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DR. H. C. J. LEUPOLD, THE MAN AND HIS WORK --

ESPECIALLY HIS EXEGESIS

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Exegetical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Theology

by

David L. Schreiber

June 1984

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Advisor

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Reader

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Reader

Dedicated in honor of my parents:

Mrs. Lydia E. (Shafland) Schreiber
Mr. Lester George Schreiber

The Fourth Commandment

Honor your father and your mother so
that your days may be long upon the
land which the Lord your God gives you.

Ex. 20:12 Deut. 5:16

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PREFACE

Romans 11:33

Oh the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!

This is a study in the history of Biblical exegesis. Without apology, this dissertation relies quite heavily at points on "oral history". But in explaining why that is the case, it will become evident that the very existence of this dissertation itself is either the most incredible "coincidence," or else -- at least in my eyes -- a miracle sent from God.

I entered this Th.D. program with three degrees in historical theology and a lot of Old Testament exegesis behind me. The first seminar that I took here in the Th.D. program was with Dr. Hummel on the exegesis of Hosea. Later, after discarding two initial ideas for a dissertation (my grandfather's German sermons, and a follow-up on John Drickamer's dissertation on the doctrine of the church in C. F. W. Walther with my own on the doctrine of the ministry in C. F. W. Walther), I was casting about for a dissertation topic in a discussion with Dr. Kiehl in his office on Friday the 13th, January 1978. He suggested I check out three possible persons on which to base an interdepartmental history of exegesis topic: Johann Michael Reu, R. C. H. Lenski, and H. C. Leupold.

I was unable to locate any significant material on Reu or Lenski for such a project, but there existed a small Leupold Archive located nearby in Columbus, Ohio. Upon my arrival there I was told that there was an unfinished, unpublished Hosea commentary manuscript left by Dr. Leupold, now in the Leupold Archives.

In addition, it turned out that there were countless people still around, hundreds more actually than I was ever able to interview, who had personally known and worked with Dr. Leupold -- many still in the Columbus, Ohio, area. In fact, many of the faculty of the Columbus Seminary where the Leupold Archives were located had either been students of Dr. Leupold, or his colleagues, or both. And it just so happened that my previous Master's Thesis had involved work in oral history.

Without carrying this explanation any further, it is easy to see why I regard this dissertation as more than merely a series of coincidences. But there is yet another "coincidence". Oral history has been a firmly established scholarly discipline since prior to my high school years. In fact, there exists in the United States an Oral History Association that holds national workshops on oral history, such as the one held at the Radisson Hotel, Burlington, Vermont, on September 24-25, 1981. This method of historical research, here in this dissertation is applied to biblical exegesis.

I finished this dissertation on Friday the 13th, January 1984. "Give thanks to Yahweh, for he is good; for his mercy endures forever." -- Ps 107:1.

INTRODUCTION

Books that are not selling do not stay in print.

Dr. Leupold's first commentary (Genesis) was published in 1942. He published a total of seven. They are still in print out of Baker Book House. That fact alone should suffice to indicate the importance and significance of this dissertation.

But to discover that this prominent Lutheran exegete left us among his papers in the subsequently gathered Leupold Archive collection a heretofore unknown, unpublished, unfinished commentary manuscript on the Book of the Prophet Hosea begs, or indeed, almost demands, that an evaluation of his impact be tendered.

Dr. Leupold holds a pivotal position in American Lutheranism, if for no other reason than that theologically he came to be a little bit at odds with his own (1960) American Lutheran Church. And because his church went off in a little bit different direction than Dr. Leupold himself, it just makes him stand out in relief that much more.

As the Table of Contents shows, this dissertation offers a brief biography of the man, a descriptive evaluation of his unpublished and lesser-known published works, and an analytical evaluation of Dr. Leupold's exegetical approach in the first three chapters (Hosea 1-3) of his Hosea commentary manuscript.

Neither an in-depth evaluation of his seven published commentaries, nor of his liturgy, hymnology and worship endeavors are integrated into the discussion, but were intentionally regarded as outside the scope of this already lengthy dissertation.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF DR. H. C. J. LEUPOLD

Family Background

Grandparents

Herbert Carl Johann Leupold (hereafter referred to as H. C. J. Leupold) was born July 23, 1892, in Buffalo, New York, the son of Mr. Conrad Leupold and his wife, Pauline. Unfortunately, the information about H. C. J. Leupold's grandparents is confined totally to a family photograph, showing his grandfather, grandmother, and their 3 children -- two brothers and a sister. Even which of the two brothers in the picture is Conrad Leupold (H. C. J. Leupold's father) is unknown.¹

Parents & Sister (Immediate Family)

A second picture shows only the two brothers and their sister; again, which of the boys is Conrad Leupold is unknown.² Even the date on which these pictures were taken is unknown; but since photography was only invented shortly before the American Civil War, we can probably place them at about that time.³ One of

¹Picture #1. Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Martin Leupold interview, 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio, June 26, 1980, notes, p. 1-2. Dr. & Mrs. Alfred Ewald interview, 2150 Mailand, St. Paul, Minn., July 3, 1979, notes, p. 18.

²Picture #2.

³Pictures #1 and #2.

the pictures is a "tintype" (or "ferrotype"), that is, a photograph taken on a sensitized sheet of enameled tin or iron.⁴

We can estimate⁵ that Conrad Leupold was born about 1854. The "Conrad Leupold" listed entering Martin Luther Seminary, Buffalo, New York, in 1867, was probably H. C. J. Leupold's father; if so, then Conrad entered at about thirteen years of age. Conrad wanted to be a minister; but it seems that because his parents were so very poor, he did not have enough money to complete his studies. So he did not go into the ministry.⁶

We know that Conrad Leupold was confirmed in 1868 when he was fourteen years old.⁷ We know nothing about his teenage years except a picture taken on October 20, 1872 showing Conrad at age eighteen.⁸ We also know what Conrad and his brother looked like when grown to manhood; Conrad always had a mustache, but never a beard.⁹

⁴Picture #2. The American College Dictionary, ed. by C. L. Barnhart (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 1269. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 1.

⁵From the dates written on Pictures #3 and #4.

⁶Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 1-2, 6. Endeavor (annual yearbook-newsletter published from 1918-1929 by Martin Luther Seminary students), V, 1922-3, p. 29; in the "Historical Collection" of the Trinity Lutheran Seminary Library, Columbus, Ohio. Ewald, p. 18.

⁷Picture #3.

⁸Picture #4.

⁹Picture #5 is undated. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold p. 1.

The marriage license for Conrad Leupold and his wife, Pauline Wilhelmine Sophie (Schroer) Leupold, is dated February 5, 1880,¹⁰ and we also have a wedding portrait of the couple.¹¹ H. C. J. Leupold's mother, Pauline, was born in Humberstone, Ontario, Canada, a minister's daughter. So H. C. J. Leupold was born into a very "ministerial" family. His father had once studied with the ambition of becoming a minister, and his mother was a minister's daughter. No doubt this was a strong formative influence on the young future pastor and professor of Old Testament.¹²

Conrad Leupold was employed his entire working life as a bookkeeper for the C. H. Baley Piano Company, 557 Main Street, Buffalo, New York. This was a branch of the main company headquarters, the Emerson Piano Company, 560 Harrison, Boston, Massachusetts.¹³ Conrad's chest-high bookkeeper's desk was later inherited by his son, H. C. J. Leupold. H. C. J. Leupold used this desk throughout his later teaching career to study standing up.¹⁴

Conrad and Pauline Leupold had only two children, a daughter (Agnes Josephine Barbara Leupold) born June 20, 1889, and a son (H. C. J. Leupold) born July 23, 1892, both in Buffalo, New York. We do have photographs showing H. C. J. Leupold as an infant held in

¹⁰Picture #6.

¹¹picture #7.

¹²Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 1.

¹³picture #13.

¹⁴Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 1-2,7. Dr. Edward C. Fendt interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, Nov. 17, 1978, notes, pp. 2-3. Ewald, 18.

the arms of his mother, Pauline;¹⁵ a family portrait dated "1896" showing the father (Conrad), mother (Pauline), daughter (Agnes), and son (H. C. J. Leupold);¹⁶ another family portrait dated "1898";¹⁷ another showing only the two children, H. C. J. Leupold and his sister, Agnes;¹⁸ and a final one showing Agnes alone in four poses -- a grown woman.¹⁹

The family home must have been located at 125 Northland Avenue, Buffalo, New York -- at least between the years 1907 and 1915. The inside front cover of H. C. J. Leupold's high school Freshman year "Laboratory Exercises" notebook is dated, "Jan. 3, 1907," and is addressed, "125 Northland Ave."²⁰ Likewise, H. C. J. Leupold's "pastoral calling card" bearing the first name of his church ("Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Savior," used only until August 13, 1915, when the name was changed to "Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Ascension") still bears the address, "125 Northland Ave."²¹ So it is just possible that this is the home, 125 Northland Avenue, in front of which Conrad & Pauline Leupold are

¹⁵picture #8. Ewald, pp. 18-19.

¹⁶picture #9. Ewald, pp. 18-19.

¹⁷picture #10. Ewald, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸picture #11. Ewald, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹picture #12. Mr. & Mrs., L., p. 1-2.

²⁰H. C. J. Leupold's "Leupold Laboratory Exercises Notebook;" part of Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Leupold Family Album collection, 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio.

²¹Picture #32.

standing in a photograph, dated June 20, 1915, when Conrad was about sixty-one years old.²²

Conrad Leupold was told again and again by his employer, the C. H. Baley Piano Company, that he would be provided for in his old age retirement. So he worked there all those many years, and he just accepted their word that they would do as they said. But when he retired, there was nothing. He was left desolate -- no pension, no recognition of his years of service at all. So the Conrad Leupold family was not well off financially.²³ In addition to this, when Conrad retired from his job as bookkeeper at the piano company,²⁴ he had not finished paying for his house ("125 Northland Ave.") yet. He got into financial difficulties trying to pay for it, and lost both the house and most of the money he could have gotten for it.²⁵

After he retired, Conrad first tried renting out the top floor of the house to pay off the debt on the house. But then when he realized he would never get the house paid off that way, he decided to try to sell it and then live off the money he got from the sale. Conrad, however, sold the house to some people who never paid him. Since Conrad was for some reason unable either to evict the people, or to get them to pay for the house, he and his family

²²Picture #14. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 2, 7.

²³Picture #14. Ewald, pp. 18-19.

²⁴Picture #13.

²⁵Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2, 7.

were in very bad financial shape all the way into the Great Depression of the mid-1930s when Conrad died at about eighty years of age.²⁶

After losing the house, Conrad and his family rented an apartment. Later they moved to a second apartment at a different location nearby. Both of these apartments were in the city of Buffalo, New York. Conrad's last letter that he ever wrote to his son, H. C. J. Leupold, is dated August 9, 1934. Conrad died shortly thereafter.²⁷

H. C. J. Leupold's sister, Agnes, contracted some kind of illness in her younger years that left her with a shoulder curvature, sort of hunch-backed, and she never married. She lived with her parents her entire life. When Agnes' mother, Pauline, contracted cancer during World War II, Agnes cared for her mother. Then Agnes herself got liver cancer. Agnes continued to care for her mother until her mother died, then a few months later Agnes also died on September 4, 1944, at fifty-five years of age.²⁸

Martin Luther's Tribute to Agnes and her Parents

If the Great Reformer himself, Martin Luther, were here today and read this brief little life-story about Agnes and her parents, he would probably be reminded of his comments about "ordinariness" that he wrote in his "Lectures on Genesis." Gen. 26:1 says:

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Picture #15. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2-3, 7.

²⁸Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 1-3, 7.

Now there was a famine in the land, beside the former famine that was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac went to Gerer, to Abimelech, king of the Philistines.

Luther comments:

It has often been stated that in this entire book [Genesis] the accounts of the fathers Abraham, Isaac, etc., are described in a very ordinary covering, . . . and are presented without any splendor or display of their religion, righteousness, and wisdom . . . in accordance with the most inglorious aspects of their household management.

. . . Moses describes the life of this saintly father Isaac in accordance with this one chief point, namely, that he spent his life in many tribulations. . . . the hypocrites choose outward and showy works, abstain from wine and meat, walk along with drooping heads, differ from others in dress, and avoid the inconvenience of life in the household and in the state.

The fathers, on the other hand, live in the household with their children, wives, domestics and cattle. Here there is no outward show of religion, but there is only one coarse sack of household life.

But under that sack of household life in the case of the fathers . . . the most excellent virtues shine. . . . What a great faith one sees there! What inestimable patience! What unbelievable forbearance, goodness and kindness! . . . For to be so unsettled and uncertain . . . is a sign of an amazing faith. . . . For this means living in the world and being an exile in the world.

. . . Isaac could have sung with Christ (Lk. 9:58): "The son of man has nowhere to lay his head." Consequently, it is not apparent to anyone who reads this only in passing what great faith is given praise in the case of the patriarch Isaac.²⁹

What great faith is given praise in this brief little life-story about Agnes and her parents. Likewise, under the "very ordinary cover" of the "coarse sack of household life" the young future pastor and Old Testament professor, H. C. J. Leupold, experienced strong formative influences amidst "many tribulations."

²⁹Martin Luther, Luther's Works (American Edition), vol. 5: Lectures on Genesis 26-30 (St. Louis: Concordia, 1968), pp. 3-7.

The "Estate" and the "Birthright"

As indicated just above, the chest-high bookkeeper's desk was not the only thing that the son, H. C. J. Leupold, inherited from his father, Conrad. Although for some reason Conrad was unable to enter the ministry himself, he and his family did not shrink from remaining loyal to the scandal of the cross (1 Cor. 1:23), regardless of the adversities they encountered. Not only that, but Conrad and his wife, Pauline, also saw to it that their son was able to graduate as an ordained Lutheran minister from Conrad's own former alma mater, Martin Luther Seminary.

As was said before, H. C. J. Leupold used his father's chest-high bookkeeper's desk through his later teaching career to study standing up. H. C. J. Leupold himself later explained that the reason that he studied standing up was to keep from falling asleep: "If I sit down with a book, I go to sleep so easily, and I don't go to sleep if I stand." But if we may read between the lines, using his father's desk was probably also a way to honor ("Honor your father and your mother . . .") and keep alive the good memory of his father's life-time loyalty to his job -- however humble -- which was later reflected in H. C. J. Leupold's own life-long loyal devotion to his church.³⁰

H. C. J. Leupold also inherited from his father a bookkeeper's careful attention to detail, and sense of the value of keeping records, as can be seen by paging through his Seminary

³⁰Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 1-2, 7. Fendt, pp. 2-3.

Classroom Grade Books. He saved them all, covering the entire 40-year period of his teaching career at Capital University, 1929-72.³¹ This careful attention to detail can, of course, also be seen in his six published commentaries on books of the Bible (Genesis, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Zechariah, Psalms, Isaiah); they have all been reprinted and are selling better than ever out of Baker Book House.³²

Probably also from his father's employment with a musical instrument company, H. C. J. Leupold developed a more than usual interest in and skill with the violin. Later he took lessons and had a very good violin teacher, and if he had spent more of his time on this he could have been a concert violinist. Finally, he even owned a Stradivarius violin and had it insured for \$1500. But in the end he chose to invest his time in the ministry rather than on the concert stage.³³

Not long after H. C. J. Leupold's days as a student (1910-14) at Martin Luther Seminary, we know that it was part of each student's seminary training, that every seminarian had to learn to play the organ and read music, taking turns playing the hymns for morning and evening devotions.³⁴

³¹In boxes #2 and #3 of the "Leupold Archives," located in the Trinity Lutheran Seminary Library Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

³²Dr. Harold H. Zietlow interview, 235 S. Cassady Rd., Columbus, Ohio, April 9, 1979, notes, pp. 6-7, 10, 13.

³³Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 5. Ewald, p. 10.

³⁴Ewald, p. 8.

Music was stressed at Martin Luther Seminary. They had an "orchestra"³⁵ and a male chorus, and in class was stressed the use of music in Old Testament worship and in the Temple.³⁶ So. H. C. J. Leupold's interest in music and the violin was probably catapulted ahead during his student years as a seminarian.

H. C. J. Leupold never gave violin concerts, but later during his teaching career, his seminary students at Capital University got him out for a party once in awhile to accompany a hymn with his violin -- but not to play a solo. However, he would play violin duets with his wife on the piano at home by the hour. Finally after H. C. J. Leupold's death, his wife sold the Stradivarius for only a fraction of its value to someone studying violin at Capital University.³⁷

So H. C. J. Leupold's inheritance from his family was far greater than might be indicated by the size of the "estate" he received at his parent's passing. Under the "very ordinary cover" of the "course sack of household life," the young future pastor and Old Testament professor in a certain sense inherited -- like the patriarch Isaac before him -- the birthright.

³⁵Endeavor, I, (Buffalo, NY: Martin Luther Seminary, 1918-19), p. 8.

³⁶Ewald, p. 10.

³⁷Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

1892-1914, H. C. J. Leupold's Early Years,
Student and Seminary Days

The earliest known information we have about H. C. J. Leupold has already been mentioned above.³⁸ He attended the parochial grade school at Old Trinity Lutheran Church, Buffalo, New York, which was then served by Pastor Rudolph Grabau.³⁹ Of this period we know virtually nothing, except that six of H. C. J. Leupold's penmanship books still survive, all in a series called, "The Potter and Putnam System of Vertical Writing," five of which are dated 1901 or 1902 (when he was nine or ten years old); one is undated. There is a "prophetic" sample of his penmanship in Booklet No. 4 of this series, dated March 14, 1902 -- the ten-year-old future Old Testament scholar writing the words, "Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet."⁴⁰

About the only other thing that survives from H. C. J. Leupold's grade school days is one of his report cards from the German Department, dated January 30, 1905, when he was twelve years old. His high grades on this report card were a foreshadowing of things to come.⁴¹

Rev. John N. Grabau administered the Confirmation graduation of H. C. J. Leupold on April 30, 1905, on the same day and in the same class with Leupold's future wife, Ellenore Baehre. Ellenora

³⁸Also see Pictures #8, #9, #10, #11.

³⁹Ewald, p. 18.

⁴⁰Picture #16. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 3,8.

⁴¹Picture #17. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 7.

was about nine months older than H. C. J. Leupold; she was born October 13, 1891.⁴²

Only the scantiest information about H. C. J. Leupold's high school days has survived. We have his above-mentioned "Laboratory Exercises" notebook on anatomy, physiology and hygiene, dated January 3, 1907, when he was a fourteen-year-old Freshman. He was required to do various drawings for this course.⁴³ Apparently during this course, his mind wandered enough -- as high-schoolers do -- to do some doodling, a freehand pencil drawing of a boy herding some cattle. In this two-dimensional drawing, do not overlook the third dimension. After a long Buffalo winter with too many adults and teachers issuing too many commands and assignments, in the drawing the boy has the stick! The boy gives the orders; he walks barefoot in his favorite play clothes under warm cloudless sunny blue summer skies; no assignments -- carefree.⁴⁴

We also have H. C. J. Leupold's high school graduation picture,⁴⁵ as well as a copy of program describing the graduation ceremony -- the Masten Park High School, Buffalo, New York, Twelfth Annual Commencement Program, which was held Thursday, June 23, 1910,

⁴²Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4.

⁴³Pictures #18 cell, #19 head, #20 stomach, #21 glands, #22 body, #23 heart, and #24 lungs.

⁴⁴Picture #25. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2-3 7.

⁴⁵Picture #26.

at 8 p.m.⁴⁶ H. C. J. Leupold is the second name in the list of students -- because he graduated second in his class of 146 students. He received one of the two Gold Medals, which were given to the two students who placed first and second in the graduating class, another foreshadowing of excellence to come.⁴⁷

Even less is known about H. C. J. Leupold's seminary years at the Buffalo Synod's Martin Luther Seminary in Buffalo, New York.⁴⁸ Leupold attended there 1910-14. If any promotional catalogues describing the Martin Luther Seminary curriculum ever existed (and there is no evidence that this tiny seminary ever published any), none of these have been preserved for the period of time which is significant -- Leupold's student years, 1910-14.⁴⁹

However, a student-published catalogue-yearbook entitled Endeavor, and first published in 1918-19, served as an annual Martin Luther Seminary newsletter to the Buffalo Synod membership, as a forum for a student body self-portrait, as well as a promotional device for attracting new students, that is, as explicitly stated in

⁴⁶Picture #27. Note the "farewell song" on the program. The school colors were yellow and blue.

⁴⁷Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2-4. Ewald, p. 18. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #14. "Train Up A Child," p. 573

⁴⁸Picture #28 shows what the seminary building looked like, together with a picture of the founder of the Buffalo Synod, J. A. A. Grabau.

⁴⁹Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2,4.

an article entitled, "Course of Study: The remarks found on this page are chiefly for prospective students."⁵⁰

As an example of its "seminary catalogue" feature, all eleven annual editions of the Endeavor had at least one article devoted solely to the Martin Luther Seminary curriculum. The most detailed article is found in the first edition (1918-19) under the title, "Course of Study." Since 1918 was less than five years after Leupold himself graduated (1914), and since the same man (Prof. Rudolph W. Grabau) had been Dean during this whole period (1905-29), the following is probably a curriculum virtually identical to that which Leupold himself completed.⁵¹

This curriculum is extremely important for us, because in our inquiry into what Leupold's exegetical approach was, it is naturally very helpful for us to discover under exactly what sort of seminary curriculum Leupold as a student was taught his theology. The Martin Luther Seminary curriculum normally consisted of a Preparatory Department and a Theological Department, with a three-year's course each. With his "Gold Medal" high school record, however, Leupold apparently only needed one year of work in the Preparatory Department, before entering the Theological Department's regular three-year course, since Leupold passed through the entire Martin Luther Seminary curriculum in four years (1910-14).

⁵⁰Endeavor, VI, 1923-4, p. 23.

⁵¹Endeavor, X, 1927-8, p.3.

However, in the Preparatory Department curriculum, notice the strong emphasis that the Buffalo Synod placed upon the study of the Bible, the Catechism, and the ancient languages, that is, both the Old Testament Hebrew and the New Testament Greek. And notice the comparative absence of any courses in the sciences.

The Preparatory Department

This embraces the following branches of study:

1. RELIGION. The Bible and Catechism.

The Bible, as the only source of religion and rule of faith, holds a central position in the curriculum of the seminary. All other studies are auxiliary to the study of the Bible. Their object is to enable the student to understand the Bible and to handle it rightly in preaching and teaching. cursory reading of the English and German Bible, an elementary Introduction to the Bible (Bibelkunde), Old Testament & New Testament History, and Biblical Geography are included in this course.

The Catechism. Luther's Catechism, both English & German, is memorized and explained, and explanatory Textbook studied, proof-texts memorized and expounded.

2. ANCIENT LANGUAGES. Hebrew is the original language of the Old Testament, and Greek that of the New Testament. The Latin writings of the great Dogmaticians of our Lutheran Church are a source of information and knowledge to the theologian. The study of these languages will enable the student to read these sacred and ecclesiastical writings in their original, which will materially increase his ability and efficiency as an interpreter of the Scriptures and an expounder of the doctrine of the Church.

3. ENGLISH AND GERMAN. Special stress is laid on the mastery and intelligent use of the tongues in which the future minister will be required to preach and teach. These courses comprise a thorough study of both German and English grammar, literature, composition writing, and Rhetoric, the art of speaking with propriety, elegance and force.

4. HISTORY. A study of the General History of the World -- Ancient, Medieval and Modern.

5. ARITHMETIC. Although every student entering the seminary is expected to have at least a good common school education, yet a

course of Elementary and Advanced Arithmetic is provided for students whose previous training in this subject should happen to be deficient.

6. MUSIC. Instruction on the organ is given free to the student.⁵²

In the Theological Department curriculum, notice the primacy of exegesis, where Leupold finally ended up contributing his life-work. Also notice that on the one hand, the over-arching design of Martin Luther Seminary curriculum is virtually identical with that offered by Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod today: Exegetical Theology, Historical Theology, Systematic Theology, and Practical Theology. On the other hand, the Martin Luther Seminary curriculum has the Historical and Systematic Departments in reverse order compared to the LCMS curricular order.

The Theological Department

We arrange the courses offered in this Department under the four main departments into which theology is generally divided.

1. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY. In this are included:

Exegesis, the exposition or interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The various books of the New Testament and selected parts of the Old Testament are studied with the object in view that the student not only become acquainted with the contents, thoughts and meaning of the sacred Word, but that he acquire the ability of bringing out and determining the exact meaning of the text independently, and to impart exegetical knowledge to others. In Exegesis, constant reference is made to the original text.

Biblical Hermeneutics, which treats of the rules and principles according to which the Bible must be explained.

Biblical Introduction or Isagogics. This acquaints the student with the particular books of the Bible, as regards their names, authors, time, place and circumstances or composition, their division and plan, their object and general contents.

Biblical Antiquities or Archaeology. To a thorough understanding of the Bible, a knowledge of the historical, geographical, economical, political and social relations and circumstances under which the Bible was produced is necessary. This science informs the student about the manners and customs of domestic, political and religious life of the Jews, and about so

⁵²Endeavor, I, 1918-19, p. 30. Endeavor, IX, 1926-7, p. 23.

many things pertaining to Bible lands and times to which the Bible refers on almost every page.

2. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

Church History. A Study of the history of the Christian Church from the apostolic age to the present time. The main topics are: The establishment of the early church; the spread of Christianity; the persecutions; the development of the church in doctrine, polity, etc.; heresies and schisms; the church fathers; the development of Roman Catholicism; the Eastern Church; Mohamedanism; the Crusades; the spread of Christianity in Europe; the Reformation and the development of the Protestant Church.

History of Dogmas. A delineation of the gradual unfolding, establishment and development of the Christian faith so as to form a distinct system of dogmas.

Symbolics. The science of the rise, the nature, and the contents of the public confessions of the church. A special study of the distinctive doctrines which separate dogmatically the different denominations from one another, is included in this course.

3. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

Christian Dogmatics, or the doctrine of faith, presents the sum of the truths revealed in the Bible and embraced in the Christian faith. The work includes a comprehensive survey of the statements of the Bible as to the being, nature, attributes and works of God; the origin, nature and destiny of man with special reference to sin and its consequences; the person and work of Jesus Christ; the doctrine of salvation with special emphasis upon the vicarious atonement and its application to believers; the personality and work of the Holy Spirit; the doctrine of the church and the Means of Grace: and the doctrine of the Last Things.

4. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY. The subjects presented in this department are:

Catechetics, the science which teaches the art of catechetical instruction.

Homiletics, that branch of theology which teaches the principles and rules according to which sermons are prepared and delivered.

Liturgics, treats of the nature and essence of Christian worship, its relation to art, time and place, and of its particular acts and fixed forms.

Pastoral Theology, that branch of theological science which regards the duties and obligations of pastors in relation to the care of souls.⁵³

This summary of the internal structure of theological study indicates that the students of Martin Luther Seminary received an education that was second to none. And it was very true to its stated curriculum, very detailed, very personalized, extremely thorough, somewhat like a tutorial, almost one-on-one. And of all of Leupold's students that were interviewed, to a man their unanimous witness is that all of these just-mentioned benefits enjoyed by Martin Luther Seminary students were later characteristic of Leupold's treatment of his own students in his later teaching career.

Exactly what kind of ordination "theological interview" Leupold himself went through is unknown. But only nine years later it is known to have consisted of a written exam and an oral exam that lasted a whole day, conducted by three or four pastors. There were no Martin Luther Seminary representatives involved in the "interview," but only parish pastors.⁵⁴ H. C. J. Leupold became Rev. Leupold when he was ordained as a Lutheran pastor in the Buffalo Synod on June 24, 1914.⁵⁵

⁵³Endeavor, I, 1918-19, pp. 30-31. Endeavor, IX, 1926-7, p. 23. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #15. "The Reformation Era," p. 577

⁵⁴Ewald, p. 12.

⁵⁵Picture #29 is undated, but is probably a picture of Leupold together with his 5-member graduating class of 1914. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2, 4. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #3. "Why I Am a Lutheran," p. 540

1914-1922, Pastor at Ascension, Buffalo

A New Mission Congregation; Buildings and Incorporation

The year 1914 marked the founding of a new Lutheran congregation in the city of Buffalo.⁵⁶ A. Ewald remembers that the Lutheran Church of the Ascension was a mission congregation because he himself went out with other Martin Luther Seminary students and canvassed the area for Ascension. They went out with cards and got the names and addresses of nearby people and where they went to church, if at all.⁵⁷

On the first Sunday in May of 1914, the Rev. Henry Beutler of Sherkston, Ontario, Canada, conducted the first worship service. On the following Sunday, the service was conducted by H. C. J. Leupold, then still a seminary student just about to graduate from Martin Luther Seminary in Buffalo. He also conducted Sunday School the same afternoon with about fifteen students present.⁵⁸

⁵⁶"Golden 50th Anniversary (1964) History of Our Congregation, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Ascension, Bailey & Dorris Avenues, Buffalo, New York," p. 1, prepared by the congregation itself for its banquet, Oct. 18, 1964; in "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title"; part of Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Leupold Family Album collection 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio; also in the American Lutheran Church Office of the General Secretary -- Archives, 333 Wartburg Pl., Dubuque, Iowa, 52001; Archivist Wiederaenders. "Updated (1966) History of Our Congregation, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Ascension, Bailey & Dorris Avenues, Buffalo, New York," p. 1, prepared by the congregation itself when it dedicated its new church building; in the American Lutheran Church Office of the General Secretary -- Archives, 333 Wartburg Pl., Dubuque, Iowa, 52001; Archivist Wiederaenders.

⁵⁷Ewald, p. 19.

⁵⁸"Golden 50th Anniversary (1914-1964) for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Ascension, Bailey & Dorris Avenues, Buffalo,

Different Martin Luther Seminary students preached from Sunday to Sunday until after the ordination of Rev. Leupold on June 24, 1914, who was called as the first pastor of this mission congregation.⁵⁹ The services the first summer and autumn of 1914 were conducted in the attic of a school annex on "East Delevan Ave., 2 doors East of Edison St."⁶⁰

The congregation was formally organized on August 23, 1914, as the "Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Savior."⁶¹ When the Charter was closed in November, twenty-eight names had been signed. With the help of the Mission Board of the Buffalo Synod, the new congregation began to look for a site to build its own chapel.⁶²

Immediately following the formal organization of the new "Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Savior" mission congregation, one of Rev. Leupold's first tasks was to lead the congregation's building program. Rev. Leupold served as secretary of the six meetings held by the Building Committee, whose eight names are

New York, Oct. 11-18, 1964 [schedule of festivities and banquet program]," pp. 9a-b, 10; in "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title"; part of Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Leupold Family Album collection, 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio.

⁵⁹Picture #30 (see also Picture #40) of the young Rev. Leupold must have been taken some time in the 7 year period 1914-1922, during which he served this congregation.

⁶⁰Picture #31, i.e., the white building with windows. Picture #32, i.e., Rev. Leupold's "pastoral calling card." 50th Anniversary "History," p. 1. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 4.

⁶¹Picture #32.

⁶²50th Anniversary "History," p. 1.

listed on the back of the dedication program order of service folder.⁶³

The first meeting of the Building Committee was on Thursday, September 10, 1914. At the Thursday, December 3, 1914, meeting -- the sixth and last meeting of the Building Committee -- the last payment on the contract was made, since the building had been completed.⁶⁴

On Sunday morning, December 6, 1914, at the 10:45 a.m. worship service, Rev. Leupold announced that the cornerstone dedication service for their new chapel would be held at 3 p.m. that

⁶³Picture #33. Herbert Carl Leupold, "Record Booklet," p. 1; in "Leupold Archives," Box #1, in Archives of Trinity Lutheran Seminary Library Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

⁶⁴At the first building committee meeting on September 10th, a chairman, secretary (Leupold) and treasurer were elected. The Buffalo Synod Mission Board recommended a site for the new "chapel" at the corner of Bailey Ave. and Dorris Avenue, however, there is no surviving evidence of any reason why this area was selected as more promising for a mission congregation rather than some other. At any rate, the Building Committee adopted that recommendation. It was agreed that one of the committeemen would purchase that lot and later sell it to the incorporated church.

Also at that meeting it was agreed that the outside dimensions of the chapel would be 26' x 46', with side walls 14' high. There would be four windows in each side, a Norway or Georgia pine ceiling, a 1/2-pitch roof with the ceiling four feet higher than the side walls, a chimney on the side of the building along the outside, an appropriately proportioned steeple above the front door, with the location of the coalshed left to the discretion of the architect. The entire structure would rest on piers.

Later it was decided to accept the \$2,100 bid of Mr. J. B. Wittig (also Treasurer of the congregation) rather than seek bids from an architect for constructing the chapel. A combination gas and coal furnace, supplied by pipes put in from the street by the Iroquois National Gas Company, was installed at a cost of \$125. Also, 125 chairs, at \$6 per dozen, were purchased. The pulpit and altar were constructed for \$84. Record Booklet, pp. 2-16. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2-3. Picture #34.

afternoon. For that service⁶⁵ Rev. H. Beutler from Canada preached the English dedication sermon, and Rev. J. N. Grabau from the Old Lutheran Church in Columbus preached the German sermon. Rev. Leupold performed the dedication ceremony.⁶⁶

For that Sunday afternoon, December 6, 1914, Rev. Leupold announced a listing of various donors who contributed to furnishings and other final touches for the church. First on the list is Mr. Theodore Baehre (pronounced "berry"), Rev. Leupold's future father-in-law,⁶⁷ who donated \$25 for one-half the cost of the chairs in the church.⁶⁸

Sunday, April 11, 1915, the regular quarterly congregational meeting was held after the morning service, at which was discussed the matter of the legal incorporation of the congregation. It may have been at this meeting that it was learned that the name, "Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Savior," which had been the name under which this congregation had been organized on August 23, 1914, had been incorporated by another congregation in North Buffalo.⁶⁹

Then on Friday, August 13, 1915, the congregation voted to change its name to "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the

⁶⁵Picture #33.

⁶⁶Herbert Carl Leupold, "Announcements Booklet," p. 1; in "Leupold Archives," Box #1, in Archives of Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio.

⁶⁷Picture #35.

⁶⁸"Announcements Booklet," pp. 1-3.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 17-19. 50th Anniversary "History," p. 1.

Ascension," and was so incorporated under the state laws of New York on September 7, 1915. Names that appear on the Certificate of Incorporation include Rev. Leupold and Mr. J. B. Wittig.⁷⁰

Under the leadership of Rev. Leupold, the congregation outgrew its Sunday School facilities. Plans for building were formulated and in 1918 a frame structure 50 ft. x 26 ft. was built at a cost of \$1804. The dedication service for the new building was held on February 17, 1918.⁷¹ Also, shortly thereafter the congregation became completely self-supporting and its mission-church status came to an end.⁷²

Church Growth, Rev. Leupold's In-Laws, Marriage & Family

As was mentioned above, when the congregational Charter was closed in November, 1914, twenty-eight names were listed as the original members of the congregation. Rev. Leupold seems to have stimulated rapid growth of the new mission congregation. It doubled in size in the next nine months. Between January 3, 1915 and September 5, 1915, twenty-six new members were added to the congregation. In addition there were ten adults confirmed during this same period.⁷³

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 24-28. 50th Anniversary "History," p. 1. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 3.

⁷¹Picture #38.

⁷²50th Anniversary "History," p. 1.

⁷³"Announcements Booklet," pp. 7-29.

After the initial burst of growth, it seems that the congregation settled down to a pattern of an annual service in the Autumn for accepting all new members who had made application during that year. For example, on September 25, 1921, the "Fall application for membership" included two families and five women. On July 9, 1922, Ascension Church accepted two couples, two men and four women as members, and the next Sunday, July 16, 1922, an adult Confirmation class was graduated.⁷⁴

After the congregational charter had been closed in November 1914, one of the first four new members to join Ascension (January 17, 1915) was Rev. Leupold's future wife, Miss Ellenora Henrietta Baehre⁷⁵ -- who also became the church organist. As was already mentioned above, Ellenora was about nine months older than Rev. Leupold; she was born October 13, 1891. She was also confirmed by Rev. John N. Grabau on the same day and in the same class as Rev. Leupold, April 20, 1905.⁷⁶

Ellenora's parents, Theodore and Emma Baehre⁷⁷ had been truck gardeners. But Emma Baehre had been the real farmer of the family -- at least she had done all the planting. But she died when Ellenora was eighteen years old (about 1909). Theodore and Emma Baehre were taking a load of produce to the market when the horses

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 31-2, 51-3.

