wide and 2,500 members.<sup>12</sup> F.E. Mayer summarizes the teachings of the Vedanta Society thus,

The Vedanta Society asserts that the Vedas contain the foundation of all creeds and explain the eternal and universal laws governing all spiritual life. The world's various religions are viewed only as so many aspects and phases of Vedanta. The followers of Vedanta maintain that man is essentially pure, blissful, immortal, and that they are the masters of the various methods by which man can

exercise his ability to be the master of his own destiny and ultimately to reach divine perfection.<sup>13</sup>

Following the World's Fair Vivekananda spent four years in America teaching a band of followers.<sup>14</sup> Even though others had previously promulgated Hindu ideas in America (e.g., Theosophical Society since 1877,<sup>15</sup> Unity School of Christianity since 1887,<sup>16</sup> and possibly Christian Science in the writings of Mary Baker Eddy<sup>17</sup>) Swami Vivekananda is credited as being the one who "popularized Hinduism in 'Christian America'."<sup>18</sup> Geoffery Parrinder wrote, "Vivekananda did more than any one man to propagate Hinduism in the West."<sup>19</sup> Douglas R. Groothuis wrote of Vivekananda, "Viewing India as a source of spiritual revival in the West, he said that 'the East must come to the West, not as sycophant, not as servant, but as Guru and teacher'."<sup>20</sup>

Hinduism in America comes in many forms. Subtly it is permeating our culture and having an effect on our society. Our Western ways, in turn, are affecting Hinduism as it is acculturated here. Some of the forms that Hinduism takes will be discussed in this paper. There is Hinduism per se and also a great variety of what Stan Guthrie in Christianity Today calls "Hindu-influenced spinoffs."<sup>21</sup>

Hinduism as such is growing rapidly in our country. The number of Asian Indians in the United States increased 125.3 percent in the 1980s. The increase was from 361,531 to 815,447.<sup>22</sup> The increase of Hindu temples has been even more dramatic. In Religious Bodies in the United States published in 1992, J. Gordon Melton, "counts...105 Hindu centers, temple associations, and organizations, 81 Hindu temples, and 53 Hindu periodicals."<sup>23</sup> Not only have Hindus come to the United States from abroad, but they are being very successful in winning conversions to Hindu concepts in one form or another. In their book The Seduction of Christianity Dave Hunt and T.A. McMahon say, "The many gurus who have invaded the West are actively converting millions...with a missionary zeal and success that is a new phenomenon for Eastern religions."<sup>24</sup>

The Hindu missionaries bring their messages to America through many of the movements which Guthrie (quoted above) referred to as "spinoffs." Philip H. Lochhaas says that, "The most popular forms of Hinduism in the West...are the 'Westernized' movements that range in size from thousands of disciples to small handfuls."<sup>25</sup> Several of these

movements which are very much in the public eye are Transcendental Meditation, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, and the Divine Light Mission. Hinduism's influence is also evident in Eckandar.<sup>26</sup> There are hundreds of smaller groups led by self-styled gurus. From the gurus followers learn about "self-realization," "God-consciousness," and how to reach "enlightenment."<sup>27</sup> One such group is the Self-Realization Fellowship founded by Paramahansa Yogananda. The Self-Realization Fellowship holds that every man can learn to control the laws of the universe, the universal life energies, and can operate them for his own welfare.<sup>28</sup>

Some groups have tried to synthesize Hinduism and Christianity. These include the Holy Order of MANS and the Church Universal and Triumphant.<sup>29</sup> The Church Universal and Triumphant deals in "spiritism." This is the practice of making direct mental contact with spirit beings and receiving messages from them. Jesus is included among the "ascended" (dead) spiritual masters. This group's publications are sprinkled liberally with Bible passages. This makes the organization more palatable to Western culture. Two groups, found mostly in western states of the United States, that are quite similar to the Church Universal and Triumphant are the Mary Bethany School of Consciousness and the Association of Sananda and Sanat Kumara.<sup>30</sup>

The Holy Order of MANS sees a person's body and mind as vehicles for the Christ (self) — God within man. They hold the laws of karma and reincarnation to be in effect until a person has attained release from the need for physical existence. MANS is an acronym based on the first letters of the Greek words for Mystery, Love, Mind and Wisdom.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to those mentioned in a previous paragraph above (Theosophy, Unity and Christian Science) some other religion systems in our country that appear to have been influenced by and to have drawn upon Hinduism are the Anthroposophy Society, Freemasonry, the Baha'i Faith and the Church of Scientology.<sup>32</sup>

A subtle way in which many get drawn into Hinduism in their thinking and belief is through yoga. Hunt and McMahan say of yoga,

The goal of yoga is "self-realization" — to look deeply within what ought to be the temple of the one true god and there to discover the alleged "true Self" or "higher Self" and declare self to be

God. This is the religion of the Antichrist; and for the first time in history it is being widely practiced throughout the Western world as Transcendental Meditation and other forms of Yoga that are now taught in nearly every YWCA or YMCA, in public and private schools from kindergarten to graduate level, and in many churches.<sup>33</sup>

Each guru claims to be God himself. They have brought to America the belief and practice of worshiping a man as God. They foster the idea that each person can achieve his own Godhead through following his guru.<sup>34</sup> Groothuis warns, "Another practice we should be cautious with is yoga. All forms of yoga involve occult assumptions, even *hatha* yoga, which is often presented as a purely physical discipline."<sup>35</sup>

Transcendental Meditation, which is a spiritual practice of yoga, was brought to the Western world by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. He introduced it as a religious exercise or philosophy. When some nonreligious Westerners were skeptical, he revamped his program and then promoted it as scientifically sound, nonreligious psychological exercise. He made the claims that it would relieve stress and bring peace to the inner man. One who became an advanced practitioner would be enabled to participate in astral projection (his soul leaving his body) and levitation.<sup>36</sup> Lochhaas says that Transcendental Meditation instructors and promoters "would prefer for the general public and the initiates of the first level to think of it only as a physical-mental relaxation process."<sup>37</sup> The writings of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi make it every clear that Transcendental Meditation is a religious movement. In his book The Kingdom of the Cults Walter Martin gives a listing of the religious teachings of this movement. These teachings may be summed up briefly as follows:

God. TM concentrates on those Hindu scriptures which present a pantheistic view of God...God in TM is pantheistic, and one's goal is to lose his own personality in the oneness of God...

Jesus Christ. TM ignores Jesus Christ almost totally, although Maharishi teaches that anyone can become as enlightened as Jesus Christ through the application of TM techniques...

Salvation. Salvation in TM is accomplished by realizing that one is in union with the Creative Intelligence...This realization comes

through practicing the mediation of TM...one is not truly a sinner, but just forgetful of his oneness with the divine.<sup>38</sup>

Lochhaas reports that in 1977 a United States District Court in New Jersey ruled that Transcendental Meditation had failed completely to support its claim that it is not a Hindu religion. As a result government support for Transcendental Meditation classes in New Jersey public schools was banned.<sup>39</sup>

Another Hindu group that has had high visibility in the United States is the Hare Krishna movement (International Society for Krishna Consciousness). Members of this organization worship Krishna as the supreme Lord. Their scriptures are all Bedic literature, especially the Bhagavad-Gita. In some senses Hare Krishna is a fundamental conservative branch of Hinduism.<sup>40</sup> Their belief in God is essentially monotheistic. Krishna is said to be the supreme personality of the Godhead. They hold that Jesus Christ is Krishna's Son, but in a position no more unique to God than any man could strive to attain. They believe that salvation is attained by removing one's karma debt through devotion to Krishna and right actions through multiple incarnations.<sup>41</sup>

The Krishna movement was brought to America by Abhay Charan De Bhaklivedanta Swami Prabhupada in 1965. Prabhupada translated the Bhagavad-Gita into English. A year after he came to the United States he established a temple in New York. Soon temples dedicated to Krishna began to appear in more American cities.<sup>42</sup>

Hare Krishna people often identify themselves as "members of ISKON."<sup>43</sup> They have been severely criticized, both by orthodox Hindus and non-Hindus in America. Orthodox Hindus fault them for their "Westernization," for their high pressure methods in solicitation, and for the unfavorable public image they have created by harassing those who do not contribute to their cause. Many Americans criticize them for their overbearing solicitation activities. In some places they have taken to disguising themselves and asking for donations "to help get kids off drugs."<sup>44</sup>

A Hindu teaching that has gained wide acceptance in America in recent years is reincarnation (transmigration of souls). Reincarnation is based upon the law of karma. In Hinduism this law requires that subsequent lives be lived in order to pay in kind for deeds done in prior lives. The authors of Popular Symbolics say of reincarnation, "The doctrine

of reincarnation is a perversion and denial of, and substitute for, the doctrine of resurrection."<sup>45</sup> Hunt and McMahon wrote in 1985 that,

Within the past 20 years, millions of people in the West have been converted to a basic tenet of Eastern mysticism...That concept is reincarnation, which is gradually superseding the once-dominant Western belief in resurrection.<sup>46</sup>

Groothuis gives figures which substantiate this. He says,

Another area where the East has influenced the modern mindset is in the growing belief in reincarnation. A 1982 Gallup Poll claimed that twenty-three percent of the American public believed in some form of reincarnation.<sup>47</sup>

In 1989 Martin stated, "The latest survey on reincarnation indicates more than 58 percent of Americans polled either believed in it or believed it to be a distinct possibility."<sup>48</sup> Hunt and McMahon mention Shirley MacLaine. They say that her best-selling autobiography convinced many readers. Then they go on to correctly state,

One cannot believe in both resurrection and reincarnation; the two are mutually contradictory. Jesus is resurrected, not reincarnated, and the difference between the two is both obvious and important.<sup>49</sup>

The entire New Age movement which has made sweeping strides across America has many of its roots in Hinduism. Raj's book The Hindu Connection is subtitled Roots of the New Age. Martin states, "For all practical purposes the New Age Cult can be equated with the transplantation of Hindu philosophy through the Theosophical Society."<sup>50</sup> Raj says that,

Reincarnation is a very popular notion among the followers of the New Age. According to New Age theory, at death the soul of the deceased departs the body and takes residence in another, in a continuum, aspiring for perfection. This progress continues until the individual soul attains Nirvana or eternal bliss.<sup>51</sup>

Again Raj states,

In the New Age, earth is the Mother, and God is an everlasting Gestalt. There is no such thing as God and yet all is God. Channelers receive paranormal information from a certain spiritual entity, a

monistic conglomeration of the so-called souls in the next plane. A consciousness revolution, they say, is inevitable for all to attain the awareness that god, mankind, and the earth are all one and the same. If there is one religion that can match all these goals, that fortunate one may be Hinduism.<sup>52</sup>

Martin says, "The New Age Cult...heavily emphasizes the ancient Hindu doctrines of reincarnation and karma."<sup>53</sup>

The New Age movement has seen phenomenal growth. Almost ten years ago Time magazine noted that the large publisher of paperback books, Bantam Books, had increased its New Age titles tenfold in the ten previous years. In the five years prior to the article in Time the number of New Age bookstores had doubled. The figure stood at 2,500 such stores.<sup>54</sup> Martin says that in 1989 the New Age movement accounted for a "one-billion-dollar-a-year-business."<sup>55</sup> The New Age reaches out to millions in America who are dazzled by such celebrities as Shirley MacLaine, Merv Griffin, Linda Evans, John Denver, Phalicia Rashad and Sharon Gless, all of whom are part of and promoters of this movement.<sup>56</sup> New Age thinking has also invaded the realms of education, and also has a political agenda.

What of the future? Russell Chandler in his book Racing Toward 2001 wrote in 1992,

Because of immigration from Asian countries, a current fascination with Eastern mysticism among many of this country's spiritual seekers, and the influence of the New Age movement, Hinduism is likely to maintain a steady growth into the next century.<sup>57</sup>

Terry Muck, who wrote Those Other Religions in Your Neighborhood, says that the Hindu world view is already affecting both American society and Christian theology. He states,

It's not people being attracted to Hinduism. It's people being enticed to think in ways that don't comport well with orthodox Christian theology. In the past I think we could always rely on our culture to carry the Christian world view, carry the Christian forms, and so we didn't really have to be theologically astute. But that's not the case any longer. The culture itself has become inconsistent and mixed, and most of us don't have the discernment to tell the difference.<sup>58</sup>



What a challenge the increasing invasion and threat of Hinduism places before us! It is imperative that as “watchmen on the walls” (Is. 62:6) we not only witness to the truth of the pure and saving Gospel in these latter times, but that we also in our witness sound the warnings to our people regarding the sometimes blatant and sometimes hidden spiritual dangers that are present here in America today because of the presence and influence of Hinduism in the United states. This study has convinced me that in addition to all the other devices he has at his disposal in our society, this is one more effective means that Satan would like to use (and is using) to lead many eternally astray.