⁷⁵Picture #36.

⁷⁶"Announcements Booklet," pp. 7-9. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁷Picture #35.

reared some way or another, and Emma fell off the wagon seat and was injured. She survived into the Autumn but then died.⁷⁸

Her husband, Theodore Baehre, quit farming after that, and did not even put in another crop. His health was poor because he had long suffered from asthma, and that had always made it difficult for him to bear up under the physical demands of farming. So with the death of his wife, Theodore lost all interest in farming. He subdivided the farm, sold it off, and it was eventually built up into homes. At any rate, Rev. Leupold and Ellnora Baehre were married on January 17, 1917.⁷⁹

On May 10, 1918, Rev. and Mrs. Leupold's first child was born, a son, Herbert Martin Leupold. He graduated from Capital University, and then entered a two-year Forestry program at Michigan State University, where he also met his wife. In March 1944 he went from Michigan State University directly into the South Pacific theater of World War II, where he was in same P.T. Boat squadron as former President John F. Kennedy. Kennedy was Commander of P.T. 109 when Herb was First Executive Officer of P.T. 108. By the end of

⁷⁸Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 3.

⁷⁹Picture #37. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 3. Biographical Directory of Pastors of the ALC, ed. John M. Jenson (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962), p. 432. Biographical Directory of Clergymen of the ALC, ed. Arnold R. Mickelson (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), p. 540.

World War II, Herb was Commanding Officer of P.T. 105. He returned to the States in 1946 and has been in farming ever since.⁸⁰

Rev. and Mrs. Leupold's only daughter, Elsie Pauline Emma Leupold, was born on September 10, 1920. She married Rev. Russel C. Finkenbine on January 12, 1945 -- her father performing the wedding ceremony. Some years later, while her husband was serving as pastor of a parish in Ottawa, Canada, she developed a brain tumor. Death resulted from a stroke following the brain tumor operation in 1964 when she was only 44 years of age.⁸¹

Rev. and Mrs. Herbert C. Leupold had two other children, but they did not survive infancy. In February 1929, twin sons, David and Andrew, were born prematurely at seven months; the first lived three days and the other one day. Mrs. Leupold was very ill at the time of the births, and almost died. Rev. Leupold baptized his twin sons at the hospital just before they died; he also performed the burial service, but Mrs. Leupold never saw them.⁸²

Dr. Leupold's favorite pastoral act was to administer a baptism, the most beautiful thing that he was allowed to do; he liked a baptism more than anything in the world. In fact, the last pastoral act he did before he died was to baptize Katie, Mr. and

⁸⁰Mr. and Mrs. Leupold Album: "Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 1. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, pp. 2, 7.

⁸¹Mr. and Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," pp. 2, 7. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 3.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 2, 13. Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 3.

Mrs. Herb M. Leupold's granddaughter, and Dr. Leupold's own great-granddaughter, in the summer of 1971.^{82-1/2}

1922-29, Prof. at Martin Luther Seminary

The Forge and the Crucible

The Buffalo Synod and Martin Luther Seminary -- these were the forge and the crucible of Leupold's strong orthodox, conservative, confessional, evangelical, Lutheran theology. Sunday, October 15, 1922, was Rev. Leupold's last Sunday as a parish pastor.⁸³ He had accepted a call to become a professor at his alma mater, Martin Luther Seminary, in Buffalo, the only seminary of the Buffalo Synod.

The Buffalo Synod consisted originally of German Lutherans who had come from the German state of Prussia. What induced them to leave Germany and come to America was religious persecution and oppression by the Prussian king and government.⁸⁴

By the beginning of the eighteenth century in Germany, the religious establishment had almost universally abandoned any distinctive classical Confessional Lutheran character. The subjective, idealistic, naturalistic and rationalistic theology of the time had all but erased the traditional distinctions between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.⁸⁵

^{82-1/2}Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

⁸³"Announcements Booklet," pp. 54-8.

⁸⁴p. H. Buehring, The Spirit of the ALC (Columbus, OH: Lutheran Book Concern, 1940), p. 15.

⁸⁵Roy A. Suelflow, "The First Years of Trinity Congregation,

During the Reformation period Prussia had become a Lutheran state, but in 1603 the ruling Prince Elector Sigismund of Brandenburg joined the Reformed Church. From that time onward, the Lutheran and Reformed churches had existed side by side in a state of stalemated truce in Prussia. It was thus not entirely unnatural that the Hohenzollern government, which under the system of the state church was the supreme head of religion, should try to put an end to this rivalry and bring Lutherans and Reformed together.⁸⁶

The Reformed Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840) conceived the idea of an external union of the two churches, in which both Lutherans and Reformed could retain their respective confessions but be forbidden to carry on any controversies over the points in which they differed.⁸⁷ This would be like trying to tell Americans today that political dissent is no longer legal. Wilhelm unsuccessfully attempted, as early as 1798, to persuade the Lutherans and Reformed to unite. Then again in 1817 he utilized the 300th Anniversary of the Reformation as the occasion for a union communion service in the palace at Potsdam.⁸⁸ In his decree of

Freistadt, Wisconsin," M.Div. thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, April, 1944, pp. 62-7. E. Clifford Nelson, ed., The Lutherans in North America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 152-9. Fred W. Meuser, The Formation of the ALC: A Case Study in Lutheran Unity (Columbus, OH: Wartburg Press, 1958, pp. 11-18. Carl S. Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the LCMS (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 47-8.

⁸⁶Buehring, p. 15.

⁸⁷Buehring, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁸Nelson, p. 152. Meyer, "Moving Frontiers," p. 48.

September 27, 1817, Wilhelm referred to the proposed union of Lutherans and Reformed as "God-pleasing work," but added:⁸⁹

No matter how strongly I desire the Reformed and Lutheran churches in my territories to share my well-grounded conviction, I respect their rights and freedom and have no intention of forcing anything upon them by my decree and decision.⁹⁰

But the king changed his approach for the celebration of the tricentennial of the Augsburg Confession. In the notorious "Prussian Union" decree of April 4, 1830, he authorized the application of state power to enforce the use of a new "Evangelical" liturgy. In particular, the Lutheran communicant would no longer hear the minister say, "Take, eat, this is the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ." Instead the minister was ordered to say, "Jesus Christ says, 'This is my body.'"⁹¹

The point of this indefiniteness in the new Prussian Union Communion liturgy was allegedly to leave the interpretation of Christ's presence in the sacrament up to the individual believer. But its intent was in fact to force upon Lutherans an attitude of indifference to the distinctive Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper set forth in the Lutheran Confessions, and to cover up a disagreement between the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines concerning the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper.⁹² Ministers who

⁸⁹Nelson, p. 152.

⁹⁰Meyer, "Moving Frontiers," p. 48.

⁹¹Nelson, p. 132.

⁹²Suelflow, "The First Years," p. 102.

refused to use the new liturgy would be guilty of flagrant disobedience to the crown.⁹³

Thus the Prussian Union was forced upon pastors and people so that Lutheran convictions were disregarded, Lutheran consciences were violated, and the Lutheran Confessions were set aside. Astonishingly, on the 300th anniversary year of the Augsburg Confession in Germany, the very use of the name "Lutheran" was forbidden. The Prussian Union Church was henceforth to be known as the "Evangelical Church."⁹⁴

The Prussian Union stirred up widespread opposition and emigration.⁹⁵ The largest Prussian movement, however, emigrated to America under the leadership of Rev. Johannes Andreas August Grabau (1804-79), the founder of the Buffalo Synod and Martin Luther Seminary.⁹⁶

In midsummer of 1839 approximately one thousand members of the emigrant party traveled by canal boat to Liverpool, England,⁹⁷ where they boarded five vessels and sailed for America arriving

⁹³Meuser, pp. 11-18. Walter C. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 16-26. Nelson, p. 132; Buehring, p. 21.

⁹⁴Buehring, p. 16.

⁹⁵i.e., Stephan, Grabau, Krause. Roy A. Suelflow, "The Relations of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866, Part I," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 27 (April, 1954):1.

⁹⁶Nelson, pp. 154-5. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #13. "John Andrew Augustus Grabau (1804-1889)," p. 570

⁹⁷Suelflow, "The First Years," pp. 11, 15-16.

September 4, 10 and 18, 1839.⁹⁸ Starting September 26, 1839⁹⁹ from New York City they traveled by steamer to Albany, where a small group remained. The rest went on by canal boat to Buffalo, where the majority including Rev. J. A. A. Grabau arrived on October 3, 1839.¹⁰⁰

But for all these newly-arrived immigrants, Rev. J. A. A. Grabau was the only available pastor. And in addition to these congregations, other Germans without pastors requested Grabau's services, which he rendered to the best of his ability. But the demand was hopelessly beyond what one man could supply. The other American Lutheran Churches had no pastors to spare, nor were any available from Germany. So the immigrants decided to establish a theological seminary to educate men to supply this demand. Thus in 1840, the very next year after his arrival, Rev. J. A. A. Grabau founded Martin Luther Seminary in Buffalo.¹⁰¹

But at first its name was not "Martin Luther Seminary;" it was called the "Praeparanden-Anstalt."¹⁰² So when the "Praeparanden-Anstalt" was established in 1840, only three other

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 22.

⁹⁹Suelflow, "The First Years," p. 22.

¹⁰⁰Suelflow says, "October 5, 1839." Suelflow, "The First Years," p. 22. Nelson, p. 155. Beuhring, p. 20.

¹⁰¹Endeavor, I, 1918-9, pp. 2-4. Endeavor, VIII, 1925-6, pp. 20, 25.

¹⁰²Endeavor, I, 1918-9, pp. 2-4. Endeavor, VIII, 1925-6, pp. 20, 25.

Lutheran theological seminaries (Hartwick, Gettysburg, Columbus) had been founded in America prior to this time.¹⁰³ The Buffalo seminary operated continuously for eighty-nine years from 1840-1929. It was one of the first theological schools in this country to place itself upon a strictly confessional basis; this Old Prussian institution transplanted a genuine classical German Lutheran system of theological education to America only one year after the immigrants had arrived in Buffalo.¹⁰⁴

In 1845 the Buffalo Synod was organized¹⁰⁵ and the "Praeparanden-Anstalt" became its official theological school. At first classes had been held in the pastor's study, then the basement of a newly-erected church, then in a private dwelling, and finally in a converted parsonage, until in 1853 it had outgrown all its former facilities, and the Buffalo Synod decided it needed to construct a new seminary building.¹⁰⁶

On November 10, 1854, the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther, the building was dedicated and named "Martin Luther College." Due to the limited teaching staff, of whom Pastor J. A. A. Grabau was the most prominent, only the essentials were taught: 1) A general knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin (English and French were

¹⁰³Endeavor, I, 1918-9, p. 2. Endeavor, VIII, 1925-6, p. 25.

¹⁰⁴Endeavor, VIII, 1925-6, p. 6. Endeavor, I, 1918-9, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵Buehring, p. 20 and footnote.

¹⁰⁶Endeavor, I, 1918-9, p. 4. Endeavor VIII, 1925-6, p. 25.

optional), 2) World and Church History, 3) Lutheran Dogmatics and the Confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, 4) Old Testament and New Testament Exegesis, 5) Organ lessons by the organist of a Buffalo congregation.¹⁰⁷

Later, "Martin Luther College" was incorporated and renamed "Martin Luther Seminary."¹⁰⁸ There was a Grabau in charge of the seminary for all but six of its eighty-nine years of existence. Rev. J. A. A. Grabau was the head of the institution from 1840 till his death in 1879.¹⁰⁹ Rev. William Grabau of Cedarburg, Wisconsin, accepted the call as professor in March 1885, and served faithfully until 1905.¹¹⁰

In 1905 Professor William Grabau resigned due to ill health, and Rev. Rudolph W. Grabau (Picture #40) of Kirchayn, Wisconsin, accepted the call as Professor and Dean, and remained there from 1905 until Martin Luther Seminary closed in 1929. Rev. H. C. J. Leupold's predecessor, Rev. J. Rechtsteiner, served as Professor of History and Ancient Languages from 1912 until his death, May 9, 1922.¹¹¹ By election of the Buffalo Synod in September 1922, Rev. H. C. J. Leupold was chosen regular full-time professor to succeed

¹⁰⁷Endeavor, I, 1918-9, p. 4. Endeavor VIII, 1925-6, pp. 25-6.

¹⁰⁸Endeavor VIII, 1925-6, p. 26. Nelson, p. 177.

¹⁰⁹Endeavor VIII, 1925-6, p. 26. Nelson, p. 177.

¹¹⁰Endeavor VIII, 1925-6, p. 26.

¹¹¹Endeavor, VIII, 1925-6, p. 27. Endeavor V, 1922-3, p. 5.

Rechtsteiner.¹¹² Leupold had been acting as an Assistant Professor for some time before his call as full-time professor. Leupold served from 1922 until Martin Luther Seminary closed in 1929.¹¹³

Martin Luther Seminary is occasionally misrepresented as having been merged with some other school, but that was not so. Actually, Martin Luther Seminary closed down, and its books and furniture, and so forth, were given to Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa, or to the Columbus Seminary in Ohio.¹¹⁴

At the time of the 1930 American Lutheran Church merger of the Iowa Synod (686 pastors, 934 congregations, 151,795 confirmed, 215,957 baptized) and the Ohio Synod (847 pastors, 1034 congregations, 181,568 confirmed, 283,855 baptized), the Buffalo Synod had 44 pastors, 51 congregations, 7,466 confirmed, and 10,341 baptized.¹¹⁵

Firm adherence to Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions was a characteristic of the Buffalo Synod throughout its history; no Lutheran church body in America has been more orthodox in this sense than it.¹¹⁶ As a result, this tough little synod contributed to

¹¹²Endeavor, V, 1922-3, p. 4.

¹¹³Endeavor, VIII, 1925-6, p. 27.

¹¹⁴Dr. & Mrs. Alfred Ewald interview, 2150 Mailand, St. Paul, Minn., July 3, 1979; Notes, p. 1.

¹¹⁵Buehring, pp. 31, 93, 95, 99.

¹¹⁶Buehring, p. 21.

the development of a truly confessional Lutheran Biblical theology in this country much more than its tumultuous history, size and numerical insignificance might lead one to suspect.¹¹⁷ The Buffalo Synod and Martin Luther Seminary: these were the forge and the crucible of the writings, theology and exegetical approach of H. C. J. Leupold.

Glimpses of Leupold's Martin Luther Seminary Days

Rev. Leupold taught at his alma mater, Martin Luther Seminary, from 1922-29. We get some idea of the conditions under which he worked from information found in a sort of yearbook-newsletter entitled Endeavor, published annually by the students of Martin Luther Seminary during the last decade of its existence, 1918-29.

In 1922 the entire Buffalo Synod numbered only 2364 families; from this small number the Seminary drew its entire support.¹¹⁸ In Leupold's time the Endeavor describes how various responsibilities delegated to the government and management of the Seminary were organized as follows:

In a general sense . . . all . . . members of the Synod . . . have the responsibility of furthering the progress of our seminary. . . . First and foremost stands the Synod as executive of the seminary. We can readily see that as the Synod meets only once in 3 years, this method of government alone is not sufficient and consequently the Synod has entrusted its institution to the hands of officials, which comprise a Faculty, a Board of Directors, and a Board of Trustees.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 33.

¹¹⁸Endeavor, IV, 1921-22, p. 3.

. . . The Faculty . . . has the burden of instructing the students. . . . At present our Faculty consist of 4 members [R. W. Grabau, J. N. Grabau, J. Rechsteiner, H. C. J. Leupold], one of which is Dean of the Seminary [R. W. Grabau]. . . . But there are many problems arising in which it is not expedient for the Dean or Faculty to make decisions and hence there exists a Board of Directors.

This Board consists of seven members, and it is their aim to care for the spiritual needs of the seminary. They outline the course of study. . . . The textbooks are also selected by the Directors. . . . It is the Board which decides upon the length of the semester, when to open . . . sessions, . . . vacation days, . . . a new subject, or a new textbook.

. . . There is a Board consisting of nine members, which cares for matters of a secular nature. This Board, which is called the Board of Trustees, keeps the building in repair and has charge of the premises of the Seminary.¹¹⁹

In the 1918-19 school year, before Leupold was officially called as a professor at Martin Luther Seminary, he was teaching there as a part-time professor. Dean Rudolph W. Grabau was "Professor of Dogmatics and Exegetical Theology." Rev. J. N. Grabau was "Professor of Practical Theology." Prof. J. Rechtsteiner, a United Lutheran Church of America (ULCA) local parish pastor,¹²⁰ was "Professor of History and Ancient Languages," and Rev. Leupold was "Professor of English."¹²¹

Not only Prof. Leupold, but all of the Leupold family were at one time or another nick-named "Leupy."¹²² Ewald remembers he

¹¹⁹Endeavor, II, 1920-21, p. 13-14.

¹²⁰Ewald, p. 3. Picture #40.

¹²¹Endeavor, I, 1918-19, p. 5.

¹²²Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 6.

never addressed Prof. Leupold as "Herb" to his face, but always "Doctor Leupold." He got the name "Leupy" at Capital University. The Dean, Prof. Rudolph Grabau, was a short little fellow, who to his face Ewald and his fellow students addressed as "Doctor Grabau" or "Prof. Grabau," but behind his back they called him "Olie."¹²³

By election of the Buffalo Synod in September 1922, Leupold was chosen regular full-time professor.¹²⁴ In the presence of a large congregation at Ascension Lutheran Church in Buffalo, the installation service for Rev. Leupold as a Professor at Martin Luther Seminary took place on October 15, 1922.¹²⁵ Rev. Theophil Berner (1901 M.L.S. graduate)¹²⁶ conducted the liturgy. Rev. J. N. Grabau preached on 2 Cor. 12:15 ("I will most gladly spend and be spent for your souls . . ."). Rev. Otto Bruss (1891 M.L.S. graduate)¹²⁷ performed the act of installation. The student choir under the direction of Prof. R. Grabau rendered a selection.¹²⁸ The same issue of Endeavor that announced Leupold's appointment as professor also contained an article by him entitled, "Degrees," and probably reveals the Buffalo Synod and Seminary "party line" on that topic at that time:

Our Seminary offers no degrees. Nor do we feel inclined to apologize for this fact, or see any need of

¹²³Ewald, p. 9.

¹²⁴Endeavor, V, 1922-23, p. 4.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 22.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 31.

¹²⁷Endeavor, V, 1922-23, p. 30. Ewald, p. 12.

¹²⁸Endeavor, V, 1922-23, p. 22.

apology. Ours is a practical institution. We aim to prepare young men for the ministry. We are convinced that this can be adequately done without conferring degrees on such who excel in scholarship.

Nor, for that matter, do we feel in the least inclined to offer an iota of criticism with regard to those institutions who deem the stage of scholarship reached by some of their graduates to be such as to warrant the conferring of a degree. We do, however, realize that D.D.'s and Ph.D.'s and LL.D.'s and B.D.'s have become a commodity, so readily attainable in some circles, that the current remark may be applied: "But it doesn't mean anything." We even feel that we, as institution, could confer degrees with a better conscience than many that now do, especially in sectarian circles; but our conception of the nature of a degree is too exacting to permit so easy a bestowal of this significant honor.

What we say in the course of this essay may provoke a smile on the part of some readers who may feel: You have to take such a stand as you do, and view the subject from your particular angle, because Martin Luther Seminary bestows no degrees.

To ward off misconceptions, let us explain our standpoint more in detail. We are as strongly convinced as any many can be of the maxim: "Honor, to whom honor is due." If any man conducts useful research work, attains to notable proficiency in any one line, becomes a scholar of note, -- and some institution takes cognizance of the fact and bestows upon him the title of doctor, -- what could be more proper? Even in the church of God there is nothing objectionable to such a course, all the more not, because in this manner the church, as it were, directs attention to those men to whom we can look with utmost confidence for guidance. When degrees are won and bestowed after such a fashion, all is well.

However, we know that in many instances such titles as "doctor of divinity" are extremely misleading. Men who are the subtlest enemies of the church; men who undermine her God-given doctrine; men who rob the church of the faith once delivered to the saints; in a word, negative theologians, are ornamented with a title that is the greatest misnomer conceivable. They are not men learned in the sacred wisdom from on high, not defenders of the faith, but its most dangerous enemies.

Again, . . . many who study with the purpose of winning a degree are prompted by a spirit of vain-glory that ill befits those who are to be humble ministers, graced with the lowliness of mind that they find in Christ their master.

. . . anyone desiring a degree in the right spirit, may conveniently arrange after graduation from our seminary to take a post-graduate correspondence course with a good Lutheran Seminary of sound standing, and so become more thoroughly fitted for the work which requires thorough equipment more than any other.

Finally, it would be a worthy goal, if we were to strive continually to raise the efficiency of our institution to such an extent that it might in the course of time, be fully qualified to offer degrees to graduates. But let it be strongly emphasized that there are certain other requisites of a theological seminary that rank far higher than the conferring of degrees, namely: pure doctrine, sanctified scholarship, the zeal for saving souls, and the desire to serve Christ.¹²⁹

It seems that Leupold had already begun to take his own advice above about continuing with a post-graduate correspondence course after graduation from Martin Luther Seminary.¹³⁰ Rev. Leupold was awarded the B.D. degree in 1926¹³¹ by Chicago Lutheran Seminary, Maywood, Illinois, now Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago (LSTC).¹³² But this B.D. degree he received in 1926 was not merely some fly-by-night "mail-order degree." The "Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record" explains this quite clearly:

The B.D. Course in Residence is not to be confounded with the B.D. Course by Correspondence. . . . The course leading to B.D. by correspondence is an advance upon B.D. in residence and requires more extensive reading and study.

¹²⁹Ibid., pp. 19-20.

¹³⁰Ewald, p. 19.

¹³¹"1922," according to "Dr. Herbert C. Leupold [Biographical Sketch]," on "A [Retirement] Day of Recognition for Dr. H. C. Leupold," in "Leupold Letterbook II," p. 2a; part of Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Leupold Family Album collection, 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio.

¹³²"The Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record," vol. 35, no. 2, April 1930, p. 39; Chicago Lutheran Seminary, Maywood, Ill. (now LSTC). Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4. Biographical Directory of ALC, 1962, p. 432. Biographical Directory of ALC, 1972, p. 540.

It involves a knowledge not only of the fundamental principles underlying the different disciplines, but also a more thorough acquaintance with every phase of the subject as presented in the best books relating to it than is possible in the best course in residence extending over one or two years in any seminary.

It is to be regretted that there is no degree in use that indicates this advanced study involved in our Correspondence School and that B.D. must serve for both.¹³³

Rev. Leupold also followed his own advice above about the pathway to earning a D.D. degree; "If any man . . . becomes a scholar of note, -- and some institution . . . bestows upon him the title of doctor -- what could be more proper." Capital University awarded Leupold the D.D. degree in 1935.¹³⁴ In an Endeavor article entitled, "The Value of the Study of the Classical Languages," by Prof. J. Rechtsteiner, the first sentence is: "What does 'ministry' mean? According to its etymology it means 'service.'" Rechtsteiner goes on to describe how such service requires that the pastor be equipped:¹³⁵

He must put on, as Paul . . . tells us, the whole armor of God. . . . To that full armor we count not as the least the study of those languages in which the Bible has been written.¹³⁶

¹³³"The Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record," vol. 20, no. 1, April 1915, p. 31; Chicago Lutheran Seminary, Maywood, Ill. (now LSTC).

¹³⁴Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 6. Biographical Directory of ALC, 1962, p. 432. Biographical Directory of ALC, 1972, p. 540.

¹³⁵Endeavor I, 1918-19, p. 20.

¹³⁶Endeavor, I, 1918-19, p. 20.

So although Rechtsteiner touches on the Biblical languages, the main theme of his essay leads him to make a more diluted and general point:

Applying the study of Latin and also Greek in their practical value to the full understanding of our English language, I dare say with one of the great German poets, "one who does not understand foreign languages, does not understand his own!"¹³⁷

But compare Rechtsteiner's more general theme and point to that of Leupold's confessionally-targeted bull's-eye article entitled, "The Value of the Study of Original Languages of the Bible."¹³⁸

This is a subject which we have heard discussed on various occasions. The discussion usually begins with a question which is directed to a pastor, somewhat as follows: "Why do students have to learn to read the Bible in the original languages, like Latin?" Usually they that then proceed to express their opinion that such study appears to them to be useless, are the ones that cast the question in the above form, betraying that they are quite incompetent to judge of such a question. For they do not even know that the Bible was not originally written in Latin, but in Hebrew and in Greek.

But some also who are well enough informed, claim that the study of the original languages is unnecessary. At any rate, they would not mind being informed why theological students must master these subjects. For although they know that their pastor knows these languages; they fail to see what good it had done him; he never seems to use the Greek in his sermons.

For one thing, it is significant that Greek and Hebrew have been found in theological courses for centuries, in fact, every since the Reformation. Usually, that which is good endures.

But there is far more to be said on the subject.

What actual profit comes from the study of these languages?

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Endeavor, VII, 1924-5, pp. 22-23.

All they who know more than one language, say, German and English, and have ever attempted to translate exactly, sometimes only one sentence, know that it may have seemed quite a task. They had to admit after their best effort that they were not saying in their translation just what had originally been said. They excuse themselves, saying, "It's hard to translate that sentence exactly." That remark of theirs applies to all translation efforts, especially to the Bible, where, on account of the supreme dignity of the subject matter, it is all the more of a pity if the exact meaning is lost in translation. Ability to understand Greek and Hebrew, therefore, is one means whereby a more exact understanding of God's truth may be gained.

Aside from that, many a one might reason thus: If God condescended to inspire holy writers in two certain languages with the very words that they were to use, and that, in two languages only, that fact itself would elevate those languages in dignity above all others and make them worthy of study.

Or again, many of us know that when the truth of the gospel is to be determined very exactly, as is often the case in a dispute where a Scripture is quoted in support of a certain contention, and now the question arises, in what sense the Scripture is to be taken (for the words will sometimes seem to admit of two interpretations), what is to be done? Certainly he has firm ground under his feet who is able to say, "I shall have to consult my Greek New Testament." Frequently the Greek will in such cases determine what was in the mind of the holy writer at the time when he penned what God gave him. Knowledge of the original languages clothes him who has it with authority as an interpreter of Scriptures. He knows what he knows and why it is so.

It is true that in our day many helps are prepared for pastors; literal translations, commentaries, concordances, explanations of what words are used in the original text, and other such crutches. They may indeed help a man to make halting progress. But we still maintain that there is nothing like being able to stand on your own feet.

But the contention may be heard, "But there is many a good pastor who never knew Hebrew or Greek, yet he succeeded in winning souls and in preaching with unction, that proves conclusively that such knowledge is unnecessary." Very correct, in so far as it claims that such knowledge is not absolutely necessary. Nor do we say that a pastor cannot be a faithful minister without Hebrew or Greek. A farmer may run a farm with meager equipment of farm implements, but how much better if he would be thoroughly furnished with all that he ought to

have! Armies may win battles with old-fashioned artillery and methods, but their well-equipped opponents have many more chances of success. Pastors may do well without a knowledge of the original languages. They would do better if (to use Luther's comparison), they had the sword of the Spirit (the word) in the good scabbard (the languages) to protect its keen edge and to protect themselves.

But some still claim, "I never heard my pastor use the original languages in the pulpit. Of what good are they to him?" True, he may never make a display of his knowledge, he should not. That's not humility. But many a pastor, to be sure that he is correctly interpreting God's truth, perhaps hardly ever ventures to preach on a text without studying it up in the original languages. The hearer in the pew has the result of such faithful work—sound doctrine. But he does not hear his pastor boasting how hard he is working to be faithful in his responsible task.

Viewing the subject from these angles only, we feel that we have offered sufficient explanation in support of what is, we dare say, held by the majority of faithful pastors of our day, namely that it is of great value to know the original languages of the Bible.¹³⁹

It is not surprising that the last issue of Endeavor says, "The game we indulge in mostly is handball."¹⁴⁰ The reason this is not surprising is that Rev. Leupold had by then been on the faculty full-time since 1922, and he was later known to have been a very regular and a very good handball player all during his career at Capital University and Seminary. Dr. Leland Elhard said:¹⁴¹

His daily discipline included . . . playing handball up till rather advanced age. . . . It was kind of an event when the announcement came that he was no longer going to play handball. . . . It was after I had

¹³⁹Ibid., pp. 22-3.

¹⁴⁰Endeavor, XI, 1928-9, p. 23.

¹⁴¹Dr. Leland E. Elhard interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, April 10, 1979, notes, p. 4.

returned on the faculty [1965]. . . . When he was 65 years old he was still doing it.¹⁴²

So Leupold was probably the one principally behind the student interest in handball expressed here, as might be further suggested by the fact that this same last issue of Endeavor (1928-29) is dedicated to him: "In token of love and esteem, we dedicate this issue of the Endeavor to Professor Herbert C. Leupold."¹⁴³

1929-64, Professor at Evangelical Lutheran
Theology Seminary, Columbus, Ohio

The Anvil

The Columbus Seminary of the newly-formed 1930 ALC (merger of Ohio, Iowa and Buffalo Synods) -- this was the anvil upon which Leupold hammered out his strongly orthodox, conservative, confessional, evangelical, Lutheran theology. In a letter dated December 10, 1929, and signed by the President and Secretary of the Seminary Board of Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, Rev. Leupold received a formal call to join the faculty of the Columbus Seminary:¹⁴⁴

The Seminary Board in regular meeting assembled at Columbus, Ohio, December 10, 1929, unanimously elected you, dear Brother, as Professor of the Chair of Old Testament Theology in the Seminary of Capital University.

¹⁴²Elhard, p. 4.

¹⁴³Endeavor, XI, 1928-9, p. 3. Picture #41.

¹⁴⁴Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p.4.

. . . The Board promises to pay you a salary of \$2400.00 per annum.¹⁴⁵

In a separate letter dated December 12, 1929, and signed by President Otto Mees of Capital University, Leupold received confirmation of his appointment:¹⁴⁶

Just a note to advise you that the Board of Trustees has authorized you to be called as full professor in our Seminary. This is to be in accordance with the understanding we had when we invited you to throw in your lot with us.

. . . This call will be issued in due time and the position will go into effect September, 1930.¹⁴⁷

Sixteen months later, in a letter dated April 20, 1931, President Otto Mees again wrote to Prof. Leupold:¹⁴⁸

This brief note is to advise you officially that your installation is set for Sunday evening, May 3rd, at Christ Church. The sermon will be preached by Dr. E. Poppen, Vice President of the American Lutheran Church, in the absence of Dr. Hein.

It is customary for the person installed to give a brief address. . . . Dean Lenski and myself will participate in the induction ceremony.¹⁴⁹

Prof. Leupold accepted the Buffalo Synod's decision to merge with the Ohio and Iowa Synods in 1930, and he also accepted the call to be Professor of Old Testament in the Columbus Seminary at Capital University. But in doing so, Leupold entered a different theological climate, however subtle the differences may seem.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴⁷Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album; "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 3.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

The Columbus Seminary, from its very beginning, contained a mixture of orthodox and heterodox elements.¹⁵⁰ Leupold began teaching at this seminary in 1930 as an orthodox conservative confessional theologian whose theology was never really accepted as normative at Columbus, nor in the 1930-ALC generally. The 1960-ALC's ultimate rejection of Leupold's theology is a (theo-)logically consistent consequence of a 150-year Columbus Seminary tradition of "mixing" orthodoxy and heterodoxy.¹⁵¹

The organization that eventually founded the Columbus Seminary (similar to the case of the Buffalo Synod and Martin Luther Seminary) was a pastoral conference that saw the need to educate its

¹⁵⁰By "orthodox" is meant those who subscribe to the Lutheran Confessions with an unconditional quia endorsement, and by "heterodox" is meant those who acknowledge the Lutheran Confessions merely with a conditional quatenus endorsement.

¹⁵¹C. V. Sheatsley, History of the Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States: From the Earliest Beginnings to 1919, Century Memorial Edition (Columbus, OH: Lutheran Book Concern, 1919), p. 39. F. Ernest Stoeffler, German Pietism During 18th Century, vol. 24 in Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden: Brill, 1973). C. A. Frank, History of the German Lutheran Seminary of the German Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States, located at Columbus, Ohio: Written in commemoration of its 50th anniversary at the request of its Board of Trustees, (Columbus, OH: Ohio Synodical Publishing House, 1880), in the "Historical Collection" of the Trinity Lutheran Seminary Library, Columbus, Ohio, pp. 9-10. George H. Schodde, Historical Sketch of the Theological Seminary of the Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States: Written in Commemoration of Its 75th Anniversary, at the Request of the Board (N.p., 1905 [date written in by hand]), in the "Historical Collection" of the Trinity Lutheran Seminary Library, Columbus, Ohio, p. 22-3. Lutheran Cyclopedia, ed. Erwin L. Lueker (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954, reprint ed., 1975), pp. 334a, 370a, 557b, 730, 810b, 668a. David Benton Owens, These 100 Years: The Centennial History of Capital University (Columbus, OH: Capital University Press, 1950), p. 17.

own men.¹⁵² C. V. Sheatsley himself, the official historian of the Columbus Seminary, says that the "spirit of Spener and Francke was much in evidence in the early years of our church both East and West of the Alleghenies."¹⁵³ The University of Halle Pietism of Philipp Spener and August Francke was a kind of Lutheranism that was marred by elements imported from Calvinistic sources, and that also had a weakness in the direction of millennialism.¹⁵⁴

Rev. Wilhelm Schmidt (1803-39)¹⁵⁵ was the first professor of this Columbus Seminary which opened in 1830¹⁵⁶ designated as "Die Theologische Lehranstalt der Evangelische Lutherischen Synode von Ohio."¹⁵⁷ Professor-elect Schmidt submitted a curriculum for the new Seminary:¹⁵⁸

¹⁵²Sheatsley, 1919, pp. 10-11, 36, 39, 51, 55, 57-8. Nelson, pp. 114, 124, 174.

¹⁵³Sheatsley, 1919, p. 39.

¹⁵⁴Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 730. F. Ernest Stoeffler, The Rise of Evangelical Pietism, vol 9 in Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden: Brill, 1965, reprint 1971). Stoeffler, German Pietism.

¹⁵⁵Sheatsley, 1919, pp. 79-80. Clarence Valentine Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary of the West: 1830-1930 (Columbus, OH: Lutheran Book Concern, 1930), p. 11. Frank, pp. 5-6. Owens, p. 16. Schodde, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵⁶Sheatsley, 1919, p. 83-4. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, pp. 12-15. Owens, pp. 9-10. Frank, pp. 5-6. Schodde, pp. 4, 5, 12-13.

¹⁵⁷Sheatsley, 1919, p. 84. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, p. 15. Frank, pp. 5-6. Schodde, p. 8.

¹⁵⁸Sheatsley, 1919, p. 85. Frank, pp. 6-7. Schodde, pp. 13-4.

Branches of Study in Their Order
According to Time

Term I (First Course): 1) Advanced German Syntax, 2) Latin, 3) Greek, 4) Logic, 5) Theological Encyclopedia. Note: Because it is impossible in the course of three years in addition to the subjects just mentioned, to teach also the Hebrew language, only those students who attend the school for 4 years will receive instruction also in Hebrew and the Greek classics.

Term II (Second Course): 1) German, Latin & Greek language study continued. 2) Isagogics (Intro. to O.T. & N.T.). 3) Biblical Archaeology. 4) Interp. of Gr. N.T. 5) Interp. of O.T. in the German language, the original Hebrew and the LXX always being used for reference. 6) Church History. 7) Psychology.

Term III (Third Course): 1) Biblical interpretation in the Greek and German continued. 2) Dogmatics (and Hist. of Dogma) and Symbolics. 3) Church Ethics. 4) Practical explanation of Scripture for catechetical instruction. 5) Homiletics. 6) Catechetics. 7) Pastoral Theology and Liturgics.¹⁵⁹

This ambitious curriculum -- especially the Hebrew part -- was in the main too heavy a load both for the students to carry and for the limited teaching force to sufficiently impart.¹⁶⁰ Prof. G. H. Schodde (1854-1917), who taught at the Columbus Seminary and who also wrote a history of it, says of this curriculum:¹⁶¹

This curriculum was adopted by [the Ohio] Synod for the contemplated Seminary. The data are not at hand to show to what extent the work thus outlined was actually performed. The probabilities are that the scheme was carried out only to a limited extent. Later facts in the history of the Seminary show this.

A 3-year's course for the Seminary . . . was actually not introduced as a full fact until more than 50 years had passed, about the year 1880. Again, exegesis on the basis of the original languages was introduced only at

¹⁵⁹Frank, p. 7. Schodde, pp. 13-14.

¹⁶⁰Schodde, pp. 11-12.

¹⁶¹Lutheran Cyclopaedia, p. 704a. Schodde, pp. 55-6.

about this same period. . . . It really became a theoretical seminary only in the beginning of the 1880's. Up to that time, students . . . without any academic preparation worth mentioning were admitted.

In reality the Seminary through the first 5 decades was a practical Seminary, in which practically no use could be made or was made of the original languages of the Scriptures or of the Latin. . . . Hebrew was not even taught as a regular branch [i.e., independent course] until 1874.¹⁶²

In addition to this Prof. Schmidt's own doctrinal position may be estimated from the fact that he received his education at Halle from theologians like Gesenius, Niemeyer, and Wegscheider.¹⁶³

H. F. W. Gesenius (1786-1842) was a Hebraist and rationalist who became a Halle professor in 1810, and who was criticized by E. W. Hengstenberg (1802-69). A. H. Niemeyer (1754-1828) was the great-grandson of A. H. Francke; he became a professor at Halle in 1779, and chancellor at Halle in 1808. J. A. L. Wegscheider (1771-1849) regarded supernatural revelation as impossible; he became a professor at Halle in 1810. Schmidt used their lectures as his text-books; he also used the dogmatics text of F. V. Reinhard (1753-1812), "Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik," who, although he was a supernaturalist, upheld the necessity of revelation at very few points.¹⁶⁴

D. B. Owens (b. 1914), who taught at Capital University and wrote a history of it, says of Schmidt's confessional position: "In

¹⁶²Schodde, pp. 13-17. Owens, p. 13. Sheatsley, 1919, pp. 86-7.

¹⁶³Schodde, pp. 22-3. Frank, p. 10.

¹⁶⁴Lutheran Cyclopedia, pp. 334a, 370a, 557b, 810b, 668a.

his theological convictions, Prof. Schmidt was a Lutheran of the milder, unionistic type, as represented by the University of Halle."¹⁶⁵ Of Schmidt's confessional position, Schodde says:

Neither his antecedents nor his surroundings would make him the decided protagonist of a conservative and confessional Lutheranism for which our Seminary and its teachers and work now [1905] stand. Aggressive and stalwart Lutheranism of this kind did not then exist, neither in America nor in Germany.

It is largely owing to the influence of the Missouri Synod in its early and better days that this type of theology and church life was revived, and our Seminary too has been wonderfully influenced from this source. But unionism particularly was in the air 3/4 of a century ago and the importance of the distinctive doctrines of the church was not appreciated.¹⁶⁶

The first constitution of the Columbus Seminary adopted in 1831 by the Board of Directors has two pertinent sections:¹⁶⁷

Constitution of the German Lutheran Seminary
of the German Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States

Section II - Objects of the Seminary

3. Finally, it is also an object of this Seminary to lecture in the Theological course on the doctrines of our Church as contained purely and undefiled in the Augsburg Confession and in the other Symbolical books of the Lutheran Church.

Section IV - Teachers of the Seminary

a) The teachers of theology must needs be ordained ministers of the German Lutheran Church, be in good report in our Church, must know the German language and be able to teach and preach in German. b) They must also profess the

¹⁶⁵Owens, p. 17.

¹⁶⁶Schodde, p. 23.

¹⁶⁷Sheatsley, 1919, p. 91. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, p. 17. Frank, pp. 7-8. Schodde, pp. 17-18.

pure Lutheran principles contained in the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church.¹⁶⁸

Thus the first constitution of the Columbus Seminary sought to put a strong emphasis on the doctrine contained in the Lutheran Confessions, but this emphasis was lost about 10 years later in a very serious controversy at the Seminary.¹⁶⁹ Prof. C. A. Frank's (1846-1922) own comment about the constitution verifies this:¹⁷⁰

In view of the letter of the Seminary constitution, adopted by the [Ohio] Synod in 1833, one might expect a Lutheran school, and our Seminary was then looked upon as such; but in fact it was not so much a Lutheran home of sacred learning as a daughter of her days, when pietistic, unionistic and rationalistic tendencies had the sway almost everywhere in the old country as well as in the new.

From what the writer of this sketch has been able to read on the subject, he infers that the fathers of our Synod were not so thoroughly raised in theology as we would expect them to be, according to the better standard of the present day [i.e., 1880].¹⁷¹

Such is the unanimous witness concerning the origin of the Columbus Seminary where Leupold dedicated his life-work. We may conclude that from the very beginning, the Columbus Seminary started out with a weak confessional practice, and a theologically and confessionally unwholesome unionistic broadmindedness.

¹⁶⁸Frank, pp. 10-11.

¹⁶⁹Meyer, Moving Frontiers, pp. 145-6.

¹⁷⁰He was an 1868 graduate of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., who taught at the Columbus Seminary and wrote a history of it, but who returned to the LCMS during the Predestination Controversy. Schodde, pp. 52-4. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 310a. Sheatsley, 1919, p. 186. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, pp. 46-8. Owens, pp. 75, 92, 119. Meyer, Moving Frontiers, pp. 267-78.

¹⁷¹Frank, p. 9.

After a period of controversy at the Columbus Seminary, in the autumn of 1846, the Board elected Rev. W. F. Lehmann (1820-80) to take over as head of the Seminary.¹⁷² Lehmann continued as head of the Seminary until his death in 1880.¹⁷³ Some of the textbooks Lehmann used are known. For the Dogmatics course, Lehmann first used K. A. von Hase's "Hutterus Redivivus"¹⁷⁴ but then used H. F. F. Schmid's (1811-85) "Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." He used the "Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte" church history of H. E. F. Guericke (1803-78)¹⁷⁵ the catechetics and homiletics of C. D. F. Palmer (1811-75),¹⁷⁶ and "Pastoral-Theologie" of C. Harms (1778-1885).¹⁷⁷

No exegesis was included in Lehmann's curriculum. And even these above-mentioned text-books themselves were not really used, but only extracts from them made by the professor in charge and translated into English and dictated to the class. This teaching

¹⁷²Sheatsley, 1919, pp. 122, 126-9. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, pp. 34, 36. Owens, pp. 26-7. Schodde, pp. 35-6, 40-2. Frank, pp. 16-7.

¹⁷³Sheatsley, 1830-1930, p. 43. Owens, pp. 73-5, 119.

¹⁷⁴Von Hase held to a Mediating Theology between rationalistic and Orthodox theologians. "Lutheran Theology after 1850," Lutheran Cyclopedia, no. 9, p. 506a; "Hase, K.A.V.," p. 363a.

¹⁷⁵Halle professor deposed from professorship 1834 because of his opposition to the Prussian Union, but reinstated about 1840. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 353a.

¹⁷⁶Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 599a.

¹⁷⁷Influenced by F. D. E. Schleiermacher; opposed rationalism and Prussian Union. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 361-2.

methodology -- substantially unimproved from Schmidt's days -- prevailed in the Seminary, only that in later years these extracts and translations were not dictated to the class but were copied by the new students from the older. It was only in 1872 that a change began to be introduced and those students who were able to handle the text books themselves with their Latin and German, secured the books for themselves as a basis for their studies. Gradually the copying on the part of the students became less and less as the seminary finally became more of a theoretical institution. But Schodde reports (1905) that the last remnant of this old regime did not disappear until the time he published his "Historical Sketch"¹⁷⁸ when in place of written extracts and translations from K. R. Hagenbach's (1801-74) "Encyclopaedie and Methodologie der Theologischen Wissenschaften," another book on this subject was introduced.¹⁷⁹

Another peculiarity in the methodology of instruction during the entire period from the founding of the institution in 1830 until the end of the Lehmann administration in 1880 was that, since English and German were given equal place in the seminary, the

¹⁷⁸Schodde, p. 38.

¹⁷⁹Schodde, p. 38. K. R. Hagenbach (1801-74) was a German church historian who was born, educated and was also a professor in Basel, Switzerland. He was influenced by F. D. E. Schleiermacher and the converted Jew, J. A. W. Neander. Hagenbach was an exponent of Mediating Theology -- that theology that tried to mediate/reconcile the concepts of modern science and of Christianity, such as the philosophy of G. F. W. Hegel. Mediating Theologians usually supported and defended the Prussian Union. Lutheran Cyclopaedia, pp. 358a, 526a, 569, 700-1.

theological lectures were delivered in both languages -- that is, the lecture of the preceding day was repeated in the other language the following day. In this way, the two-year Seminary course was practically the equivalent of only one year's study.¹⁸⁰

Lehmann died in 1880. The seminary Board then called Missourian Prof. F. W. Stellhorn (1841-1919) of Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Indiana, who opposed his own LCMS in the Predestination Controversy.¹⁸¹ Stellhorn left his own LCMS and joined the Ohio Synod when he was called to the Columbus Seminary in 1881. Now, with Stellhorn's arrival, for the first time in the history of the Columbus Seminary, exegesis was regularly taught based on the original languages of the Bible.¹⁸²

Schodde listed the course of study and textbook authors constituting the curriculum in his time (1906):

1904-5

1. Dogmatics I & II: H. F. F. Schmmid's (1811-85) "Doc. Theol. of the Ev. Luth. Ch."
2. Pastoral Theol.: C. F. W. Walther's (1811-87) "Americanisch Lutherische Pastoraltheologie"
3. Ethics: C. E. Luthardt (1823-1902).
4. Hermeneutics: Hofman
5. N.T. Exegesis in Rom. and Cor.
6. O.T. Exegesis
7. Augs. Confession and Apology

¹⁸⁰Schodde, p. 39.

¹⁸¹Schodde, pp. 52-4. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 735a. Sheatsley, 1919, p. 186. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, p. 47. Owens, p. 119.

¹⁸²Schodde, p. 54. Owens, pp. 126-7. Sheatsley, 1919, pp. 186-91. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, pp. 47, 57-8. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 735a.

8. Symbolics: F. Philippi (1840-90)
9. Evangelistics.
10. Synopsis of Gospels: E. Robinson (1794-1863)
11. Hebrew
12. Skeletons
13. Catechisations
14. Homiletics: C. D. F. Palmer (1811-75)

1905-6

1. Dogmatics I & II: H. F. F. Schmidt's (1811-85) "Doc. Theol. of the Ev. Luth. Ch.
2. Encyclopedia: K. R. Hagenbach's (1801-74) "Encyclopaedie und Methodologie der Theologischen Wissenschaften"
3. Cursory Exegesis
4. Ch. Hist.: J. H. Kurtz (1809-90)
5. N.T. Exegesis, Jn., Thess., Eph.
6. O.T. Exegesis
7. Formula of Concord
8. Ethics: C. E. Luthardt (1823-2902)
9. Hebrew
10. Skeletons
11. Catechisations
12. Pastoral Theology: C. F. W. Walther's (1811-87) "Americanish Lutherische Pastoraltheologie"
13. Church Fathers
14. Homiletics: C. D. F. Palmer (1811-75)

1906-7

1. Dogmatics I and II: H. F. F. Schmid's (1811-85) "Doc. Theol. of the Ev. Luth. Ch.
2. Ethics: C. E. Luthardt (1823-1902)
3. Isogogics: Horne
4. N.T. Exegesis in Hw & Pastoral Epistles
5. O.T. Exegesis in Ps.
6. Homiletics: C. D. F. Palmer (1811-75)
7. Liturgics Lectures.
8. Catechetics: Schuetze
9. English & German Bible Course
10. Hebrew
11. Skeletons
12. Catechisations. 183

Writing in 1906, Schodde noted:

Although the Seminary is now 3/4 of a century old, it has never yet had a single professor exclusively for itself. The theological professors all without exception have held chairs also in the college department and often have not been able to give as much as one-half of their time to the work in the seminary. At present there are four men in the theology faculty, but each one has his college classes also, so that in reality the seminary has only about the equivalent of 2 professors.

This arrangement has brought with it another evil, namely, the impossibility of dividing the seminary students into classes. Down to the time when a 4th professor of theology was called in 1898, all the seminarians were taught as one class and the different branches accordingly were taken up only once every 3 years. As a result, a student, when entering, was often compelled to begin with studies with which he should have closed his course and vice-versa. The professors were compelled to teach in the same class those who had studied theology two years, those who had studied one year, and those who were beginners. The extraordinary difficulty of such a task can be appreciated only by those who have tried to do the work.

Only during the last 1/2 dozen years has a change been made in this regard, and leading branches, namely, Dogmatics, Ethics, Pastoral Theology, and Homiletics, are taught to separate classes, but in all other branches the seminary is still combined. The ideal of efficiency will not be attained until the seminary has a faculty for itself and the branches can be taught in logical sequence and order.¹⁸⁴

In June 1911, Rev. R. C. H. Lenski (1864-1936) was called to the Columbus Seminary to teach exegesis, dogmatics, apologetics and homiletics; he began work in September 1911.¹⁸⁵ After the death of Stellhorn in 1919, Lenski became Dean (1919-35) of the Columbus

¹⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 43-6.

¹⁸⁵Picture #42. Sheatsley, 1919, p. 191. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, p. 52. Owens, p. 200. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 467a.

Seminary.¹⁸⁶ It was during Lenski's term as Dean that Leupold was called to the Columbus Seminary (Plate #42). Lenski's magnum opus was The Interpretation of the New Testament in 12 volumes -- the entire manuscript of his commentary being donated to the church. He published a total of twenty-three volumes. Owens quotes a friend who knew Lenski personally:¹⁸⁷

Dr. Lenski was a hard worker, a thorough scholar, and above all a conservative Lutheran Christian. He was a great champion of the Scriptures and of the Lutheran Confessions, . . . and a practice which was consistent with them. He had very positive convictions, and when he spoke out on a question, there was no doubt as to where he stood.¹⁸⁸

In the spring of 1927 the Columbus seminary board voted to reorganize the curriculum and create four "chairs" of theology. The four "chairs" were Dean Lenski in Systematic Theology, Prof. G. C. Gast in Exegetical Theology, Prof. P. H. Buehring in Historical Theology, and Prof. J. A. Dell in Practical Theology.¹⁸⁹ The curriculum change established the B.D. degree, culminating three years of residence study, which was granted for the first time to three members of the class of 1928, two of which were H. L. Yochum (d. September 1, 1974) and Edward C. Fendt (d. March 14, 1979). In 1946 Yochum succeeded Otto Mees as Capital University President;

¹⁸⁶Owens, pp. 199-200. Sheatsley, 1830-1930, pp. 52-3. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 467a.

¹⁸⁷Owens, p. 200.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p. 201.

¹⁸⁹Pictures #42, #43.

also in 1946 Fendt succeeded Buehring as Dean of the Columbus Seminary.¹⁹⁰

Just before the official merging of the Iowa, Buffalo, and Ohio Synods into the 1930-ALC, the Buffalo Synod closed its Martin Luther Seminary in Buffalo at the end of the 1929 school year, and sent its six students to the Columbus Seminary. In the meantime, the Columbus Seminary Board called Prof. H. C. J. Leupold of the closed Martin Luther Seminary to the chair of Old Testament Theology at the Columbus Seminary. This added another "chair" to the Columbus Seminary faculty, so that at the time of Leupold's arrival in Columbus in 1930 the Seminary faculty consisted of Dean Lenski in Systematic Theology, Gast in New Testament Theology, Leupold in Old Testament Theology, Buehring in Historical Theology, and Dell in Practical Theology.¹⁹¹

So when Leupold joined the Columbus Seminary faculty in 1930, he entered a different theological climate from that of his Buffalo Synod and Martin Luther Seminary days. The Columbus Seminary, from its very beginning, contained a mixture of orthodox and heterodox elements. The Columbus Seminary was founded by pioneer missionary pastors on the frontier, but its first professor (Schmidt) represented a University of Halle kind of Lutheranism that was

¹⁹⁰Owens, pp. 201, 205, 213, 217-8.

¹⁹¹Sheatsley, 1830-1930, pp. 66-7.

marred by elements imported from Calvinism, pietism, unionism, and rationalism.¹⁹²

On the other hand, the Columbus Seminary was later represented by such exegetical scholarship as that of Stelhorn, and by such conservative confessional Lutheran theology as that of Lenski. So this "mixed bag" of orthodox and heterodox elements in the Columbus Seminary tradition was the anvil upon which was hammered out the writings, theology and exegetical approach of H. C. J. Leupold.

Glimpses of Leupold's Columbus Seminary Theological Dossier
Old Testament Teaching Experience

A common misconception about Leupold is that before he came to the Columbus Seminary, he had only taught history and had never taught Old Testament.¹⁹³ But according to an alumnus of Martin Luther Seminary who graduated the same year Leupold began to teach there, part-time professor Leupold began to take over some of the aging Professor J. Rechtsteiner's Hebrew and Old Testament classes as early as five years before Rechtsteiner's death (May 9, 1922), and his own official formal installation as professor at Martin Luther Seminary (October 15, 1922).¹⁹⁴

¹⁹²Sheatsley, 1919, p. 39. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 730. Stoeffler, Rise Ev. Pietism. Stoeffler, German Pietism during the 18th Century. Frank, pp. 9-10. Schodde, pp. 22-3. Lutheran Cyclopedia, pp. 334a, 370a, 557b, 730, 810b, 668a. Owens, p. 17.

¹⁹³Fendt, p. 12. Dr. Ralph W. Doermann interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, April 9, 1979, notes, pp. (1-10), 5.

¹⁹⁴Ewald, pp. 3, 6, 16.

Rechtsteiner is listed as "Professor of Ancient Languages (Hebrew and Greek) and History" (Picture #40), so Leupold was doing substitute teaching for the ill and aging Rechtsteiner's Hebrew and Greek classes long before beginning his formal called and installed teaching career at Martin Luther Seminary.¹⁹⁵ This means Leupold had approximately a dozen years of experience teaching Hebrew and Old Testament before coming to the Columbus Seminary, and at least seven years of full-time called and installed teaching experience in this field.

In the 1918-19 school year, Leupold was already a part-time professor listed as "Professor of English" (Picture #40), but this was in his "College" field in the combined Martin Luther High School/College/Seminary curriculum. By "English" was meant English composition, English grammar, rhetoric and public speaking.¹⁹⁶ But in addition to his "College" department teaching, Leupold was also doing part-time "Seminary" department teaching of some of Rechtsteiner's Hebrew and Old Testament classes.¹⁹⁷

Self-Taught

Leupold was probably one of the last self-taught theologians in the history of the Lutheran Church.¹⁹⁸ While Leupold was

¹⁹⁵Ibid. Picture #40.

¹⁹⁶Endeavor I, 1918-19, p. 5. Fendt, pp. 18-19. Ewald, p. 3. Picture #40.

¹⁹⁷Ewald, pp. 3, 6, 16.

¹⁹⁸Fendt, pp. 1, 18. Ewald, p. 3.

teaching at the Columbus Seminary, he enrolled for a summer session at Yale University,¹⁹⁹ but he was thoroughly "turned off," and never did formal graduate study again.²⁰⁰ This is no doubt partly because it was not as fashionable in Leupold's day to do graduate study on sabbatical as it is today.²⁰¹ After Fendt became Dean (1946), he often encouraged Leupold to take time out on a sabbatical to go to some graduate school, but Leupold was not interested. He thought he could absorb more scholarship by reading books at home, and he was an ardent reader.²⁰² On March 15, 1936, Leupold's perseverance was rewarded by the following letter from the Secretary of the Capital University Board of Regents:²⁰³

Upon the recommendation of the Faculty and the approval of the Committee on Degrees of the Board of Regents of Capital University, I have been authorized to inform you that the Board, at its December meeting, passed a resolution to confer upon you the degree of doctor of divinity because of your outstanding services to the Church and our university.²⁰⁴

Leupold was largely a self-taught theologian as far as graduate study went. But this 1935 Doctor of Divinity award by Capital University shows that the little Buffalo Synod with its tiny

¹⁹⁹Doermann, p. 6.

²⁰⁰Ibid. Dr. Ronald M. Hals interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, Nov. 17, 1978, notes, p. 15. Fendt, p. 1.

²⁰¹Hals, p. 15.

²⁰²Fendt, p. 19.

²⁰³Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p.6. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4.

²⁰⁴Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p.6. Picture #44.

Martin Luther Seminary -- a high school, college, and seminary all in one small building -- trained some good theologians, in whom was developed an appetite for books and scholarship. This little Seminary even graduated some quite excellent scholars -- as in the case of Leupold. The scholarship of this little seminary was quite good under the circumstances, even though it had a small enrollment.²⁰⁵

The Buffalo Synod's Martin Luther Seminary educated about 185 pastors in its 89-year history.²⁰⁶ It is true that the emphasis at Martin Luther seminary was always on preparing men for the pastoral ministry, and there was not much emphasis placed on preparing men for the teaching ministry; therefore Martin Luther Seminary never provided many men who later on became teachers at schools of the church. But Leupold is an example of a Martin Luther Seminary graduate who did spend almost his entire ministry in teaching.²⁰⁷ And in Leupold's case, he was even awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree -- and at that, seven years before he had published his first major book, his Genesis commentary (1942). Sheatsley summarizes:

As a kind of firstfruits of the merging of the Synods of Iowa, Buffalo and Ohio, the Buffalo Synod closed its Martin Luther Seminary in Buffalo, New York, at the end of the school year in 1929, and sent the students -- 6 in number -- to our Columbus Seminary.

²⁰⁵Fendt, pp. 18-19.

²⁰⁶Endeavor XI, 1928-29, p. 17.

²⁰⁷Ewald, pp. 16-17.

In the meantime the Board at Columbus called Professor Leupold of Martin Luther Seminary to the chair of Old Testament theology at Columbus. Prof. Leupold had back of him seven years of experience as a seminary teacher and he soon felt at home in his new surroundings. It appears that on every hand the amalgamation of forces and the new fraternal relationship is regarded as quite satisfactory.

Prof. Leupold is a master in his field and as such upholds the best traditions of our school. He began his work in September 1929.²⁰⁸

Attitude Toward Graduate Study

Dr. Fendt recalled a sad incident in his life involving Leupold. When Fendt first came on the Columbus Seminary faculty (1936),²⁰⁹ Fendt had made all the arrangements to go over to the University of Erlangen, Germany, to study. President Otto Mees of Capital University came over to the seminary faculty meeting and told Fendt, "I'll run interference for you." So Mees said, "Fendt has been called and has accepted the call for Systematic Theology to be Lenski's successor, but he has made arrangements to go into graduate work. How do you men feel about this?" Professor Dell said, "I have taught Lenski's courses for two years. I am not going to teach them any more. Fendt can teach them beginning next year." Leupold said, "I am not in favor of him going to a German university and picking up all kinds of ideas and putting us to shame by coming here with an earned degree." Professor Gast said, "Fendt shouldn't have accepted this call if he isn't going to teach."²¹⁰

²⁰⁸Sheatsley, 1830-1930, p. 6.

²⁰⁹Fendt, pp. 7-8. Picture #45, #46.

²¹⁰Fendt, p. 26.

Buehring said, "I will still help you next year. I will teach ethics for two more years for you." Buehring felt badly about this situation. But Mees was so angry he rapped on the table and said, "You men don't know what you are doing." He said, "I predict that this young fellow is going to be your boss one of these days! Then look out!" Fendt said he never did retaliate like that when he later became Dean and then President of the Columbus seminary. But Mees never came to another seminary faculty meeting, as long as he was president of Capital University. Mees said, "As long as that bunch is over there, I don't want anything to do with them."²¹¹

It was for this reason that later, after Fendt had become Dean (1946), Fendt was afraid that Leupold might seriously object that Fendt helped Ronald Hals (Pictures #45, #46), secure a fellowship for Hals to go for graduate study to the very liberal Reformed Jewish seminary in Cincinnati, which used the Historical-Critical Method of exegesis -- Hebrew Union Seminary. But Leupold commended Fendt for getting that fellowship for Hals to go to Hebrew Union. Hals was one of the first Gentile scholars who was admitted there, and Leupold was not opposed to that. Leupold commended Fendt, and thought it was a good idea.²¹²

Openness to New Ideas and Scholarship

Leupold was not a "celebrity." He was not often asked to deliver scholarly lectures outside his own church -- that is, at

²¹¹Fendt, p. 26.

²¹²Ibid., p. 18.

Biblical conferences, for example. Nor did he belong to scholarly societies such as the Society of Biblical Literature. He never attended those meetings.²¹³

Later in his career when additional Old Testament professors were added to the faculty so that Leupold was no longer the only man in the department, he met departmentally with the other Old Testament professors just for study once a week. For example, as one of its projects, the Old Testament department worked through the Hebrew of the Book of Hosea, just to keep its own skill sharpened, and then discussed various theological and exegetical issues that came up as they went.²¹⁴

Professor Stanley Schneider,²¹⁵ who was a faculty colleague of Leupold's from 1954 until 1972, apparently presented six questions about Genesis to Dr. Leupold sometime in early 1965, and Leupold returned his written answers to these questions to Schneider on June 12, 1965.²¹⁶

Here are a few answers in brief concerning the questions you have put in your letter. These are answers that are not necessarily revealed in so many words in the Bible, but they have been offered by earnest-minded Bible students as helpful in suggesting how some of these vexing issues may be met.

²¹³Fendt, p. 22. Hals, p. 6. Zietlow, p. 10.

²¹⁴Doermann, p. 1. Fendt, p. 2.

²¹⁵Picture #45, #46. ALC Biographical and Pictorial Directory, 1962, p. 651; 1972, p. 825.

²¹⁶Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #9. L45.5, "n."

1. You are disturbed about the seemingly overlong life of the earliest patriarchs, Adam, Methuselah, Noah, etc. This long life may be a way of indicating how solidly the Creator did his work. He made a man so sturdy that even after the effects of sin were beginning to make inroads on man's life, man still lived for hundreds of years. Sin could not quickly break down human existence. This long life may also have been necessary in order to get the human race well started on earth. After mankind had taken root, God's providence saw fit to cut down the length of the lives of men. But when in Gen. 6:3 you read, "Man's days shall be 120 years," that is usually interpreted to mean that God would give to sinful man, who was fast sinking deeper and deeper into sin, 120 years of grace before he would send the Flood. This word then does not refer to the length of the life of man. After the great Flood the span of life dropped quickly. This may have been due to the fact that the Flood had changed atmospheric conditions and the like in such a way that human life was shortened.

2. Where did Cain get his wife? - In the nature of the case, if God wills that the human race is to start from one pair of human beings, it is inevitable that in the first marriages brother must marry sister. What at first is an inescapable necessity later on in the development of the human race may be a practice that has to be forbidden.

3. Did Noah's sons have children to take into the ark? Apparently not. Strange as it may seem only eight persons are ever mentioned as having gone into and come out of the ark. Luther was of the opinion that the gloom of the impending destruction of mankind by the Flood made Noah's sons reluctant to try to beget children until a more hopeful situation developed on earth.

4. How about the time covered by the genealogies of the Bible? This question has many difficulties. The tables given in the New Testament in Matthew 1 and in Luke 3 would seem to indicate that only the chief names in the succession of persons were given in Bible lists of this part. These tables are condensed. It could be the same in the case of Genesis 5. I have long since given up trying to determine when Adam and Noah were born. By the time we get down to Abraham the chronology seems to become a little more complete, so that Abraham's date of birth may be somewhere around 2,000 B.C.

5. How about the time element and the millions of years that may have been involved in the case of the huge

mammals of days of old (brontosaurus, etc.)? I do not believe that the Scriptures tried to furnish information of these huge creatures that lived in days of old. Most likely they had become extinct by the time the Flood came.

6. How about the "giants" of Gen. 6:4? Men are not sure about the translation of the word involved, as is shown by the fact that in the R.S.V. the translators just took the word over from the Hebrew and left it untranslated. So their version runs: "The Nephilim were on the earth in those days." The word Nephilim could mean "giants." It could also mean "renegades," men who had fallen away from God and were exceptionally wicked. They may have helped bring on the excess of wickedness that finally brought about the Flood.

Books could be written on these subjects, and actually have been. But these few statements may help you a bit in getting some of the problems cleared up.²¹⁷

Leupold was able to appreciate other theological viewpoints without agreeing with them or adopting their position.²¹⁸ For example, he was very visibly impressed by Gerhard von Rad, and thought von Rad had a very unique way of saying things; he would not say that everything von Rad said was good, but, that there was some merit to what von Rad said. But when it came to things Leupold simply could not accept, he would say, "Well, I recognize the perspective from which he comes, but I do not happen to share that perspective."²¹⁹

Leupold did develop an appreciation for Bultmann after reading the little Meridian paperback volume of Bultmann's sermons. Although Leupold did not have much use for Bultmann's demythologizing, and so forth, in the light of those whom he was trying to reach

²¹⁷Ibid.

²¹⁸Hals, p. 6.

²¹⁹Hals, p. 6. Doermann, p. 3.

-- the cultured despisers of religion -- Leupold was very high in his praise of Bultmann's sermons.²²⁰

Dr. Ronald Hals remembers when Leupold was working on his Commentary on the Psalms (published 1959), S. Mowinckel's Psalmenstudien was not at that time available, because it was temporarily out of print. Hals discovered that Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, had a copy, and ordered it by inter-library loan for two weeks. After receiving it, Leupold worked through Mowinckel's 1000-page commentary in about a week's time, and then said to Hals, "Since we have two weeks on the inter-library loan, would you care to have it for the other week?"²²¹

Leupold had considerable respect for those with whose views he might disagree, but he did not feel it necessary to engage them. He would say, "Yes, I am familiar with that," or "He makes a lot out of the cult," but what Leupold meant was, "That is not what I am in the process of doing." Leupold was neither shallow nor imperialistic, but saw his task as "exposition" -- a word found in the title of all six of his published commentaries. Leupold never claimed to publish a scholarly commentary, though he agreed we needed more good scholarly commentaries. But Leupold's aim was at the homiletical concern -- the audience. He had this in common with

²²⁰Hals, pp. 12-13. Zietlow, p. 28.

²²¹Hals, p. 5.

Lenski, who wrote in a similar way.²²² In fact, it was Lenski who talked Leupold into writing Old Testament commentaries.²²³

Temperament and Theological Personality

The Christian Century once asked Karl Barth if he had changed his mind in the last ten years after encountering the developments in all the recent European theories of Biblical interpretation, and Barth answered that he had not. Similar to Barth, Leupold would answer, "I have not changed my mind." And Leupold was not in fact changing his mind all the time. There was some bending in Leupold's later years when other young faculty members joined the Old Testament Department; the new faculty members brought some different approaches to the Old Testament, and Leupold was more flexible after they came, but there was no substantial change in Leupold's theology.²²⁴ If Leupold himself ever went through any metamorphosis, any movement to the Right, like Barth had gone through, nobody ever knew anything about it. Barth was left-wing first, and then moved to the Right. Leupold was always right-wing.²²⁵ But although he was very firm and set in his ideas and did not change very easily,²²⁶ he was known to occasionally remark in later life: "I wish people would realize that I have a right to change my mind too" -- this in particular in reference to some

²²²Hals, p. 5.

²²³Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4.

²²⁴Zietlow, p. 6.

²²⁵Zietlow, p. 22.

²²⁶Fendt, p. 2.

details (for example, the meaning of the word yom [day] in Genesis 1) in his 1942 Genesis commentary.²²⁷

Leupold felt that far too much attention was paid to the negative dimension in the argument, the apologetic or the polemic task. He was more interested in the question, "What aspects contributing to a better understanding come out of this?"²²⁸ Therefore even in his scholarly life, Leupold was a walking incarnation of Luther's explanation of the Eighth Commandment, that is, putting the best construction on other people. He was willing to trust where very few people were willing to do so. When his colleagues were sure that someone was at fault about something, Leupold was very gentle and patient. Appreciation of others was one of his strongest points. It was very hard for many people to believe this about him -- that he would appreciate the writings of other scholars.²²⁹

In fact, it might even stretch our credulity to find out that Leupold and his wife would read things like Valerius Herberger's "Sermons on Ecclesiasticus" for devotions. But such is an example of the appreciation Leupold had -- to put the best construction on others. He would listen and be edified by a lot of things.²³⁰

²²⁷Hals, pp. 6-7.

²²⁸Hals, p. 6.

²²⁹Hals, p. 6. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

²³⁰Hals, p. 14. Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 372b. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #5. "Evangelism in Our Day," p. 545, and also #7. "Protestantism vs. Roman Catholicism," p. 551

Dr. Fendt said that he and Leupold never had an argument. Leupold was not the kind of man to pick an argument.²³¹ He was just by temperament not controversial.²³² No one can remember him getting into debates with liberals. Nor did he get involved in "dialogues." If he were invited out somewhere, such as to Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis, he would quietly go about his business. He was apolitical too. Since he respected the sacredness of the church, and recognized the presence of the invisible church, he was not a political activist either; nor did he get involved in any ecumenical movements or promotions of pan-Christian unity.²³³

There was a favorite method used by an older school of commentaries; it never quoted the adversaries, but picked out and quoted those whose views were agreeable.²³⁴ In Leupold's case, however, he would identify the various points of view regarding the critical approach to the interpretation of a text, but that is as far as he went. Only "limited" attention was given to it. Leupold was just "eloquently silent at certain times."²³⁵ Leupold never said, "You have to believe this my way in order to be faithful." What Leupold said was:²³⁶

²³¹Fendt, p. 25.

²³²Hals, p. 2.

²³³Zietlow, pp. 10-12, 17. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #8. "Twice Born Men," p. 555, and also #10. "A Man Must Be Born Again," p. 560

²³⁴Fendt, p. 21.

²³⁵Dr. Nelson W. Trout interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, April 10, 1979, notes, p. 3.

²³⁶Elhard, p. 1.

If you honestly . . . want to follow these modern critics, go to it. I think I know something about these people. . . . But if you want my opinion, . . . Moses wrote this [Genesis], and I think that is how you can get the most out of this -- to operate with that assumption.²³⁷

Leupold felt that once one got involved with the historical-critical mind-set there was no end to the speculation, and soon the sense of authority, the strength of the Scriptures, evaporated in all the controversy.²³⁸ But Leupold was very kind to people holding other viewpoints. He was never nasty to anyone. He had a very nice way of accepting another viewpoint: "As long as they are digging around in the Bible, let's not declare them heretics. They may find something there."²³⁹

Dr. R. W. Doermann (Picture #46; a young Old Testament faculty colleague of Dr. Leupold's in Leupold's later years) tells how after he (Doermann) had written some articles on Genesis 1-11 for a Christian layman's periodical, there was quite a flap raised by some conservative pastors in Iowa and Minnesota. This controversy began just after Doermann had received an appointment to teach in the Old Testament Department of the Columbus Seminary for a year. The protesting conservative pastors wrote to Dean Fendt complaining about this young "heretic" Old Testament professor. Dr. Fendt turned all the letters over to Dr. Leupold to handle. And in essence, what Dr. Leupold said was that there was room for more

²³⁷Ibid.

²³⁸Ibid.