### *ENDNOTES*

- <sup>1</sup> Stan Guthrie, “Hinduism Gains a Foothold in America.” Christianity Today (February 8, 1993), 49.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup> Charles Page, Audio Cassettes for Major World Religions Course (Newburgh, IN: Trinity College and Seminary, 1990), cassette # 1.
- <sup>4</sup> A. R. Victor Raj, The Hindu Connection: Roots of the New Age (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 19.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>6</sup> Guthrie, 50.
- <sup>7</sup> Raj, 19, 107-110.
- <sup>8</sup> Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne, eds., Perspectives on the Word Christian Movement (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1992), D-121.
- <sup>9</sup> Raj, 110.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>11</sup> Raj, 111: Guthrie, 50.
- <sup>12</sup> Guthrie, 50.
- <sup>13</sup> F. E. Mayer, The Religious Bodies of America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954), 551.
- <sup>14</sup> Geoffrey Parrinder, World Religions from Ancient History to the Present (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1971), 236.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., 513.
- <sup>16</sup> Mayer, 537.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., 528-529.

- <sup>18</sup> Guthrie, 48.
- <sup>19</sup> Parrinder, 236.
- <sup>20</sup> Douglas R. Groothuis, Unmasking the New Age (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1986), 144.
- <sup>21</sup> Guthrie, 49.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., 48.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid., 528-529.
- <sup>24</sup> Dave Hunt and T. A. McMahon, The Seduction of Christianity: Spiritual Discernment in the Last Days (Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers, 1985), 54.
- <sup>25</sup> Philip H. Lochhaas, How To Respond to the Eastern Religions (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), 13.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., 20.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., 13.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid., 13.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., 21-22.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., 13.
- <sup>33</sup> Hunt and McMahon, 54.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> Groothuis, 68.
- <sup>36</sup> Walter Martin, The Kingdom of the Cults (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1985), 362.
- <sup>37</sup> Lochhaas, 15.
- <sup>38</sup> Martin, Cults, 363.
- <sup>39</sup> Lochhaas, 16.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., 17.
- <sup>41</sup> Martin, Cults, 362.
- <sup>42</sup> Lochhaas, 17.
- <sup>43</sup> Lochhaas, 17; Martin, Cults, 361.
- <sup>44</sup> Lochhaas, 18.
- <sup>45</sup> Theodore Engelder et al., Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934), 464.

- 46 Hunt and McMahon, 42.
- 47 Groothuis, 150.
- 48 Walter Martin, The New Age Cult (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1989), 85.
- 49 Hunt and McMahon, 42.
- 50 Martin, New Age, 15.
- 51 Raj, 56.
- 52 Martin, New Age, 86.
- 53 Raj, 61.
- 54 Martin, New Age, 19.
- 55 Ibid., 21.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Guthrie, 48.
- 59 Ibid., 52.

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# Rhetoric: Bane or Blessing?

## A Comparison of Key Lutheran Homiletics

by Klebe W. Brumble

### *Introduction*

Grace, mercy and peace to you from God the Father, and our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. These words begin thousands of sermons from Lutheran pulpits each Sunday morning. These words both give and describe what we would agree to be the predominant content of any good Lutheran sermon. Our calling is to preach the Word, to declare and announce to poor, miserable sinners the grace, the mercy and the peace of Jesus Christ.

Our Lord has appointed the preaching of His Word the method for delivering grace, mercy and peace. As those who have been called by God to deliver His word, each of us wants to be a good preacher. Luther described such a preacher, "It is commonly said that there are three qualifications which mark a good preacher: First, that he step up; secondly, that he speak up and say something; thirdly, that he know when to stop."<sup>1</sup>

In those qualifications of which Luther wrote one might debate as to which is most important. Perhaps our members would at times rate highest that final ability, knowing when to stop. Today, we shall focus on the second, "that he speak up and say something."

Our point of departure for this safari into the world of homiletics is a paper written by Professor Steven L. Reagles titled *Classical Rhetoric and Our Preaching: Formalization, Anathematization, Utilization*. This paper appeared in the July 1987 edition of the Lutheran Synod Quarterly<sup>2</sup> and was originally delivered at the General Pastoral Conference in 1986. Professor Reagles stated,

"...this paper takes the position that much may be gained from a study of past rhetoricians of Greece and Rome. This article, then, looks at the classical tradition, at the formalization of rhetoric into a system, its anathematization by the Church, and finally, its utilization. . . If the article generates discussion in our midst, further

study, and especially the desire to improve our preaching of the Gospel, it will have accomplished its purpose....”<sup>3</sup>

We shall attempt today to pick up where Professor Reagles left us by considering the influence of classical rhetoric upon key Lutheran homileticians and, by extension, their influence upon us as current day preachers of the Gospel. We begin with a brief review of Professor Reagles’ work and then proceed to examine the writings of a few key Lutheran homileticians including Lenski, Reu, Fritz and Caemmerer. Our goal is to determine to what extent classical rhetoric impacted these men, to motivate each of us to re-study the writings and sermons of these teachers, to glean from their examples ways to improve on the “how” of our preaching, and to show that classical rhetoric may be used in a godly way in the service of the Gospel.

Now, in good Lutheran form, we must take a moment to state the anti-theses, what this paper will not attempt to address. First it is not a sermon theory treatise. We assume that each hearer or reader is an able exegete, struggles to correctly divide and apply Law and Gospel, uses sound hermeneutical principles, and is expert in the Confessions.

Next, this paper is not a call to sacrifice substance for style. Any sermon that is not the Word of God through and through is not worth preaching or hearing. In fact, it is harmful. It is joyfully confessed that God’s Word is verbally inspired and inerrant. God’s word is not a natural word but a supernatural one. It is a divine mystery as to how and when the Law and Gospel take root and do their work. These matters reside in the power and purposes of God the Holy Spirit.

Finally, the paper is not a commentary on our preaching, either to extol or criticize. We say with Luther:

For although God might accomplish all things inwardly by the Spirit, without the external Word, He has no intention of doing so. He wants to employ preachers as assistants and co-laborers and to accomplish His purposes through their word when and where it pleases Him. Since, then, preachers have the office, name and honor of being God’s assistants, no man is so learned or holy that he may neglect or despise the poorest preaching; for he does not know when the hour will come in which God will perform His work in him through the preachers.<sup>4</sup>

### *Rhetoric: Bane or Blessing?*

The heading above is the essential question which Professor Reagles posed in his paper of 1986. To help us decide he gives us a brief schooling into the definition and development of classical rhetoric, and outlines the caution with which the Christian Church has sometimes viewed the tenets of classical rhetoric.

At the center of the Church's caution was and is humanism.<sup>5</sup> Rhetoric had been used to serve the whims and desires of unregenerate mankind, who, like the prince of this world, sought first to be God. Truth became secondary to winning the minds of the masses and exerting control over people to the benefit of the self.

The Church has always been aware of the power of words. The Church was aware that rhetoric was a tool, a powerful tool that in the hands of sinful man could become a weapon of mass destruction. Well did the Church listen to these words from James,

(James 3:1-10) Not many of you should presume to be teachers, my brothers, because you know that we who teach will be judged more strictly. {2} We all stumble in many ways. If anyone is never at fault in what he says, he is a perfect man, able to keep his whole body in check. {3} When we put bits into the mouths of horses to make them obey us, we can turn the whole animal. {4} Or take ships as an example. Although they are so large and are driven by strong winds, they are steered by a very small rudder wherever the pilot wants to go. {5} Likewise the tongue is a small part of the body, but it makes great boasts. Consider what a great forest is set on fire by a small spark. {6} The tongue also is a fire, a world of evil among the parts of the body. It corrupts the whole person, sets the whole course of his life on fire, and is itself set on fire by hell. {7} All kinds of animals, birds, reptiles and creatures of the sea are being tamed and have been tamed by man, {8} but no man can tame the tongue. It is a restless evil, full of deadly poison. {9} With the tongue we praise our Lord and Father, and with it we curse men, who have been made in God's likeness. {10} Out of the same mouth come praise and cursing. My brothers, this should not be.

Rhetoric, for rhetoric's sake, opines Professor Reagles, has one fatal flaw: it cannot save. For it lacks the content that saves, Jesus Christ. And so the church through the centuries has been very cautious, and it

should continue to be so. Still, classical rhetoric has been and still is an important influence upon our preaching.

For our purposes today, we wish to define rhetoric in the following way: *the process of a source stimulating a source-selected meaning in the mind of a receiver by means of verbal and non-verbal messages.*<sup>6</sup> In other words it is one mind delivering a meaning to another mind or minds by speaking or acting. Of importance to our discussion today is the phrase “source-selected meaning”. We would call this, in the case of preaching, the one Divinely intended literal sense of a given text of Scripture derived from exegetical work using sound hermeneutical principles. In the case of the Church, the constant danger and fear was that technique would replace content.

Professor Reagles also demonstrated in his paper that “the church, despite its criticisms of classical rhetoric, came to use some of its insights, the key of resolution came when the church realized that any form of communication used in apologetic or preaching must serve the Gospel and not itself.”<sup>7</sup> Professor Reagles illustrated how the Fathers used rhetoric in their own preaching and apologetics. He shows us that modern Lutheran writers of homiletics texts take recourse to classical rhetoric as an aid to preaching the Gospel. This is where we wish to begin our study. We are indebted to Professor Reagles for his paper and are pleased that one of his goals, to encourage further study, has been made possible. We turn our attention now to a few key Lutheran homileticians.

### ***PROFESSOR M. REU, DD.***

Reu’s major homiletics work, titled Homiletics: A Manual of The Theory and Practice of Preaching, has been used in Lutheran circles since 1922. When we begin to compare what are known as the “canons of classical rhetoric” with Reu’s writing, we find a profound influence therein. The canons of classical rhetoric are as follows:<sup>8</sup>

<i>CANON</i>	<i>MEANING</i>	<i>HOMILETICAL MEANING</i>
Invention	Find out what one is going to say.	Exegesis
Disposition	Arrangement Structure	Outline



Elocution	Style, best way to express meaning	Working Brief Full Text
Memory	Memorization	Practice Memorization
Pronunciation	Delivery	Delivery

Even a brief perusal of Reu's text reveals his indebtedness to classical rhetoric. A full one-half of the text may be categorized by these canons. After 100 pages of discussion regarding the definition, nature and purpose of the sermon, Reu launches into a lengthy discussion of the sermon as oration and the preacher as orator.<sup>9</sup> He wrote,

In distinction from all other parts of the service, the sermon appears in the form of oration, or public discourse. As such it falls under the rule which rhetoric imposes upon every oration."<sup>10</sup>

As a self-professed follower of the principles of classical rhetoric, we seek to discover how Dr. Reu employed them within his text. We take first the rhetorical canon of Invention — finding out what we are going to say. Dr. Reu employs another 100 pages or so to develop his ideas about this part alone. Reu concludes that the source of all sermons is to be the Holy Scriptures alone. It is interesting to note what he specifically excluded from possible sources: the preachers own consciousness; the consciousness of the Church [her creeds]; and theological science [dogmatics or ethics].<sup>11</sup> Reu concludes,

It is true that the preachers should have some experience of the truth he is to proclaim, and that he must be in agreement with the creed of the congregation. It is likewise true that, unless the materials he presents have been systematically worked through, the sermon cannot possess clearness and consistency. But these materials themselves must be drawn from the Holy Scriptures alone, as the witness-bearing and authoritative presentation of the divine revelation in act and word.<sup>12</sup>

Reu was convinced that full and complete exegesis was absolutely necessary for proper Invention in preparing any sermon. He opines, "as for the preacher incapable of using the Greek text, he will have difficulty to prove his right to exist."<sup>13</sup> He recommends the preacher to

first find the literal meaning, to attend to the biblical usage of words, and give care to a given context of a text. He encourages the preacher to get in mind the scope of the text, even down to minute details of the situation in which the text took place. In short he stands strongly in favor of proper exegesis as the one and only source for the subject matter of a given sermon. He thus gives us a very Lutheran use of the canon of Invention.