²³⁹Zietlow, p. 23.

than one approach to the Scriptures, that we do not have to agree with each other on every aspect of interpretation, that he had read Doermann's articles and did not see anything particularly heretical in them, even though he did not personally agree with everything that was said in the articles. Dr. Leupold said, "I know the man, and that should be enough." And there the matter ended.²⁴⁰

Leupold did not even cause any disturbance when the newly merged 1960-ALC's Augsburg Publishing House suddenly and unilaterally terminated its publishing agreement with him. Even though he thought his own church had turned against him and felt miffed, snubbed and alienated by Augsburg's action, Leupold kept a level head.²⁴¹ In a letter to Augsburg Publishing House dated September 22, 1971, Leupold responded in part:

I am not of a mind to inaugurate polemics and to try to change the mind of the publication board. . . . All this indicates why I could not well cooperate with the A.L.C. . . . I trust what I have written above is not the mere explosion of wounded pride. I wish you well in your endeavors to make your department effective for the work of our church till Jesus comes again.²⁴²

Actually it had been the old 1930-ALC's Wartburg Press, Columbus Ohio, that had done almost all of Leupold's publishing. But in the 1960-ALC merger (including 1930-ALC and 1917-ELC), the old 1930-ALC's Wartburg Press was moved up to Minneapolis and merged

²⁴⁰Doermann, p. 3.

²⁴¹Zietlow, pp. 6, 10. Ewald, p. 6. Hals, p. 8.

²⁴²Leupold Archives, Box #4, Fldr. #6. Sebolt Letter, L43.9-15,1a,b,c,d,e,f,g.

with the 1917-ELC's Augsburg Publishing House. The publication policies of this newly merged Augsburg Publishing House were not in line with Leupold's. When Wartburg Press became part of Augsburg Publishing House, Wartburg was moved up to Minneapolis, and that was the end of Leupold in the new 1960-ALC -- at least theologically. The change was in theology, not only in geography. That is where the new 1960-ALC and Leupold parted ways. If Leupold had been a young man, it might have been the end of Leupold, but Baker Book House picked up Leupold's copyrights from Augsburg Publishing House and Baker has been doing big business with Leupold's books ever since.²⁴³ And as Dr. Zietlow indicated:

Even when Augsburg Publishing House quit publishing Leupold's books, and Baker Book House took over that task, it only showed that the whole 1960-ALC, or at least its ruling junta, had moved to the left along with its elite faculties who had to all get Ph.D's for the satisfaction of the American Association of Theological Schools. And even long before the 1960-ALC merger and the American Association of Theological School's pressure on seminary faculties to have doctor's degrees, many pastor- and professor-members of the pre-merger denominational college and seminary faculties were going to Europe and to liberal schools for their degrees. But in this process of exposing themselves to liberalism and immersing themselves in the historical criticism they were being taught, many finally actually bought into it themselves. There was a resurgence of liberalism. Unfortunately, these faculties picked up the weakest kind of liberalism.²⁴⁴

²⁴³Zietlow, pp. 6-7, 10, 13.

²⁴⁴Zietlow, pp. 6-7, 10, 13, 25. "Even Liberalism, though, had once had its day -- a good day -- such as back in the day when it had opposed Rationalism, for example. Or Kant and Hegel in the nineteenth century had at least said something affirmative about the living God. Back then the liberals were apologists. But something happened then in twentieth century America and Europe whereby the

Leupold, however, was insulated from all of this because he had been educated strongly against it by the firmly confessional theological training presented by the conservative Buffalo Synod and its classically orthodox Martin Luther Seminary curriculum. So Leupold had not been a part of this movement, and after he arrived at the Columbus Seminary he strongly resisted its encroachments and distanced himself from it in his published commentaries beginning with his very first one (Genesis, 1942, in his annotated, bibliography, for example).

The best description summarizing both how Leupold was by temperament not controversial, and also how to best characterize Leupold's affirmative theology, is the following statement: For Leupold the Old Testament was the word of God before it became a problem. Leupold did not deal so much with the problematic aspects of this word. It was God's Word first.²⁴⁵ Leupold avoided the pitfall of the historical-critical liberals and of the ancient

liberals got out of step with the church. And somewhere along the line their apologetics no longer was apologetics, but became just an elite ping-pong game, so that they were doing little more than just talking to one another.

"What the liberals were saying might have been all right, but nobody except the elite could understand what they were talking about any more, reducing religion to positivistic mathematics or myth. They had lost the familiar form of the Bible story. Liberalism was already crumbling badly in the 1950's. In fact, liberalism was unable to cope with World War I or World War II. Karl Barth tumbled out of the liberal camp in 1918, and they just kept tumbling. The last one out was supposed to turn out the lights." - Zietlow, pp. 29, 33-4.

²⁴⁵Trout, p. 2.

people of Israel in the Wilderness, namely, "reducing a mystery to a problem":

And he [Moses] called the name of the place Massah and Meribah, because of the faultfinding of the children of Israel, and because they put the Lord to the proof by saying, "Is the Lord among us or not?" (Ex. 17:7)

By this time a whole people had been out in the desert for more than three months. . . . The Lord had liberated them. Freedom had been an exhilarating experience at first; but the hard realities of the desert had quickly closed in on them. Food supplies were soon exhausted.

At once the people found fault with Moses. . . . The israelites were quite ready to reduce the mystery attending their fellowship with God to the level of a problem. Egypt was still in their system.

. . . God has revealed his grace and judgment to us. . . . But . . . as Isaiah reminds us, he is a God who hides himself (Is. 45:15). He invites his people to trust: to live on manna and to drink water out of a rock! And so we pray, "Give us this day our daily bread." St. Augustine once observed, "Credo ut intellegam" [I believe in order that I may understand]! To live with mystery is to survive in faith. There is no other way of understanding life with God.²⁴⁶

Leupold had a non-controversial temperament and theology. That is also the reason why occasionally one will hear Leupold's methodology described as "simple and naive,"²⁴⁷ or as "fundamentalistic" in its concept of the authority and inspiration of Scripture,²⁴⁸ or, as an "anecdotal approach" -- the contrast between being "once upon a time" instead of being "once and for all time."²⁴⁹ But in fact Leupold's approach was hardly "naive,"

²⁴⁶Martin H. Scharlemann, "Editorials: Reducing a Mystery to a Problem, Ex. 17:7," Concordia Journal 5, (July 1979):121-2.

²⁴⁷Elhard, p. 1.

²⁴⁸Doermann, p. 6.

²⁴⁹Trout, pp. 3-4.

"fundamentalistic," nor "anecdotal," but merely nonproblematic -- affirmative.

Methodology

To what extent Leupold was conscious of what he was doing -- "Leupoldian self-consciousness" -- is, of course, hard to say, but Leupold's non-controversial, non-problematic, affirmative exegetical approach was also evident in his "method" of Bible study. However, some of Leupold's students were not aware that he had any "method"; and in a sense, Leupold had no "methodology."²⁵⁰ Students only remember Leupold's emphasis on the Hebrew way of thinking about things -- as "story." And this would explain Leupold's lack of passion for the historical-critical method; Leupold simply took the story as story and let that live. Dr. Nelson Trout now teaches a course at the Columbus Seminary entitled, "Preaching as Telling the Story"; and this goes back to Leupold's emphasis on preaching "the story as it is presented" in the Bible -- just being faithful to tell it.²⁵¹

There was no "secret" to Leupold's success. He simply said that God speaks to people in historical events, such as the Red Sea account or the Creation story. God speaks to people and deals with them in that way. It is not only "words," but it is God both speaking and acting. Together they form a matrix or an experience

²⁵⁰Trout, pp. 2, 5. Zietlow, pp. 6, 22. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #11. "Bible Stories," p. 564.

²⁵¹Ibid.

of revelation. If one moves out of the corridor of that "wave-length" of revelation, above it one finds only elitist total relativity and below it is only illiterate meaninglessness.²⁵²

Even Paul Tillich could not understand how Bultmann could claim to take the symbolic language out of talk about God. Even Tillich asserted that our finite language gives us no alternative but to use the symbolic in any discussion of the transcendent nature of God, and that to distort that "profile" or "portrait" is no longer to be able to recognize the transcendent God.²⁵³

Likewise, Leupold, using the Bible stories or accounts, was operating in that same profile of communication. The profile or portrait of the Old Testament story he would not change at all; to alter that "wave-length" too much was to lose the portrait of the Old Testament persons, stories or accounts. To alter it too much was to lose its ability to bring whatever message it intended to communicate in the first place to reach the audience.²⁵⁴

Tampering with that "wave-length" or corridor of communication too much meant losing the profile or protrait of the Old Testament account, so that one maybe reached the elite or illiterate, but missed the masses of people. Leupold, whether self-consciously so or not, kept within that "wave-length" of communication and thus retained the profile and portrait of the Biblical account. Hearing Leupold one could always recognize the

²⁵²Zietlow, p. 22.

²⁵³Ibid., p. 29.

²⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 9, 31.

transcendent God, the element of the sacred, and the authority of God in that revelation.²⁵⁵

In his Christology, Emil Brunner uses this exact same terminology "profile" or "portrait" or "picture," to describe "the foundation of the Christian faith" -- the Biblical text as it stands.²⁵⁶

The Synoptic Gospels make it possible to reconstruct, with some certainty, a picture of Jesus which everyone -- whether a Christian believer or not -- can recognize.²⁵⁷

"Das Bild Jesu" (the picture of Jesus) -- of his life and work, his suffering and death²⁵⁸ -- Leupold never tampered with, because everyone, whether a Christian or not, could recognize it as it stood in the text. Of course, whether a person so confronted by "Das Bild Jesu" accepted what he saw there in the text or not was another matter. And as if it is Leupold himself speaking, Brunner beautifully describes how the historical-critical liberals stray either above (the elite) or below (the illiterate) the main-line "wave-length" of communication, as well as how to remain within it -- as Leupold did:

²⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 9, 32.

²⁵⁶Emil Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption. Dogmatics: Vol. II, trans. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974 [1952]), pp. 243-59. Emil Heinrich Brunner, Die Christliche Lehre von Schoepfung und Erloesung. Dogmatic: Band II (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag. Dritte Auflage, 1972 [1950]), pp. 261-79. Zietlow, p. 9.

²⁵⁷Brunner, Christian, p. 246. Brunner, Christliche, p. 265.

²⁵⁸Ibid.

The view, developed in the course of the nineteenth century by a school of thought which was not merely critical, but deeply rationalistic, which contrasted the "Historical Jesus" with the Apostolic testimony to the "Christ," does not really present the actual Jesus of History at all; it simply gives us the "Jesus of History" minus all that a Christian believer alone can see.

It is the picture of the actual Jesus of the Gospels, from which everything has been eliminated which does not fit into the world-view of a rationalist. It is not, as it constantly asserted, the "Synoptic Jesus" contrasted with "Johannine Jesus," and the Jesus of the Church, but it is the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels from whose portrait all the features of the Christ have been eliminated.²⁵⁹

Leupold presented both the Jesus of History as well as that Christ of Faith which only the Christian believer can see, so that truly "the thoughts of many hearts were revealed" (Luke 2:35). And also it was not that Leupold was naive; it was rather that he believed it himself. Leupold had done enough thinking about the basics and was convinced. He was convinced that the needs of people regarding sin, fear of death, guilt, and so forth, were perennial, and that his proclamation was meeting those needs. And the fact that people responded to him as they did gave him added conviction that what he was doing was right.²⁶⁰

There was in addition a close relationship between Leupold's teaching and his preaching in terms of method. There was a sermonic nature about his lecture method in teaching; this was so much the case that Dr. Trout could not distinguish a methodological

²⁵⁹Ibid., p. 253 [272].

²⁶⁰Zietlow, pp. 12-13.

difference between Leupold's sermon and lecture, preaching and teaching.²⁶¹

Leupold did not tell his students, "This is my methodology over against somebody else's methodology." He did not consciously and controversially have a methodology he pitted against others. He was just always in action.²⁶² This is probably what most irked the historical-critical liberals who opposed and criticized Leupold.

In fact, this is exactly the attack that liberals on the Augsburg Publishing House Board of Publication directed at Leupold when they unilaterally terminated their publishing agreement with him. They said his methodological-exegetical approach was "outmoded." So in his above-mentioned letter to Augsburg Publishing House, dated September 22, 1971, Leupold responded to exactly this charge:

My last contacts with Augsburg Publishing House were not very encouraging. I was approached by, I think, a member of the official committee on publications. I had the text of an exposition of Isaiah finished -- chapters 1-39. I submitted it for publication. I received a gentle letter of rejection, my approach, so I was informed was "outmoded."

On investigation it might prove that the approach used is held by hundreds of clergymen also among the Evangelicals. I got in touch with Baker Book House. They promptly agreed to publish the work.²⁶³

What apparently most irked the liberals was that Leupold never gave the methodological rationale for what he was doing, nor

²⁶¹Trout, pp. 2, 5.

²⁶²Zietlow, p. 6.

²⁶³Leupold Archives, Box #4, Fldr. #6. Seboldt Letter, L43.9-15,1a,b,c,d,e,f,g.

defended it by any methodology. He just did it. Leupold did not defend himself. He was doing things. He was writing. He was proclaiming. He was no longer the analyst, the philosophical spectator. He was a man in action trying to bring whatever God communicated in the Old Testament to the modern generation.²⁶⁴

Parallel to Genesis 1:1 saying, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," and not really explaining itself, Leupold simply presented proclamation, affirmation. So Leupold did not have any real apologetic regarding his methodology. There is no apologetic that goes with it. Leupold simply says, "There is a living God here; and God has a living will for you and your destiny just like he had for those people in the Old Testament." That was Leupold's theology. He was just proclaiming.²⁶⁵

History and Typology

Another thing that was very striking in Leupold's Old Testament theology was his emphasis on the concept of "types of Christ" in the Old Testament. "Types of Christ" meant that Christ was already in the Old Testament, foreshadowings of Christ in the situations and figures in the Old Testament.²⁶⁶ But Leupold also used the term "typology."²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴Zietlow, pp. 10-11.

²⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 11-12.

²⁶⁶Zietlow, p. 2. Leonhard Goppelt, Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the O.T. in the New, trans. D. H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982 [1939]).

²⁶⁷H. C. Leupold, "Issac," in vol. 3 of Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible, ed., Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975), pp. 310-13. Zietlow, p. 2.

In his interpretation of the Old Testament Leupold saw an actual historical encounter between God and these Old Testament figures which was unique in time and space. Leupold would interpret these events rather directly historically and literally; he meant there was an actual reaching into history by a supernatural God who affected history with his very personal direction. God directed history, influenced history, determined history by selecting these Old Testament figures, by selecting this people, by electing them, by influencing their destiny, preventing them from destroying themselves with suicidal vices or sins, preserving them, loving them and leading them.²⁶⁸

In addition, the literary devices used in the Old Testament were divinely revealed and tuned to the receptivity of the human being, communications geared to the "corridor" or "wave-length" in which people could understand that God was revealing himself. God would intervene in history, and there was an account of this in the Old Testament, an actual historical account of what happened.²⁶⁹ But Leupold was in the process of attempting a lot more than merely what the great nineteenth century historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) was doing:²⁷⁰

Ranke . . . determined to hold strictly to the facts of history, to preach no sermon, to point no moral, to adorn no tale, but to tell the simple historic truth.

²⁶⁸Zietlow, p. 2.

²⁶⁹Ibid.

²⁷⁰Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 659b.

His sole ambition was to narrate things "as they really were," wie es eigentlich gewesen.²⁷¹

For Leupold, not only was the Old Testament an actual historical account of what happened, but that written account was also a revelation so recorded that a person could receive that communication from God and apply it to his own life. And Leupold did not tamper with this means/medium of communication.²⁷²

In contrast to Leupold, others, such as Bultmann in the New Testament, would start out by saying that since the modern human mind is scientific, we therefore first have to analyze this literary device used and "demythologize" it -- we have to analyze and pick apart the device used to describe how God relates to people. To this Leupold would say, "no." The Old Testament literary devices might be analyzed a little, but not dismantled, dismembered nor demythologized.²⁷³

Leupold would say that the human being is on a certain "wave-length" or means/medium of communication below which there is meaninglessness, and above which there is just total relativity. But for Leupold, the Old Testament accounts as they stood were already at a "wave-length" at which you could see dramatic things happening. David kills Goliath. That is dramatic. It catches your

²⁷¹Leopold von Ranke, The Theory and Practice of History, eds. G. G. Iggers and K. von Moltke (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973), p. xcvi, footnote 4; p. 5, 137. Robert C. Briggs, Interpreting the N.T. Today: An Introduction to Methods & Issues in the Study of the N.T., Rev. ed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1973), p. 231.

²⁷²Zietlow, p. 2.

²⁷³Ibid., pp. 2, 28.

attention, and God has made it possible that David would do this. God works miracles in historical events. The Israelites cross the Red Sea; such miracles are constantly being worked. And the revelation account itself is a work of God the same as those historical events were works of God. So you encounter God directly through the revelation account. Leupold does not tamper with that.²⁷⁴

Thus Leupold always insisted that we have the obligation to accept the text at its face-value first. That must be the first step you take: What does it say? Then only after that have we the right to look at its context, because one leads directly into the other. We can not know what a text says unless we know where it says it. After that we must take into account certain historical facts: to whom was this said, and what did they understand it to mean? Now, if there is nothing in this extended probe that would demand that we change the meaning of the face-value of the text, we have no right to change its face-value.²⁷⁵

Thus Leupold tried to understand the profile of the historical event. In space and time in history, God was related to people in their needs. Likewise, we have needs today, and God can help us in these needs. Leupold would retain the historical event recorded in the Old Testament text, and try to communicate to people today. Leupold preserved the historical event as it stood in the

²⁷⁴Zietlow, p. 3.

²⁷⁵Ewald, p. 6.

Old Testament or New Testament and did not take it apart, or out of its setting, or tamper with it.²⁷⁶

Preaching and Teaching

Leupold's preaching, then, his homiletical approach, was simply to present the story, with the application to the present day situation being the last part of the sermon. This way Leupold did not lose the supernatural God in the analysis.²⁷⁷

The temptation of Leupold's time was to say, "This is evolution" -- in the Creation story, for example. But that was a student's royal road to getting in trouble with Leupold -- to philosophize history and thereby reduce or eliminate the infinite, transcendent God who affected people's destinies. Although Leupold was very pleasant in the classroom, he was restrictive toward his students and would put the brakes on them at that point. He would influence the students and shake them up in his gentle way, and say, "No, you don't! You are wandering off the track!"²⁷⁸

Thus, for the profile of the Biblical story, Leupold operated with a functional verbal inspiration and inerrancy. He never tampered with the story. He always delivered that directly. God was at work directly through that story, that account. So the Red Sea account or the Creation story, for Leupold, was an historical event, a space-time event. Leupold would not use Kantian language

²⁷⁶Zietlow, p. 3.

²⁷⁷Ibid.

²⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 3-4.

or ask if the Red Sea account was phenomenal or noumenal or if it was a pre-scientific interpretation within the phenomenology of religion. Unacceptable to Leupold was Bultmann's attempt to reinterpret the New Testament by way of analysis and reduction in a way palatable to a modern, secular humanist or modern, evolutionary scientist.²⁷⁹

With Leupold one encounters a living supernatural, transcendent, and all-powerful God. He would also use all the old dogmatic language such as, "omnipotent" or "omnipresent," but he usually stayed with the Biblical language. His students had the feeling that they were getting the Old Testament right straight at them.²⁸⁰

Leupold conveyed the impression that if one tampered with the text too much, it would lose its literary power of communication. Then the person would not meet God. He would meet something else -- maybe nothing more than the person's own struggle to interpret. Leupold held that if one tampered with the text or tried to interpret it from some angle other than encountering an all-powerful God of judgment and grace, one would not meet God. And that basically is what Leupold saw there, a God of judgment and grace. But it was always a creative power, a potential for personal relationship with God because of these "types of Christ."²⁸¹

²⁷⁹Zietlow, p. 4.

²⁸⁰Zietlow, p. 4. Trout, pp. 1-2, Elhard, p. 1. Doermann, p. 2.

²⁸¹Zietlow, p. 4.

Because of Leupold's concept of the "types of Christ," it was always an easy path to walk from the Old Testament into the New Testament, and back and forth. This is also why Leupold was always so parish-oriented. He would go out and do supply preaching almost every Sunday until he was a very old man, and even very close to the time of his death.²⁸²

In this way Leupold kept in contact with the lay people. Leupold always had a good idea what the parish preacher had to do on Sunday, meeting these lay people at Junction City, Ohio, for example, a coal-mining town -- the kind of person who was unlikely to meet God in the abstractions of a liberal, philosophical, kind of theology. And Leupold was a popular preacher. He was always in demand by congregations. They liked him. He had a nice way about him. He never intentionally offended anybody, and he never had anything underhanded, contentious or controversial in his sermons.²⁸³

Leupold was out supply preaching almost every Sunday keeping in contact with the lay people. He was a popular preacher because he would bring these Bible stories just as they stood in the text to the lay people. He loved to do it, and they loved to hear him because in leaving these Bible stories in their familiar form, Leupold retained the reverence of a religious experience and the

²⁸²Zietlow, pp. 4-5, 12. Ewald, pp. 5-6, 8. Trout, p. 2. Fendt, p. 22-23. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p.6.

²⁸³Zietlow, pp. 5, 12. Trout, p. 2. Ewald pp. 5-6, 8. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 6. Fendt, pp. 22-23.

sense of the sacred in those Bible stories. And this helps us understand Leupold's approach to the Old Testament -- the effectiveness of his communication, why he had "clout," why he got the point across -- because the people met God in the Old Testament.²⁸⁴

Back when Dr. A. Ewald was himself a student at the old Martin Luther Seminary (1917-23), he taught Sunday School for Leupold when Leupold was still serving his first mission church (Lutheran Church of the Ascension, Buffalo, New York, 1917-22), and Ewald thus quite frequently heard Leupold preach. Ewald was always impressed with Leupold's presentation because he hewed very close to the line of what the Scriptures say.²⁸⁵

When Leupold preached at Ascension, he would give the traditional greeting to the congregation addressed as members of the Christian Church. Leupold did not distinguish certain Christians over here and then the rest whom he had doubts about, but in his greeting assumed that they were all members of the Christian family, and thus did not have a "congregation with a congregation." Though he recognized there may be many weak members in the congregation, yet he cared for them and tried to gently lead them in the path of righteousness and to Christ.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴Zietlow, p. 5. Trout, p. 2. Ewald pp. 5-6, 8. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 6. Fendt, pp. 22-23.

²⁸⁵Ewald, p. 5.

²⁸⁶Ibid., p. 5-6. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #12. "The Manifold Importance of the Resurrection of

Ewald noticed that Leupold at Ascension did not try to impress the congregation with the tremendous amount of work that he had done to prepare his sermons, but was a very humble man in that respect. Leupold did not drag the whole workshop study procedure into the pulpit and lose the attention of the people in discussion about whether a Hebrew word says this or that, how commentators may have come to some conclusion, or whether he agreed with them or not.²⁸⁷

Yet Ewald could tell by the way Leupold delivered his sermons that there was an earnest digging for the truth, and that when he arrived at this, it came up like the Pearl of Great Price. Leupold preached both Ewald's ordination sermon and Ewald's Wartburg Seminary installation sermon -- when Ewald was later installed as President of Wartburg. Leupold's text for his sermon at Ewald's ordination service was 1 Peter 5:5, "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble." So Ewald remembers Leupold even back in 1917-22 as a very good preacher. He was precise, and not too long, but not as short as the ten-minute sermons we hear today. He preached a reasonable sermon, maybe twenty-five minutes or one-half hour, which because of his preparation and presentation was not long at all. No one ever complained, because he held their attention.²⁸⁸

Jesus Christ," p. 566, and also #1. "Achieving Certainty," p. 534, and also #2. "The Strange Negatives of the Ressurrection," p. 537

²⁸⁷Ibid., p. 6.

²⁸⁸Ibid.

Many pastors will be relieved to find out that Dr. Leupold often prepared his sermons on Saturday afternoon. He would take a walk with one of his children, and later with his grandchildren, and say, "Now be quiet while I prepare my sermon." And while he was walking he would prepare it -- twenty or twenty-five minutes he would run it thru his mind, and plan what he was going to say. And then when he would get home, he would make his notes. He did not write out a whole sermon, but just an outline, and then he was all ready for Sunday.²⁸⁹

But his mind was always busy, so he had trouble disengaging it when he went to bed at night. Often he could not sleep much. He walked, paced. He often had insomnia and would get up and walk all over the house for an hour or even far into the night. He prepared a lot of his written work and classroom work that way. He never really acted nervous, but his nervousness would sometimes show up on his face as red spots, or as purple blotches on his legs, and the doctor would give him medicine for it. Understandably, this became especially serious during World War II, when his son, Herb, was in the South Pacific on the PT Boats, and at the same time both his sister and mother died of cancer. During that World War II period, Dr. Leupold almost had a nervous breakdown. He never actually did, but he got very ill.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹Mr. & Mrs. Leupold pp. 5-6. Picture #56 is a xerox copy of the pulpit outline from which Dr. Leupold preached on January 28, 1965. The Leupold Archives contain about 150 of these sermon outlines.

²⁹⁰Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 6-7.

As was said above, Leupold did not write out his whole sermon, but just an outline, and then spoke extemporaneously. However, he was known to scold a congregation of farmers for becoming drowsy and inattentive during his sermon. He had a tremendously good sense of humor, but could be very firm as a pastor. And when he scolded a congregation he would say, "You ought to be ashamed for falling asleep while the Word of God was being preached."²⁹¹

Leupold took his task of teaching and preaching the Word of God very seriously. He did not want to teach anything but the Word of God. That was a very serious commitment on his part, even to the point of his minimal use of illustrations. Leupold used very few illustrations in his sermons because he thought people would remember the illustrations rather than the text. He much preferred word studies, even in his sermons, and they were lively. People were edified.²⁹²

Instead of using illustrations, Leupold would use Bible stories in the Old Testament or New Testament, or at least word studies. That gave the hearers the sense of literalness and sacredness. This flowed into Leupold's awe or reverence for the Church; in the same kind of direct way that God was related to the people in the Old Testament history, God was likewise related to us today, too. For Leupold there was something sacred about the

²⁹¹Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

²⁹²Fendt, p. 23. Ewald, p. 5. Zietlow, p. 5.

Church, about the Old Testament, and about the medium of revelation; one did not tamper with it. Likewise God was doing something with his people in the Church today. So Leupold saw his task as bringing that word, that revelation, to the people today and then letting something happen.²⁹³

Ahead of His Time and Having a Good Day

Opinions differ as to how large a contingent is left in the ALC of conservative parish pastors who still use Leupold's books. One will sometimes hear that number is very few,²⁹⁴ and other times that Leupold's influence is quite prevalent.²⁹⁵ But however many there are left within the ALC, outside the evangelical, conservative Biblical approach is very powerful, even commanding, in American church history today. This movement has influenced the last two presidential elections in America (Carter, Reagan) so that there is even a president running the country now holding that viewpoint.²⁹⁶

²⁹³Zietlow, pp. 5-6.

²⁹⁴Zietlow, p. 7.

²⁹⁵Trout, p. 3

²⁹⁶Zietlow, pp. 7, 31. President Reagan said of "God's word and the Holy Bible": "Inside its pages lie all the answers to all the problems that man has ever known." --President Ronald Reagan, "Remarks of the President to National Prayer Breakfast," Washington Hilton Hotel, Feb. 3, 1983, 9:03 A.M. (EST), Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, Washington, D.C.; also in an Associated Press Report, in Christian News, 21 (February 14, 1983): 3. President Ronald Reagan, "Year of the Bible, 1983: By the President of the United States of America, A Proclamation," at the National Prayer Breakfast, Washington Hilton Hotel, Feb. 3, 1983, 9:00 A.M. (EST), Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, Washington, D.C.; also in a Religious News Service report, Feb. 8, 1983, in Christian News, 21 (February 14, 1983): 1.

This modern evangelical movement flows right in and converges well with Leupold's approach. Thus Leupold is having a good day -- and so is his former colleague in the New Testament Department, Dean Lenski, with his conservative New Testament commentary. The Evangelical movement today is where the action is, where the power is, and where the church growth is -- the radio and television preachers that the Wall Street Journal called "The Electronic Church."²⁹⁷

This Electronic Church has a larger financial intake and commands the respect of more people than all the denominations put together. And this Evangelical Electronic Church converges with Leupold's kind of message -- missionary outreach and a strong affirmation of the Bible. There are a couple of characteristics common to all the big successful television evangelists and Leupold, too. One is a strong affirmation of the authority of the Bible, the Bible the way it is, without tampering with it. Another characteristic is the profile of communication.²⁹⁸

All this does not mean that Leupold was really only a crypto-Calvinist. The Electronic Church is rather misreading Leupold and taking only part of what he says, the part congenial to their own goals. Baker Book House is owned and operated by a Christian Reformed family, and the Baker family is a group of smart business people. They know where they can sell commentaries, and who wants

²⁹⁷Zietlow, pp. 7, 21, 31.

²⁹⁸Zietlow, pp. 7, 9, 31.

to buy. They see that there is sales power there. There is "clout" there.²⁹⁹

Baker is making money on Leupold's books, and that is a pragmatic test of truth here. But the real pragmatic test for the success of Leupold is in the positive theology that is there. Leupold's strongly affirmative Biblical message has become today a powerful movement. This means that Leupold's (non-)method of approaching Scripture is still in use, still alive and well. That is why people are buying his commentaries.³⁰⁰

Liberal churches, like the ALC and LCA, are more concerned with a social action ministry that is more politically activist. That is another route. Altho that may be a legitimate ministry, they have less interest in Leupold's kind of kerygmatic proclamation. In fact, they criticize Leupold for not being "prophetically" critical enough -- a criticism in which there may be more than a grain of truth.³⁰¹

But Leupold got on the corridor of communication where the masses of people are, and from where they never stray. There is only a small elite that stray above it, and the illiterate below it. But the mainline masses are on this same corridor where the Evangelical, T.V., radio, and church-growth preachers are reaching them today.³⁰²

²⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 8, 10, 31.

³⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 8, 13, 13-1/2, 31.

³⁰¹Zietlow, pp. 13-1/2, 15. ³⁰²Ibid., pp. 9, 31.

These Evangelical, conservative, Electronic and church-growth preachers are letting Leupold do their thinking for them, because they are out there on the mission field, or busy on T.V. or radio or running congregations. Leupold was ahead of his time. He is much more well-known in the world today than when he was a professor at the Columbus Seminary.³⁰³

Twilight Years of Leupold's Columbus Seminary Career

Christian Gentleman

On June 5, 1954, the Capital University Alumni Association honored Dr. Leupold with a "Quarter Century Service Recognition" presentation.³⁰⁴ The unanimous accolade showered upon his memory emphasized the kind of living saint that he was.³⁰⁵ Dr. Leupold never put anyone down. His theory was to put the best construction on everything.³⁰⁶ Dr. Trout said that two men really made his student years at the Columbus Seminary most memorable, and they were Prof. "Jake" Dell and Dr. Leupold. Dr. Trout said:³⁰⁷

³⁰³Ibid., pp. 7, 13, 18.

³⁰⁴Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 8a.

³⁰⁵Doermann, pp. 2, 6. Trout, pp. 1-2, 6. Hals, pp. 2, 6. Fendt, pp. 22-23, 25. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 5. Zietlow, pp. 3, 4, 6, 10, 23. "Leupold Letterbooks I & II." Part of Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Leupold Family Album collection, 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio.

³⁰⁶Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

³⁰⁷Trout, p. 1.

The thing I remember most about Dr. Leupold was just his very presence as a scholar, as a Christian gentleman, a man of grace. . . . My attention was always arrested by his approach to his task, and the feeling that he was a man who was completely committed to what he was doing, and one who was at home with that discipline, with the Old Testament, and he was almost for me like having one of the Old Testament writers himself to grace our presence and say, "I have a word for you."

. . . In my coming here [Columbus Seminary], I was the only minority person [Black] here, and I never had an anxious moment about the way Dr. Leupold accepted me as a student. I just felt an openness here. And I can almost say that when I had to finally face the decision as to whether or not to become a Lutheran [previously Baptist] or not, I am sure that Dr. Leupold's example of what the Christian life was all about helped me to identify with the Lutheran Church.³⁰⁸

Leupold's successor in the Columbus Seminary Old Testament Department, Dr. Hals, recalls of Dr. Leupold's demeanor:

He was definitely a practicing pietist in the best sense of the term. He was never like the stereotype of the pietist, critical of other people's behavior, at all. He was a walking incarnation of Luther's explanation of the 8th Commandment -- putting the best construction on other people.

He was willing to trust where very few people were willing to trust. When we were pretty sure that so-and-so was at fault, no, he was very gentle and patient about that suspicion, and that appreciation of others was one of his strongest points.³⁰⁹

Dean Fendt remembered that in all the years he was Dean and then later President of the Columbus Seminary (1946-71), Leupold very seldom came into the office for any reason; Leupold would say, "You are busy enough without me bothering you." Leupold did not waste anybody's time nor did he waste his own. Fendt always knew

³⁰⁸Ibid.

³⁰⁹Hals, p. 6.

what Leupold was doing, and Fendt always felt that Leupold was very observing and knew what he (Fendt) was doing.³¹⁰

Leupold was not the kind of man to have confrontations. But a couple of times he took a very firm stand, even against the inevitable. One time was when the question came up about whether or not to have communion services at the seminary. At the time, Fendt was the only member of the faculty in favor of it. Leupold was against it. Leupold wanted the seminary students to go to church at the local congregations on Sundays and commune there.³¹¹

But when the church decided that the seminary could have communion services on campus, Leupold cooperated, came to all the communion services and participated. But Leupold insisted that Dean Fendt act as pastor and make himself available for private confession. So Fendt was always over at the chapel on the night before any communion service -- and many of the students did come for private confession.³¹²

Another time when Leupold took a very firm stand was when the matter of accreditation came up. Again Fendt thought that the Columbus Seminary ought to get itself accredited like the other seminaries in the country, but Leupold was dead opposed to that. That was one occasion when Leupold and Johann Michael Reu (of Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa) were in agreement. Reu was

³¹⁰Fendt, p. 25.

³¹¹Ibid.

³¹²Fendt, pp. 25-6.

opposed to accreditation at Wartburg, and Leupold was opposed to it at Columbus. But both seminaries were eventually accredited.³¹³

Dr. Fendt noted that in their entire career together as colleagues on the Columbus Seminary faculty (1936-72), he and Leupold never had an argument, and that Dr. Leupold was not the kind of man to pick an argument.³¹⁴ For the same reason Leupold was always in demand by congregations. They liked him because he had a nice way about him and never knowingly offended anybody.³¹⁵

When Ewald was still a student (1918-23) at Martin Luther Seminary, he remembers hearing Leupold preach a sermon on prayer. Following the service, Leupold was extending greetings to the congregation as they filed through the door one by one. Finally, in the receiving line, a rough-shod laborer came up to Leupold and said, "I heard what you said there about this prayer business. I would like to come over to your house one night this week and find out what the hell it's all about." But that did not shock Leupold, because he realized the man was sincere. This shows the character of the man, Leupold, very flexible.³¹⁶

But the outpouring of response to Leupold's saintly character as a Christian gentleman was most evidenced by the two "Leupold Letterbooks" full of letters sent to him to honor him at his retirement. "Letterbook I" is a bound volume of 227 letters presented to him on his retirement day party. But an overflow of 73

³¹³Ibid., p. 26.

³¹⁵Ibid., p. 22.

³¹⁴Ibid., pp. 7-8, 25.

³¹⁶Ewald, pp. 8-9.

more late letters filled a second volume as well, "Letterbook II."³¹⁷

Groups and Gatherings

Rev. Leupold was marvelous with very young children. Mr. Herb Leupold, Dr. Leupold's son, says that back in Buffalo, New York, he remembers "Saturday School" at church, when his father took charge of a whole assembly of youngsters who were there all Saturday morning while Rev. Leupold told them Bible stories. Dr. Leupold also did a great deal of Bible camp work in Minnesota, Ohio and Canada. He taught at various youth and family camps.³¹⁸

Classroom Characterizations

Dr. Leupold was not only a popular preacher, but also a popular teacher (Picture #47), largely because of his gentle manner and helpful attitude. However, he did insist on the seminarians' wearing neckties in class, and he even put them out of class if they came without a tie. He relented a little in the 1960s in his semi-retirement, when ties went out of style, so that even some of the faculty wore turtleneck sweaters instead of ties. Then Leupold relaxed on ties, but still always wore one himself. But previously he had always insisted that students come to class with a tie and fully clothed -- none of this "Blue-jean cut-offs, tennies and a

³¹⁷Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Family Albums: Letterbooks I & II.