Yet Reu was also very interested in the sermon having a proper structure and organization. He is interested in Disposition (arrangement) of the sermon as being second only to the subject matter of a text. He wrote,

The subject-matter or material of the sermon is without question the chief thing. But if this material be presented in an inadequate form its inherent power cannot make itself felt, its edifying effect is impaired and may be completely neutralized."<sup>14</sup>

Those, dear brothers, are very strong words, words which give us pause. Can it be that a poorly organized sermon, a sermon which lacks what Rue calls unity, completeness, order, and simplicity can be emptied of its Divine power? Reu held this position.

And yet Reu can and did write this:

The things upon which faith relies, then, do not belong to the sphere of this visible world with its laws of cause and effect, they are not things which can be investigated, seen understood, and known after such investigation, but they belong to the world of invisible things that cannot be apprehended with our natural senses. Faith is the eye with which we see the things of that invisible world, placed before us by means of the Word, it is a conviction concerning the things held forth by Scripture not to be shaken, even where the evidences of the world and of natural experience seem to contradict.<sup>15</sup>

Reu was convinced that man could in no way approach God, know God or please God outside of divine revelation, nor did man have any capacity or will in regard to conversion.<sup>16</sup> It was this firm conviction, that faith and salvation was through Christ alone as revealed in Holy Scripture, that led him to make such a strong statement regarding the sermon and the importance of its arrangement and order. Without that

word being purely preached, and without it being clearly preached, man could lose the divine revelation.

Clearly Reu was a firm supporter of the use of classical rhetoric in preaching. It was his view that rhetoric as rhetoric was no more good or evil than the heart of the practitioner.<sup>17</sup> Reu declared that “without the aid of the Holy Spirit there cannot be a successful preacher; but it does not follow that the Holy Spirit will put the words in the preacher’s mouth without the latter’s own diligent labor.”<sup>18</sup> Reu believed that classical rhetoric had its place within the work of preaching.

But that is Reu. What of other Lutheran homileticsians whose writings have had great impact on the Lutheran church, including you and me? Are there others who held views similar to Reu? We turn next to Dr. John H. C. Fritz.

### **JOHN H. C. FRITZ**

Fritz wrote extensively about preaching, its aims, its goals and its methods. Today I’d like to review with you his thoughts as they were written in a pastoral theology text rather than in a purely homiletical text such as his work: The Preacher’s Manual. His text on pastoral theology has probably had more influence on our preaching than his work in homiletics. In his book, Pastoral Theology: A Handbook of Scriptural Principles, Fritz devotes considerable space to the work of preaching. We see that Fritz, too, leaned upon and even encouraged the use of classical rhetoric in preaching.

Fritz held that preaching was the pastor’s most important work, his chief work, to which much time must be devoted.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, he agreed with Reu that “a sermon which is poor in contents, language, presentation, or delivery will hinder the work of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>20</sup> Note please that in that very quotation, Fritz includes almost all the categories of classical rhetoric: invention, disposition, style, memory and delivery.

Fritz was interested that God’s pastors be good preachers because experience had shown that good preaching filled pews and poor preaching left them empty. He quotes from the Confessions: “Attendance at church is better among us than among the adversaries, for the audiences are held by useful and clear sermons.”<sup>21</sup> Fritz admits that congregations know little of Homiletical rules but believed that they do know good from bad preaching. Again the phrase “Homiletical rules” gives a clue

that Fritz too believed that Lutheran sermons should use the canons of classical rhetoric. We learn this is true when we review his definition of “good” sermons.

Fritz lists eight chief characteristics of good sermons: 1) that they contain only the Word of God in all its truth and purity; 2) that they rightly apply the Word of God; 3) that it [the sermon] proclaim all the counsel of God for the sinner’s salvation; 4) that they supply the special needs of the hearers; 5) that they give due regard to present conditions and circumstances; 6) that its subject matter be well presented; 7) that the sermon be not too long; 8) that the sermon be well delivered. Here again in almost a one for one order, Fritz uses the principles of classical rhetoric. He mentions the content of the sermon, right application and the whole counsel which correspond to Invention. He asks that the sermon be well-presented, that it should have a good outline, and be well ordered — Disposition. He holds that Style be given special consideration taking into account the special needs of the hearers and that present circumstances be regarded. Finally he would have the sermon be well delivered — Memory and Delivery. Once again we see how Fritz uses terms which match almost one for one the canons of classical rhetoric.

Fritz spends much time on the category we would call invention. Rhetoricians define invention as “the investigation, analysis, and grasp of subject matter.”<sup>22</sup> Additionally, Fritz seems to develop an almost Aristotelian approach for the preacher to use in sermon preparation. The Aristotelian system for developing material for a speech assumes that there are only a limited number of lines of argument that can be employed on any topic. These lines of argument or approach are called topoi.<sup>23</sup> In rhetorical communication regarding policy decisions within a company, for example, some of the more obvious topoi include the concepts of need, practicality, and advantages.<sup>24</sup> These are considered to be lines of approach for advancing arguments in favor of a given policy decision. Fritz uses, from Holy Scripture, a very similar concept in discussing what makes for good preaching.

Fritz take his cue from 2 Timothy 3:16-17 and Romans 15:4:

2 Timothy 3:16-17 - All Scripture is God-breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness, so that the man of God may be thoroughly equipped for every good work.

Romans 15:4 - For everything that was written in the past was written to teach us, so that through endurance and the encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope.

Fritz reminds us of the five-fold usus of Holy Scripture: teaching, rebuking, correcting, training, comfort. He tells us that a given Scripture text must be rightly applied and that we have been given these topoi to do just that. Fritz quotes J.J. Rambach,<sup>25</sup>

“Now and then these five usus do flow naturally and spontaneously from the text, but the preacher must always examine what the material of the text, the needs of his congregation, and other considerations demand or permit. Prudence must decide whether more than one usus is to be employed and which one is to be stressed, which is to be omitted or only briefly touched upon.”

We can see that the concept of topoi, that is, lines of approach or lines of argument, as elucidated in classical rhetoric, are used by Fritz in detailing to us what constitutes a good sermon. These topoi are given by the Word of God but they also fall within the confines of the rules of rhetoric.

Fritz touches upon yet another of the canons of classical rhetoric, that of Style. He writes,

God has given us a personal ministry for the very purpose that the Word should be applied to the various needs of the hearers. A preacher may therefore be preaching the Word of God in all its truth and purity, and his preaching may be profitable for doctrine, reproof, etc., and yet, in spite of it all, he cannot wash his hands in innocency if he does not let the particular need of his congregation determine what he shall preach. The needs of the very congregation to which the preacher has been called must determine his choice of texts, the wording of his theme, and the very treatment of his particular text. He must individualize, so that each hearer will know that he is being addressed.<sup>26</sup>

In rhetorical terms style is concerned with making choices that concern the way ideas are expressed. It is a directing of the attention to choosing language to express ideas. Good style may be expressed as the style that enables the message to stimulate the desired meaning in the mind of the receiver. Poor style would be a style that causes distortion in the meaning perceived by the receiver.<sup>27</sup> Rhetoric calls for exam-

ining such issues as accuracy and clarity of words, propriety of words, the economy words and the vivacity of words. This is exactly what Fritz is calling for in his writing. He asks that the preacher treat his text, word his sermon, in a way that takes into account the hearers, and speak in a way that uses words, illustrations, and supporting material that will get the divinely intended meaning across to them. He encourages the use of style for good preaching. In so doing we will perhaps be saved from an incident Luther relates of a preacher who, before an audience of old women in an old people's home spoke much of the divine institution of marriage, highly praised it, and encouraged his hearers to enter that holy estate!<sup>28</sup>

Fritz was also convinced that a well ordered sermon was essential to good preaching. In his "sixth requisite of good preaching" he writes,

"God has not given us His Word in a jumbled mass of illogical thought, but in well-arranged form and in a language which can easily be understood. The human mind is so constituted that it can best grasp a thought when it is presented in good logical order and in the simplest words."<sup>29</sup>

Here Fritz reflects the canon of rhetoric called disposition. Disposition is the process of formulating the essence of the message. In Homiletical terms we call this the central thought. Fritz wrote that each sermon should focus upon one central text and that each text had its own chief, central thought which the preacher should develop and stick with throughout the sermon. He wrote "Unity of thought is the prime requisite for the effectiveness of a sermon."<sup>30</sup> The is what both invention and disposition call for in classical rhetoric.

It is clear that Fritz followed the canons of classical rhetoric and recommended them to his students. Both Fritz and Reu seem to be heavily indebted to classical rhetoric. There are other homileticians who seem to have less reliance upon those canons or at least placed greater emphasis upon one aspect of them. One of them is Lenski.

### *R. C. H. Lenski*

Lenski is known not only for his Homiletical work but also for his exegetical work, perhaps almost primarily for that exegetical work. That extensive exegetical background is reflected in his writings on preaching. Lenski, overall, does not seem to rely on classical rhetoric as much

as the other writers which we have reviewed. In fact, Lenski seems to be one who would argue against the use of classical rhetoric in preaching. He wrote,

Sermons, however, are not arguments. To preach is not to argue, but to testify. No man can argue the sinner into repentance, faith and salvation. Against every argument a shrewd mind can bring a counter-argument. Testimony is a totally different thing. By its very nature it is either true or false. You cannot argue with testimony. All you can do is either to believe and accept the testimony, or refuse to believe it and call it false. Hence our divine commission is to be Christ's witnesses, Acts 1:8 (But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you; and you shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem; and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the remotest part of the earth.)<sup>31</sup>

Lenski here sets at odds the goals and abilities of biblical preaching and those of mere secular speeches that employ the techniques of classical rhetoric. The difference he sees is this: in secular uses of rhetoric one has only human, rational arguments upon which to draw. In the sermon, drawn solely from the Word of God, we have not an appeal to reason, but a true spiritual power that can and does work the miracle of conversion. Lenski compares rational human argument as used in human rhetorical communication with God's sovereign declaration of the truth and makes the point that there is simply no comparison.

In this Lenski is in complete agreement with Augustine:

Chap. 5.—Wisdom of more importance than eloquence to the Christian teacher. But as some men employ these coarsely, inelegantly, and frigidly while others use them with acuteness, elegance, and spirit, *the work that I am speaking of ought to be undertaken by one who can argue and speak with wisdom, if not with eloquence, and with profit to his hearers, even though he profit them less than he would if he could speak with eloquence too. But we must beware of the man who abounds in eloquent nonsense, and so much the more if the hearer is pleased with what is not worth listening to, and thinks that because the speaker is eloquent what he says must be true.* And this opinion is held even by those who think that the art of rhetoric should be taught: for they confess that "though wisdom without eloquence is of little service to states, yet eloquence without wisdom is frequently a positive injury, and is of

service never." *If, then, the men who teach the principles of eloquence have been forced by truth to confess this in the very books which treat of eloquence, though they were ignorant of the true, that is, the heavenly wisdom which comes down from the Father of Lights, how much more ought we to feel it who are the sons and the ministers of this higher wisdom!*<sup>32</sup>

The point we wish to make is one which Professor Reagles noted in his paper. The church came to the conclusion that any form of communication had to be used to "serve the Gospel and not itself."<sup>33</sup> Lenski agreed. In a chapter titled "Art in the Sermon" he wrote,

In the third place, the sermon must use the art of Rhetoric... While Homiletics demands a thorough knowledge of Rhetoric, from the art of composing a complete discourse down to the details of choice of words, etc., Homiletics cannot teach Rhetoric, just as it requires but does not teach Logic, Psychology, languages and other branches of learning which every preacher should know."<sup>34</sup>

Clearly Lenski was not completely opposed to the use of insights from classical rhetoric but maintained that rhetoric without truth was simply not Christian preaching.

Perhaps an example from another field of theology will help us understand Lenski's position. We turn to categories elucidated by Pieper in discussing the role of human reason in matters religious. Pieper gives us the categories of the magisterial versus the ministerial use of reason. Pieper wrote,

However, the term 'reason' has a second meaning, in Scripture as well as in secular usage. It means also the mental or rational nature of man, that is, the capacity of man to receive the thoughts of another into the mind, the ability to perceive and think. This is the so-called ministerial use of reason, as distinguished from the magisterial use of reason. The ministerial use of reason is, of course, legitimate in theology because the Holy Ghost works and sustains faith only through the Word of God as it is correctly perceived by the human mind. Scripture therefore very emphatically enjoins the use of reason (Rom 10:14; Rom 10:17; John 5:39; Matt 24:15; Luke 2:19)."<sup>35</sup>

A similar position is taken by Lenski. He believed that rhetoric was a tool, an area of learning that not only might be, but should be placed



into service when proclaiming the Gospel, but only in the ministerial sense.

Lenski emphasized almost exclusively the canon of Disposition: arranging the material. A full 183 pages of his text are devoted to helping the preacher order his materials in a form that would be biblically based and most easily understood by the listener. Lenski emphasized two of the canons of rhetoric, invention, or mastering the text as his called it, and disposition, arranging the text into suitable form. He too was a student of rhetoric, with rhetoric being the handmaiden of the Word of God, not its master.

### *A Few More Examples*

Before we begin to summarize and draw a few conclusions, there are one or two other writers we should visit to see how classical rhetoric influenced them. One of these is Richard R. Caemmerer (*Preaching for the Church*). Some have held that Caemmerer had relatively little use for classical rhetoric.<sup>36</sup> It appears that Caemmerer made more use of the insights of rhetoric than we might have expected. This is true particularly in regard to the goal of preaching and in the area of invention.

As we noted earlier, rhetorical technique almost always has a goal directed purpose behind its use. Rarely is rhetoric used *only* to inform. As to the goals of rhetoric there are as many opinions as there are writers. McCroskey defines four goals: to create understanding, to form an attitude, to strengthen an attitude, and to change an attitude.<sup>37</sup> Aristotle said,

“Now, the framers of the current treatises on rhetoric have constructed but a small portion of that art. The modes of persuasion [emphasis mine] are the only true constituents of the art: everything else is merely accessory.”<sup>38</sup>

In both classical and modern writings on rhetoric we find the idea of goals and persuasion as being paramount. Caemmerer likewise devotes one entire chapter to the goal of preaching which he defines as repentance, in the broad sense.<sup>39</sup> He writes,

“Since preaching employs human language and directs itself to human nature, it shares the properties of all good public address. Already the ancients discussed the art of influencing a person to action and called it persuasion. That is the psychological counter-

part of what in theological terms we have been calling preaching to repentance — working a change in the hearer....Persuasion in the ‘art of getting the hearer to think the one thing that you want him to think....This means that the Christian preacher is in the most exact sense a persuader. The proofs of his discourse, Aristotle would say, ‘depend upon the moral character of the speaker...putting the hearer into a certain frame of mind... and the speech itself.’”<sup>40</sup>

Caemmerer believed in goal directed preaching, a direct connection with classical rhetoric. This is not the only evidence that Caemmerer was a student of classical rhetoric. That fact is also revealed in his by now famous “accents in preaching” which include preaching to the goals of life, faith, church, family, hope and prayer.<sup>41</sup> This sort of methodology is more than reminiscent of Aristotle’s concept of lines of argument (topoi). Even in this very brief review of Caemmerer we see definite influence from the world of classical rhetoric.

But there are other voices out there who are speaking to the issue of preaching the Word of God. These voices call to us that we may not tread too long or happily in the fields of rhetoric alone, nor forget that technique and style are never a substitute for content. They call to remind us that proclamation, not merely communication, is what delivers the goods of the Gospel. One such writer is Timothy Quill. In a fairly recent article appearing in Logia, Quill wrote:

To be Lutheran pastors we must keep the doctrine of the efficacy of the word and Scriptures in mind when preparing our sermons, choosing our words, forming our sentences. When we stand in the pulpit we can speak with authority even if we have never taken a class in theater - even if we do not stand 6’6" and possess the commanding voice and appearance of a Charlton Heston playing the role of Moses. When the smallest, most humble, most insecure, most soft-spoken pastor stands in the pulpit and speaks what the Lord has given him to speak, behind him is an altar and the throne of the Ancient of Days prepared with the body and blood of the Lamb who has promised, “I will be with you always to the very end of the age.””<sup>42</sup>

This is a timely, and yes, if I dare say it, even an eloquent reminder that always it is the message, not the messenger, that has the power with regard to the Word of God. Even though the preachers are weak vessels, God’s Word, as it is rightly proclaimed, does its mysterious and

wonderful work. His word delivers exactly what it says. Quill reminds us that the work of the preacher is not just communication, but it is actual delivery of the grace, mercy and peace of which we spoke at the beginning.

Quill illustrates this point by quoting Robert W. Schaibley who differentiates between communication and proclamation. Schaibley writes,

What is the difference between 'communication' and 'proclamation'? Both activities deal with people; both involve a connection between speaker and hearer; both put forth a message; yet the difference between the two activities are great....Communication works within what might be called a 'synergistic' framework. Communication requires the cooperation of the hearer; without that cooperation there is no communication. Communication appeals to reflective reason for consent. So to strive for communication is to set up a dualism that enfranchises the hearer with epistemological power. The hearer becomes part of the litigation of which communication is the result. (The hearer become "Judge Wapner" in the communication model.) The hearer is empowered to say, 'What I know and see to be true, this I affirm; what I do not know or see to be true, this I deny.' Obviously, a hearer always has that 'move', if you will, but in the framework of the communication model, where the hearer's verdict is 'this I deny', communication has failed. Proclamation requires the presence, obviously, but not necessarily the cooperation of the hearer; even without that cooperation, proclamation occurs (assuming that the Gospel has been voiced). Proclamation does not appeal to reflective reason for consent. Proclamation is revelation, and as von Loewenich aptly notes, 'revelation addresses itself to faith, not to sight, not to reflective reason.' Because proclamation does not appeal to reflective reason, it does not operate on the dualistic level, and it does not empower the hearer to become the final arbiter of the communication of truth. The hearer may yet say, "this I deny", but proclamation still has occurred where the Word of the Gospel has been proclaimed, and there, as we publicly confess, "the Holy Spirit is given, who works faith where and when it pleases God."<sup>43</sup>

It might appear, at first glance, that Quill and Schaibley are both arguing against the use of rhetoric, classical or otherwise, in Lutheran preaching. I don't believe that is true. They are addressing something much more fundamental, they are speaking about results, and the power

that brings about results. And in this matter, we Lutherans take a much different view than, say, the Reformed. For the word that we speak from the pulpit is God's Word, a word which has power in and of itself. These writers are reminding us that it is the Word itself that brings about results, regardless of the relative eloquence or even relative lack of eloquence on the part of the preacher. Quill goes on to say,

"If you believe that delivering information and moving the hearer to action is the purpose of the sermon, then the communication model will appeal to you. What then is to differentiate the sermon from a classroom lecture on Bible and church history, or from an inspirational speech on good citizenship?"<sup>44</sup>

What is the difference indeed? The difference is this: in the sermon we wield God's power, His Word, and the results are up to the Holy Spirit. Yes, as stewards of the mysteries of God, we are concerned about results. We desire that all men come to the knowledge of truth and be saved. Yet we know that we cannot achieve those results ourselves. In the secular use of rhetorical techniques, the results are placed squarely on the shoulders of the speaker. Preaching of the Gospel is something far different. To quote the sainted Dr. Robert Preus,

The Gospel does not merely offer us righteousness and salvation, does not only invite us to accept Christ and enter His kingdom, it actually confers such great blessings on us, quickens us and makes us partakers of Christ's kingdom.<sup>45</sup>

The results result from the Word that is proclaimed, and that Word is not man's but God's; therefore, the results are His.

Quill, Preus and Schaibley lift up for us a caution, a caution of substituting what St. Paul called "wise and persuasive words"<sup>46</sup> for the Word of God. They caution us to avoid letting the tools for delivering the message become the message or to lose sight of the fact that the message itself saves. Such words are in order.

### *Review and Conclusion*

Dear brothers, even from this brief, and admittedly cursory and simplistic review of certain key Lutheran homileticians, we see the pervasive influence of classical rhetoric. Reu, Fritz, Lenski and Caemmerer

to a man subscribed to and used the thoughts about rhetoric described by people such as Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintillian.

We have also seen that many voices through the years have raised cautions and concerns about the use of rhetoric. Cyprian, Augustine and more modern writers such as Quill and Schaibley caution the church against displacing the Word of God with stylistic considerations.

So we come to a place where Lutherans often find themselves, in tension. Surely nothing can take the place of the Word of God, for it is truth. As one writer put it, "You can read all the books — Craddock and Butterick and even Caemmerers' classic text — and improve technique, but well-formed trivia is still trivia."<sup>47</sup> Yet at the same time we should heed the words of Dr. M.D. Hilgendorf as he writes of Augustine,

"But perhaps his [Augustine] greatest contribution in the area of homiletics was his challenge to the "rhetorical heresy" of his day and that which somehow manages to resurface and persist in every generation since, that the mere uttering of the truth of the Word of God is sufficient and in doing so the Christian preacher has fulfilled his task. The sermon, therefore, must go beyond the exegesis of the text (the discovery of the truth). The preacher then must place that truth before receptive ears and minds in the most understandable, the most palatable, and the most pleasant of methods he has at his disposal."<sup>48</sup>

We preachers of the Word need to avoid two sins: that of the sophist who believes that the forma, regardless of subject matter, is sufficient; and two, the "Platonic rhetorical heresy" that a preacher who possesses the truth will be able, ipso facto, to communicate that truth to others, thus relying upon the materia alone.<sup>49</sup>

Therefore it seems to me that we find ourselves in a great tension. Do you see it? Can you feel it? It is the tension that comes from the thought that the burden of the right proclamation of the Word of God rests squarely on your shoulders: (*2 Tim 2:15*) ***Do your best to present yourself to God as one approved, a workman who does not need to be ashamed and who correctly handles the word of truth.*** And then there is the opposite pole which declares to us that everything depends solely on the Word: (*Isa 55:11*) ***so is my word that goes out from my mouth: It will not return to me empty, but will accomplish what I desire and***

*achieve the purpose for which I sent it.* So there it is, the preachers' tension.

Today we have heard voices telling two things: do it right preacher, use all the tools you can find. And other voices saying, God in His Word does it all. Both of them are correct.

It seems to me what we have before us a rather special case of Law and Gospel. It is living within this Law/Gospel tension that we as Lutherans have always declared is the right, the Godly, the biblical place to be. The Law demands and insists that we perform as if it all depended upon us, and the Gospel sweetly declares that it has all been done for us and we are free.

Living in such a Homiletical tension is not comfortable. Yet this is exactly where God wants His people to be, and certainly it is the place to be for those who have been called to publicly proclaim his Word. As St. Paul laments in Romans, chapter seven, we know just exactly what we ought to be doing in our studies and pulpits. In our inner-most being we want to be good preachers of God's Word. We seek only to be faithful to His Word, announcing grace, mercy and peace to a lost and dying world, perfectly, eloquently. And to this goal we should strive, for so we are commanded by God. Yet in our own souls we know that we have failed...for before the Law we always fail. And so it is to us poor preachers that the very comfort of God comes, a Gospel for preachers if you will, a Gospel which declares that his Word will never return to Him void, that its power and majesty are infinitely above us and our understanding or control. God has us just where He wants us, in a tension. And that leaves nothing but His gift of faith. And that, dear brothers, is all we need.

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### END NOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Steven L. Reagles, *Classical Rhetoric and Our Preaching: Formalization, Anathematization, Utilization*, Lutheran Synod Quarterly 25 (June 1987) p. 49-80.
- <sup>3</sup> Reagles, p. 49.
- <sup>4</sup> Plass, p. 1118.
- <sup>5</sup> Reagles, p. 56.
- <sup>6</sup> James C. McCroskey, *An Introduction to Rhetorical Communication*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1982), p. 6.
- <sup>7</sup> McCroskey, p. 64.
- <sup>8</sup> Cicero, De Inventione, as quoted by Steven L. Reagles, *Classical Rhetoric and Our Preaching: Formalization, Anathematization, Utilization*, Lutheran Synod Quarterly 25 (June 1987) p.56.
- <sup>9</sup> M. Reu, *Homiletics: A Manual of The Theory and Practice of Preaching*, (St. Louis: Concordia, 1977), p. 169.
- <sup>10</sup> Reu, p. 170
- <sup>11</sup> Reu, p. 248.
- <sup>12</sup> Reu, p. 248.
- <sup>13</sup> Reu, p. 340.
- <sup>14</sup> Reu, p. 389.
- <sup>15</sup> J. M. Reu and Paul H. Buehring, *Christian Ethics*, (Lutheran Book Concern, 1935), p. 66 as quoted in Paul I. Johnson, "Anthropology from the Perspective of Johann Michael Reu", Lutheran Synod Quarterly, Vol XXXI, No. 3., p. 10-11.
- <sup>16</sup> Paul I. Johnson, "Anthropology from the Perspective of Johann Michael Reu", Lutheran Synod Quarterly, Vol XXXI, No. 3., p.11.
- <sup>17</sup> Reu, p. 15.
- <sup>18</sup> Reu, p. 16.