³¹⁸Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, pp. 5-7.

T-shirt" like we see today.³¹⁹ Margaret and Marsha, his two granddaughters, finally got him to wear a bow tie, but he still preferred a regular necktie. The cover picture of the Lutheran Standard, containing his "Genesis" article (Picture #48) has him in a rare picture wearing a bow tie.³²⁰

Leupold would open every class with prayer, often something from the Psalms. His favorite prayer verse was Ps. 90:17.³²¹

Let the favor of the Lord our God be upon us, and establish thou the work of our hands upon us, yea, the work of our hands, establish thou it (Ps. 90:17).³²²

He taught his classes by straight lecture, with opportunity for questions.³²³ He was always very gentle, willing to give people the benefit of the doubt, and as a result, some of his students walked over him quite a bit.³²⁴ Usually nobody failed his courses. He somehow got them through. He was very helpful to them, although his Hebrew course never became a popular subject with

³¹⁹Fendt, p. 2. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

³²⁰ Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

³²¹Doermann, p. 6. Elhard, p. 1. Dr. John R. Wilch interview, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO., June 21, 1980, notes, pp. 4-5. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "A [Retirement] Day of Recognition for Dr. H. C. Leupold" schedule of the day's activities and biographical thumbnail sketch, in "Leupold Letterbook II," p. 2a-b, cover monograms.

³²²Doermann, p. 6. Elhard, p. 1. Wilch, pp. 4-5. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "A [Retirement] Day of Recognition for Dr. H. C. Leupold" schedule of the day's activities and biographical thumbnail sketch, in "Leupold Letterbook II," p. 2a-b, cover monograms.

³²³Fendt, p. 19.

³²⁴Doermann, p. 6.

his students.³²⁵

One of Leupold's fundamental procedures in a number of his courses, one of his teaching techniques, was to ask his students to write a "commentary." By that he meant to read and make comments on passages and compile them over a lengthy span of time, such as a whole quarter or semester. Then the student would turn it in and Leupold would read it and react to the student's development.³²⁶

Dr. Elhard (Picture #46) remembers writing such "commentaries" on 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, and Leviticus.³²⁷ Dr. Doermann, however, said that what this often amounted to was finding some other commentary and rewording it.³²⁸ But according to Dr. Fendt, what Leupold did not know was that some of the students -- as students are want to do -- just changed the title page and brought in the same notebook year after year. But because Leupold was such an ardent advocate of note-taking -- just the opposite of Fendt, who was not a friend of note-taking at all -- Fendt never informed Leupold about what was going on, and he does not know if Leupold ever found out. But Fendt and the students knew that Leupold did not read these "commentaries" very carefully because sometimes Leupold would check through as many as thirty of them in an hour.³²⁹

³²⁵Fendt, p. 17.

³²⁶Hals, p. 4. Fendt, p. 16. Zietlow, p. 1.

³²⁷Elhard, p. 7.

³²⁸Doermann, p. 6.

³²⁹Fendt, p. 16.

Health and Piety

Dr. Leupold was five feet, eight inches tall, about 165 pounds, and kept himself in good condition all his life.³³⁰ He was an ardent walker, and only bought his first car after he moved to Columbus. It was two miles from the seminary to the Leupold home at 750 Roosevelt Avenue, in the Columbus subdivision of Bexley (Picture #49); but even if someone offered Leupold a ride, he did not want it, even after he retired. Leupold walked the two miles to the seminary and back again each day, plus another two-mile exercise walk in the evening -- about a six-mile total a day. After his retirement, Dr. and Mrs. Leupold moved closer to the seminary, 733 Francis Avenue, also in Bexley, where they lived the rest of their lives.³³¹ If Dr. Leupold could not have his daily walk outside because of weather or health, he would pace back and forth in the house, and would pick up his grandchildren and carry them back and forth.³³²

Prof. "Jake" Dell, Dr. Leupold's faculty colleague, was sort of a prohibitionist; Leupold was definitely not a prohibitionist, but he nevertheless was not a drinker, smoker, dancer, or card player either.³³³ Leupold was not against social drinking (at

³³⁰Ewald, p. 15. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 1. Picture #39; taken some time during his days as Professor at Martin Luther Seminary, Buffalo, New York.

³³¹Fendt, p. 2. Doermann, p. 7. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4.

³³²Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 5.

³³³Fendt, p. 23. Doermann, p. 7. Ewald, p. 8. Hals, p. 6.

least Fendt never heard him say anything against it) but he did not enjoy that kind of fellowship. He never went to a cocktail party, and if there was a cocktail party before a dinner, he went to the dinner, but passed by the cocktail party -- largely because his system could not really take alcohol very well.³³⁴

Leupold would smoke a cigarette once a year or so for the sake of other people's Christian freedom.³³⁵ He was generous in allowing people to have an opinion of their own about such things. Though he did not smoke, as a rule, once a year or so he did, and would say, "I think I can smoke a cigar to the glory of God." It was the same with card-playing, though no one ever remembers seeing him play cards.³³⁶ At one of the Columbus Seminary Lutheran Brotherhood senior banquets, Doermann remembers seeing Leupold have a glass of wine and a cigar; and when somebody asked him about that, he said, "Well, there are some times when you have to exercise your Christian freedom."³³⁷

The only time Leupold was sick was when he had to be operated on for prostate trouble. Fendt visited him in the hospital that time. Leupold was in the hospital about a week, and that was the only time that Fendt remembered that Leupold was ever in the hospital. Leupold took good care of himself: "Early to bed and early to rise" -- that was his motto. Leupold always liked 8:00 a.m. classes. He said that was when he was at his best. Fendt used

³³⁴Fendt, p. 23.

³³⁵Hals, p. 6.

³³⁶Ewald, p. 8.

³³⁷Doermann, p. 7.

to envy him for that, because Fendt was not at his best at 8:00 a.m. Fendt would rather work late at night -- as would "Jake" Dell. So Dell and Fendt always taught afternoon classes, but Leupold and Buehring -- who was also an early riser -- taught the morning classes on the old faculty.³³⁸

Late in life and on into his retirement, Leupold developed a slight trembling in his left arm -- he was right-handed -- and he occasionally had some trouble controlling it. Fendt did not know if it was ever analyzed scientifically by any doctor, but it seemed to be a matter of nervous control. Sometimes if Leupold were sitting still, there was no sign of it, but when he walked, one arm shook.³³⁹ Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Leupold said that Dr. Leupold began to have a tremor in his right hand after his return from his 1955 Lutheran World Federation trip to Europe, and they think it was caused by a mini-stroke.³⁴⁰ Elhard remembers of Leupold:³⁴¹

His daily discipline included prayer . . . and . . . physical exercise, . . . bending and stretching, . . . walking, . . . playing handball up until rather advanced age. . . . And they seemed to go together, a kind of disciplined training of your body for lifelong work, and disciplined Scripture- and prayer-life at the same time.³⁴²

40th Anniversary Ordination Commemoration

On June 24, 1954, the Capital University and Seminary faculties commemorated the Rev. Herbert Carl Leupold, B.D., D.D., on

³³⁸Fendt, pp. 23-4.

³³⁹Ibid., p. 2.

³⁴⁰To be further discussed below, *infra*, p. 163-64.

³⁴¹Elhard, p. 4.

³⁴²Ibid.

the 40th anniversary of his ordination into the Gospel ministry:³⁴³

Whereas God has used him in the service of the Church in so many capacities, to-wit:

as home mission pastor, 1914-1922;
as teacher of historical theology, of Old Testament, of Liturgics and other disciplines;
as author of commentaries on Old Testament books;
as member of important committees of the Church;
as lecturer to pastoral conferences, youth groups, and other gatherings;

as fatherly and wise counsellor to a long procession of theological students;

Therefore, be it resolved,

That we give thanks to God for having endowed Professor Leupold with such manifold gifts and for having placed these gifts in the service of the Church at large and, since 1929, of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, and

Be it further resolved,

That we extend our beloved colleague and friend sincere congratulations on this happy occasion and pray that God preserve him in vigor of body, mind, and spirit, for many years to come in the large place he is filling in the Church.³⁴⁴

This commemoration document was signed by Capital University President Dr. H. L. Yochum, Columbus Seminary Dean E. C. Fendt, and six other officials.³⁴⁵

Elected "Secretary"

Dr. Leupold must have had an inborn penchant for being elected "Secretary" of organizations. He was elected secretary of the Building Committee of his own first mission church, the Lutheran Church of the Ascension, in 1914. He was elected secretary of the

³⁴³Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 11.

³⁴⁴Ibid.

³⁴⁵Ibid.

Buffalo Synod and served from 1915-1929. It is true that from 1940-47 he was "Chairman" of the ALC Commission on Worship. But then he was elected secretary again of the ALC Commission on the Liturgy for "The Service Book and Hymnal" in 1946, and served till 1955.³⁴⁶ And then finally from 1957 until his retirement in 1963, he served as secretary of the Columbus Seminary faculty.³⁴⁷

Retirement & Beyond

"Leupold Day"

March 19, 1963 was designated "Dr. Herbert C. Leupold Day" in honor of Dr. Leupold's retirement from full-time teaching at the Columbus Seminary.³⁴⁸ Leupold's teaching career eventually lasted for a total of fifty-six years: seven years (1915-22) as a part-time instructor at Martin Luther Seminary, seven years (1922-29) as a called and installed professor at Martin Luther

³⁴⁶"Dr. H. C. Leupold [Retirement] Day," March 19, 1963, schedule of activities thumb-nail biographical sketch; see page 2 in "Leupold Letterbook II." S.B.H., v. II, "Liturgy, Minutes, Articles," (no page numbers), 2nd Meeting, Joint Commission, June 26-27, 1946, pp. 1, 3-4; in Archives of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1100 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill., courtesy of Rev. Joel W. Lundeen, Archivist. S.B.H., v. I, "Presidents Correspondence," (no page numbers), letter dated Dec. 20, 1946, from Dr. Reed to the Rev. Franklin Clark Fry, pp. 1-4; in Archives of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, courtesy of Rev. Lundeen, Archivist. S.B.H., v. II: 3rd Meeting, Joint Commission, Dec. 16-18, 1946, pp. 1, 4. S.B.H., v. VII, "Liturgy, Correspondence H-Z," (no page numbers), in Archives of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, courtesy of Rev. Lundeen, Archivist.

³⁴⁷Leupold Archives, Box #3, Items #12 & #3. "Copco, 6x9 spiral-bound notebook," and "Sight-Saver, 6x9 spiral-bound notebook." L42.5, #12, #13.

³⁴⁸picture #50. Fendt, p. 3. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album:

Seminary, thirty-four years (1929-63) as a called and installed professor at the Columbus Seminary, and eight years (1964-71, 1963-4 he was on a sabbatical) as a part-time professor emeritus at the Columbus Seminary.³⁴⁹

President Fendt opened the ceremonies with a welcome and introduction followed by the morning lecture entitled, "The Gospel in the Old Testament" delivered by Guest Lecturer Dr. John P. Milton, Professor of Old Testament at Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. The afternoon lecture, entitled, "The Old Testament in the Gospel," was again delivered by Dr. John P. Milton.³⁵⁰

It was during the course of this retirement day party that Dr. Leupold was presented "Leupold Letterbook I" -- a bound volume full of 227 letters sent to honor him as evidence of the outpouring

"Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 12.
 "Dr. Herbert C. Leupold [retirement] . . .", [photo, caption], Lutheran Standard, 3 (April 23, 1963): 25. "R.S.V.P. Invitation" to "A [Retirement] Day of Recognition for Dr. H. C. Leupold," in "Leupold Letterbook. II," p. 1. Part of Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Leupold Family Album collection, 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "A [Retirement] Day of Recognition for Dr. H. C. Leupold" schedule of the day's activities and biographical thumbnail sketch, in "Leupold Letterbook. II," p. 2a-b.

³⁴⁹Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 12. "Lutheran Standard," 3 (April 23, 1963): 25. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "A [Retirement] Day of Recognition for Dr. H. C. Leupold" schedule of the day's activities and biographical thumbnail sketch, in "Leupold Letterbook II," p. 2a-b.

³⁵⁰Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "A [Retirement] Day of Recognition for Dr. H. C. Leupold," March 19, 1963, schedule of the day's activities and biographical thumb-nail sketch, in "Leupold Letterbook II," p. 2a-b.

of response to his saintly character as a Christian gentleman. An overflow of seventy-three more late letters later filled a second volume as well, "Leupold Letterbook II."³⁵¹

As the culmination of the honors bestowed upon Dr. Leupold, he was informed by Rev. C. T. Langholz, vice-chairman of the seminary Board of Regents that he would receive a year's sabbatical leave (1963-64) with full pay. Leupold had taught on the Columbus Seminary faculty continuously since receiving his first call there in 1929 and had never taken a leave before.³⁵²

1964 "Golden" 50th Anniversary of Evangelical
Lutheran Church of Ascension

Dr. Leupold was invited to participate in the October 11-18, 1964 "Golden" Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Ascension, the mission congregation to which he had first been called as a Martin Luther Seminary graduate back in 1914.³⁵³

³⁵¹Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Family Albums: "Leupold Letterbooks I and II."

³⁵²Lutheran Standard, 3 (April 23, 1963): 25. Leupold Archives Folder II. B. 8.

³⁵³Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: in "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 9a-b, 10, -both- "Golden 50th Anniversary Banquet Program," -and- "Golden 50th Anniversary History of Our Congregation," prepared by the congregation itself for the Banquet, October 18, 1964, p. 1. American Lutheran Church Office of Gen. Sec. of Archives, 333 Wartburg Pl. Dubuque, Iowa 52001, Archivist Wiederaenders: "Golden 50th Anniversary History of Our Congregation," prepared by the congregation itself for its Banquet, October 18, 1964, 5:30 p.m., p. 1, -and- "Updated 1966 History of our Congregation," prepared by the congregation itself when it dedicated its new church building, p. 1.

The Anniversary Banquet was held October 18, 1964 at 5:50 p.m. The history of the congregation reveals its fortunes after Dr. Leupold's last Sunday as a parish pastor there on October 15, 1922,³⁵⁴ when he had accepted the call to become a professor at Martin Luther Seminary.

Teaching

After his year's sabbatical leave, Dr. Leupold returned to part-time teaching at the Columbus Seminary. The Columbus Seminary had an arrangement -- the only seminary at that time which did -- that when a man retired at 70 years of age, they kept the man on to teach one elective; and the understanding was, if there was an enrollment, he taught, and if there was no enrollment, he did not teach. But Dr. Leupold always had an enrollment to the end of his days. It was never a problem. He always taught a course in exegetical theology. His courses were popular and well-received by the students.³⁵⁵

Dr. Leupold's classroom Gradebooks from his entire Columbus Seminary teaching career (1929-71) have been preserved in the Leupold Archives.³⁵⁶ A tabulation of the names in these Gradebooks shows that Dr. Leupold instructed a total of 1644 seminarians, who signed themselves up for a total of 7715 individual

³⁵⁴"Announcements Booklet," p. 54-8.

³⁵⁵Picture #51. Fendt, p. 3.

³⁵⁶Leupold Archives, Box #2, #3. L41.1, L42.1, #1.

registrations in Dr. Leupold's courses over his 42-year teaching career. This means that the average Leupold student took about four or five courses from Dr. Leupold.³⁵⁷

Jewish Evangelism

In a June 16, 1965 letter from Rev. Clarence M. Hanson,³⁵⁸ Director of the ALC Ministry to Jewish people, Rev. Hanson solicited Dr. Leupold's cooperation with his department's efforts in Jewish evangelism:³⁵⁹

We sincerely appreciate your prompt reply to our request, and your willingness to serve. . . . The directive we have been given is to prepare a theological statement that will be usable for our congregations. We are also asked to give recommendations for the practical implementation of the witness in our congregations.³⁶⁰

Last Days and Death

In a November 22, 1968 letter to Dr. Leupold, ALC Pastor David G. Burke³⁶¹ informed Leupold that he was applying for admission to the Ph. D. program in the Near Eastern Studies Department of Harvard University, and asked Dr. Leupold to complete

³⁵⁷"Tabulation File of Leupold Letterbooks & Gradebooks," compiled by First-Year seminarian Ken Bunge for Dave Schreiber at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., completed March 14, 1980.

³⁵⁸ALC Biographical and Pictorial Directory, 1972, p. 324.

³⁵⁹Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6. L43.16, #6, Letter "g".

³⁶⁰Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6. L43.16, #6, Letter "g".

³⁶¹ALC Biographical and Pictorial Directory, 1972, p. 95.

the enclosed letter of recommendation. No doubt Dr. Leupold did so.³⁶²

At this time Leupold was working on publication projects to be discussed in Part II below. His last commentary was delivered to the publisher in January 1971,³⁶³ a year before his death. The last class he taught at the Columbus Seminary was "English Old Testament," a class of ten students, from January to March 1971.³⁶⁴ Thus Dr. Leupold's services were in demand up until the very end of his life.

Finally, Dr. Herbert C. J. Leupold, at the age of seventy-nine, died in Columbus, Ohio, on January 26, 1972, "an old man full of days" (Job 42:17).³⁶⁵ The funeral service was held at Christ Lutheran Church, Columbus, Ohio.³⁶⁶ A tribute to Dr. Leupold was read at his funeral service on January 29, 1972, by E. C. Fendt,

³⁶²Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6. L43.14, #6, Letter "f".

³⁶³Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6. L43.8, #6, Letters "5a, 5b, 6."

³⁶⁴Leupold Archive "Gradebooks." Tabulation, p. 11.

³⁶⁵Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4. Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 13. "Dr. Leupold Dies" (photo & article), Lutheran Standard, 12 (February 15, 1972): 20.

³⁶⁶Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 13. E. C. Fendt, "A Tribute to Dr. Leupold Read at his Funeral, Christ Church, Jan. 29, 1972;" in "Leupold Letterbook II," part of Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Leupold Family Album collection, 257 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio.

President Emeritus of the Columbus Seminary. The last words of this tribute are:³⁶⁷

He has been taken from our midst to the larger company of God's people, the Church Triumphant. We remain as pilgrims on the road, thanking God now and in the days and years to come, for having had the companionship, the friendship, and the inspiration of Herbert Leupold, man of God, and devout teacher of His word.³⁶⁸

Dr. Leupold's wife, Ellenora Henrietta Leupold, lived on until age eighty-five, and finally died Monday, September 12, 1977, at her home, 733 Francis Avenue, Bexley, in Columbus, Ohio.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷Fendt, "Tribute." Fendt, p. 27.

³⁶⁸Fendt, "Tribute." Fendt, p. 27.

³⁶⁹Mr. & Mrs. Leupold Album: "Dr. Leupold Information Book, Thick, No Title," p. 13.

CHAPTER II

THE WORKS OF DR. LEUPOLD

Published Commentaries

Introduction

As this writer attempted to show above, and shall continue to demonstrate below, Dr. Leupold's attitude toward Scripture did not substantially change during his entire career. Both his published works, as well as unpublished works and Archive materials show that there was no "Young/Early Leupold" and "Old/Late Leupold," two Leupolds, one man who radically changed his theology from orthodox, conservative, confessional, evangelical Lutheran theology into historical-critical liberalism as he became "older and wiser."¹

There was some bending in Leupold's later years when other young faculty members joined the Old Testament Department; the new faculty brought in some different approaches to the Old Testament, and Leupold was more flexible after they came, but there was no substantial change in Leupold's theology.² As Dr. Fendt said:

¹Sometimes liberalism has argued just the opposite, i.e., that "late equals inferior;" that is, the later manuscript, the later theological development, the later systematic embellishment is an inferior product when compared to the pristine perfection of that blessed moment "when we first believed" (Rom. 13:11). But when it suits the liberal's purpose, then suddenly "later" is hailed as "older and wiser."

²Dr. Harold H. Zietlow interview, 235 S. Cassady Rd., Colubus, Ohio, April 9, 1979, notes, p. 6.

Once a week he [Leupold] met with the other two men in the Old Testament Department and discussed all areas of Old Testament theology. And they got along very well, and he was quite anxious to know what Dr. Hals had learned at Hebrew Union Seminary in Cincinnati. . . . As far as I know nothing rubbed off on Dr. Leupold. He listened, but it didn't fit into his scheme of things.³

So if it has been asserted -- and this writer is not here claiming that it has been asserted -- that Dr. Leupold's openness at these weekly meetings, or his acceptance of Dr. Doermann's controversial Genesis essays,⁴ for example, should be interpreted as his acceptance of liberal views and as a change in his theological position, all known documentary evidence is against such an assertion.⁵ Regarding this influx of historical-critical liberal ideas at the Columbus Seminary, Zietlow says of Leupold:

He opened up and listened, . . . and he dialogued, . . . and would have Bible study on one day a week in the afternoon. . . . By "opening up" you might say he listened. . . . The question that you might ask . . . is, "Can you document that this 'opening up' was a change of viewpoint?" I rather doubt it.

. . . Look very carefully . . . if you can document that by anything he published at that time or later. . . . You are going to have a hard time finding it.⁶

If there ever was any documentary evidence for a change in Dr. Leupold's theology, it must have been burned up. After Dr. Leupold's death, his widowed wife requested that her son, Herbert M. Leupold, dispose of the huge stacks of miscellaneous

³Dr. Edward C. Fendt interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, November 17, 1978, notes, p. 2.

⁴Dr. Ralph W. Doermann interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, April 9, 1979, notes, p. 3.

⁵Zietlow, pp. 22-23.

⁶Zietlow, p. 22.

material that Dr. Leupold had accumulated. There were, therefore, a fantastic amount of notes, sermons, and so forth, burned at the order of Dr. Leupold's wife. Mr. Herbert Leupold had an outdoor grill for burning trash, and he said he "spent hours out there" just burning his father's accumulated papers. Dr. Leupold had collected "boxes and boxes and boxes, orange crates full." So the documentary evidence for any alleged "liberalism" in Dr. Leupold's later theology must have been burned up then,⁷ if it ever existed.

Research Methodology and Material Behind Dr. Leupold's
Published Commentaries

General Procedure

When Leupold was composing his commentaries,⁸ he kept Edward Koenig's Syntax out of the library. He had the library copy checked out to himself. He had that and Koenig's Lexicon.⁹ Outside of Koenig's exegetical tools Leupold would use a few other books¹⁰ -- usually including the classical nineteenth century

⁷Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Martin Leupold interview, 247 Groveport Rd., Canal-Winchester, Ohio, June 26, 1980; notes, p. 5.

⁸H. C. Leupold, Exposition of Genesis (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1942); Exposition of Daniel (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1949); Exposition of Ecclesiastes (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1952); Exposition of Zechariah (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1956); Exposition of Psalms (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1959); Exposition of Isaiah 1-39 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1968); Exposition of Isaiah 40-66 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1971).

⁹Dr. John R. Wilch interview, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., June 21, 1980; notes, p. 6.

¹⁰Dr. Ronald M. Hals interview, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, November 17, 1978; notes, p. 4.

conservative German Lutheran theologians, Ernst Hengstenberg (1802-69), Johann F. Keil (1807-88) and Franz Delitzsch (1813-90)¹¹ -- but the rest of the resulting commentary was pretty much out of himself.¹²

In other words, Leupold's commentaries were not primarily a collection of scholarly opinions. He used some exegetical tools, plus a few other books, for the understanding of the text, and then the rest came out of his own painstaking thinking through the material. Leupold regarded the art of paraphrase of a text as a very high and skillful exegetical art, and he tried to practice it himself. So that is what he saw himself as doing.¹³

As was said above, Leupold saw his task as "exposition" -- a word found in the title of all six of his published commentaries. He never claimed to publish a scholarly commentary, though he agreed that we always needed more of them. Leupold's aim was at the homiletical concern.¹⁴

In all of his spare time, Dr. Leupold worked on his commentaries, and he had his Hebrew, Greek, and German books laid all over his study, which was also his son Herb's bedroom. So sometimes Herb could not go to bed in the evening until he had first cleared all his father's books off the bed.¹⁵

¹¹Fendt, p. 1. Doermann, p. 5. Hals, p. 4. Lutheran Cyclopedia, ed. Erwin L. Lueker (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), pp. 370a, 440b, 228b.

¹²Hals, p. 4.

¹³Hals, pp. 4-5.

¹⁴Hals, p. 5.

¹⁵Mr. & Mrs. Leupold, p. 4.

Dr. Leupold's Commentary Research Materials Still
Surviving in the "Leupold Archives"

Nearly the entire manuscript of an early draft of Dr. Leupold's 1942 "Genesis Commentary" still survives in the "Leupold Archives," in a typed, double-spaced format.¹⁶ Nothing from the 1949 "Daniel Commentary" survives in the "Leupold Archives." Only some handwritten research notes for the 1952 "Ecclesiastes Commentary" survive.¹⁷

What is possibly the entire quarter final draft for the whole 1956 "Zechariah Commentary," about 95 percent of it typed, double-spaced, and the rest handwritten, is still found in the "Leupold Archives."¹⁸ Some fragments of the research materials for the 1959 "Psalms Commentary" are still found in the "Leupold Archives."¹⁹

The most voluminous surviving research material left in the "Leupold Archives" is that accumulated for Leupold's 1968 "Isaiah 1-39 Commentary" and 1971 "Isaiah 40-66 Commentary." One can roughly discern four major steps in Dr. Leupold's composition of his Isaiah Commentaries. As the first step, Dr. Leupold filled eight spiral-bound notebooks with selected exegetical notes on Isaiah 1-66

¹⁶L45.2-3, #4, #5, #9; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #1, #2, #3.

¹⁷L45.1, #2; Leupold Archives, Box #6, 6 x 9 spiral-bound "Academiae Capitalis Sigillum." L45.5-6, #12; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #9.

¹⁸L42.5, #14, #15, #16, #17; Leupold Archives, Box #3, Folders "Zech. 1-3," "Zech. 4-6," "Zech. 7-8", "Zech. 9-14."

¹⁹L45.3, #6, #7, #8; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folders #3, #4, #5.

from the works of dozens of scholars.²⁰ On the upper right-hand corner of the first page of the first booklet (Isaiah 1-6) is found a date in Dr. Leupold's handwriting, "September 26, 1959." Since his "Psalms Commentary" had just gone to the publishers in 1959, it is natural to conclude that this is the date when Dr. Leupold began work on his "Isaiah 1-39 Commentary."²¹

In all of these notebooks, Dr. Leupold's shorthand is known only to him; he has provided no "key" for us. Dr. Leupold's methodology in his note-taking was to write a given commentator's name prominently on the page as a heading, and then simply to list the exegetical notes one after another down the page. In other words, Dr. Leupold did not use note cards (3 x 5, and so forth) for taking his research notes. Rather, the exegetical notes are merely listed under the heading of the author's name, following author by author, one after another, from cover to cover of all eight notebooks.

²⁰L42.2,#4; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 5 x 8 spiral-bound "University Composition Book" entitled "Is. 1-6." L42.3,#5; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 5 x 8 spiral-bound "University Composition Book" entitled "Is. 7-14." L42.3,#6; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 6 x 9 spiral-bound "Jumbo Value Steno Notebook" entitled "Is. 14-23." L42.3,#7; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 6 x 9 "Write-Right Stenographers Notebook" entitled "Is. 29-36." L42.3,#9; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 6 x 9 spiral-bound "Capital University Crusaders booklet" entitled "Is. 37-45." L42.3,#10; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 6 x 9 spiral-bound "Capital University Crusaders Notebook" entitled "Is. 45-65." L42.3,#11; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 6 x 9 spiral-bound "Spiral Stenographers Notebook" untitled.

²¹L42.2, #4; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 5 x 8 spiral-bound "University Composition Book" entitled "Is. 1-6."

Examples of some of the theological works that Dr. Leupold consulted are: W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson's "Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament," Aage Bentzen's "Introduction to the Old Testament," Frederick L. Moriarty's "Introduction to the Old Testament," Ernst Sellin's "Einleitung Alten Testament," Robert H. Pfeiffer's "Introduction to the Old Testament," R. B. Y. Scott in the "Interpreter's Bible," Otto Procksch's "Kommentar zum Alten Testament," Koenig's "Das Buch Jesaja," Koenig's "Einleitung Alten Testament."²² But to remove forever the charge that Dr. Leupold never judiciously consulted, researched, studied and was acquainted with any other scholars except Keil-Delitzsch and Hengstenberg, a fuller listing of some of the scholars he consulted is found in the footnote. This listing can hardly be dismissed as merely a group of "scholarly light-weights."²³

Dr. Leupold's second step in the composition of his "Isaiah Commentary" was to make his own fresh translation of the Book of

²²L42.4,#11; Leupold Archives, Box #3, 6 x 9 spiral-bound "Spiral Stenographers Notebook" untitled.

²³Following now is a list of many of the different author headings found in Dr. Leupold's eight spiral-bound Isaiah notebooks: Koenig, R. B. Y. Scott (Interpreter's Bible), Skinner (Cambridge), Orelli, Smith, Delitsch, Hertrich, Koenig's Wörterbuch, Kissane, Robert W. Rogers (Abingdon), Luther, Bewer (?Baure), Calvin, Fitch, Koenig's Syntax, Gray (International Critical Commentary), Brown-Driver-Briggs, Targum, Isaiah Scroll, Vilmar, Ewald, Otto Procksch, Aberly (Alleman), Alexander, George Fohrer, Johann Fischer, Nägelsbach, Kilpatrick (Interpreter's Bible), Fausset, Leslie, Rogus, Mauchline, Phillips, Wade (Westminster), Gerhard Kittel, Koenig's Kommentar, Echter B. Ziegler, Koenig's Syntax (Oxford Annotated Bible), Joachim Begrich,

Isaiah.²⁴ His third step was the actual interpolation of the research material collected in the spiral notebooks into his freshly translated book of Isaiah. This interpolation was done in red pencil, coordinated by some kind of numbering system he had devised.²⁵

The fourth and final step in the process was the composition of a typed, double-spaced preliminary draft of his "Isaiah Commentary." Just as Dr. Leupold's attitude toward Scripture

Muilenburg, Volz, Slotkin (Socino), Heller, North, G. E. Wright (Laymans Bible Commentary), New Bible Commentary (Kevan, Stibbs, Davidson), Knight, Westermann, McKenzie (Anchor), Feldmann, Duhn, Jerusalem Bible, Smart, Maclaren, Eduard Sievers, G. Buchanan Grey, Julian Morgenstein, A. M. Honeyman, Sheldon H. Blank, Margaret B. Crook, Isaac Rabinovitz, Marvin Pope, DeBoer, Freidrich Baumgärtel, Milgrom, Gunneweg, Rubinstein, Hans Joachim Kraus, Theodor Elscow, David Weissert, F. Praetorius, P. Lohmann, N. Gressmann, H. J. Elhorst, H. Gunkel, W. Rudolph, W. Staerk (?Staak), E. Robertson, W. Cannon, K. von Budde, W. Caspari, Sigmund Mowinckel, K. Elliger, Ernst Sellin, Johannes Fichtner, Herbert G. May, Ludwig Koehler, Richard Press, Douglas Jonas, J. J. Stamm, E. Pfeiffer, Manfred Weise, W. Crossmann, A. Tacke, Honeyman, Blank, Crook, Rabinoartz, Pope, Junker, Wildberger, Haran, Milgrom, Gunneweg, Rubinstein, Fohrer, Kraus, Weissert. L42.2-4. Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, "International Standard Bible Encyclopedia", Hengstenbergs "Isaiah the Prophet", "The Expositor's Bible", "Interpreter's Bible", "Pulpit Commentary", Lange, Delitzsch-Keil, v. Orelli "The Prophecies of Isaiah", Cambridge Bible, Kissane, Calvin, Targum of Isaiah, Leslie's "Isaiah Chronologically Arranged", E. J. Youngs "Commentary on the Prophecy of Isaiah", Alexander's "Commentary on the Prophecy of Isaiah", Kimchi (1160-1235 A.D.) "Commentary of David Kimchi on Isaiah", Roberts "The Second Isaiah Scroll from Qumran", Wright in "Laymans Bible", Eissfeldt's "Einleitung in des Alten Testament", v. Orelli and Delitzsch. L43.2-3,#3, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #3.

²⁴L43.22,#13; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #13.

L43.2-3,#3; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #3. L45.6,#12; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #9.

²⁵L43.22,#13; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #13.

L43.2-3,#3; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #3. L45.6,#12; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #9.

generally did not substantially change during his entire career, so also there is no great specific "Turmerlebnis" that is, "Tower(-ing Conversion) Experience", evident in Dr. Leupold's "Isaiah Commentary" between the time he began his research in 1959 and the published commentary appeared in 1971; for any future researcher to try to conjure up any such "Turmerlebnis" on the basis of presently known documentary evidence would be a flight of fancy. There is no theologically distinct "Young/Early Leupold" and "Old/Late Leupold" to be found in the decade period during which Leupold composed his "Isaiah Commentary."

There is one other interesting lone item concerning the "Isaiah Commentary" to be found in the "Leupold Archives," namely, a one-page list of six subjects to be treated in the "Isaiah 40-66 Commentary" introduction.²⁶ But it appears that possibly the publishing timetable or Baker Book House editors, or Dr. Leupold's failing health prevented such a "Prolegomena" introductory section for the "Isaiah 40-66 Commentary" from ever being composed and submitted for publication, because no such section appears in the published "Isaiah 40-66 Commentary." The title on this one-page list of six prospective "Prolegomena" subjects is "II Isaiah Introduction," and the rest of what Dr. Leupold wrote on that page is duplicated below:²⁷

(Subjects to be treated under this head)
 (This can be done with greater insight after the whole of Chapters 40-66 have been carefully exegeted).

²⁶L43.16,#6; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6.

²⁷Ibid.

1. The question of the unity of the Book and its authorship (the manifold arguments pro and con).
2. The Message as such little affected by the theory of authorship that one holds.
3. The major difference of subject matter and style.
4. The major emphases on the basis of more recent scholarly study of the books (v. Rad, "Theol. d. A.T."; Begrich, "Studien in Bk.Jes").
5. The similarities of style and subject matter between the two halves of the book (or should this have been treated above under #1?).
6. The history of the exegesis of chs. 40-66 (Deut.Is; Trito-Is.; etc.).²⁸

Correspondence

Finally the Archives contain eleven letters regarding the publishing of the "Isaiah 1-39" and "Isaiah 40-66" commentaries. Eight of the letters are from Baker Book House Editor Cornelius Zylstra to Dr. Leupold, and three are from Dr. Leupold to Zylstra. The first letter, dated June 21, 1968, is from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold. It states:

We have finished going through your manuscript on Exposition of Isaiah Chapters 1-39. It is excellent. We have scheduled it for publication in September.

We are happy that we can look forward to continuing your fine books, Dr. Leupold. We think very highly of them.²⁹

The second letter, dated January 30, 1969, is also from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold, and states:

At long last we are able to send you your six copies of your new book, Exposition of Isaiah, Vol. I. We hope you like the book.

We have ordered a reprint of your Exposition of Daniel. It is now at our bindery.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹L43.7,#6; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6, Letter #1.

When may we expect the manuscript for Exposition of Isaiah, Volume II? We should try to get this second volume in the not too distant future.

Thanks for the privilege of working with you on your excellent commentaries.³⁰

The third letter, dated February 11, 1969, is from Dr. Leupold to Zylstra. Dr. Leupold thanked Zylstra for the six copies of his Isaiah I, and said that Isaiah II would take about another year to complete. Then Dr. Leupold said:

May I make free to approach you on another item. I have no jurisdiction in this field but should like to venture a suggestion. The Exposition of the Psalms (by the undersigned) is out of print. Our own publishing house (the Augsburg Press) does not seem to be interested in the idea of reprints, as appears already from the fact that the Baker Book House has taken over a number of the Expositions sponsored by me.

You have been more than kind in dealing with my books and I appreciate what you have done. Dozens of inquiries about the volume of the Exposition of the Psalms have come to me in the last weeks. Would Baker Book House be interested in taking steps to make a reprint of the Exposition of the Psalms? Again, thank you.³¹

The fourth letter, dated February 21, 1969, from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold answered thanks for the February 11 letter, urged Volume II (Is. 40-66) onward, and then concluded:

We have already made arrangements to publish your Exposition of the Psalms. We will likely schedule this at our staff meeting in April.³²

The fifth letter, dated August 11, 1969, from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold, stated that the reprinting of Dr. Leupold's Psalms Commentary was scheduled for March 1970. Zylstra also urged

³⁰Ibid., Letter #2a.