- <sup>19</sup> John H. C. Fritz, *Pastoral Theology: A Handbook of Scriptural Principles*, (St Louis: Concordia, 1932), p. 66.
- <sup>20</sup> Fritz, p. 65.
- <sup>21</sup> Augsburg Confession, Article XXIV, [My research fails to find this exact quote in the place Fritz suggests.]
- <sup>22</sup> A.C. Baird, *Rhetoric: A Philosophical Inquiry*, (New York: The Ronald Press, 1965), p. 15.
- <sup>23</sup> R.J. Brake, "Classical Conceptions of 'Place': A Study of Invention" (Doctoral diss., Michigan State University, 1965).
- <sup>24</sup> McCroskey, p. 154-155.
- <sup>25</sup> Fritz, p. 71.
- <sup>26</sup> Fritz, p. 88.
- <sup>27</sup> McCroskey, p.187.
- <sup>28</sup> Fritz. p. 88.
- <sup>29</sup> Fritz, p. 98.
- <sup>30</sup> Fritz, p. 98.
- <sup>31</sup> R.C.H. Lenski, *The Sermon: Its Homiletical Construction*, (Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d.), p. 52.
- <sup>32</sup> Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, Book IV, Chapter V. [Emphasis mine.]
- <sup>33</sup> Reagles. p. 64.
- <sup>34</sup> Lenski, p. 71.
- <sup>35</sup> Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, Vol I., (Concordia: St. Louis), 1950, p. 197; (Mat 24:15) "So when you see standing in the holy place 'the abomination that causes desolation,' spoken of through the prophet Daniel—let the reader understand—  
(Luke 2:19) But Mary treasured up all these things and pondered them in her heart.  
(John 5:39) You diligently study the Scriptures because you think that by them you possess eternal life. These are the Scriptures that testify about me,  
(Rom 10:14) How, then, can they call on the one they have not believed in? And how can they believe in the one of whom they have not heard? And how can they hear without someone preaching to them?  
(Rom 10:17) Consequently, faith comes from hearing the message, and the message is heard through the word of Christ.
- <sup>36</sup> Reagles, p. 67.
- <sup>37</sup> McCroskey, p. 22.
- <sup>38</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, Book I.

- <sup>39</sup> Richard R. Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church: Theology and Technique of the Christian Sermon*, (St Louis: Concordia, 1959), p. 16.
- <sup>40</sup> Caemmerer, pp. 35 - 38.
- <sup>41</sup> Caemmerer, pp. 177 - 209.
- <sup>42</sup> Timothy Quill, "Law-Gospel Preaching: Giving the Gifts", Logia III (October 1994), p. 47.
- <sup>43</sup> Robert W. Schaibley, "Lutheran Preaching: Proclamation Not Communication," Concordia Journal 18 (January 1992), pp 6-27 as quoted in Quill article, Logia 3 (October 1994), p. 40-50.
- <sup>44</sup> Quill, p. 48.
- <sup>45</sup> Robert Preus, *The Inspiration of Scripture: A Study of the Theology of the Seventeenth Century Dogmaticians* (Mankato: Lutheran Synod Book Company, 1955), p. 184-185.
- <sup>46</sup> 1 Corinthians 23:3-5.
- <sup>47</sup> David G. Butterick, "Preaching in America, 1989", Concordia Journal 16 (April 1990), p. 90.
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# Bugenhagen's Relationship with Luther and the Development of the Bugenhagen Order of Service

by Pastor Harry Bartels

If from the Reformation period down to the end of the sixteenth century one had only our Christian Book of Concord, published 1580 at Dresden, in which are embodied the confessional symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, what could one know from this "Golden Concordia" concerning Bugenhagen and his relationship with Luther, or could he know anything at all about Bugenhagen therefrom? Yes, he could know something concerning Bugenhagen, and concerning his relationship with Luther as well, therefrom. One finds reference to Bugenhagen already in the Preface to the Book of Concord, in one of its sentences. That sentence states,

Neither do we judge that other useful writings of Dr. Philip Melancthon, or of Brenz, Urban Rhegius, Pomeranus, etc., should be rejected and condemned, so far as, in all things, they agree with the norm which has been set forth in this Book of Concord.<sup>1</sup>

"Pomeranus"? That, of course, is Johannes Bugenhagen, for he was from Pomerania, and "Pomeranus" was the Latin name he took for himself. Thus, he was often referred to as "Pomeranus," as in this reference. I would review for you here the context in which this reference to him is made. It will take a little bit of a lengthy contextual route to do so, but will be worth our while, for apart from its context this reference would remain quite cryptic, but the contextual review will help make it more understandable.

In the Preface to the Book of Concord strong and clear emphasis is given to the fact that it is the original Augsburg Confession submitted to Emperor Charles V in the great imperial assembly at Augsburg in the year 1530, and not the Variata edition of 1540, which was being incorporated in the Christian Book of Concord, for the Variata was not suited to being included among the symbolical books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for a number of reasons. We are all familiar with the

fact that ever since the Augsburg Confession had been presented at the Diet of Augsburg on June 25, 1530, which had in that historic forum and hour become the public Confession of the Lutherans, and was not Melanchthon's private document (though at Augsburg he had been chiefly responsible for putting it together as it was there confessed), Melanchthon nevertheless continued to make changes in it in the following years. And the 1540 Variata edition, in which the extent of the twenty-one doctrinal articles in the first section of the Augsburg Confession was almost doubled by changes/additions, gained considerable prominence for a number of years among the Lutherans. For it was apparent that most of the changes were intended as re-enforcements of the Lutheran position against the papists, and Melanchthon had also declared that he had made no changes in the matter and substance or in the sense, i.e., in the doctrine itself, and thus the Lutherans at that time, as the Preface to the Book of Concord shows, attached no further importance to the matter of the changes, and did not oppose it as being unsuitable as a confessional document, but freely made use of the Variata. Concerning this Martin Chemnitz half a century later (1597) said that in Luther's day the Variata of 1540 was employed at various religion colloquies with the previous knowledge and approval of Luther. Luther died in 1546, and fifteen years later in 1561, numerous prominent Lutheran theologians and princes would still align themselves with both the original Augsburg Confession of 1530 and the Variata edition of 1540. With the prospective reopening of the Council of Trent, an assembly of the Evangelical estates was held at Naumburg, Thuringia, from January 20 through February 1, 1561, at which a good number of the Lutheran princes and theologians signed a document, which included a preface.

The preface committed the signatories both to the 1530 edition of the Augsburg Confession and to the Variata edition of 1540 (by the latter, they affirmed, the 1530 edition "is repeated somewhat more sumptuously and exhaustively and is explained and expanded on the basis of Holy Scripture"), as well as the Apology.<sup>2</sup>

Nineteen years later, in 1580, some of these same men were among the signers of our Christian Book of Concord. In the time following the 1561 Naumberg assembly, however, it became ever more apparent that

the Variata of 1540 was deficient as a confessional document. For, while it contained numerous re-enforcements of the Lutheran position against the papists, as mentioned before, it also weakened and rendered ambiguous in various respects the Lutheran position as confessed in the Augsburg Confession of 1530, a deficiency which for a number of years had escaped serious attention by the Lutherans, probably because they were taken up by what they considered to be its usefulness against the papists. This deficiency is evident notably, for instance, in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Augsburg Confession of 1530, Article X, Of the Lord's Supper, confesses most clearly,

Of the Supper of the Lord they teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord; and they reject those that teach otherwise.<sup>3</sup>

The affirmative part of this article, which was exceedingly clear, was replaced in the Variata with a less clear statement concerning the Lord's supper which could lend itself to differing interpretations; moreover, the statement rejecting the Reformed doctrine was omitted. Thus, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was obscured in the Variata, and the door was left open for the Reformed error. And the Reformed in time recognizing this, proceeded to employ the Variata as a cover for their false doctrine of the Lord's Supper, claiming that they, too, embraced the Augsburg Confession, including Article X, as set forth in the Variata edition (though they certainly did not embrace Article X of the original Augsburg Confession) and they thought to use the Variata as an instrument to work to bring about union between the Lutherans and the Reformed. This most serious weakness of the Variata rendered it unsatisfactory as a confessional document. And the loyal Lutheran princes and theologians who assembled the Christian Book of Concord and put it forth in 1580, recognizing this in retrospect, regarded it as self-evident that in the matter of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 and the Variata edition of 1540 they unanimously and solemnly declare their exclusive adherence to the Augsburg Confession as presented to Emperor Charles V at Augsburg, and that they make it clear that the Variata of 1540 was not being embraced by them as a confessional document. Then, too, the Roman Catholics had for numerous decades been charging the Lutherans with themselves not knowing which was the genuine Augsburg Confession, and had made a big issue of decrying the Lutherans in this regard.

In view of these circumstances, we find those loyal Lutheran forbears of ours writing in the Preface to the Book of Concord,

Accordingly, in order that no persons may permit themselves to be disturbed by the charges of our adversaries spun out of their own mind, by which they boast that not even we are certain which is true and genuine Augsburg Confession, but that both those who are now among the living and posterity also may be clearly and firmly taught and informed what the godly Confession is which both we and the churches and schools of our realms at all times professed and embraced, we emphatically testify that after the pure and immutable truth of God's Word we wish to embrace the first Augsburg Confession alone which was presented to the Emperor Charles V, in the year 1530, at the famous Diet of Augsburg (this alone we say), and no other.... This Confession also, by the help of God, we will retain to our last breath, when we shall go forth from this life to the heavenly fatherland, to appear with joyful and undaunted mind and with a pure conscience before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>4</sup>

And, after just a few more lines in this vein, they then add regarding the Variata of 1540,

Moreover, as to the second edition of the Augsburg Confession, of which mention is made also in the transactions at Naumburg, we notice, what is also known to all, that, under the pretext of the words of this latter edition, some have wanted to cover and conceal corruptions with respect to the Lord's Supper and other errors, and by means of published writings have attempted to obtrude them upon an ignorant populace; nor have they been moved by the distinct words of the Augsburg Confession, (which was first presented,) by which these errors are openly rejected, and from which a far different meaning than they wish can be shown. Therefore we have decided in this writing to testify publicly, and to inform all, that we wished neither then nor now in any way to defend, or excuse, or to approve, as though agreeing with the Gospel-doctrine, false and godless doctrines and opinions which may lie concealed under certain coverings of words. We, indeed, never received the latter edition in a sense differing in any part from the former which was presented.<sup>5</sup>

Now, in the setting of this whole context which we have reviewed, comes that sentence in which reference is made to Bugenhagen here in the Preface to the Book of Concord:

Neither do we judge that other useful writings of Dr. Philip Melanchthon, or of Brenz, urban Rhegius, Pomeranus, etc., should be rejected and condemned, so far as, in all things, they agree with the norm which has been set forth in the Book of Concord.<sup>6</sup>

So, then, if one had only the Book of Concord, he could begin to learn something concerning Bugenhagen from this sentence of its Preface, since he is here listed as one of several notable writers among the Lutherans from the Reformation period. From this reference already, one may discern that, like Melanchthon, Brenz, and Rhegius, Johannes Bugenhagen was also prominent in the Reformation movement centering in Wittenberg. However, since this reference goes into no specifics and gives us no details, it does not tell us very much about Bugenhagen's relationship with Luther.

But there is more light shed on this matter in the Book of Concord. When we come to the Smalcald Articles written by Luther at the direction of the elector of Saxony, we find Bugenhagen's name affixed to this Confession as one of its signatories. The situation which induced the elector to ask Luther to prepare this document was the prospect of what appeared to be a general council of the church to be held in a number of months, called for by Pope Paul III.

Under these circumstances the elector of Saxony instructed Luther in a letter of Dec. 11, 1536, to prepare a statement indicating the articles of faith in which concessions might be made for the sake of peace and the articles in which no concessions could be made....Luther set to work at once on what came to be called "The Smalcald Articles." By Dec. 28 the document was ready for review by a small group of theologians assembled in Wittenberg, who, among other things, proposed the addition of the section on the invocation of saints....The first eight signatures were affixed at this time.<sup>7</sup>

Bugenhagen's signature was the third one, following only those by Luther and Justus Jonas.