³¹Ibid., Letter #2b.

³²Ibid., Letter #2c.

Dr. Leupold's Second Isaiah onward, and again asked if Dr. Leupold knew about when he would finish it.³³

The sixth letter, dated August 25, 1969, is from Dr. Leupold to Zylstra. Dr. Leupold said that he already had Is. 40-52 ready for publication, but that the entire Is. 40-66 would probably not be ready before December 31, 1970.³⁴ In the seventh letter, dated August 8, 1969, from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold, Zylstra thanked Dr. Leupold for his August 25 letter and urged Volume II (Is. 40-66) onward.³⁵ The eighth letter, dated September 25, 1970, from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold, said:

We are indeed happy to learn that the information given us at the Christian Booksellers Convention in Minneapolis was not correct. We can understand how others had come to this conclusion and passed the misinformation on to us. May God spare you for many more years of service.

We are pleased that you are making such good progress on Is. II and are eagerly anticipating receipt of the manuscript. We are eager to get it into our publishing schedule.³⁶

What the false alarm was is unknown, but it sounds like it was a false rumor that Dr. Leupold's health was failing perhaps. The ninth letter, dated January 6, 1971, from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold, thanked Dr. Leupold for Vol. II (Isaiah 40-66), but noted that the detailed outline (Table of Contents) began with page

³³L43.3, #3, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #3, Letter #3a.

³⁴Ibid., Letter #3b.

³⁵L43.8, #6, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6, Letter #3c.

³⁶Ibid., Letter #4.

13, that the detailed outline for Is. 60-66 was only in rough draft form, and that the commentary itself on Is. 60-64 was missing.³⁷

The tenth letter, dated January 9, 1971, is from Dr. Leupold to Zylstra. Dr. Leupold explained:

During the last few months, I have been having some trouble with my eyes. That led to some of the confusion. . . . I have sent the missing chapters (60-64) by parcel post. I cannot imagine how they got detached from the main body of the manuscript.

As to the Outline -- it was my intention to have it serve as a sort of Preface to the second volume of this work. If that is done then the pagination (outline, p. 13) becomes unnecessary. I should have caught this before sending you the manuscript.

. . . As to the possible lack of more careful preparation, I must confess that I bestowed as much care in the preparation, merely trying to make it as concise as possible.³⁸

In the eleventh letter, dated July 13, 1971, from Zylstra to Dr. Leupold, Zylstra sent Dr. Leupold's contract to sign for the "Isaiah II Commentary," and scheduled publication for September 1971.³⁹ Dr. Leupold's "Isaiah II Commentary" was then published less than six months before he died.

Published and Unpublished Booklets, Monographs and Articles,
Essays, Lectures and Sermons

Introduction

Dr. Leupold's published booklets, monographs and articles reveal that his main work was apparently not to produce scholarly research articles in journals and periodicals; rather, Leupold's main contribution -- besides his seven commentaries -- was in the

³⁷Ibid., Letter #5a.

³⁸Ibid., Letter #5b.

³⁹Ibid., Letter #6.

area of church worker's materials, layman's Bible study material, word studies, liturgical, devotional and encyclopedia articles.⁴⁰

We will discuss these works of Dr. Leupold in the same chronological order which he produced them.

Until the interview with Dr. John R. Wilch, this writer feared he was going to have to concede a criticism of Leupold's theology made by some liberals, that because Dr. Leupold did not engage principally in the publication of a constant stream of scholarly research articles in prominent journals and periodicals, Leupold just did not measure up to this status symbol of the avant-garde among the current Liberal Establishment in America.

But Dr. Wilch pointed out that during most of Leupold's career, Leupold did not have as much opportunity for publishing such scholarly journal articles as we do today, because there were not that many of them then, at least not especially from the Lutheran side -- except for the Concordia Theological Monthly, of course. Neither Martin Luther Seminary nor the Columbus Seminary had its own journal.⁴¹

Such criticism that Leupold was not avant-garde because he did not publish scholarly journal articles furthermore ignores the fact that he did publish seven big commentaries, and it takes a long time and a lot of work to put out a commentary. Also, note that in those days, for most of Leupold's career, there was not much of an

⁴⁰Fendt, p. 15. Elhard, p. 2. Wilch, pp. 5-6.

⁴¹Wilch, p. 5.

ecumenical movement, and seminary professors just did not get around so much with people from other seminaries. There was not that much intentional contact between denominations, between seminaries, or even with publishing companies.⁴²

In addition to this, the task of the seminary professor during most of Leupold's career was basically to teach the doctrines of the church to seminarians. It was more the European pattern where the professor was a scholar; but the American pattern was that the seminary professor was a servant of the church.⁴³

Leupold's career began in 1914. One cannot fairly criticize a theologian whose career began before 1950 or 1960 for not being a famous publisher of scholarly journal articles. At least through the World War II period, and even beyond, the basic idea about the purpose of a seminary was to teach the doctrinal position of its church. And since everyone else was doing it that way, it is a little bit unfair to criticize Dr. Leupold for doing the same.⁴⁴

Dr. Leupold was 60 years old in 1952. Thus by the time the new situation arose -- the multiplication of (Lutheran) scholarly journals -- a person of his age would have been too old to change. Even at age 60, one cannot really expect someone to change fundamentally. Therefore this is a criticism that, if made at all, should be directed at the whole program of church and its seminary system. This would have to be a criticism directed at all the

⁴²Wilch, 5.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 6.

American denominational seminaries, and not at any one individual.⁴⁵ But the real problem in this whole situation anyway, was the relative isolation of Lutheranism from mainstream protestantism.⁴⁶ So one can still describe Dr. Leupold as an unusually productive theologian, considering the kind of a theological climate he worked in; anybody who could publish a commentary was unusually productive -- and Leupold wrote seven.⁴⁷

Children's Booklets

Dr. Leupold is well-known in the scholarly world for his exegetical commentaries, but virtually unknown is the fact that he wrote children's stories for the Primary Department, for little children -- Bible stories.⁴⁸ Mostly they contain just that -- Bible stories -- children's stories written at the Primary Department level, as one can tell by paging through them and reading various subtitles: "Children Playing in the Market Place,"

⁴⁵Over on the European Continent, seminary professors were usually members of the state university theological faculties, and there the different tradition grew up that the professors did not have to be slaves of their denomination. They ordinarily all belonged to the same denomination anyway, the state church. They were civil servants of the state. Many of them were and are good churchmen, but they did not have to worry if somebody kicked up a fuss in the church, because their teaching position was assured by the state. They had tenure and nobody could remove them easily. So they had more freedom to say what they wanted, regardless of what the church taught. This European "freedom" is the kind of fertile ground in which liberal ideas grow well -- quite different from the American pattern with its denominational seminaries. Wilch, p. 6.

⁴⁶Dr. Horace D. Hummel, April 21, 1982 office meeting.

⁴⁷Wilch, p. 6.

⁴⁸Mr. and Mrs. Leupold, pp. 4-5. Pictures #52, #53, #54.

"Children Should Be Kind to Each Other," "Jesus Obeyed His Parents," "The Boy Jesus in the Temple," "The Boy Jesus in the Carpenter Shop," "John the Baptist Preaching," "The Baptism of Jesus," "The Call of the Fishermen," "Nathanael," "The Call of the First Disciples," "Sending Forth the Disciples."⁴⁹

The dates of publication of these books are unknown. In these books Leupold included facts: "We do not have many stories in the Bible about the Boy Jesus. Really there is only one."⁵⁰ He included exhortation: "Children can and should be kind to others."⁵¹ He included Christology: "Jesus never sinned."⁵² He included the basic message of the Gospel:

John pointed to Jesus when he said, "Behold . . . the Lamb of God." By that he means, here is the One who is God's true Lamb, which shall be put to death, and by His blood shall wash away sin, . . . "The sin of the world." . . . You have often wondered how to get rid of your sins. Here is your hope. This Savior Jesus will take them away."⁵³

In his portrayal of "The Annunciation" story, Leupold is very clear about the Virgin birth:

Many years ago in the city of Nazareth in the Holy Land lived two people. The man was Joseph, a carpenter. The woman was called Mary. . . . They were to be married, a strange thing happened. For God was going to honor them greatly. He was going to let Mary be the mother of Jesus, the Savior. He was going to let Joseph take care of Jesus as He grew up.

⁴⁹Picture #52: "Stories from the Early Life of Jesus," p. 1-32. Picture #54: "The Boy Jesus," p. 1-16.

⁵⁰"Stories," p. 2.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 6.

⁵²Ibid., p. 10.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 21-22.

The angel told her: . . . "This holy Child which is to be born shall be called the Son of God." He was to be God's son, not Joseph's. Joseph was only to take care of Him, feed and clothe Him, and help to bring Him up.

. . . He was God's true son, "true God begotten of the Father from eternity and also true man born of the Virgin Mary."⁵⁴

"Old Testament Introduction Notes"⁵⁵

Introduction

The Leupold Archives still contain Dr. Leupold's own original personal copy of his classroom lecture "Old Testament Introduction Notes." This undated fifty-nine page mimeographed document was probably published by Capital University Book Store some time after 1935 -- because the title page shows that Dr. Leupold had already received the "D.D." awarded him in that year. It is an outline of the whole Old Testament, written from the conservative Lutheran point of view. Its conservative methodology and conclusions are evident even apart from the constant apologetics against the liberal critics that appear throughout the booklet. It certainly cannot be maintained that Dr. Leupold failed to constantly and fairly state the existence of liberal critical viewpoints throughout.

This document reveals the basic structure of the theology Dr. Leupold taught in the classroom. The first element of that basic structure that one notices is that Dr. Leupold regards the

⁵⁴"At the Manager," pp. 2-3, 10.

⁵⁵H. C. Leupold, "Old Testament Introduction Notes," Department of Old Testament, Theological Seminary, Capital University, (Columbus, Ohio: Capital University Book Store, 1935).

Biblical text itself as the "primary source" of his information. Everything else is considered "secondary sources."⁵⁶ Only that (archaeological) evidence or those exegetes or commentators who could show how the Biblical text was self-interpreting, reliable, clear, genuine, and so forth, could really be said to have "added" any new insights not available before -- according to Dr. Leupold.

Dr. Hals could not remember exactly how much Dr. Leupold used this document in his actual classroom procedure. By Hals' time (1947-50), as he recalls, Dr. Leupold did not actually lecture regularly directly from this fifty-nine page document, because it was available for all the students to buy at the Capital University Book Store. But Hals does remember that Dr. Leupold would go through some of this material and actually work from it from time to time in class, while the students would fill in the margins and/or write on the back of the pages of their copies, and so forth. So the document was actually still in use in Hals' time.⁵⁷

The first eleven pages contain Dr. Leupold's discussion of the entire Pentateuch. From pages 11-49, the booklet simply proceeds book by book, one after another, from Joshua to Malachi, according to the English Bible order, outlining in a page or two the

⁵⁶Likewise the New Testament Epistles that bear the Apostle Paul's name are the "Primary Sources" on St. Paul, and the biographical material about Paul in the Book of Acts is only "Secondary Source" material because Acts was written by Luke, not Paul. D. Schreiber's student notes on Martin H. Scharlemann's lectures, "Life and Thought of Paul," EN-820 Seminar, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., December 8, 1980.

⁵⁷Hals' Interview, p. 4.

structure and content of every book in the Old Testament. Pages 50-58 is an essay entitled, "Canonics," and page 59, the last page of the booklet, is a list of 20 "Major Reference Works" -- a bibliography.

Pentateuch

General Outline

This booklet is filled with statements that you do not hear very often from the American Religious Establishment (the most prestigious university Divinity Schools, for example) these days. The first eleven pages are devoted to the Pentateuch. On page one he begins the booklet with a simple outline of the five books of Moses, showing how each book is composed of two parts, and bids us to thereby observe the "symmetry" of the Pentateuch.⁵⁸

Next Dr. Leupold amplifies this symmetrical character by locating "the center of the Pentateuch" in Leviticus 16 (Day of Atonement). Next the "purpose of the Pentateuch" is:⁵⁹

to show how God proved himself to be Jehovah for Israel (Ex. 6: 2-7), i.e., how he faithfully and graciously kept all his promises made to his covenant people.⁶⁰

Then Dr. Leupold proceeds to a slightly expanded outline of each book of the Pentateuch, summarizing both its structure and content; this takes him from page one to page four. Genesis, on which he had written his first and ever popular commentary in 1942, is outlined under ten headings according to the appearances of the

⁵⁸Leupold, "Old Testament Introduction Notes," p. 1.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

word "Toledoth" ("story" or "history"; not "generations"). Next the "unity of the book [Genesis] and its consistent plan" are articulated in six points; for example, point three is "Giving only what bears upon the spiritual history, that is to say, theocratic writing of history."⁶¹ With this method Dr. Leupold goes on to outline Exodus in seven points and Leviticus in ten points.⁶²

In such a brief fifty-nine page booklet, Dr. Leupold must sometimes summarize ten or more chapters of a Biblical book in one sentence. He regularly relates the face-value text as it stands to its Christological trans-testamental usefulness for the reader; for example, already on page two, under "Discussion of the Outline [of Leviticus]," point #3, Dr. Leupold writes, "Significance of the book in the Old Testament scheme -- the law is to be a schoolmaster unto Christ." Or again, "Significant instances of its pedagogy -- Christ is prefigured by the Tabernacle, John 1:14."⁶³

Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch

After completing his initial summary of the Pentateuch with outlines of Numbers and Deuteronomy,⁶⁴ Dr. Leupold gives a one page description of Genesis and part of Exodus according to Driver's (ICC) JEDP critical source analysis theory verse by verse.⁶⁵ Then follows Dr. Leupold's case in favor of "The Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch." Dr. Leupold presents his case in seven categories.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., p. 2.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 2-4.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 4-5.

For example, the first category is, "The chief criterion for settlement of the question," which is, "direct evidence," subdivided into "external" (other Biblical writings), and "internal" (within the Pentateuch itself -- following a method parallel to that of literary criticism itself).⁶⁶ The fourth category -- hardly ever touched by the critics -- is "the testimony of Christ and the Apostles," where Dr. Leupold lists a half-dozen verses from John, Luke, Acts, and 2 Timothy as examples.⁶⁷

Critical View of Pentateuch

The next four pages (pages 8-11) -- even though this short booklet is only fifty-nine pages long -- are devoted to an exposition entitled, "The Critical View of the Origin of the Pentateuch." This exposition is divided into eleven categories.⁶⁸ The second category states the liberal critical story of the origin of the Pentateuch, -- the manner of the combination of the sources (J,S,E,D,P, and law codes) by redactors. The seventh category states the presuppositions of the critical approach:⁶⁹

- 1) Prophecy is impossible, e.g., Genesis 49, Numbers 24.
- 2) Evolutionary conception of history, e.g., an advanced state of laws, ritual, etc., is impossible at any early date.
- 3) Revelation is a priori impossible.
- 4) The Mosaic age is a non-literary age; yet consider code of Hammurabi (1729 BC) and Tell el Amarna tablets (1413-1377 B.C.)⁷⁰

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 5.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 10.

Category ten, lists five characteristics of the liberal critical methodology.⁷¹

- 1) Argument from silence.
- 2) Deduction based on the personal taste of the critic, e.g., "Thus would I have written had I been the author; therefore . . ."
- 3) Conjecture and emendation of the text is resorted to when a difficulty occurs that threatens their personal theory.
- 4) Hardly a page of the Hebrew text is considered reliable.
- 5) Hypothesis bolsters up hypothesis.⁷²

The last category (#11) shows the irreconcilability of the traditional and the liberal critical view:⁷³

- 1) They are diametrically opposite as to origin: the traditional view is that of divinely given revelation; the liberal is that of human attainment and growth in enlightenment.
- 2) The traditional respects Christ's authority (his New Testament statements), the liberals do not.
- 3) This lack of understanding by the liberal critics is based primarily on their lack of understanding of sin and grace, the law, the essential preparation for faith in Christ.⁷⁴

Joshua to Malachi

With the summary of the Pentateuch complete (pages 1-11), the next section of the booklet, pages 11-49, proceeds book by book from Joshua to Malachi, according to the Revised Standard Version order, except for Lamentations, to outline in a page or two the structure and content of every remaining book in the Old Testament. Dr. Leupold's flexible format throughout for each of these one- or

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁷²Ibid., p. 11.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

two-page summaries (depending, of course, on the theological nature of the given book) is to deal with most of the following information -- though not necessarily in the following order: name of book, theme, purpose, author/authorship, outline, dates of subject-matter and composition, sources, contents, unity, reliability/genuineness/integrity, historical value, special problems, relations to other Old Testament books and events, technical terms, history of interpretation, critical position, refutation of that critical position.

Canonicity and Bibliography

Having finished his discussion of all thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, Dr. Leupold's second to the last section in his fifty-nine page "Old Testament Introduction Notes" booklet is an essay extending from pages 50-8 entitled "Canonicity." The five subtitles are: "Origin of the Canon," "Historical Evidence," "The Apocrypha," "The State of the Hebrew Text," "The Versions and Their Testimony."⁷⁵ This essay shows that Dr. Leupold has not been wandering around in the dark. He knows exactly where he has been and where he stands, as well as where he is heading:

Our view on the origin of the canon is radically different from that current in the majority of works on the Old Testament found in our day. It is arrived at as a result of the preceding investigations respecting the authorship and the date of composition of the various Biblical books that we have examined.

. . . The difference is not merely . . . whether books happened to originate a few centuries earlier or later, which itself could be a matter of little moment.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 50-8.

But the manner in which these originated, and the measure of authority which was inherent in them from the time of their origin, these are chief issues.

. . . As our previous examination has shown, the origin of each Biblical book is in full harmony with the principles of inspiration and revelation as offered by the Scriptures themselves. . . . These writing therefore have a claim to a most unique authority which happens to be associated with the date of origin claimed by the individual book.⁷⁶

Finally we arrive at the last page of the booklet (59), entitled "Major Reference Works," a list of twenty bibliography items. This bibliography is no longer up-to-date, of course, but otherwise the present-day usefulness and validity of the entire fifty-nine page "Old Testament Introduction Notes" booklet is virtually intact.

"Messianic Prophecies" Study Booklet⁷⁷

Introduction

There are two mimeographed editions of this document in the Archives, neither of them with any indication of the date of composition. The first edition is fifteen pages long,⁷⁸ the second, thirty pages.⁷⁹ The difference between the two editions

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 50-1.

⁷⁷L43.2, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #2; H. C. Leupold, "A Syllabus for Messianic Prophecies from David to Malachi;" Course 7A of the American Lutheran Church Worker's Course; issued by the Board of Parish Education of the ALC, 57 E. Main St., Columbus, Ohio, (no date), pp. 1-15.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹L46.21, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Item #11; H. C. Leupold, "A Syllabus for Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament;" Course 7A of the American Lutheran Church Worker's Course; issued

is that the first edition begins with Psalm 2 and proceeds through Malachi 3:1-5, whereas the second edition prefixes additional passages, beginning with Genesis 3:15 through 2 Samuel 23:1-7, before continuing with Psalm 2 through Malachi 3:1-5.

In the "English Old Testament #501" course⁸⁰ which Ronald Hals took with Dr. Leupold February 6 to May 29, 1947 -- a course built largely around this "Messianic Prophecies" booklet -- Hals was issued the fifteen-page first edition, which Hals has preserved along with his class notes for the course. However, even by that date, February of 1947, Dr. Leupold was already teaching the course using the additional passages (Genesis 3:15 to 2 Samuel 23:1-7) included in the thirty page second edition.

The title page indicates that this booklet must have been intended as a church worker's course, possibly for laymen.⁸¹ This document succinctly reveals a central feature of Dr. Leupold's theological divergence from most of his ALC colleagues, a divergence that increasingly widened precipitously from the mid-1940's after World War II till his death in 1972.⁸² The waning prominence of this central feature of Dr. Leupold's original theological emphasis -- messianic prophecy -- indicates that he apparently de-emphasized

by the Board of Parish Education of the ALC, 57 E. Main St., Columbus, Ohio, (no date), pp. 1-30.

⁸⁰For description see infra, pp. 143-46.

⁸¹L46.21, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Item #11.

⁸²Dr. Martin H. Scharlemann Th.D. Luncheon Meeting, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., March 16, 1979; Dave Schreiber's notes on the meeting.

it in the latter years (1950s and 1960s) of his career. Possibly Leupold felt intimidated by the academically "accredited" leftist liberalism rearing up to monstrous heights both inside and outside his church.

Although Dr. Leupold's "English Old Testament" course was largely built around the "Messianic Prophecies" booklet when Hals was a student (1947), Dr. Leupold apparently de-emphasized messianic prophecy into such a low-profile feature of his later theology that he actually altogether stopped using the booklet itself as a part of his classroom courses by the time John R. Wilch was a student (1955-59) at the Columbus Seminary. During Wilch's student days, Leupold was apparently no longer using the "Messianic Prophecies" booklet in his classes, because Wilch did not remember ever having seen the booklet before this writer showed it to him on June 21, 1980.⁸³ This does not mean, however, that Dr. Leupold stopped teaching messianic prophecy, because the Leupold Archives contain a copy of a test entitled, "Messianic Prophecy," given to his "Old Testament Introduction" class and dated January 21, 1963 -- long after Wilch's student days.⁸⁴

Dr. Fendt said of Dr. Leupold's theology: "His specialty I would say was messianic prophecy. Students used to say that he

⁸³Wilch, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁴January 21, 1963, Old Testament Introduction, Old Testament #502, "Messianic Prophecy" Test; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #5, 1/2 sheet. Leupold Letterbooks-Gradebooks Tabulation File, XXVII. B.3. L46.14-18.

found messianic prophecy under every rock."⁸⁵ Dr. Leupold wrote in the Foreword of his "Messianic Prophecies" booklet:

Bible study of the Old Testament can only then be said to be of the right sort when it finds Jesus Christ throughout the book. Therefore messianic prophecy is the key to the Old Testament. It shows us how in the last analysis everything in the Scriptures centers about Christ or leads up to him.

Such study . . . must be shown to be . . . built upon certain fundamental passages. Two of the passages stand out: Genesis 3:15, which speaks of the victory of the seed of the woman; and 2 Samuel 7:12-7, which tells of the everlasting throne and kingdom of David's Son.⁸⁶

Dr. Leupold lists a total of forty-four Messianic Prophecies in his copy of this second edition of the booklet; three of these passages were added to Dr. Leupold's own personal archives copy in his own handwriting.⁸⁷

Chapter I

The Table of Contents shows the booklet is divided up into ten chapters, preceded by a Foreword and followed by a brief bibliography. Chapter I is divided into two parts. Part I is subtitled, "The Basic Word -- Genesis 3:15," and comments on two passages. The first passage is Genesis 3:15. Dr. Leupold begins his booklet with the following words:

⁸⁵Fendt Interview, p. 1-2.

⁸⁶Leupold "Messianic Prophecies," p. 4.

⁸⁷Since the 30-page second edition of the "Messianic Prophecies" booklet contains everything that is in the 15-page first edition, plus the additional passages from Genesis to Samuel, the description of the pamphlet will be based on the second edition.

The chorus of Messianic prophecies that comes down through the ages is opened by a word from none other than the Lord himself. The first great promise ranks among the fundamental and unalterable utterances that govern the destinies of mankind for all generations. Similar basic words are to be found in Genesis 1:28, 3:19, 8:22. Genesis 3:15 is so broad that it contains all following promises of the Savior within itself.

. . . undying warfare is to go on between the woman . . . and the tempter . . . the warfare broadens out so as to include on the one side . . . the whole ungodly world . . . but on the other side all those who share the spirit of our penitent and forgiven mother, Eve. . . . Eve recovered from her personal fall and came back to faith.

. . . but lastly the conflict will narrow down again to two opponents. One of these is obviously the devil himself. The other must also therefore be an individual, and is described as . . . "seed of the woman". . . . By describing the ultimate deliverer as the "seed of woman," the word predicates the true human nature of Jesus Christ.

. . . By asserting that God himself shall keep the enmity alive on man's part, it is indicted that this involves a wholesome and necessary opposition. That the tempter's head is crushed implies . . . a total deliverance and salvation. . . . This verse constitutes the essence of the gospel. Romans 16:20 [God will crush Satan] is both a quotation and a comment on the passage. The promise of the "seed of the woman" was the gospel in a nutshell and the Bible in brief for thousands of years.⁸⁸

Dr. Leupold's exegetical approach in this booklet is thus much after the manner of Luther's first Psalms lectures, the *Dictata*, wherein the foremost characteristic of a given Psalm is that Christ via the Spirit is the speaker, or the one immediately spoken of.⁸⁹ Nowhere in the "Messianic Prophecies" booklet does Leupold discuss critical questions.

⁸⁸Leupold "Messianic Prophecies," pp. 5-6.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 13. J. S. Preus, "Luther on Christ and the Old Testament," Concordia Theological Monthly, 43 (September 1972):488-97. James Samuel Preus, "Old Testament Promissio and Luther's New Hermeneutic," Harvard Theological Review, 60 (April

Dr. Ronald Hals Class Notes Taken When a Student
in Dr. Leupold's Classes

Dr. Hals class notes give a student's eye-view of the theology Dr. Leupold taught in the classroom about mid-way through his career, 1946-50, from the student who eventually became Dr. Leupold's successor at The Columbus Seminary as professor of Old Testament exegesis. According to Dr. Leupold's records in his grade books, Ronald Hals took nine courses from Dr. Leupold.⁹⁰

1967):145-61. James Samuel Preus, From Shadow to Promise: O.T. Interpretation from Augustine to the Young Luther, (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1969). David L. Schreiber, "The Hominization of 'Aufheben': A Study of a Theological Concept," Unpublished seminar research paper, Richmond, Va., 1969. David L. Schreiber, "The Preus Thesis: Promise of Advent -- A Study of Luther's Exegesis of the 7 Penitential Psalms," Unpublished seminar research paper, Richmond, Va., 1969.

⁹⁰L41.1, Leupold Archives, Box #2. L42.1, Leupold Archives Box #3. Leupold "Grade Books" Tabulation: XIII.A.3(L41.1); XIII.B.4.(L41.1); XIII.A.4(L41.1); XIV.A.1(L41.1); XIV.B.1(L41.1); XV.C.1(L42.1); XV.B.5(L42.1); XV.C.5(L42.1). Dr. Ronald Hals student notes in his personal files, Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio: pp. 1-41 taken in Dr. Leupold's "English Old Testament" course (Old Testament #501), September 26, 1946-February 4, 1947, when Hals was one of the class of 34 Juniors (first-year seminarians), plus Hals' mimeograph copy of Dr. Leupold's 59-page "Old Testament Introduction Notes" booklet; pages 1-31 taken in Dr. Leupold's "English Old Testament" course (Old Testament #502), February 1947-May 1947, when Hals was one of the class of 27 Juniors (first-year seminarians), plus Hals' mimeograph copy of Dr. Leupold's 15-page "Messianic Prophecies" booklet; pages 1-60 taken in Dr. Leupold's "Hebrew Grammar" courses (Old Testament #542), September 1946-June 1947; pages 1-95 taken in Dr. Leupold's "Old Testament (Heb.) Exegesis" courses (Old Testament #611), September 1947-January 1948, when Hals was one of the class of 16 Middlers (second-year seminarians), and (Old Testament #612), January 1948-May 1948, when Hals was one of the class of 19 Middlers; pages 1-25 taken in Dr. Leupold's "Old Testament Problems" course (Old Testament #722), March 1950-June 1950, when Hals was one of the class of 17 Seniors (fourth-year seminarians); and notes taken in Dr. Leupold's "Aramaic" courses (Old Testament #621), September 1949-January 1950, when Hals was one of a class of 3 students, later one of the class of 2.

The very first course Hals took from Dr. Leupold, "English Old Testament," used as its basic text the Bible, of course, and as its outline Dr. Leupold's fifty-nine page "Old Testament Introduction Notes" booklet that the Capital University Book Store had by then published in mimeograph form; so each student had his own copy of Dr. Leupold's "Old Testament Introduction Notes." In this first semester Dr. Leupold covered the entire five books of the Pentateuch, fourteen Psalms (Psalms 121-34), the books of Zechariah and Daniel, the critical theories of the origin of patriarchal religion, and special problems in the Pentateuch. It is interesting to note Dr. Leupold's selection of Old Testament material. He had by 1947 published only one book, his ever-popular Genesis commentary, but was to later write books on all the rest of the Biblical material given in this semester, commentaries on Daniel (1949), Zechariah (1956) and Psalms (1959). So we can already see Dr. Leupold's distinctive Old Testament theology well-developed in this "English Old Testament" course given in 1946-47.⁹¹

The second course on "English Old Testament" was simply the second semester sequel to the course just mentioned above. The basic tool besides the Bible used in this second semester seems to have been the fifteen page first edition of Dr. Leupold's "Syllabus for Messianic Prophecies from David to Malachi."⁹²

⁹¹L41.1; Leupold Archive Box #2. Leupold "Grade Books," Tabulation: XIII.A.3. Hals Notes on "English Old Testament."

⁹²L41.1; Leupold Archive Box #2. Leupold "Grade Books," Tabulation: XIII.B.4. Hals Notes on "English Old Testament."

In this second semester, Dr. Leupold covered the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, eight messianic prophecy passages, some discussion of the "negative works" of critical scholars, and some exegetical connections with New Testament vocables. Unlike the material he covered in the first semester, Dr. Leupold never did publish anything (except his "Messianic Prophecies" pamphlet) on any of the Biblical texts he covered this second semester. Nevertheless, his methodology was the same, that is, an exposition of the theological content of the Biblical material within the general structure of the Biblical sequence of events and ideas.⁹³

A third course, Hebrew Grammar, was a standard beginners Biblical Hebrew Course, but there is one detail that stands out. Dr. Leupold began the course almost the very first period working with the Biblical text itself, that is, Genesis 1:1. That is to say, the apparent teaching philosophy we might glean from this is the fact that Dr. Leupold made sure to immediately demonstrate the practical value of the study of Biblical Hebrew. That possibly had the two-fold purpose of, on the one hand, not having to defend at length his later assignments in the hard-core grammar exercises, and on the other hand, placing before the students the expectation that in all their future theological work, they should begin with the Biblical text as it stands.⁹⁴ Dr. Wilch said of Dr. Leupold:

⁹³L41.1; Leupold Archive Box #2. Leupold "Grade Books," Tabulation: XIII.B.4. Hals Notes on "English Old Testament."

⁹⁴L41.1; Leupold Archive Box #2. Leupold "Grade Books" Tabulation: XIII.A.4. Hals Notes on "Hebrew Grammar."

His method of teaching Hebrew was to start right out with translation, which we thought was fun. I think that this was rather revolutionary or avant-garde. . . . For teaching a living language, it is the best way to teach it, . . . start out by talking it, . . . and you don't worry about grammar.

But he started out with Genesis 1:1, and as we went we learned the [Hebrew alphabet] letters and the words. . . . So we learned a few letters each day. . . . After awhile we did [start to] use a grammar [text]. . . . I think that isn't a bad method . . . to try to get people interested first.⁹⁵

Sample of Dr. Leupold's Quizzes and Syllabi

Surviving fragments of quiz questions, graded student answers to a couple of them, and syllabi detail what Dr. Leupold emphasized as most important in the study of Biblical exegesis and theology. There are twenty-six tests preserved in Dr. Hals personal files (12) and in the Leupold Archives (14), extending over the time period from May 18, 1944, to December 15, 1970. There is no overlap. The tests preserved by Hals (1946-50) are not found in the Leupold Archives, and vice-versa, so the two collections supplement each other very well.

The unanimous verdict of all twenty-six tests is that Dr. Leupold took his testing program seriously. That is, the evidence says he did not give "trick" tests, surprising the students with questions on material that had not been assigned, or some other similar gimmick. However, Dr. Leupold was not inhibited about casting his questions in different forms or angling his questions from a variety of perspectives. It seems that all tests were

⁹⁵Wilch, p. 4.

carefully designed to rest fairly on material actually covered and assigned. A look at his collection of Classroom Grade Books (1929-71), however, reveals that he was an easy grader; most of the students got A's or B's in Dr. Leupold's courses, and there are very few really low grades to be found in his Grade Books.⁹⁶

Someone on the Columbus Seminary Administrative Staff sent Dr. Leupold "two Bible Placement Tests given to entering Juniors last September" (September 1962?) for Dr. Leupold to critically review and comment upon. The first one had apparently been drawn up by Luther Theological Seminary, Saint Paul, Minnesota, for its own use; it was seven pages long, covering both Old Testament and New Testament. The other one had apparently been drawn up by Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, for its own use; its Old Testament section was six pages long and its New Testament section was fourteen pages long -- twenty pages in all.⁹⁷ Dr. Leupold prefixed the following critical note to this set of tests:

Difference Between Tests

- a) St. Paul: tends toward what students do not know with rare exception.
- b) Dubuque: Old Testament Bible Placement Test makes more reasonable demands and tests what the student does know. New Testament Bible Placement Test expects too much on four Gospels, e.g., "locate by book and chapter."

"Entrance Examination" is a misnomer.⁹⁸

⁹⁶L41.1 and L42.1,#1; Leupold Archives, Boxes #2,#3

⁹⁷L46.1-2. Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #2.

⁹⁸Ibid.

Dr. Leupold did not agree that "Bibelkunde" was something that should be dispensed with and dismissed by means of a Bible Placement Test, in order that seminary course-work might be redirected toward an emphasis on sundry "books about the Bible." Dr. Leupold understood seminary education to basically be study of the Bible itself on the basis of the original languages, with "books about the Bible" as supplementary study aids.

There are six samples of Dr. Leupold's "Work Schedules" (Course Syllabi) in the Leupold Archives, covering six different courses given by Dr. Leupold from 1960 to 1962. These Syllabi were really a listing of the work that the students were supposed to do during the quarter, a listing of assignments. These assignments reveal to us from yet another angle what Dr. Leupold thought was most important, his emphases -- in terms of what constituted the substance of the courses, as well as how time should be spent.

It is easy to see the consistent emphasis in these six courses -- as it is most specifically named in the fifth course, "The Oxford Annotated Bible." So this only reinforces what has been said before, that Dr. Leupold apparently considered extensive reading in the Bible itself (the #1 primary source) as the most important task in his seminary classes, the substance of his course, where the most time should be spent.

It should be noted that Dr. Leupold specifically assigned the most scholarly recent edition of his time (Oxford Annotated) for that reading, and that he constantly recommended supplementary commentary reading as well. And by the way, Dr. Leupold's written

recommendation about commentary reading included a fair balance between his own conservative perspective, that is, Keil-Delitzsch, and the Liberal-critical perspective, that is, the International Critical Commentary. Also as in the second syllabus, Dr. Leupold emphasizes that the student should search out the "message" of the Biblical book being studied. Finally, some of his syllabi required his characteristic fifteen to twenty page "mini-commentary" on the material read.

1946-71. Liturgy, Hymnology and Worship

Teaching

Dr. Ewald said that during his Martin Luther Seminary days (1917-23) in the Buffalo Synod, "every student had to learn to play the organ and read music, taking turns playing the hymns for morning and evening devotions."⁹⁹ Dr. Ewald added: "Music was stressed at Martin Luther Seminary. We had the 'Orchestra',¹⁰⁰ and Male Chorus, and in class was stressed the use of music in the Old Testament worship and in the Temple."¹⁰¹ Thus the origin of Dr. Leupold's knowledge of Liturgics and Hymnology was probably his own training at Martin Luther Seminary, 1911-14.¹⁰²

⁹⁹Dr. Ewald, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰Endeavor, (Buffalo, NY: Martin Luther Seminary, 1918-19), picture, p. 8.

¹⁰¹Dr. Ewald, p. 10.

¹⁰²Dr. Ewald, p. 13. Endeavor, 1922-3, p. 29-31.

The early decision to omit any discussion of Liturgy, Hymnology and Worship as outside the scope of this dissertation has been reversed by the comparatively enormous amount of Archive and other evidence showing that this was Dr. Leupold's "Minor" at The Columbus Seminary. When a tabulation from Dr. Leupold's classroom Grade Books, 1929-71, showed he had taught Liturgics for about twenty years, it suddenly put a spread of Archive items dating from the early 1940s till the late 1960s in a new light.

Dr. Leupold's "Classroom Grade Books, 1929-71" tell Dr. Leupold's exact teaching load during his entire 1930- and 1960-ALC career, showing that his "Major" was Old Testament, but that his "Minor" was Liturgics.¹⁰³ Dr. Elhard said that

Dr. Leupold:

was struck by what kind of worship people had during the period of Rationalism. . . . He was certain that you could tell the spirit of the church by the kind of worship they had. And he observed the . . . shallow . . . unedifying kind of worship that they had. He saw liturgy as a safe-guard against the fluctuation of doctrine. . . . I remember his saying it many times, that the liturgy preserves doctrine.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³Dr. Leupold taught Liturgics for 19 years: 1929-46, 1953-5, 1958-9. He taught Hymnology for 2 years: 1946 and 1948-9. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #4. "Why We Worship As We Do," p. 543

¹⁰⁴Elhard interview, p. 5. Cf., Horace D. Hummel, "Biblical or Dogmatic Theology?" Concordia Journal, 7 (September 1981):191-200, a discussion on the difference between systematic vocabulary and the exegetical and Biblical vocabulary used in liturgy and worship.

Joint Commission on the Liturgy

But what really clinched the decision to report about Dr. Leupold's involvement in liturgy, hymnology and worship was the discovery that he was a charter member of the intersynodical "Service Book and Hymnal" (SBH) Committee. What was the origin of this SBH committee?¹⁰⁵

The United Lutheran Church meeting in Minneapolis in October 1944, resolved to delay the final revision of its hymnal, a work which had been under way for six years, in order to seek the fullest

¹⁰⁵To recapitulate a bit, the first minister ordained in America (1703), Justus Falckner, was a German ordained in Philadelphia according to the Swedish rite, for the purpose of ministering to the Dutch in New York -- revealing a major problem for the Lutheran Churches in the United States, the diversity of the linguistic and cultural background of its constituents.

The first native Lutheran liturgy in America was the Muhlenberg liturgy of 1748, adopted when the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was organized that same year. The first printed liturgy and hymnal, to which Muhlenberg contributed the preface, was published in 1786. Out of the liturgical movement of the mid-19th century came the publication of the "English Church Book" by the General Council in 1868. Of greater significance was the "Common Service," prepared in 1888 by combined representation from the General Council, the General Synod and the United Synod of the South, -- which three bodies merged thirty years later to form the United Lutheran Church.

The "Common Service" was promptly incorporated into the worship service books of all Lutheran Churches in America. However, the "Common Service" included no Occasional Services, hymnal, nor musical settings. So the United Lutheran Church altered and expanded the "Common Service" into a "Common Service Book" in 1918. This was the background for the post-World War II efforts to produce a common Liturgy and Hymnal. Rev. Luther D. Reed, D.D., "Liturgy: Backgrounds, Preparation, Scope," p. 1-5, a report to the sixteenth meeting of the Joint Commission on the Liturgy, at the Drake Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, Nov. 18, 1955; in S.B.H., vol. 2, "Liturgy, Minutes, Articles," (no page numbers), in Archives of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1100 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill., courtesy of Rev. Joel W. Lundeen, Archivist.

possible cooperation of other Lutheran bodies. This invitation was accepted by the 1930-ALC (German), Augustana Lutheran Church (Swedish), Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church (Norwegian), Lutheran Free Church, Suomi Synod (Finnish), United Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the United Lutheran Church in America, who joined together to form the Joint Commission on the Hymnal, and held their first organizational planning meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 23, 1945.¹⁰⁶

The success of this commission's work led the representatives of the Augustana Lutheran Church to propose the formation of a similar commission on the Liturgy. In this manner the Joint Commission on the Liturgy came into being, with Dr. Leupold being both a charter member and also elected to be the first Secretary of the Commission.¹⁰⁷

In a letter dated January 21, 1946, preserved in the Leupold Archives, President E. Poppen of the 1930-ALC wrote the following to Rev. Paul W. Nesper of Wheeling, West Virginia (apparently an organizer of the Joint Commission):¹⁰⁸

The appointment of a man to take part in the deliberations of a liturgical committee has not been forgotten by me. I spoke to Dr. H. C. Leupold at the Christmas party of the seminary before the holidays, and told him that I was appointing him to act in that capacity.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Reed, p. 2. "SBH", vol. 1.

¹⁰⁷Reed, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁸"SBH", vol. 1.

¹⁰⁹"SBH", vol. 1.

Another letter dated January 30, 1946 from Rev. Luther D. Reed (later elected first chairman of the Joint Commission) to Dr. Leupold stated:

Having been informed that President Poppen has appointed you to represent the American Lutheran Church at the Joint Conference on the liturgy, I am writing to state that such a Conference will be held at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Monday, February 25th.¹¹⁰

Also preserved in the LSTC Archives is a letter dated March 14, 1946 (unsigned, though probably from Luther Reed) sent to President Poppen reporting about the February 25, 1946 organizational first meeting of the Joint Commission on the Liturgy; Prof. H. C. Leupold, D.D., is mentioned as having attended as the official representative of the 1930-ALC.¹¹¹

The second meeting of the Joint Commission on the Liturgy was held in the Victory Room of the Hotel Henry, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Wednesday and Thursday, June 26-7, 1946. Dr. Luther Reed was chosen to preside at this meeting, and Dr. Leupold was asked to fill the position of Secretary.

The third meeting of the Joint Commission was held at the Drake Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 16-18, 1946. Dr. Leupold and Dr. Reed were at this meeting elected permanent Secretary and Chairman, respectively, of the Joint Commission.¹¹²

¹¹⁰SBH, vol. 7.

¹¹¹SBH, vol. 1.

¹¹²SBH., vol. 1: Letter dated Dec. 20, 1946, from Dr. Reed to the Rev. Pres. Franklin Clark Fry, p. 1-4. SBH, vol. 2: third meeting, Joint Commission, Dec. 16-8, 1946, p. 1, 4.

Dr. Leupold continued as permanent secretary for the Joint Commission as far as the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago Archive SBH records go, continuing with the fourth meeting, April 28-30, 1947, through the sixteenth meeting, November 18, 1955.¹¹³

Permanent Commission on the Liturgy & Hymnal

The "Service Book and Hymnal" was finally published in 1958, but follow-up work and preparation of additional Occasional Service books by the interdenominational committee continued.

In the Leupold Archives is a copy of the minutes of the April 15, 1958 (first) meeting of the Permanent Commission on the Liturgy and the Hymnal held at the Drake Hotel in Chicago, Illinois. There were eight Lutheran Church bodies represented.¹¹⁴

At this meeting was held election of officers: a president (Edward T. Horn III), a secretary-treasurer, and three members of an "executive committee" (one of which was Dr. Leupold). So from the very beginning of this commission too, Dr. Leupold was participating at the very pinnacle of the most influential liturgy, hymnal and

¹¹³SBH, vol. 2. SBH, vol. 7.

¹¹⁴1) American Evangelical Lutheran Church; 2) 1930-ALC, represented by Dr. Leupold; 3) Augustana Lutheran Church; 4) Evangelical Lutheran Church; 5) Lutheran Free Church; 6) Suomi Synod; 7) United Evangelical Lutheran Church; 8) United Lutheran Church in America, represented by Luther D. Reed and Edward T. Horn III. The meeting chairman was the Rev. Dr. Luther D. Reed of the United Lutheran Church in America. L43.27, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #16.

worship organization in his own church body (1930-ALC) as well as in his future merged church body (1960-ALC).¹¹⁵

Also in the Leupold Archives is a copy of the minutes of the May 5, 1960 (second) meeting of the Permanent Commission on the Liturgy and the Hymnal, held at the Sylvania Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The same eight church bodies were present as at the first meeting. The minutes contain long reports (one to three paragraphs each) with statistics, critical comments, and parliamentary motions by almost every speaker -- except Dr. Leupold. The Minutes record only one sentence summarizing Dr. Leupold's report about the reception of the new SBH by the 1930-ALC: "Dr. H. C. Leupold reported from the American Church, that the book has been very well received."¹¹⁶

Dr. Leupold was 68 years old in 1960. Perhaps he felt that his work with the SBH in particular and the church in general was largely coming to a close. Or it is just possible that Dr. Leupold's estrangement from the new regime soon to take over the new 1960-ALC began not overtly with Augsburg Publishing House criticism of his Isaiah Commentary in 1966, but covertly in resistance from the New Hymnal and Liturgy Commission against the theologically conservative image that Dr. Leupold represented, as reflected in Dr. Leupold's strange silence at the May 5, 1960 meeting just reported -- as though he felt intimidated somehow by

¹¹⁵L43.27, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #16.

¹¹⁶L43.25, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #15.

this new commission. But if not intimidated here, he was certainly demoted only a few months later, as described below.

Standing Committee on Worship and Church Music of 1960-ALC

In a letter dated September 8, 1960 from the new President F. Schoitz of the new 1960-ALC, the new Church Council of the 1960-ALC at its first meeting, August 3-6, 1960, in Minneapolis, elected Dr. Leupold to the new Standing Committee on Worship and Church Music of the ALC. The Committee consisted of a total of nine Regular Members and three Alternates. On the Permanent Commission in 1958, Dr. Leupold had been on the "executive committee," but on the New Standing Committee of 1960, Dr. Leupold was demoted to an "Alternate."¹¹⁷

However Dr. Leupold's 20 years of teaching Liturgics, and charter membership on the SBH committee were not the only aspects of liturgy, hymnology and worship that he was involved in.

¹¹⁷L43.24, Letter "i," Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #15. Now instead of eight church bodies in the intersynodical Permanent Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal, because of the 1960-ALC merger there were six: 1) the new 1960-ALC; 2) Lutheran Free Church (Norwegian, 1897); 3) United Lutheran Church of America (1918); 4) Augustana Lutheran Church (1860); 5) American Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish, 1872); 6) Suomi Synod (Finnish, 1890). On page 4 of the minutes of the third meeting of the Permanent Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal, Drake Hotel, Chicago, April 6, 1961, appeared this interesting sidelight:

"Drs. Horn and Brown reported that they met with committees from the Missouri Synod, that the Missouri Synod is ready to revise the occasional services, that they are planning a revision of their hymnal within the next six years or seven years. They reported that they met with the Doctrinal Unity Commission and with the worship committee. The Missouri Synod would like to have a member of their committee on worship sit with this committee, and a member of our committee sit with their committee. The discussions

December 11, 1953. Schramm "Lutheran Standard"
Collects Letter

On this date Lutheran Standard Editor, E. W. Schramm informed "Dear Brother Leupold" that the Lutheran Standard would publish the notice of the installation of Dr. Leupold's son-in-law, Rev. Russell Finkenbine, in the January 2, 1954 edition. Then Schramm added:

That will be the issue in which we shall use the first of the Collects that you promised to supply for the new year. In this connection, I am enclosing a communication about the observance of a Week of Prayer in January. Whether or not you want to make any use whatsoever of the thoughts or Collects contained in the leaflet is, of course, entirely up to you. I thought you would be interested in examining this material.¹¹⁸

Therefore, this Schramm letter shows that Dr. Leupold was a producer of liturgical materials in the early 1950s.

April 6, 1954. Nesper "Lutheran Standard" Collects Letter

This letter from Paul W. Nesper, the Chairman of the ALC Board of Publication shows Dr. Leupold is still putting out Collects. Nesper says in part:

. . . regarding the weekly Collects for the Lutheran Standard. . . . By working together I am sure we can carry out the assignment. If the enclosed Collect is acceptable, use it for Misericordias and then we'll follow with the others.¹¹⁹

were informal and mutual." Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America, Rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964 [1955]), pp. 376-9. L43.29, Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #16.

¹¹⁸That leaflet, like one issued each year by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, suggested that a "Week of Prayer for Christian Unity" be observed, January 18-25, 1954, by Protestants and Catholics alike. L46.10, Letter "r," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4.

¹¹⁹L46.9, Letter "pp"; not listed in my Catalogue Index, but "Letters in Archives" file says it comes after Wallis Letter.

August 24, 1957. Finkenbine "Lutheran Standard"
Collects Postcard

This is just a postcard from Dr. Leupold's son-in-law, Rev. Russell Finkenbine, which shows that Dr. Leupold was still writing collects. Finkenbine says:

Dear Dad, I have prepared Collects for the Lutheran Standard up to and including the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity (October 6, 1957). I enjoyed doing it, but wanted to let you know in sufficient time to secure someone for the next period.¹²⁰

Dr. Leupold was apparently not only serving as a producer of liturgical materials, but was also a coordinator of others similarly serving the Lutheran Standard.

October 10, 1957 Lutz. "Luther League
SBH Article" Letter

This is a letter from Editor Charles Lutz of Christian Youth Publications, at 422 S. 5th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota. This organization was the producer of "One Magazine" and "Youth Programs Magazine," which were published by the Joint Youth Publications Council, representing the Luther Leagues of the American, Augustana, Evangelical, Free, and United Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Lutz writes:

Dear Dr. Leupold: You have been nominated to write a program for the 1958-9 annual edition of "Youth Programs," the manual used by Luther Leagues in six Lutheran bodies. We're wondering if you'd be willing to prepare the following:

A feature program to be used in introducing the new "Service Book and Hymnal." It should be usable as an

¹²⁰Letter "oo"; not listed in my Catalogue Index, but "Letters in Archives" file says it comes after Wallis Letter, L46.9.

evening worship-study event conducted by the Luther League, to which the congregation may be invited. The program's purpose is to familiarize League and congregation with the new volume as a book of worship.¹²¹

The Leupold Archives also contain Dr. Leupold's draft of this SBH feature program. This essay is a good example of Dr. Leupold's "Practical Theology" in communicating with laymen, and reveals his understanding of the subtleties of Lutheran liturgy, hymnology and worship,¹²² but any detailed analysis of that topic is outside the scope of this dissertation.

June 25, 1961. Buszin Letter

This letter, dated June 25, 1961, was sent by Prof. Walter E. Buszin, the Chairman of the LCMS Commission on Worship, Liturgics and Hymnology to Dr. Leupold. Buszin addressed seven questions to Dr. Leupold prefaced by the following explanation:

There are some within our synodical ranks who believe that our Commission should be part of the literature board of the church which has very close ties with Concordia Publishing House. They deem this necessary in the interest of better integration and control.

Others believe that our commission should not be part of this board and hence not be obligated to our publication house as are other synodical boards. Taking the very nature of corporate worship materials into consideration, they believe that commercial inducements as well as group pressure will best be avoided if this commission is independent, is related rather to a

¹²¹An enclosed instruction sheet goes on to ask for a manuscript of 400 typed lines, recommends making use of Scripture as much as possible using the RSV, and keeping in mind the age-group involved, gearing the vocabulary and concepts accordingly. L46.13-4, Letter "t," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4.

¹²²See "Luther League Service Book and Hymnal Article" Appendix.

commission on theology, and has no direct attachments or obligations to our publication house.¹²³

Buszin says that he had been "asked officially" to gather this information, that is, the last paragraph of Buszin's letter adds, "I am writing to you at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Edward T. Horn, III." The Archives also contain Dr. Leupold's response, dated June 29, 1961.¹²⁴

So briefly summarized, here we see the chairman (Horn) of the nation's largest Lutheran intersynodical liturgy, hymnology and worship commission (six synods)¹²⁵ recommending to the chairman (Buszin) of the parallel commission in the LCMS that the latter write for counsel to Dr. Leupold, who is here regarded very respectfully as an authority and expert in the field. That speaks for itself with regard to Dr. Leupold's standing and popularity among the conservatives of his time.

September/October 1966. Muedeking "Lutheran Standard" Propers Letters

In a letter, dated September 15, 1966, George H. Muedeking¹²⁶ asked Dr. Leupold to prepare nine "Getting Ready for Sunday" 450-word pilot articles for the Lutheran Standard on the Old

¹²³L43.27. Letter "L," 1a, 1b, 1c," Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #16.

¹²⁴See "Buszin Appendix."

¹²⁵See Supra, p. 156, Footnote 117.

¹²⁶Muedeking was on the staff of the Lutheran Standard at that time. He wrote on Edward W. Schramm stationary.

Testament Propers for 1-4 Advent and Christmas 1966, the Sunday after Christmas, 1-2 Epiphany and Septuagesima 1967.¹²⁷ Muedeking says:

We'd like to take a devotional look at the Scripture Propers for each Sunday, a look which transcends an off-the-cuff reaction to the Biblical material in the manner of a high pressure preacher [i.e., a pastor under the pressures of a parish] who has no time for real sermon preparation, yet which does not burrow down into exegetical niceties and extravagances of theory which the typical Standard reader neither can nor wants to follow.

From my experience in your classes and from your writing over the years I would say that you are the man who could accomplish this task. We . . . would hope that the material would do three things: 1) alert the readers to the presence and unitary message of the Old Testament lesson in its relation to the Season, 2) provide inspirational direction. . .3) encourage study and expositional understanding of the Scripture to a generally Biblically-illiterate readership.¹²⁸

The articles themselves are to be found in the Lutheran Standard. They show that Dr. Leupold's services were still in demand in the area of liturgy, hymnology and worship even in his retirement when he was over 70 years old.

Published & Unpublished Booklets, Monographs, Articles, Essays, Lectures, and Sermons

1955 European Lutheran World Federation
Theological Conference

Itinerary

In 1955, Dr. Leupold was one of a number of United States theologians who participated in a Lutheran World Federation (LWF)

¹²⁷Leupold, H. C., "The Servant's Gracious Tasks" in the series, "Getting Ready for Sunday," in "Lutheran Standard," 7 (January 10, 1967):31.

¹²⁸L46.20-1, Letter "v, 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #10.

theological conference held from July 19th to September 9th, 1955, at several different locations in Europe. A letter from Dr. Hans H. Weissgerber,¹²⁹ dated July 15, 1955, addressed to both Professor Dr. Martin J. Heinecken,¹³⁰ and Professor Dr. H. C. Leupold, together with an enclosed "Scandinavian Airlines System" (S.A.S.) "Itinerary," listed the detailed itinerary for their LWF trip. The itinerary said that Drs. Heinecken and Leupold would be accompanied on their whole trip by Dr. Vilmos Vajta.¹³¹ The LWF Trip is briefly summarized below.¹³²

The Theological Conference at Tutzing lasted August 22-6; at this conference Dr. Leupold delivered three Bible Meditations -- on the second, third and fourth days. Having made his contribution to

¹²⁹Weissberber's letter is written on stationery of the LWF, located at Route de Malagnou 17, Geneva, listing Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist as Executive Secretary of LWF, and Dr. Vilmos Vajta as Director of the Department of Theology.

¹³⁰7206 Boyer Street., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹³¹L46.2-3, Letter "p, 1a," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #3.

¹³²Dr. Leupold flew on S.A.S. from New York to England on July 29, 1955. There was a Theological Conference in London, August 1-3. Dr. Leupold flew from London to Frankfurt, and then went by train from Frankfurt to Strasbourg on August 4. L46.2-3, Letter "p, 1a," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #3.

There were in Strasbourg meetings of the Commissions on Liturgy and Theology August 5-13. There Dr. Leupold presented a Bible meditation at 9:30 a.m., August 10, 1955. L46.4-6, 14, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4, #5.

Dr. Leupold returned by train from Strasbourg to Frankfurt on August 13, and then flew from Frankfurt to Berlin on August 14. The Theological Conference at Berlin lasted August 14-21. Dr. Leupold may have delivered his Bible meditations here too. Then Dr. Leupold flew from Berlin to Muenchen on August 21, and then went by train from Munich to Tutzing. L46.2-3, Letter "p, 1a," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #3.

the Lutheran World Federation Conference, Dr. Leupold here decided to cut his trip short and return home.¹³³ Dr. Leupold himself explained the reason for this:

It is true, I cut the last week of the proposed trip off my schedule with Dr. Vajta's consent. I was worn a bit thin [Note: Dr. Leupold had marked his 63rd birthday a little over a month before, on July 23, 1955] by the preparations to be made for the trip in comparatively short time, and grew quite uneasy during the first weeks because I had not been able to organize my seminary work adequately for the coming semester. I felt I owed such preparation to my calling as professor of the Seminary, and so Dr. Vajta arranged for me to fly back after the Tutzing Conference. With this arrangement I arrived in a more relaxed frame of mind and was able to get much more profit out of the conferences I did attend.¹³⁴

The reason for quoting Dr. Leupold's own explanation for cutting his trip short was because Dr. Fendt intimated that Dr. Leupold had cut the trip short partially at least because his Bible Meditations had encountered blistering criticism (although there is no known extant written evidence for this) from certain German theologians who later sent letters critical of Leupold to

¹³³L46.3, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #3. If Dr. Leupold had completed his itinerary, he would have traveled by train from Tutzing to Munich on August 26, and then flown from Munich to Frankfurt on Aug. 27. From Frankfurt, Dr. Leupold would have flown to Copenhagen also on August 27, and stayed there 2 days. Then from Copenhagen, Dr. Leupold would have flown to Malmo, Sweden on August 29. Also on August 29, he would have traveled by train from Malmo to Stockholm. On August 31, he would have traveled by train from Stockholm to Rattvik for the last meeting, the Rattvik Theological Conference, September 2-6. Dr. Leupold would have then returned by train from Rattvik to Stockholm, flown S.A.S. out of Stockholm on September 8 and arrived in New York on September 9.

¹³⁴L46.7-8, Letter "q," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4. See "Carroll Appendix."

Fendt and 1930-ALC President Schuh,¹³⁵ as will be discussed below.¹³⁶

There is evidence, however, as was mentioned above,¹³⁷ that Dr. Leupold may have suffered a mild mini-stroke from the exertion of the LWF trip, because Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Leupold said that Dr. Leupold began to have a tremor in his right hand after his return from the 1955 LWF trip to Europe.¹³⁸ Dr. Leupold himself may not have even realized that he had had a mini-stroke, but only, as he himself writes, that, "I was worn a bit thin."¹³⁹ Such a mini-stroke may or may not have been caused or aggravated by any alleged "blistering criticism" in Germany.

The Three Bible Meditations (Bible Studies)

Another letter from Dr. Weissgerber to Dr. Leupold, dated July 20, 1955, but addressed only to Dr. Leupold, supplied last-minute itinerary information. In addition, Weissgerber wrote, "I want to thank you very much for the theses which have been received by our office in good time."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵Fendt, pp. 8-9, 20.

¹³⁶Infra, pp. 167-70.

¹³⁷Supra, p. 105.

¹³⁸Mr. & Mrs. Leupold interview, Detailed Outline Keyed to Sources, #40.1..

¹³⁹L46.7-8, Letter "Q," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4. See "Carroll Appendix."

¹⁴⁰L46.3, Letter "p. lb," Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #3.

The "theses" that Weissgerber was thanking Dr. Leupold for were copies of Dr. Leupold's three Bible Meditations (Bible Studies) which were formally presented at the Tutzing Theological Conference (August 22-26), and delivered on August 23, 24, and 25, 1955. The text for all three Bible Meditations was Matthew 10.¹⁴¹

In the course of the first Bible Study, based on Matthew 10:5-10, entitled "The Orders Given to the Messengers," Dr. Leupold expressed himself on the ever-current topic of the relationship between conversion and "Signs & Wonders."¹⁴²

¹⁴¹L46.4-6, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4. Each Bible meditation was about 10 pages long, typed, double-spaced.

¹⁴²Next in order we find that the essence of the message is clearly formulated: "'The kingdom of heaven is at hand'. . . . All this lies open before all men, if they will but have it. But they cannot share in it unless there be a total change of attitude and mind -- metanoia, a transfer of trust from self and one's own capacities to the Living God. Any preaching that lacks this note of clear witness and absolutely basic truth has violated the fundamental demand of the message Christ gave.

". . . We advance a step further in retracing the orders Jesus, our Lord, gave at that time to his disciples. This step involves that mighty miracles be done in the first phase of the kingdom (v.8). The disciples were not only to consider the possibility of the performance of miracles. The direct command was laid upon them to resort to miracles: 'Heal the sick, raise the dead.'

". . . Strangely, at this point -- namely on the subject of the performance of miracles -- the question keeps arising: Was that power conferred only for those early days or is it still in force and to be used? It may help us to recall that the Biblical record clearly shows that miracles were resorted to only in very limited periods of time, and this because almost at once the physical benefit conferred by the miracle captivates the mind to the point where the greater spiritual benefits become secondary.

See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #9. "Miracles Are Not All-Important," p. 557

"There was an outburst of miracles in the days of the Exodus and the Occupation of the land under Moses and Joshua. A number of them were in evidence in the days of Elijah and Elisha. Also a

The response that Dr. Leupold received from his three Bible Meditations will be discussed briefly in the next section, but his second Bible Study, based on Matthew 10:11-23, was entitled, "The Offer of Grace Refused." This one truly would have been sufficient to provoke "blistering criticism" from a typical liberal German theologian, because Dr. Leupold asserted in no uncertain terms that he regarded these "words of Christ (Matt. 10) as being a unit speech actually delivered by Christ as such," and "not to be regarded as a literary composition of the evangelist."¹⁴³

smaller number of them in Isaiah's day. Then they ceased almost entirely until Christ for a time wrought a superabundance of them to make the coming of the kingdom apparent. But even he soon checked himself and did signs and wonders only intermittently.

". . . But the history of God's people shows that miracles are the exception. The periods where they do not occur are much longer. Signs and wonders may help to validate the Gospel and to draw men to the gracious Savior. But they are hardly a necessary major mark of the coming kingdom. L46.4-6, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4. Cf., Martin H. Scharlemann, "Do We Need Signs and Wonders?," Lutheran Witness, 99(March 1980):9 (73).

¹⁴³"To avoid the possibility of misunderstanding, let me say now what might have been said at the outset -- it seems most helpful and best warranted by the facts of the case to regard the words of Christ (MT. 10) as being a unit speech actually delivered by Christ as such. In other words, it is not to be regarded as a literary composition of the evangelist, who freely combined kindred materials to make a well-rounded presentation of the type of words Christ at one time or another spoke of this general subject. The most, I feel, that could be conceded is that (as I think Nosegen suggests) later formulations of basic materials that Jesus himself made, may have been presented by the evangelist in place of the earlier form that Jesus himself had used. But even that concession is not necessary.

". . . So now comes the next turn of the thought; how the resultant difficulties and dangers are to be met. . . . Men are not to be trusted implicitly. The warning given has been well rendered: "Be on your guard against men." It's naive to be trustful of mankind generally; to assign goodwill and trustworthiness to men generally, as though man were innately good.

Dr. Leupold's third Bible Study, based on Matthew 10:24-33 was entitled "Giving Fearless Testimony," in which he stated that minor denials out of weakness are not yet the unforgiveable sin.¹⁴⁴

Criticism, Thanks, and Dr. Leupold's Letter

Dr. Fendt said that after Dr. Leupold returned from the LWF Conference, he (Fendt) as Dean of the Columbus Seminary, as well as President Schuh of the 1930-ALC, received letters of complaint from German theologians at the Conference complaining about Dr. Leupold. However, the problem is that Fendt's memory seems to have failed him

Jesus knew well of man's inhumanity to man. Now follows a list of forms of cruel treatment that seemingly good and honest men can be capable of when once they have been confronted with the kingdom truth and have rejected it. 'They will deliver you up to councils.'" L46.4-6, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4.

¹⁴⁴"Man is so apt to idealize service rendered to the Lord and his cause, and inclines to the opinion that he shall lie on a bed of roses, that he will be received with open arms, and that men will be only too ready to accept the opportunity to enter the kingdom. Man's optimistic notions must be set right. He must . . . be taught how to cope with the situations that arise. There just has to be a treatment of the negative side of the matter first. Thus we are prepared for some positive and constructive thinking on the subject.

". . . Nothing short of bold fearless testimony is in order. The weak testimony properly is no testimony, at least not when it comes to dealing with the truth that Jesus gave. For in this area everything is firm, sure, positive. Such truth must be stated as a strong conviction.

". . . However, lest timid souls distress themselves unduly about a passing denial or an incidental instance of unfaithfulness, we may well be thankful that the denial and restoration of Peter are recorded in the scriptures. Minor denials out of weakness may happen all too frequently. A prominent denial under stress of grave danger may also take place. But that is not yet unforgiveable sin. And in making that claim we in no sense make light of the sin involved. So denial in this connection must refer to irrevocable denial without subsequent grief over our infidelity." L46.4-6, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4.

because Fendt remembers receiving letters of complaint a decade earlier, "in the 1940s, after the War." Fendt had thrown away these alleged letters of complaint long ago, so if they truly did lodge complaints against anybody, they very well may have been written against an entirely different person, and not Dr. Leupold.¹⁴⁵

Fendt said:

After the war when the Germans were in dire straights, they didn't have any money, and they couldn't get out -- travel -- they were asking for theologians from America to come over. . . . But Leupold wasn't in touch with the modern developments. He made no impression on the European men at all.

. . . In the 1940s, after the war. He made no impression. . . . I got a number of letters asking, "Who is this man Leupold here? If ever there was a benighted lecturer, it was Leupold." That was what some of the German theologians said. Well, he [Leupold] hadn't absorbed any of the new developments in Old Testament theology, or refused to. And Leupold never mentioned that trip. He never mentioned it in a faculty meeting or in a private conversation with me.

. . . Now, when I said it was in the 1940s, it may have been in the early 1950s. . . . My impression -- I would like to check on this though -- my impression is that he was over there only once. He never wanted to go back.

. . . No, I don't remember at all, because I was Dean at the time, and there would have been something administratively that I might have remembered.

. . . Somebody else will have to tutor you on that one.

. . . [1930-ALC President] Shuh was a bitter critic. He bawled me out. He said, "Why did you ever let that fellow [Leupold] get over there?" . . . Schuch . . . was getting the same kind of letters of complaint that I was getting, that this fellow [Leupold] doesn't know the score.

Of course, these German theologians, it is pretty hard to crack that [closed corporation]. I wouldn't hold this wholly against Leupold. Unless you are a German, you have no standing over there. . . . They had 27

¹⁴⁵Fendt, pp. 8-9, 20.

faculties over there and that was a closed corporation. You learned from the Germans. The Germans didn't learn from anybody else.¹⁴⁶

Thus, whether Fendt's memory is of letters about Leupold or about someone else is uncertain. Outside of Fendt's memory, there is no evidence that there ever was anything that amounted to a "complaint" about Dr. Leupold from German theologians after the LWF conference. Since Fendt's memory seems to have failed him in regard to even in which decade Dr. Leupold made his trip to Europe, maybe Fendt was also mistaken about at whom those alleged letters of criticism were directed.

What we do have in the Leupold Archives is a letter from Berlin (Picture #55), dated September 8, 1955, expressing appreciation to Dr. Leupold, on behalf of the East Berlin brethren, for his presence during the Berlin Theological Conference (August 14-21, 1955). There is not a trace of criticism in the letter.¹⁴⁷

Finally, we have the handwritten draft of Dr. Leupold's own letter about his LWF trip, dated August 30, 1955, addressed to Rev. Charles Carroll of the National Lutheran Council, New York City.¹⁴⁸ Leupold does not mention that he received any criticism from any Germans, but he does make a criticism of his own: "I might here express criticism of the irrelevance of much of German

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Picture #55. L46.11, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4.

¹⁴⁸See "Carroll Appendix."

theological thinking to every-day living, but this lies outside the range of my report."¹⁴⁹

Book of Concord

Dr. Leupold's letter to Rev. Carroll is important for another reason. It reveals Dr. Leupold's concern about the "Book of Concord," the Lutheran Confessions -- which are mentioned only twice¹⁵⁰ in all the materials contained in the Leupold Archives. Dr. Leupold says:

I could not help but note how sound confessional Lutheranism is plainly gaining ground in the Lutheran churches everywhere. The indifference to confessions, which had been bred by the union churches is being overcome. Not the least factor in bringing this about is the contact on one hand between Lutherans who take their book of Concord seriously and, on the other, Lutherans who need a little encouragement in this direction, contact promoted largely by the LWF in these conferences.¹⁵¹

Dr. Fendt said of Leupold's attitude toward the "Book of Concord": "Oh, he was very loyal to it, of course."¹⁵² And Dr. Doermann remembers that when he had joined the Columbus Seminary faculty as a colleague of Leupold's in the Old Testament Department, "I can remember . . . in our departmental meeting . . . we talked .

¹⁴⁹L46.7-8, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4. "Carroll Appendix."

¹⁵⁰Infra, p. 179.

¹⁵¹L46.7-8, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4. "Carroll Appendix."

¹⁵²Fendt, p. 21.

. . . about the way in which the Book of Concord is authoritative for us."¹⁵³

1960 "Harper's Dictionary": Eleven Articles

In an undated letter¹⁵⁴ from Rev. Charles L. Wallis¹⁵⁵ to Dr. Leupold, Rev. Wallis said:¹⁵⁶

Dear Mr. Leupold:

Careful and detailed plans have been made for the publishing of a new one-volume source book, Harper's Dictionary of Biblical Biography. This book, which will follow the general format of Harper's Bible Dictionary, is intended to serve the needs of lay readers, pastors, church and Sunday school leaders, and undergraduate students.

We very much hope that you will consider favorably the preparation of the articles listed on the enclosed Assignment Card. We feel that your contribution will greatly enhance the stature and usefulness of this volume.

. . . Personalities from the Book of Judges:

Abdon 200 words
 Abimelech 300 words
 Delilah 250 words
 Elon 200 words
 Gideon 1400 words
 Ibzan 200 words
 Jair 200 words
 Jephthah 900 words
 Manoah 300 words
 Samson 1500 words
 Tola 200 words.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³Doermann, p. 4. See Appendix VII, "Sermons and Lectures," #6. "German Theology," p. 548

¹⁵⁴Written on stationery with letterhead: "Harper & Brothers, publishers since 1817, 49 East 33rd St., New York 16, New York."

¹⁵⁵whose address was listed as: Keuke College, Keuka Park, New York.

¹⁵⁶L46.9, #4; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4, Letter "o, 1."

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

Dr. Leupold was asked to compose these eleven articles (total of 5700 words) for an Honorarium of \$100. The "Assignment Card" is dated March 15, 1960. The Harper letter also enclosed a single sheet of instructions for writing the articles. The first couple of lines from the instruction sheet said:¹⁵⁸

1. Point of View. This dictionary will represent the most searching and up-to-date scholarship. An advisory group, which will assist until the volume's completion, has listed as contributors only persons of acknowledged competence.¹⁵⁹

The Leupold Archives contain a copy of the final draft of all eleven articles.¹⁶⁰ If the reader cannot remember ever having seen "Harper's Dictionary of Biblical Biography" in a library or book store, it is probably because the book was apparently never published. This writer twice communicated directly with Harper & Brothers (now renamed as the well-known "Harper & Row," still at the same New York address) and was twice informed that no such book was ever published by them.¹⁶¹

Dr. Leupold's portrait of Samson is only one of several possible statements in these eleven articles exemplifying Leupold's consistent conservative orthodox Lutheran stance -- in this case,

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰Abdon (1 page), Abimelech (2 pages), Delilah (1 page), Elon (1 page), Gideon (6 pages), Ibzan (1 page), Jephthah (4 pages), Manoah (1 page), Samson (6 pages), Tola (1 Page). -L46.9, #4; Leupold Archives, Box # 7, Folder #4.

¹⁶¹This writer's second communication with Harper & Row was on August 15, 1980.

how Leupold negotiated the question of the historicity of the Samson narrative:

Several attempts have been made to put the whole of this unique story in the category of the mythological. One attempt, using a possible interpretation of the name -- Samson could mean "sunny" -- makes of the whole a secular myth. Analogous is the attempt to equate Samson of the Hebrews with Hercules of the Greeks: both are said to have achieved 12 labors. But when the number 12 is arrived at, one of the heroic labors of Samson is that he drank at a fountain (!). Besides, Judges 13:25 is overlooked, which may point to additional achievements by Samson. It is far better to regard the whole tale as a historical account of what actually transpired.¹⁶²

This Wallis letter therefore reveals that Dr. Leupold was regarded as a scholar of acknowledged competence by the prestigious, world-famous publishing house, Harper & Row.