The elector of Saxony then took the Articles to Smalcald, where representatives of the Smalcald League met on Feb. 8, 1537....Although not officially endorsed at Smalcald, the Articles were signed by many of the clergymen who were present in token of their personal adherence to the faith expressed there.<sup>8</sup>

In this list of thirty-five more names added, we find Bugenhagen's name a second time, but now not signing for himself, but for John Brenz who had to leave the assembly earlier and directed Bugenhagen to sign for him. In some of the last words of the Confession Luther writes,

These are the articles on which I must stand and on which I will stand, God willing, until my death. I do not know how I can change or concede anything in them. If anybody wishes to make some concessions, let him do so at the peril of his own conscience.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of this Confession comes the forty-three signatures in all, and we notice that all four theologians mentioned in the Preface to the Book of Concord quote which we looked at above are among the signers, as well as a good number of other familiar names from the Reformation period.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER, subscribed

DR. JUSTUS JONAS, rector, subscribed with his own hand

\*DR. JOHN BUGENHAGEN, of Pomerania, subscribed

DR. CASPAR CREUTZIGER, subscribed

NICHOLAS AMSDORF, of Mageburg, subscribed

GEORGE SPALATIN, of Altenburg, subscribed

\*I, PHILIP MELANCHTHON, regard the above articles as right and Christian. However, concerning the pope I hold that, if he would allow the Gospel, we, too, may concede to him that superiority over the bishops which he possesses by human right, making this concession for the sake of peace and general unity among the Christians who are now under him and who may be in the future.

JOHN AGRICOLA, of Eisleben, subscribed

GABRIEL DIDYMUS, subscribed

\*I, DR. URBAN RHEGIUS, superintendent of the churches in the Duchy of Lüneburg, subscribe in my own name and in the name of my brethren and of the church of Hanover

I, STEPHEN AGRICOLA, minister in Hof, subscribe



Also I, JOHN DRACH, professor and minister in Marburg, subscribe

I, CONRAD FIGENBOTZ, for the glory of God subscribe that I have thus believed and am still preaching and firmly believing as above

I, ANDREW OSIANDER, minister in Nuremberg, subscribe

I, Master VEIT DIETRICH, minister in Nuremberg, subscribe

I, ERHARD SCHNEPF, preacher in Stuttgart, subscribe

CONRAD OETTINGER, preacher of Duke Ulric of Pforzheim

SIMON SCHNEEWEISS, pastor of the church in Crailsheim

I, JOHN SCHLAGENHAUFEN, pastor of the church in Kothen, subscribe

Master GEORGE HELT, of Forchheim

Master ADAM OF FULDA, preacher in Hesse

Master ANTHONY CORVINUS

\*I, Dr. John Bugenhagen of Pomerania, again subscribe in the name of Master JOHN BRENZ, who on his departure from Smalcald directed me orally and by a letter which I have shown to these brethren who have subscribed

I, DIONYSIUS MELANDER, subscribe the Confession, the Apology, and the Concord in the matter of the Eucharist

PAUL RHODE, superintendent of Stettin

GERARD OEMCKEN, superintendent of the church in Minden

I, BRIXIUS NORTHANUS, minister of the church of Christ which is in Soest, subscribe the articles of the reverend father, Martin Luther, confess that I have hitherto thus believed and taught, and by the Spirit of Christ I will thus continue to believe and teach

MICHAEL CAELIUS, preacher in Mansfeld, subscribed

Master PETER GELTNER, preacher in Frankfurt, subscribed

WENDAL FABER, pastor of Seeburg in Mansfeld

I, JOHN AEPINUS, subscribe

Likewise I, JOHN AMSTERDAM, of Bremen

I, FREDERICK MYCONIUS, pastor of the church in Gotha, Thuringia, subscribe in my own name and in that of JUSTUS MENIUS, of Eisenach

I, DR. JOHN LANG, preacher of the church in Erfurt, in my own name and in the names of my other co-workers in the Gospel, namely: the Rev. Licentiate LOUIS PLATZ, of Melsungen

the Rev. Master SIGISMUND KIRCHNER  
 the Rev. WOLFGANG KISWETTER  
 the Rev. MELCHIOR WEITMANN  
 the Rev. JOHN THALL  
 the Rev. JOHN KILIAN  
 the Rev. NICHOLAS FABER  
 the Rev. ANDREW MENSER (I subscribe with my hand  
 And I, EGIDIUS MELCHER, have subscribed with my hand<sup>10</sup>

In later years the Articles were looked upon with growing favor as a witness to genuine Lutheranism, and as such they were finally incorporated in the Book of Concord.<sup>11</sup>

From Bugenhagen's own personal signature to these Smalcald Articles one can learn a lot about Bugenhagen's relationship with Luther, for this bears witness to the fact that he was of one heart with Luther's confession of the Articles of Faith set forth by Luther clearly and unequivocally in these Smalcald Articles.

There was another confessional document to which signatures were affixed at Smalcald, this one compiled by the theologians assembled there, drafted by Melanchthon for them, namely, the Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope.

Unlike the Smalcald Articles, the Treatise was officially adopted in Smalcald as a confession of faith. It was intended as a supplement to the Augsburg Confession and was not, as used to be supposed, an appendix to the Smalcald Articles. All the clergymen who were presented signed the Treatise; the signature of Luther is wanting because he was too ill to attend the meeting.<sup>12</sup>

Those who affixed their signatures to this document at Smalcald were not only giving their confessional subscription to the Treatise, but also to the Augsburg Confession and the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, as is clearly stated at the end of the document. Following is the heading and paragraph preceeding their thirty signatures:

### **LIST OF THE DOCTORS AND PREACHERS WHO SUBSCRIBED THE CONFESSION AND APOLOGY, 1537**

According to the command of the most illustrious princes and of the estates and cities professing the doctrine of the Gospel, we

have reread the articles of the Confession presented to the emperor in the diet of Augsburg and, by the favor of God, all the preachers who have been present in this assembly in Smalcald unanimously declare that in their churches they believe and teach in conformity with the articles of the Confession and Apology. They also declare that they approve the article concerning the primacy of the pope and the power and jurisdiction of the bishops which was presented to the princes here in this assembly in Smalcald. Accordingly they subscribe their names.<sup>13</sup>

Then follow the signatures, and we note that Bugenhagen's is at the head of the list. Then, about half way through the list, we once more find his signature, this time again signing for Brenz. Once more we notice that all four theologians mentioned in the Preface to the Book of Concord quote considered above are among the signers of this document also.

\*I, DR. JOHN BUGENHAGEN, of Pomerania, subscribe the articles of the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and the article concerning the papacy presented to the princes in Smalcald

\*I also, DR. URBAN RHEGIUS, superintendent of the churches in the Duchy of Lüneburg, subscribe

NICHOLAS AMSDORF, of Magdeburg, subscribed

GEORGE SPALATIN, of Altenburg, subscribed

I, ANDREW OSHANDER, subscribe

Master VEIT DIETRICH, of Nuremberg, subscribe

STEPHEN AGRICOLA, minister in Chur, subscribed with his own hand

JOHN DRACH, of Marburg, subscribed

CONRAD FIGENBOTZ subscribes to all throughout

MARTIN BUCER

I, ERHARD SCHNEPF, subscribe

PAUL RHODE, preacher in Stettin

GERARD OEMCKEN, minister of the church in Minden

BRIXIUS NORTHANUS, minister in Soest

SIMON SCHNEEWEISS, pastor at Crailsheim

\*I, Pomeranus, against subscribe in the name of Master JOHN BRENZ, as he commanded me

\*PHILIP MELANCHTHON subscribes with his own hand

ANTHONY CORVINUS subscribes with his own hand both in his name and in that of ADAM OF FULDA

JOHN SCHLAGENHAUFEN subscribes with his own hand

GEORGE HELT, of Forchheim

MICHAEL CAELIUS, preacher in Mansfeld

PETER GELTNER, preacher in the church in Frankfurt

DAVID MELANDER subscribed

PAUL FAGIUS, of Strasbourg

WENDEL FABER, pastor of Seeburg in Mansfeld

CONRAD OETTINGER, of Pforzheim, preacher of Ulric, duke of Württemberg

BONIFACE WOLFART, minister of the Word in the church in Augsburg

JOHN AEPINUS, superintended in Hamburg, subscribed with his own hand

JOHN AMSTERDAM, of Bremen, did the same

JOHN FONTANUS, superintended of Lower Hesse, subscribed

FREDERICK MYCONIUS subscribed for himself and for JUSTUS MENIUS

AMBROSE BLAUER<sup>14</sup>

So, then, also from Bugenhagen's confessional subscription here to the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and the Treatise, even as from his subscription to the Smalcald Articles which we noted before, one having only the Book of Concord could learn a good deal about Bugenhagen's relationship with Luther, as a fellow-confessor with him of the Reformation doctrine set forth clearly and uncompromisingly also in these documents.

Now broadening one's source of information on the subject of Bugenhagen's relationship with Luther a bit further, if one had the Concordia Triglotta, which contains not only the Book of Concord in the three languages of German, Latin, and English, but, along with the Book of Concord, also the extensive Historical Introductions to the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, he could perceive something more concerning Bugenhagen's relationship with Luther, and that is that there was a close association between the two in working on confessional statements which would later come to be included in the Book of Concord.

For instance, we learn from this Historical Introductions section that Bugenhagen was instrumental in formulating the wording of Article VI of the Smalcald Articles, the article on the Sacrament of the Altar. It is from a sharply critical remark about Bugenhagen, quoted in this Historical Introductions section, made by Melanchthon in a personal report on February 10, 1573, to Landgrave Philip of Hesse who wanted compromise between the Lutherans and the Reformed, that we learn this. A few years earlier Melanchthon would not have written as he did now against Bugenhagen, for he himself had then also stood, as Bugenhagen still did, solidly with Luther on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Thus, at the Marburg Colloquy in 1529 Melanchthon was still violently opposed to the Zwinglians and their "profane" teaching. But, alas, more recently, Melanchthon had personally been moving away from the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper and closer to the Reformed doctrine. Publicly he still spoke the Lutheran doctrine, but in private correspondence he was indicating his inclination toward that of the south Germans and Swiss Reformed. And it is from this changing Melanchthon that we now hear the following sharply critical remark about Bugenhagen to Philip of Hesse, from which we learn of Bugenhagen's close association with Luther in working on Article VI of the Smalcald Articles, indeed, of his influence on Luther in regard to its wording, resulting in the article's strengthening against the Reformed error. Says Melanchthon:

One article, that concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, has been drawn up somewhat vehemently, in that it states that the bread is the body of the Lord, which Luther at first did not draw up in this form, but, as contained in the (Wittenberg) Concord, namely, that the body of the Lord is given with the bread; and this was due to Pomeranus, for he is a vehement man and a coarse Pomeranian.<sup>15</sup>

So that's the kind of treatment Melanchthon would now give Johannes Bugenhagen, this rock-ribbed confessor right after the heart of Luther, for contributing to the wording of this article so that it was stated in such a way as to most effectively safeguard the doctrine of the Lord's Supper against the Sacramentarians! This private shifting on the part of Melanchthon was even more fully developed by the time he produced the Variata of 1540, and without question accounts for the weakened statement of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the Variata, though at

that time his personal movement away from the sound Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper was not yet generally recognized, and would not be for a good number of years.

That was in late 1536/early 1537 when Bugenhagen had worked with Luther on the Smalcald Articles. Earlier already, in 1530, he had worked with him on one of the forerunner documents on which the Augsburg Confessions came to be based, the so-called Torgau Articles, which one can also learn from the Historical Introductions to the Symbolical Books section of the Triglotta. It was on January 21, 1530, that Emperor Charles V proclaimed a diet to convene at Augsburg on April 8, and in his proclamation he said in part:

The diet is to consider....what might and ought to be done and resolved upon regarding the division and separation in the holy faith and the Christian religion....<sup>16</sup>

In the proclamation he invited the princes and representatives of the free cities of the empire to come and discuss their religion differences in the hope of overcoming them and restoring unity. The proclamation reached the Elector of Saxony on March 11. Three days later

the Elector commissioned Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melancthon to prepare a document treating especially of "those articles on account of which said division, both in faith and in other outward church customs and ceremonies, continues."<sup>17</sup>

Such a statement was therefore prepared by these Wittenberg theologians, and since it was approved at a meeting in Torgau at the end of March, 1530, it is commonly referred to as the Torgau Articles. This, together with the Schwabach Articles, which had been drawn up already in 1529, became the basis of what was to become the Augsburg Confession which was presented to the Emperor and the whole august assembly at Augsburg on June 25, 1530, the Schwabach Articles forming the basis for the first part of the Augsburg Confession, consisting of Articles I through XXI, headed, "Articles of Faith and Doctrine," and the Torgau Articles forming the basis of the second part, consisting of Articles XXII through XXVIII, headed, "Articles about Matters in Dispute, in which an Account Is Given of the Abuses which Have Been Corrected," those articles being:

XXII. Both Kinds in the Sacrament

XXIII. The Marriage of Priests

XXIV. The Mass

XXV. Confession

XXVI. The Distinction of Foods

XXVII. Monastic Vows

XXVIII. The Power of Bishops

The better one comes to know Bugenhagen, the more one is impressed regarding how much he must have contributed to the discussion and had a hand in the drafting of these various articles, for he had a keen interest in, as well as a solid Lutheran position in regard to, these matters, from the matter of both kinds in the Sacrament, to the matter of the marriage of priests, to the matter of the mass, to the matter of confession, and all the rest of the way through the list of the articles. And here we would make some remarks relating to Bugenhagen's close involvement in regard to several of these matters.

Concerning the marriage of priests: Bugenhagen became chief pastor of the city of Wittenberg in 1523, and, interestingly enough, as Luther's pastor, he officiated at the marriage of Martin Luther and Katharine von Bora on June 13, 1525. He himself was married already on October 13, 1522.

Concerning confession: Bugenhagen is credited today with playing an equally important role together with Luther in the reintroduction of private confession (and here we are, of course, speaking of confession purified, with emphasis on absolution), after fanatical Karlstadt and his followers had abolished it during Luther's absence from Wittenberg following the Diet of Worms in 1521. Another note of interest here concerns the introduction of the Confiteor (confession) into the Lutheran Mass. In the Roman Mass the Confiteor had been only a part of the priest's own preparation for the Mass. Luther in both his Formula Missae (1523) and his Deutsche Messe (1526), which were preliminary to Bugenhagen's church orders, had omitted the Confiteor, evidently because it did not involve the congregation. Though Bugenhagen also omitted it in his earlier church orders, the first of which appeared in 1528, it was, however, included in some of his later ones, beginning with the Danish Order of 1537, but in a broadened manner, involving also the congregation, this by way of a confessional psalm verse, Psalm 79:9, "Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of Your name; and

purge away our sins for Your name's sake," sung for all to hear, so that it would also serve as the people's confession. We may see this as precursor of corporate confession which stands at the beginning of our church orders today.

Concerning the mass: In view of the fact that Bugenhagen is known chiefly as the Liturgist of the Reformers, we may well conclude that he had much to do particularly with the drafting of Augsburg Confession Article XXIV, The Mass. Read that article and be assured that you can fairly hear Bugenhagen speaking. Listen to just its first paragraph here.

We are unjustly accused of having abolished the Mass. Without boasting, it is manifest that the Mass is observed among us with greater devotion and more earnestness than among our opponents. Moreover, the people are instructed often and with great diligence concerning the Holy Sacrament, why it was instituted, and how it is to be used (namely, as a comfort for terrified consciences) in order that the people may be drawn to the Communion and Mass. The people are also given instruction about other false teachings concerning the Sacrament. Meanwhile no conspicuous changes have been made in the public ceremonies of the Mass, except that in certain places German hymns are sung in addition to the Latin responses for the instruction and exercise of the people. After all, the chief purpose of all ceremonies is to teach the people what they will need to know about Christ.<sup>18</sup>

That reflects the very spirit, bearing, and tone of Lutheranism's conservative liturgical reformer, Johannes Bugenhagen.

Read also Article XXV, Confession, for another example, and here too, you can almost hear Bugenhagen speaking. Listen to just a few of its first sentences here:

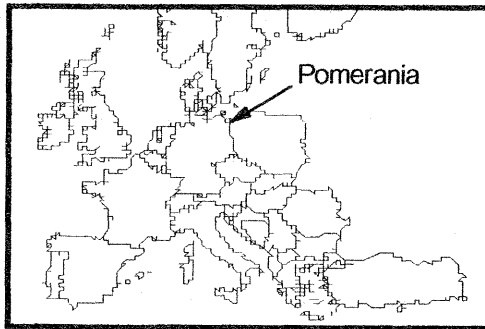
Confession has not been abolished by the preachers on our side. The custom has been retained among us of not administering the Sacrament to those who have not previously been examined and absolved. At the same time the people are carefully instructed concerning the consolation of the Word of absolution so that they may esteem absolution as a great and precious thing. It is not the voice or word of the man who speaks it, but it is the Word of God, who forgives sin, for it is spoken in God's stead and by God's command. We teach with great diligence about this command and power



of the keys and how comforting and necessary it is for terrified consciences....<sup>19</sup>

This again reflects the very spirit, bearing, and tone of Bugenhagen also on this matter of confession.

We have seen that Bugenhagen worked closely with Luther in the work of the Reformation. How and when did he come to be associated with Luther? For information on this we now move beyond the Triglotta. Johannes Bugenhagen was born on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, June 24, 1485 (less than two years after Luther was born), on the Pomeranian island of Wollen, just off the coast of the mainland of Pomerania.



I shall draw freely at some length here concerning Bugenhagen's early life, from Johannes Bergsma's, Johannes Bugenhagen and the Reformation of the Liturgy of the Mass, as translated by Dennis Marzolf from the German. I shall be quoting, abridging, and interpolating as necessary, and shall put it all in quote form, thus indicating that for the most part it is from Bergsma.

Bugenhagen himself credits his intense love for Holy Scripture to the early years of his education. He entered the University of Greifswald in January, 1502. Here he became very proficient in languages. Later in life Melancthon would refer to him as "Grammaticus" because of Bugenhagen's skill with languages, both ancient and modern.

In the second half of 1504 Bugenhagen was called to be rector of the large school in Treptow on the Rega. He was probably ordained to the priesthood in 1508 or 1509. During the years Bugenhagen was at Treptow the school flourished. His skill as an educator was greatly respected, and the educated citizenry as well

as the priests and monks would attend his lectures on the Bible and the catechism. In 1517 the abbot of Belbuck, Johann Bolduan, built a school for his cloister, and appointed Bugenhagen as lecturer. At this time Bugenhagen began work on a harmony of the Passion History.

Bugenhagen came into possession of a copy of Martin Luther's "Babylonian Captivity" shortly after it was published in 1520, and this resulted in bringing Bugenhagen into the Lutheran camp. After reading it, Bugenhagen remarked to his friends, "The whole world is lost in darkness, but this man alone sees the truth!" Shortly thereafter Bugenhagen wrote Luther for guidance. Luther responded with a copy of his "Christian Freedom."

At this point correspondence was not enough. The 35 year old teacher, preacher and priest decided to go Wittenberg in order to hear and learn. His curiosity and desire to learn drew him to Luther. Bugenhagen had a burning desire to meet Luther for study and discussion, and Luther also wished to become better acquainted with the teacher from Belbuck. Bugenhagen arrived in Wittenberg in March of 1521. Shortly thereafter, on April 2, Luther left for the Diet at Worms.

Even though Bugenhagen came as a "student," in the light of his age, experience and considerable capability as an instructor, he was soon teaching students at the university. In Belbuck he had already lectured on the entire Psalter two times. In Wittenberg he began a series of lectures for the Pomeranian students. Because of the popularity and demand for the lectures by all the students the lectures were held in a public lecture hall. In this way Bugenhagen was viewed as part of the corpus of teachers at the university.

Because many requested it, and Luther ordered it, Bugenhagen's lectures on the Psalter were published in Basel in March of 1524. Luther's forward to the work is extravagant in praise of the one who had set forth the Psalms of David better than any other commentator in recent time, and he says that "this Pomeranian is the first in all the world who deserves to be called an exegete of the Psalms." These words are conclusive in determining the relationship that existed between the two reformers.<sup>21</sup>

It was Bugenhagen's thoroughly Christological approach to the interpretation of the Psalms, and all of Scripture, which so moved Luther and drew him to Bugenhagen. And, of course, the same may be said from the other side, that it was Luther's thoroughly Christological approach to the interpretation of the Scripture which so moved Bugenhagen and drew him to Luther. David Scaer in his God the Son and Hermeneutics: A Brief Study into the Reformation says concerning Bugenhagen's Interpretation of the Book of Psalms,

It lies at the center of Reformation exegetical thought. In his preface, Luther said: "Among the number (of the elect) is Johannes Bugenhagen, the bishop of Wittenberg, (Pomeranus episcopus ecclesiae V. Vittembergensis) by the will of God and our Father, through whose gift this Psalter (hoc Psalterium) is given by opening to you, dear reader, by the Spirit of Christ, who is the key of David." Christology, or more precisely Christ is, according to Luther, the hermeneutical key and Bugenhagen by God's grace found it.<sup>22</sup>

Scaer also says in this very interesting study,

Also characteristic of Bugenhagen's hermeneutic is his sacramental interpretation of the Psalms. References to the cup in Psalm 23 are given a eucharistic interpretation as are references to remembrance and food in Psalm 111:45. In this connection he regularly cites John 6. While the Lord's Supper is for Bugenhagen sacramentum, it points to Christ who is summum sacramentum. As Bugenhagen spoke Christologically of his dilemma, he could speak of Christ sacramentally, anticipating the Formula of Concord VII and VIII.<sup>23</sup>

One more quote from Scaer here:

Bugenhagen is not a peripheral Reformation figure. Luther was his father, but he was for Luther a bishop (episcopus) and confessor (Beichtvater), a friend closer than either Melancthon or Justus Jonas. On the way to meet the papal legate, Luther said to Bugenhagen, "Da fahren der deutsche Papst und Kardinal Pomeranus." Luther was pope and Bugenhagen his legate. The Commentarius Pomeranij is a window into the Reformation shared with Luther.<sup>24</sup>

Though by 1679, some one hundred fifty years after it was first published, the Latin version of Bugenhagen's Interpretation of the Psalms (Librum Psalmarum Interpretatio) had appeared in no less than sixteen editions, which certainly attests to its importance, the chief contribution to the Reformation for which Bugenhagen is still known today is his work with liturgical reform. Waldemar Leege in his Bugenhagen als Liturgiker, translated by Allen Lunneberg, says in his introduction,

Next to Luther, Bugenhagen takes an extraordinarily significant role among the reformers. He was the first to actually spread the Reformation by means of administering and organizing new orders of the liturgy in a large area of northern Germany, namely in Brunswick, Luebeck, Pomerania, Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark and Hildesheim. The liturgies in all these regions are attributed to Bugenhagen and they had a decisive effect on succeeding generations.<sup>25</sup>

And we would add, they still do have a decisive effect on us today in the ELS, what, with what we affectionately refer to as our Bugenhagen Order of Service. This service is descended from his Danish Order of 1537, and comes to us through the Danish-Norwegian Order of 1685. Though this service has undergone some changes, it nevertheless must in large part be attributed to Bugenhagen.

The years in which Bugenhagen drew up church orders for the following regions/cities are as follows: Braunschweig in 1528, Hamburg in 1529, Luebeck in 1531, Wittenberg in 1533, Pomerania in 1535, Denmark in 1537, translated for Schleswig-Holstein in 1542, Hildesheim 1542, Wolfenbuettel 1543. All of these orders reflect great similarity, with some differences for local circumstances.

Bugenhagen was not at all of a mind to throw out the historic liturgy of the church, but rather he tenaciously sought to keep it and make it fit for church of the Reformation by purifying it and making it intelligible to people. Concerning this Leege says, with quotes from Bugenhagen,

Bugenhagen proceeded extremely conservatively and carefully with the reform of the Roman Mass and his new order. "We hold to the old way—allowing all that is unchristian or unprofitable to be dropped." "We will be pleased to retain the accustomed usage except that which concerns the sacrament, in order that we do not introduce something new needlessly." But the German language

should be used in order "that we Germans will sing and read in German as seems proper. After all, it is required of us that we should be able to hear Masses, therefore the mass should be in a form that can be heard and understood." When one takes for granted that the Jewish Christians have the sacrament in Jewish (sic) and the Greeks in the Greek language, why not also the Germans in German? "Otherwise the Holy Ghost Himself is disgraced on account of no intelligible speech."<sup>26</sup>

And here now I shall quote extensively from Leege about Bugenhagen's work on the reform of the Mass, condensing from Leege:

Up to the sermon Bugenhagen followed the structure of the Roman Mass with great fidelity. After the sermon he made a radical change in the Mass. Following Luther, he abolished especially the Secret, the Offertory, and the strict, deformed notion of the Sacrifice....All orders agree that the communion celebration should include an exhortation or admonition on the sacrament, i.e., instruction on the proper attitude....After the exhortation on the sacrament follows the Preface. Luther still retained it in the Formula Missae but he mentions it no more in the "German Mass." ....So it is significant that, while Luther goes overboard in the "German Mass," Bugenhagen maintains the Preface and the Sanctus....In this way the communion celebration is begun with a powerful praise hymn (Sanctus), as well as the riches of the Preface....

The actual communion, the "Table of the Lord," begins with the priest singing the Our Father in German, without the doxology, concluding with the seventh petition, "deliver us from evil." Thereupon follows the Institution narrative. In the Roman Mass it is reversed so that first is the Institution narrative, then the Our Father. It is the same in the Formula Missae. On the other hand the "German Mass" has the paraphrase of the Our Father first, then the Institution narrative after it. Bugenhagen follows the same order: the text of the Our Father, then the Verba coenae. By means of Bugenhagen's church order this arrangement becomes normative in the church. One finds the basis of this change in the following reason. Luther revived in the "German Mass" what was already in the Formula Missae, namely, "that (the order) be in accordance with the Holy Communion, immediately upon the consecration of the bread of the sacrament it is administered and given before the blessing of the cup." This idea, to allow the distribution of each

specie immediately after the blessing is promoted by Bugenhagen for the reason that it is also the very “Word and Command of Christ” and more in accordance with His institution. Therefore, now that the consecration is divided into two parts each connected with its own distribution, the Our Father no longer has a place between the Institution narrative and communion; thus it is placed before.

The singing of the Words of Institution is the essential and indispensable part of the whole communion liturgy. Bugenhagen does not know of a prayer of consecration before the verba testimonii. The reading of the Institution narrative has a double significance: it is “proclamation” to the people. Therefore one should turn to speak the Verba coenae to the people in a loud and clear voice and in the vernacular. The words are, secondly, for the sake of the elements. They are, as the Pomeranian church order of 1535 says, verba consecrationis, an expression which Bugenhagen takes over from the “German Mass.” By means of speaking the Words of Institution over the elements the Real Presence of the Lord is thereby effected in the bread and wine. This is stated not in the sense that the Presence is derived from the priest’s recitation of the words, but from Christ’s Word of Institution on that first evening of Maundy Thursday. However today it is, after all, only through the recitation of the Words of Institution, the re-presentation, that the Real Presence is effected. Therefore it is stressed repeatedly that the recitation by the priest is indispensable. This catholic re-presentation is emphasized both by Bugenhagen and Luther. The celebrated words of Augustine, “accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum,” which Luther applies especially concerning the necessity of the reading of the Words of Institution, is also cited by Bugenhagen. It is by this means that the bread and wine are the true Body and Blood of Christ giving Himself, so that even the unworthy receive it. “Everyone is careful that they use the sacrament rightly according to Christ’s command. Therefore Christ allows His Body and His Blood to be drunk also by unworthy disciples—but to their damnation.”

The distribution of the elements, according to Bugenhagen, is to happen without a formula of words. Whereas Luther provided them in the Formula Missae, it is not mentioned any more in the “German Mass. . .” The requirement that the men and women should be divided to go to the “Table of the Lord” corresponds to the

“German Mass” of 1526 which likewise states that the distribution should be done while hymns are sung by those not receiving communion which are present in the congregation.... Bugenhagen lists the following communion hymns: “Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior”; “O Lord, We Praise Thee”; and the Pomeranian church order, the Formula Missae and the “German Mass” all have the Agnus Dei in Latin, or German in the setting “Lamb of God, Pure and Holy” (O Lamm Gottes), or the Psalm Confitebor (Psalm 111). If the communion is ending the congregation should break whatever hymn they are singing then and there. Thereupon the communicants and non-communicants sing the German Agnus in the setting “O Christ, Thou Lamb of God” (Christi du Lamm Gottes).

After that follows a thanksgiving collect.... The Mass closes with the Benediction.... the priest lays the Mass vestments aside, kneels down before the altar and “thanks God privately for himself,”<sup>27</sup>

during which in the Danish Order the congregation sang a short Danish song concluding the service.

Since our treasured Bugenhagen Order of Service is descended from his Danish Order of 1537, we are printing a review of it here as found in Loui Novac’s An Historical Survey of the Liturgical Forms in the Church Orders of Johannes Bugenhagen.

The order of the liturgy from the Danish Kirchenordnung:

The Priest, kneeling before the altar, offered the Confiteor (“Confession”) and prayer.

Meanwhile the people sang the Introit (this could be read if necessary) or Psalm in Danish. During High Festivals an Introit in Latin was to be used.

The Kyrie was sung.

The Priest here inserted the Gloria in Latin or in Danish. The People sang the Gloria to the end. During High Festivals it was to be done completely in Latin.

The Priest, facing the People, offered the Dominus vobiscum. Then he read one or two Collects in Danish, facing the altar. The People responded with Amen.

The Priest read the Epistle in Danish while facing the People

Children sang the Alleluia with verse. Then the Gradual was offered with two verses or a Psalm in the vernacular Danish. During the festival seasons there was to be a Sequence in Latin with Danish interpolated.

The Priest, facing the People, read the Gospel in Danish.

The Priest, facing the altar, inserted the Creed.

The Sermon was preached from the pulpit.

A Pulpit Text was read.

The General Prayer of the Church was offered. There followed the Lord's Prayer and a song of peace.

The Priest prepared the Bread and Wine. Communicants then assembled by the altar.

The Priest, facing the People, offered the Exhortation of the Sacrament. During the High Festivals the Latin Preface or the Latin Sanctus could be done, but this was optional.

The Priest, facing the altar, sang the Lord's Prayer in Danish. During High Festivals the Lord's Prayer was sung in Latin.

The Priest, facing the altar, sang the Words of Institution using the Danish language. At the point of Elevation, the altar bells were rung.

Distribution of the Sacrament sub utraque (in both kinds).

Meanwhile songs were sung in Danish.

During High Festivals, an optional addition was the Latin Agnus Dei or a similar form.

The Priest, facing the People, offered the Dominus vobiscum and then, facing the altar, he read a Collect of Thanks in the vernacular Danish. The People responded with Amen.



The Priest, facing the People, offered the Dominus vobiscum again and concluded with a Blessing or Benediction.

A short Danish song came here at the end of the worship service. Meanwhile the Priest took off his vestments and knelt in silent thanksgiving before the altar.<sup>28</sup>

As we draw toward a close with this paper we would enter here one paragraph from Bugenhagen with which we who still use our Bugenhagen Order of Service from The Lutheran Hymnary are very familiar, a paragraph which is typical Bugenhagen and reveals the great concern and warmth of the liturgical reformer's pastoral heart for the people, and in this he is a true exemplar for us who are pastors in our congregations today, namely, The Exhortation Before Communion:

Dear Friends in Christ! In order that you may receive this holy Sacrament worthily it becomes you diligently to consider what you must now believe and do. From the words of Christ: "This is my Body, which is given for you"; "This is my Blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins"; you should believe that Jesus Christ is Himself present with His Body and Blood, as the words declare. From Christ's words, "For the remission of sins", you should, in the next place, believe that Jesus Christ bestows upon you His Body and Blood to confirm unto you the remission of all your sins. And, finally, you should do as Christ commands you when He says: "Take, eat"; "Drink ye all of it"; and, "This do in remembrance of me." If you believe these words of Christ, and do as He therein has commanded, then have you rightly examined yourselves and may worthily eat Christ's Body and drink His Blood for the remission of your sins. You should, also, unite in giving thanks to Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for so great a gift, and should love one another with a pure heart, and thus, with the whole Christian Church, have comfort and joy in Christ our Lord. To this end may God the Father grant you His grace; through the same, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.<sup>29</sup>

After Luther's death in 1546 Bugenhagen survived for yet another twelve years. These were by no means easy years. Bugenhagen was deeply grieved by Luther's departure, and the ensuing years were fraught with great hardships. The storm broke over the Evangelical Lutheran churches in the form of the Smalcald War (1547), the Augsburg and

Leipzig Interims (1548), and numerous controversies, the Adiaphoristic (1548), Osiandrian (1550), Majoristic (1551), Synergistic (1555), Antinomistic (1556)— all of this while Bugenhagen was still living. Through all of this he contended earnestly as he saw best for the sake of the Gospel. Saint Paul writes, II Timothy 2:3, “You therefore must endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ,” and this Bugenhagen did. David Scaer in his study cited earlier says of this period of his life,

After Luther’s death Bugenhagen faced personal tragedy and a church weakened by compromising friends. When Wittenberg was occupied by imperial forces, he remained. In 1556 he addressed his last episcopal letter to the Saxon pastors and in 1557 he preached his last sermon. Until he died on the night of April 19/20, 1558, the now blind reformer daily attended church. Perhaps his faith can be described in this statement gleaned from the commentary by Schild: “Christ would not be king were he defeated in his saints.”<sup>30</sup>

May Bugenhagen and his arduous, untiring work, and his victorious faith be an inspiration to us to trust and labor even as he did, whose life’s motto was,

If you know Christ well, it is enough, even if you know nothing else; if you do not know Christ, it is nothing, even if you learn all else.<sup>31</sup>

God be praised for Johannes Bugenhagen of blessed memory!

## ENDNOTES

1. The Christian Book of Concord, in the second section (the major section) of the Concordia Triglotta, trans. and ed. F. Bente and W.H.T. Dau, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921, Preface, p. 17
2. The Book of Concord, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959, Preface, (in Tappert’s footnote 5), p. 5.
3. The Christian Book of Concord, in the Concordia Triglotta, Augsburg Confession, Article X, p. 47.
4. The Christian Book of Concord, in the Concordia Triglotta, Preface, p. 15.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 17. As to “other useful writings of Dr. Philip Melanchthon, or of Brenz, Urban Rhegius, Pomeranus, etc.,” with regard to Melanchthon they no doubt had reference for one to the Apology of the Augsburg Confession,

which they were including in the Book of Concord, and which is Melancthon at his best; with regard to Brenz, the renowned Wuerttemberg theologian, they probably had in mind for one the Confession and Report of the Theologians in Wuerttemberg Concerning the True Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, of which he is the author; with regard to Rhegius, superintendent of the churches in the Duchy of Lueneburg, they perhaps had in mind for one his book Against the New Baptistic Order; and with regard to Bugenhagen they very likely had in mind for example his Introduction to the Book of Psalms and the various Church Orders which he prepared for various Lutheran territories/cities, to which some attention is given in this paper.

7. The Book of Concord, Tappert, Smalcald Articles, (in Tappert's Introduction), p. 287.
8. *Ibid.*, (in Tappert's Introduction), pp. 287-288.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 316-318.
11. *Ibid.*, (in Tappert's Introduction), p. 288
12. The Book of Concord, Tappert, Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope, (in Tappert's Introduction), p. 319.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 334.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.
15. Friedrich Bente, Historical Introductions to the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in the first section of the Concordia Triglotta, p. 55.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
18. The Book of Concord, Tappert, Augsburg Confession, Article XXIV, The Mass, p. 56.
19. The Book of Concord, Tappert, Augsburg Confession, Article XXV, The Confession, p. 61-62.
20. Charles S. Anderson, Augsburg Historical Atlas, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967, p. 39.
21. Johannes H. Bergsma, Die Reform Der Messliturgie Durch Johannes Bugenhagen, Hildesheim: Bernward Verlag, 1966, translated by Dennis Marzolf, Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, 1993, under the title, Johannes Bugenhagen and the Reformation of the Liturgy of the Mass, A preliminary English Translation, (available from Bethany Lutheran College Bookstore). The biographical information on Bugenhagen presented in this footnoted section of the paper is drawn from Marzolf's translation, pp. 1-7.
22. David P. Scaer, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, God the

- Son and Hermeneutics: A Brief Study into the Reformation, (available in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne), p. 5.
23. Ibid., p. 9.
  24. Ibid., p. 10.
  25. Waldemar Leege, Bugenhagen als Liturgiker, Schneidenmuehl, 1925, translation of certain chapters by Allen D. Lunneberg, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, 1979, (available in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne), p. 1.
  26. Ibid., p. 12.
  27. Ibid., pp. 22-25, 28-30.
  28. Loui Novac, An Historical Survey of the Liturgical Forms in the Church Orders of Johannes Bugenhagen, Denver: Iliff School of Theology, 1974, (available in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne), pp. 184-186.
  29. The Lutheran Hymnary, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935, p. 13.
  30. Scaer, God the Son and Hermeneutics: A Brief Study into the Reformation, p. 10. By his reference to "the commentary by Schild" Scaer is referring to Maurice Schild's article which appeared in the May 1992 Lutheran Theological Journal, "Approaches to Bugenhagen's Psalms Commentary (1524)."
  31. The Lutheran Cyclopedia, ed. Erwin L. Lueker, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954, p. 149.