Post-1960, Two Lectures: "A People Claimed by God"¹⁶³

Introduction

The materials discussed in this section are the strongest evidence we have of Dr. Leupold bending over backward, so to speak, and maybe even wavering badly in his own convictions, in his attempt to accommodate, perhaps, a broader spectrum of theological positions in his own newly merged 1960-ALC. The Leupold Archives contain the

¹⁶²L46.9, #4, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4.

¹⁶³Because of an explicit reference to church headquarters being at "Minneapolis" (Lecture-II, p. 4), and because of another specific reference to "TALC" (Lecture-II, p. 17), we may assume that Dr. Leupold composed and delivered these two lectures some time after the 1960-ALC merger. This means that Dr. Leupold was then between 70 and 80 years old when he composed them. L46.20, #9, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #8; "Lecture-II, A People Claimed by God -- a New Testament Approach," p. 1-18.

surviving documents that comprised two lectures under the umbrella title, "A People Claimed by God." Lecture-I concentrated on the Old Testament perspective¹⁶⁴, Lecture-II on the New Testament.¹⁶⁵

In Lecture-I on the Old Testament material,¹⁶⁶ Dr. Leupold is theologically and hermeneutically his same old reliable, predictable self. That is to say, he provides us with the Biblical answers to the questions he raises in the lecture, and his characteristic word-studies are incorporated into his presentation in such a way that they cast pertinent light upon and give meaning to various theological points that he makes in the course of the lecture.

But in Lecture-II on the New Testament material, Dr. Leupold makes some very strange and un-Leupold-like statements. That is to say, for example, the conclusion of Lecture-II leaves us hanging, stuck in the problems he has raised, without providing us with the

¹⁶⁴See Appendix IV, "Leupold Lecture-I Outline." L40.2, #3, Leupold Archives, Box #1, Folder #1. L44.1, #1, Leupold Archives, Box #5, "Convention Kit, Ohio Dist., June 10-13, 1957."

¹⁶⁵See Appendix V, "Leupold Lecture-II Outline," and Appendix VI, "Leupold Lecture-III Text." L44.3, #2, Leupold Archives, Box #5, Folder #2. L46.20, #9, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #8. L44.1, #1, Leupold Archives, Box #5, Convention Kit, Ohio Dist., June 10-13, 1957."

¹⁶⁶Lecture-I survives only in outline form on a half-sheet in Dr. Leupold's handwriting. Lecture-II too survives in outline form on a half-sheet in Dr. Leupold's handwriting, but also in the form of an 18 page, typed, double-spaced manuscript. Since the 18-page manuscript of Lecture-II follows the Lecture-II half-sheet outline almost to the letter and incorporates 99 percent of the material in the half-sheet outline, we may assume that this was also the case in Lecture-I.

Biblical answers, which elsewhere was his usual habit; also Lecture-II contains a long, but disconnected etymology of words in the middle of the lecture, atomistically unrelated to the other parts of the lecture. One reason for the strange and un-Leupold-like character of Lecture-II is probably to be found in Dr. Leupold's "confession":

In these various issues that I have raised [in Lecture-II], . . . to tell the truth, a very prominent reference work, whose identity I shall not disclose, gave me the major leads on this head.¹⁶⁷

A little detective work, however, has brought to light the identity of the "mystery source" of Lecture-II, Dr. Leupold's undisclosed "very prominent reference work." The Leupold Archives contain the scratch sheet on which Dr. Leupold took his notes from this mysterious reference work, including the page numbers from which he extracted verbatim quotes, as well as the initials "RGG" at the top of the scratch sheet -- the abbreviation of the title of the "mystery source."¹⁶⁸ The initials stand for Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷L46.20, #9, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #8, "Lecture-II, A People Claimed by God -- a New Testament Approach," p. 17.

¹⁶⁸L44.1, #1, Leupold Archives, Box #5, "Convention Kit, Ohio Dist., June 10-13, 1957."

¹⁶⁹Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. Dritte, völlig neu bearbeitet Auflage in Gemeinschaft mit Hans Frhr. v., Campenhausen, Erich Dinkler, Gerhard Gloege und Knud E. Logstrup herausgegeben von Kurt Galling. Dritter Band, H-Kon, mit 20 Tafeln und 7 Karten, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1959). Dr. Leupold took extensive notes from pp. 1297-1302, 1314-5, 1319-21.

Lecture-II. "A People Claimed by God,
a New Testament Approach"

Perhaps it was the theology of the "RGG" source that produced the very un-Leupold-like character of Lecture-II. For example, a very uncharacteristic general tone of doubt runs through the entire lecture that makes one wonder if Leupold himself were maybe even wavering badly in his own convictions. On the other hand, this appearance of uncharacteristic doubt and wavering alternates with some very excellent, typically "Leupoldian" material.

Uncharacteristic Tone of Doubt

This theme of instability and uncertainty in Lecture-II may also have been induced partly by the recent experience of having just endured the exertions of passing through church merger proceedings -- the 1960-ALC merger. This is all the more likely when we note that the subjects on which Dr. Leupold expresses doubt are: 1) the doctrine of the church, 2) parish education (instruction of youth), 3) church government (polity), 4) relation of church and state. For example, early in his lecture, Dr. Leupold said concerning the doctrine of this church:

. . . The full experience and understanding of the doctrine of the church is something that still lies in the future. By that claim we mean, just as certain areas of truth were explored and developed with a certain thoroughness and finality for the Church in a given age in the past, so shall it be with this doctrine. In the days of St. Augustine the doctrine of grace was lived through and understood as never before. The findings of that day and age will hardly be superseded on this subject. In the days of the Reformation it was the blessed doctrine of justification by faith which it pleased God to allow to be unfolded in all its implications as the Scriptures had clearly set them forth

in apostolic days. So it may well be that the doctrine of the Church will come into its own in these last evil days.¹⁷⁰

Dr. Leupold gets in a little bit deeper in some comments about parish education and church government/polity:

I was rather startled to discover that there are some phases of the church and her work which are not even touched on by the New Testament writers. This is true, for example, in the area of parish education. . . . My point is, the New Testament does not say what the church as church should follow as her express and deliberate method. A similar failure to give specific direction lies in the area of church polity or government. Which system of church government should be followed by all? You find no explicit answer in the epistles or gospels.¹⁷¹

Finally, Dr. Leupold says this about instruction of youth, church polity, and church and state:

There are some important issues confronting the church that have not been fully treated, if at all, by the writings of the New Testament. . . . The church has to resort to earnest study, faithful prayer, and to her enlightened judgment in an effort to solve these problems as they currently arise. I mention the following as being typical areas on which we have no specific words of guidance as to exactly how the church should meet these issues. Exactly what is the church to do as church about the instruction of youth by the church? . . . Or what form of church government should prevail in a given age - the whole subject of church polity - is another. Then there is the every difficult problem how should the church be related to the state.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰L46.20, #9; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #8; "Lecture-II, A People Claimed by God -- a New Testament Approach," pp. 1-2.

¹⁷¹Ibid., pp. 3-4.

¹⁷²Ibid., pp. 13-14.

Typically "Leupoldian" Affirmation

At many other points in Lecture-II, Dr. Leupold theologically and hermeneutically seems to be his same old reliable, predictable self. For example, early in his lecture he said, "the local congregation is the church, . . . not so much a part of the church as actually the church itself, functioning in a given locality"¹⁷³. And he said, "It is more correct to say that Christians are the Church than to claim they are in the church."¹⁷⁴ Thus in this lecture can be found some very solid statements about the doctrine of the church:

What was it that induced men to give more careful thought to the whole doctrine of the church. . . . The starting point may well have been the concept of the Messiah, the Christ. . . . For a Messiah without a following . . . is . . . as impossible as a Savior without the body. . . . So you are already on the subject of the church.

Here let me make a casual observation that . . . throws quite a bit of light backward. . . . In the Greek world the body of people called together for a certain purpose was called "ecclesia". . . . When the meeting was over the assembly dispersed and the "ecclesia" was no more.

. . . What the New Testament calls the church or "ecclesia" exists just as much when it is assembled as when it is dispersed.

. . . Men with the mind of Christ have so much in common and the mind of Christ is so strong a unifying force that such persons are mutually attracted to one another. They are bound to congregate. . . . They cannot neglect to assemble together regularly and consistently. They must praise. They must pray. They must use the divinely appointed means of grace. . . . In the last analysis the church . . . deserves to be called a "mystery" (Ephesians 5:32), a thought which is beautifully captured in one of our well-known collects:

¹⁷³Ibid., pp. 2-3.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 3.

"Oh God of unchangeable power and eternal light, look favorably upon thy whole Church, that wonderful and sacred mystery. . ."175

Also in this Lecture-II is to be found one of only two statements about the Lutheran Confessions in the whole 50,000 pages of the Leupold Archives material.¹⁷⁶

The confessions of the church . . . are important to the pastor and to the layman. The pastor should know them and accept them from the heart because of their valuable guidance. But what of the layman who increasingly in our day is moved about by his work from place to place from church to church, often finding it impossible to find a church of the denomination to which he belongs? Is it right to let such persons shift from church to church on the assumption that it does not matter too much whether he has any convictions in the matter, and still the further assumption being that the confessions deal with mere trifles anyhow?¹⁷⁷

Finally, Dr. Leupold makes two other critiques of church activity. The first is about church convention legislation:

There is altogether too much ecclesiastical legislation. Witness the bulkiness of a copy of the Minutes of the convention of the Church. On endless subjects the church is called upon to make a pronouncement, to make a ruling. It all amounts to legislation. How many pages of these Minutes are dead letters? Yet the passing of motions was clearly a case of following the suggestion: "There ought to be a law." So we make a law and feel we are effectively doing the Lord's work. What looks like businesslike procedure is substituted largely for the more important work of the church. . . . Many of these regulations are quite . . . imperative. But to have them bulk as large as they do is a mark of growing bureaucracy.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹⁷⁶Supra, p. 170.

¹⁷⁷L46.20, #9; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #8; "Lecture-II, A People Claimed by God -- a New Testament Approach," pp. 15-16.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 16-17.

Dr. Leupold's other critique is about the sources of church income:

The sources of the church's income should be scrutinized. . . . Is it above reproach to have a college derive a large amount of her income from a well-managed chain-store? Is it entirely proper to have a brotherhood in a certain denomination manage a vineyard and manufacture and sell wine so that the profits thereof might be used to finance schools and colleges? Or are we coming to the point where the end hallows the means?¹⁷⁹

1962 "International Uniform Series Teachers Quarterly"¹⁸⁰

Introduction

No correspondence has survived with regard to the circumstances by which Dr. Leupold came to undertake this task. However, the "Quarterly" editors predetermined the Bible study format in great detail.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁸⁰L46.19, #8. Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #7, "General Introduction," p. 1-15.

¹⁸¹The Leupold Archives do contain fifteen pages of "Uniform Series 1962" instruction entitled, "General Introduction" -- rubrics sent to the essayists like Dr. Leupold who were supposed to compose these fourteen layman's Bible Study lessons. The "Quarterly" editors therein stated:

"This series of lessons completes the study of Hebrew history for the entire six-year cycle. Scripture material is drawn from 2 Kings 22:5, Jeremiah, Habbakuk, Ezekiel, Isaiah 40-66, Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. The closing section deals with the teaching and work of John the Baptist, as the last of the Hebrew prophets. The period covered is divided into three units which enable writers to illustrate how the disaster suffered by the Hebrew people and God's deliverance are lessons for nations today." L46.19,#8; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #7. "General Introduction," p. 1.

Each of the fourteen Bible Study Lessons was written, of course, to be used on a specific calendar date in the third quarter (July, August, September) of 1962. A set of fourteen Bible Studies was written for each of four age groups: Primary, Junior, Intermediate/Senior, and Young-People/ Adult. Dr. Leupold was

Bible Study Lesson #1

The Leupold Archives contain a draft of all fourteen of the lessons.¹⁸² Dr. Leupold's Bible Study Lesson #1 opened with the sentence, "We need to get the historical background clear for this entire period." Since Dr. Leupold then really only summarized the information provided in the Biblical text, we may conclude that he regarded the Biblical text as it stands as a completely reliable source for the historian -- a rare presupposition in the twentieth century.¹⁸³ Dr. Leupold naturally also reaffirmed that the

assigned to write only the Young-People/Adult set of fourteen Bible Study Lessons. The fourteen Bible Study Lessons were divided into three units, and the titles of each unit were pre-determined by the "Quarterly" editors. The title of "Unit-A" (Five lessons) was "A People In Peril"; the title of "Unit-B" (Four lessons) was "A People Uprooted"; the title of "Unit-C" (Five lessons) was "A People Rebuilding."

In addition to the above "General Introduction" instructions for the essayists, the "Quarterly" gave quite detailed directions about the framework of each of the fourteen Bible Study lessons. The "Quarterly" assigned: 1. the title for each of the fourteen lessons, 2. provided a "Background Scripture," 3. a "Memory Selection" (for future lay readership), 4. a "Suggestion" (directed at the essayist about the focus of each Bible Study and how he should go about composing it).

The "Quarterly" editors predetermined the following titles for the fourteen Lessons to which Dr. Leupold was assigned as essayist: 1) Too Little Too Late (11 pp.); 2) Headed for Disaster? (10 pp.); 3) Why Does God Let It Happen? (10 pp.); 4) True and False (10 pp.); 5) Hope Beyond Tragedy (10 pp.); 6) Conquered and Exiled (10 pp.); 7) A Call to Repentance (10 pp.); 8) God's Love Proclaimed (10 pp.); 9) Tidings of Comfort and Joy (10 pp.); 10) Laying the Foundations (10 pp.); 11) Finishing Is Also Important (10 pp.); 12) A Mind to Work (10 pp.); 13) Draw Near to God (10 pp.); 14) John Heralds the Christ (10 pp.). L46.19, #8, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #7.

¹⁸²Each an average of ten pages long, a total of 151 typed, double-spaced pages. L46.19,#8; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #7.

¹⁸³L46.19, #8; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #7, Lesson #1, p. 1-3.

Biblical text is even more useful than merely as a reliable source for professional historians:

The unique emphasis of the historical books of the Bible should never be lost sight of: They tell how God continually reached down into the history of his people Israel, as well as into the history of the other nations and continually controlled the outcome. So all history lies in God's hands and displays his mighty deeds. In order to make this point, the writers in the Sacred Scriptures say little about what man does or is to do, but they do stress very strongly what the Almighty does.¹⁸⁴

Dr. Leupold noted that Josiah laid the proper foundation for his reform by reading to the people from the newly discovered book of the law of Moses that had been found in the Temple (2 Kings 22:10).¹⁸⁵ Leupold noted that in 2 Kings, the discovery of the book of the Law came before the reforms, while in 2 Chronicles 34:15 the reforms started before the law-book was discovered. Rather than fingering this as some alleged "contradiction in the Bible," Leupold explained that "the author of 2 Chronicles follows the time sequence more exactly whereas the writer of 2 Kings has a topical sequence in mind."¹⁸⁶ Regarding the principle of reform (2 Kings 23:21-27) as applied to modern liturgy and worship, Dr. Leupold said:

It would appear from what is here said, that periodic worship reforms in the church may be very much in order. For worship is a field where dead lifeless procedure continually creeps in unless men be on their guard.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴Ibid., Lesson #1, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., Lesson #1, p. 5.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., Lesson #1, p. 6.

Dr. Leupold applied 2 Kings 23:24-5 to the modern problem of superstitious practices.¹⁸⁸ He attributed the commendatory 2 Kings 23:25 evaluation of Josiah to hyperbole ("Before him there was no king like him, . . . nor did any like him arise after him"), stating: "One may question whether the comparison made with all the rest of the kings of Judah is to be pressed to the very letter."¹⁸⁹ Thus Leupold acknowledged the Holy Spirit's literary use of hyperbole without hedging on the Bible's facticity.

Finally, Dr. Leupold returned to the title, that even Josiah's reforms came as "too little, too late" under Manasseh, once the outward pressure for reform was removed, and contrasted Josiah's short-lived reform with Luther's successful sixteenth century reformation:

Perhaps an effort to contrast what Josiah did with what was achieved in the days of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century may help us to understand this Old Testament case the better. At once it becomes obvious that Josiah operated too largely with the device of the

¹⁸⁸It is the area of what we in our day classify as fortune-telling, consulting mediums, practicing witchcraft, and the like. The "teraphim" referred to were small-sized images of household gods, vest-pocket editions, that could be carried as good-luck items. Trust is placed in such objects and the superstitious use of them by magic formulas and incantations. Wherever this is done, attention is drawn away from the true God and his ability to help, and so faith is undermined. The law of Moses had sharply forbidden such practices (Deuteronomy 18:10-4).

"Here too a brief reminder is in order that this whole field of occult arts and witchcraft-practices is not something harmless or to be regarded with mild amusement as merely an indication of ignorance. The Scriptures indicated that a demonic background plays into these practices and grave harm may befall those that dabble in these things. Ibid., Lesson #1, p. 6-7.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., Lesson #1, p. 7.

law, with legal enactment. Luther and the great reformers stressed the need of solid instruction in the word, which being the very power of God could bring about a new birth and take the heart of stone out of the bosom of man.¹⁹⁰

Bible Study Lesson #13

The title of the second to the last lesson was "Draw Near to God," with Malachi 1-4 being the specific "Quarterly"-assigned text. Dr. Leupold's concluding statement made a connection between liturgy and doctrine.¹⁹¹

Bible Study Lesson #14

The title of the last lesson was "John Heralds the Christ, " with Luke 3 being the specific "Quarterly"-assigned text. In his introductory comments, Dr. Leupold emphasized the unity of the two

¹⁹⁰Ibid., Lesson #1, p. 8.

¹⁹¹"Malachi's times and ours are much more alike than appears at first glance. This is true in two respects. In the first place, both may be classified as times of waiting for the Lord. The men to whom Malachi delivered these words were waiting for the first coming of the Lord, the birth of Jesus Christ in the flesh. We are waiting for him to come again. In neither case is the exact date known in advance. In each case men are told to be ready continually. In each case drowsiness could easily set in. In each case it is better for men not to know the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh. In each case unreadiness would show itself particularly in this that worship would become lifeless and carelessly done.

The second point of similarity is this that preachers and teachers are doubly responsible at such times. Others may grow drowsy; preachers and teachers dare not. The form and content of sound doctrine must be maintained faithfully and never be allowed to slip away from God's people." Ibid., "General Introduction," p. 14. Lesson #13, pp. 9-10.

testaments.¹⁹² In his comments on Luke 3:2-3, Dr. Leupold noted that the message of John the Baptist consisted of word and sacrament.¹⁹³

1963 "Christ in Our Home": Eight Devotional Articles

Dr. Henry E. Hoesmann of the ALC Commission on Evangelism addressed two letters to Dr. Leupold. Hoesmann's first letter dated April 5, 1963, extended retirement best-wishes to Dr. Leupold and then continued:¹⁹⁴

This knowledge that you are soon to be relieved of your teaching responsibilities emboldens me to invite you to do some writing for our devotional booklet, "Christ In Our Home."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹²"As we look back to the previous lesson we notice that Malachi practically reaches forward and grasps the hand of John the Baptist (Malachi 3:1). But in this lesson it is as though John reached back to grasp the hand of the prophet. And so the gap between the Old Testament and the New Testament is closed.

". . . For John was a man who came "in power and spirit of Elijah." In fact, in Malachi 4:5 the forerunner of the Christ is even called Elijah. And Jesus accepted this interpretation (Matthew 17:9-13)." Ibid., "General Introduction," p. 15. Lesson #14, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹³"It will be noted that when Luke is about to speak of the beginning of the ministry of Jesus Christ, which is immediately preceded by the ministry of John the Baptist, Luke dates things very carefully . . . and finally comes down to noting who the high priest was at the time. For in the eyes of the Jews the high priest was more important than the governor of the land. Besides, if you check carefully, you will find that John himself was really a full-fledged priest, though as far as we know, he never functioned as such. Events are dated so carefully when they are very important. Here is one of the greatest events of all time: the ministry of Jesus Christ as Savior is about to begin. This, too, was the date when John received his first message ("the word of the Lord came to John"). . . . His message consisted of word and sacrament. He preached and he baptized." Ibid., Lesson #14, pp. 2-3.

¹⁹⁴L45.3-4,#10; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #7, Letter "m, 1a".

¹⁹⁵Ibid., Letter "m, 1a".

Hoesmann asked Dr. Leupold to write devotions for August 1-8, 1964 for the August, September, October 1964 issue.¹⁹⁶ Hoesmann's second letter, dated April 17, 1963, thanked Dr. Leupold for his willingness to write the above meditations.¹⁹⁷ Dr. Leupold's August 8th and last devotional on Matthew 11:28-30 centered on verse 28 (Come unto me, all who labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest). It was entitled, "Entering Into God's Rest" and emphasized the relationship between the Doctrina Stantis Et Cadentis Ecclesiae (doctrine by which the church stands or falls) and our certainty of salvation:¹⁹⁸

There are two things that can make life very bitter. One is to "labor" in the sense that Jesus had in mind in this Scripture. That is, trying hard to work your way into heaven, or his kingdom, by doing good. In a sense such an effort is very praiseworthy. But the trouble is, you can never be sure that the deeds you do are actually good enough, or that there are enough of them. So the result is continual uncertainty.

The second thing that can make life bitter is to be "heavy-laden," that is, to bear a burden that continually weights you down. That burden may consist of . . . trouble or sorrow that take the joy out of life. . . . Happy is the man who comes to Jesus!¹⁹⁹

1966 Lutheran Standard "Genesis" Articles

In a February 12, 1966 letter to Dr. Leupold, Dr. Norman A. Menter, ALC Vice President and also Michigan District President²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶Ibid., Letter "m, 1a".

¹⁹⁷Ibid., Letter "m, 1b".

¹⁹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹⁹L45.3-4, #10; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #7.

²⁰⁰Biographical and Pictorial Directory of ALC, 1962, p. 471, 1972. p. 953.

wrote to Leupold:²⁰¹

Just a note to express my sincere appreciation for the very fine article on Genesis of which you are the author and which appeared in the Jan. 25 issue of the Lutheran Standard.

It would seem to me that this article would silence even Lutherans Alert and the adherents of Lutheran News. Thank you for this very fine article.²⁰²

This is the only article that Dr. Leupold ever published in the Lutheran Standard from the time the Buffalo Synod merged to form the 1930-ALC until his death in 1972. It was this previously-mentioned Lutheran Standard (January 15, 1966) that bore Dr. Leupold's picture on the cover, with the caption underneath the picture reading:

Genesis: Basic Guidance.

"The first chapters of the Scriptures are and forever will remain basic guidance for the people of God. We have a sure prophetic word."

The importance of this article is that it indicates that Dr. Leupold had completely passed through his own personal theological "crisis" of doubt -- if he ever had any -- that was hinted at in his "Lecture-II: A People Claimed by God, a New Testament Approach," discussed above. He emerged characteristically strong with his typically "Leupoldian" affirmation intact, with an even more subtle and flexible grasp of the "Old Testament Gospel" than he had had before.

²⁰¹L43.9,#6; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6; Letter "d".

²⁰²Ibid.

It is unknown how Dr. Leupold came to write this article. Possibly he was asked by some church people or officials to write it to counteract the theologically-deranged "God Is Dead" Altizer movement which had arisen in the midst of the otherwise sick 1960s. But whatever the origin of the article, it is a little gem -- and written by a man almost seventy-five years old.

Amidst the continuous subtle drizzle of historical-critical liberal insistence that the church renounce the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, Dr. Leupold grants total academic freedom on the issue while unequivocally upholding Mosaic authorship as his own view and the final results of his own lifetime of study on the issue:

Did Moses write Genesis? . . . Or for that matter, did he write the first five books of the Bible? . . . Two things must be clearly kept in mind. On the one hand, in about half a dozen passages the writing of certain major or minor parts of these 5 books is actually attributed to Moses. On the other hand, nowhere is the whole of these books expressly said to have come from the pen of Moses. In fact, in Genesis in particular nothing whatever is said about who wrote the book.

It is easy to see that two different schools of thought may arise on this issue. The present writer believes that by and large, allowing for certain editorial additions of a minor sort, Moses is still to be regarded as the author of the first 5 books of the Bible.

Many scholars, who surely have just as high a regard for the inspired word of God and bow before its power and efficacy, hold that these same 5 books were pieced together by an unknown author, or authors, from many separate documents. These documents represent a long and faithful tradition preserved by godly men, who treasured highly the heritage of their fathers and the record of what God did for them in their long and chequered history as a nation. The dialogue between these two approaches may go on for a long time.²⁰³

²⁰³Leupold, H. C., "On Reading the First Chapters of Genesis," Lutheran Standard, 6 (January 25, 1966):4-5.

Of the flexibility of the Pentateuch, Dr. Leupold says:

The basic truth of the opening chapters of the Bible has a remarkable elasticity, which enables it to speak with relevance to the man of by-gone ages as well as to the most sophisticated man of our day and age.²⁰⁴

Of the inspiration of the Biblical text, Dr. Leupold says:

We have here nothing less than the fully inspired Word of God. Since it therefore in a unique way conveys the truth of God to men, it is a word that has not become outmoded and never will.²⁰⁵

Of the meaning of the Hebrew word "yom" (day), Dr. Leupold says:

Has not science demonstrated that at least geologic processes have taken millions of years, whereas the Bible seems to say that six 24-hour days sufficed for the creation of all things?

It may well be that the old remark attributed to St. Augustine still covers the issue, that these creation-days were days of a sort that our mind cannot ever fully comprehend. . . . Certainly, the scriptural account does not make the length of the days a major issue. Science may learn things from Genesis; the church may learn a few things from sober science.²⁰⁶

Regarding the claim that the Hebrew word "adam" (Adam, man) in the Bible means "mankind," Dr. Leupold says that both approaches are used in the Bible: "Adam was a historic personage as well as the representative of the totality of mankind. One approach need not exclude the other."²⁰⁷ Of the general "historicity" of Genesis, Dr. Leupold says:

²⁰⁴Lutheran Standard, 6 (January 25, 1966):3.

²⁰⁵Ibid.

²⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 3-4.

²⁰⁷Ibid., p. 4.

There is a claim, widely made in our day, that the early chapters of Genesis are not "history." Before you condemn these who say this, listen to their own definition of what they are claiming. They mean that the sacred record is miles removed from the work of the historian who consults written records, compares and synthesizes them, provides footnotes, and then seeks to build up as accurate an account of what actually transpired as he can.

The biblical writers of Genesis, for example, were not functioning as historians. They were not attempting to meet the standards of history. They were writing things as God gave them to see the truth, and interpreting these events for all times to come with an insight surpassing the insight of the methodical historian.

Were they dealing with these events as facts? Of course they were; but they were writing a higher kind of history. So when men say: "This is not history," they mean it is something on a higher level than modern history.²⁰⁸

Perhaps it was because Dr. Leupold felt the need to make statements like this about history, and consequently to establish his own "interdepartmental" credibility in the field of history (since at the time of his retirement he was known via his publications only as an exegete), that he identified himself in his 1968 Home Augsburg Bible Study mini-autobiography as "Professor of Historical Theology at the Martin Luther Seminary 1922-9."²⁰⁹ Leupold apparently did not mean, as Dr. Fendt seemed to have construed, that he had never studied or taught Old Testament & Hebrew exegesis before coming to the Columbus Seminary.

²⁰⁸Ibid.

²⁰⁹A half sheet of "Leupold mini-autobiography" found in the Leupold Archives that was sent to Dr. Paul Lindberg, an editor of the LCA Board of Parish Education, along with Dr. Leupold's acceptance of the assignment of writing 11 lessons of the 1968 Home Augsburg Bible Study material:

1966-7 Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia:
Eight Articles

All eight of these articles are available in the Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia, but in the Leupold Archives are to be found five letters, four from Dr. Merrill C. Tenney, the General Editor of the Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible, and one response from Dr. Leupold.²¹⁰ Tenney's first letter dated May 7, 1966, says:

Dear Dr. Leupold:

The Zondervan Publishing House is undertaking a new Bible encyclopedia. The projected encyclopedia will be published in five or six volumens, and will contain approximately 3-1/2 million words. All persons, places, objects, events, and topics of major importance mentioned in the Bible will be included. A special feature of the encyclopedia will be numerous pictures and maps that will illustrate graphically the articles which they accompany.

The text of the encyclopedia will be entirely new, and will be written by experts in their respective fields. Critically and theologically it will be conservative in tone, although both sides of controversial questions should be accurately stated. In order to maintain a high standard of excellence the

"Biographical Material"

"Herbert C. Leupold, D.D.

"Born in Buffalo, N.Y.

"Graduated from the Martin Luther Seminary of the Buffalo Synod, June 1914.

"Pastor of Ascension Lutheran Church 1914-1922.

"Professor of Historical Theology at the Martin Luther Seminary 1922-1929.

"Professor of Old Testament at the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary at Columbus, Ohio, 1929-1964.

"Teaching part time 1964-. -L43.3, #4. Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #4. "Blu-Slip" Folder II.B.7.

²¹⁰L43.6-7, 19-20, #6, #8, #9, #10; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folders #6, #8, #9, #10. L45.1, #3; Leupold Archives, Box #6, Spiral-bound 6 x 9 "specially Selected Steno Paper" notebook.

treatment of each topic should be thorough and scholarly, utilizing the fullest and most recent information available.

With recollections of your excellent previous published work on the Old Testament, I feel that you would be exceptionally well qualified to deal with that general field. I would be pleased if you would consent to contribute the following articles: "Candlestick, The Golden" (320 words), "Censer" (200), "Ceremonial Law" (80), "Cush" (800), "Eden, Garden of" (1000), "Eve" (560), "Genesis" (14,400), "Isaac" (2800).

Payment for the articles will be made at the current rate of two cents per word. . . . Please let me know . . .²¹¹

Dr. Leupold's reply is dated May 17, 1966:

Having turned the matter relative to the Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible over sufficiently in my mind, I have decided to give an affirmative answer.

Here is the biographical information you requested:
degree; D.D. (honoris causa)

present position: retired, teaching part time at the
Evan. Lutheran Theological Seminary at
Columbus, Ohio

title of books: Exposition of Genesis
" Ecclesiastes
" Daniel
" Zechariah
" Psalms²¹²

Once again we find Dr. Leupold's services still in demand, even in his retirement. This time the request came from one of America's most prestitious Evangelical publishing houses asking Leupold to contribute to one of the best critically and theologically conservative Bible encyclopedias currently available utilizing the most thorough, scholarly, and recent information

²¹¹L43.6,#6; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6, Letter "c, 1a".

²¹²L43.6,#6; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #4, Letter "c, 1b."

available. Leupold is addressed as "exceptionally well qualified."²¹³

1968 "Home Augsburg Bible Studies"

Introduction

This project began for Dr. Leupold in May 1968. The Leupold Archives contain four letters, two from Dr. Paul M. Lindberg (editor in the Editorial Division of the Board of Parish Education of the LCA) and two responses from Dr. Leupold. Dr. Leupold prepared eleven "Home Augsburg Bible Studies" plus an introductory background article, for the "Uniform Series 1971."²¹⁴ The first of the four

²¹³The third letter, sent by Tenney and dated June 9, 1966, thanked Dr. Leupold for accepting Zondervan's invitation to work on this project. Tenney enclosed eight "contract cards" in duplicate for Dr. Leupold to sign, authorizing Zondervan to have publishing rights. Dr. Leupold filled them all out and signed them on July 15, 1966. Tenney also enclosed copy paper for the various drafts of the articles, and a twenty-one page "Writer's Guide." L43.6-7, 19-20, #6, #8, #9, #10; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6, #8, #9, #10. L45.1,#3; Leupold Archives, Box #6, spiral-bound 6 x 9 "Specially Selected Steno Paper" notebook.

The fourth letter, sent by Tenney and dated November 16, 1967, over a year after the previous letter, simply said that Tenney was sending Dr. Leupold about 100 more sheets of copy paper. L43.20,#10; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #10, Letter "c,2."

Finally, the fifth and last letter, from Tenney to Dr. Leupold, dated June 26, 1970, says: "At long last I am completing my editorial work on the Encyclopedia. I have just processed your articles, and have issued a voucher to Zondervan for wordage of 18,698; payment \$373.96. The check will probably reach you after the first of July. Thank you both for your contributions and for your patience." L43.6,#6; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #6, Letter "c.3."

²¹⁴L43.3-5 #4, #5; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folders #4 and #5. Besides the four letters, the Leupold Archives contains a 56-page pamphlet entitled "Uniform Series 1971, Cycle of 1969-74." The pamphlet, designed as a guideline for the essayists like Dr. Leupold, was prepared by the Committee on the Uniform Series of the Division of Christian Education of the NCCC/USA, under Chairman

letters, dated May 2, 1968, was sent by Dr. Paul M. Lindberg to Dr. Leupold. Lindberg said:²¹⁵

Dear Pastor Leupold,

Kindly accept this as an invitation to you to write the Bible studies for the Home Augsburg Bible Studies for the second quarter 1971. As you know this quarterly is produced jointly by the ALC and LCA and is being directed particularly to the older person who cannot get out to classes on Sunday morning in the church. This dictates to us that the lessons should be written more simply and somewhat devotional in style.

The writing will call for eleven lessons plus a background article. They will be written according to the schedule of the Uniform Series which we will send to you upon your acceptance. The text, the topics, and suggested lesson emphases are outlined in this manual. Each lesson will be about 145 lines in length with 45 type-written characters to the line. The topic for the quarter is "Prophets of Righteousness and Mercy: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah."

We would . . . offer an honorarium of \$190.00 for this writing. If you give us your word of acceptance I will send you the necessary schedule of text and topics.²¹⁶

The second letter, dated May 13, 1968, was Dr. Leupold's affirmative response to Lindberg.²¹⁷ The third letter, dated June 28, 1968, was Dr. Leupold's compliance with Lindberg's request to "submit two or three of the first lessons."²¹⁸ The fourth and last letter, dated July 12, 1968, was Lindberg's acknowledgment for

Clifton J. Allen, and Associate Executive Director Paul B. Mayes of the Department of Educational development. The pamphlet was issued in October 1967 by the Division of Christian Education of NCCC/USA, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, under Associate General Secretary for Christian Education, Gerald E. Knoff. L43.4,#4; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #4.

²¹⁵Ibid., Letter "b, 1a".

²¹⁶Ibid.

²¹⁷Ibid., Letter "b, 1b".

²¹⁸L43.3-5,#4 and #5; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #4, Letter "b, 2a".

receiving Dr. Leupold's introductory "Background Article" and first Bible Study, "Who is a Prophet?"²¹⁹

"Background Article"

The Uniform Series editors gave no rubrics at all for this six-page "Background Article" entitled, "The Prophets and Their Times." The important point Dr. Leupold makes in this Bible Study is regarding the question of the relationship between the authorship of the Biblical prophecies, and the verbal inspiration (Dr. Leupold's "ALC Orthodoxy" term is "divine inspiration") of the Biblical text that we presently have. Dr. Leupold does not "concede" anything (such as the Wellhausenian J-E-D-P authorship speculations) in his

²¹⁹As in the case of the 1962 Uniform Series format, each Bible Study in the 1971 Series had a separate lesson directed at each major age group. The 1971 Series had three lessons in each Bible Study, one for children, one for youth, and one for adults. Dr. Leupold was again assigned to compose the lesson for the adult age group.

It has already been described in above what Dr. Leupold wrote for this same "Uniform Series" organization back in their 1962 series. The format this time was still basically the same, This 1971 Uniform Series similarly gave their essayists like Dr. Leupold five basic rubrics as the format for writing each Bible Study: 1) Devotional reading; 2) Title/topic; 3) Background Scripture; 4) Memory Selection; 5) Suggested lesson emphasis.

Except for the introductory "Background Article," the Uniform Series Editors again predetermined all of the title/topics for the eleven Augsburg Home Bible Study Lessons: Background Article, "The Prophets and Their Times: (6 pages); 1) "Who is a Prophet?" (7 pages); 2) "The Tragedy of Sin" (6 pages); 4) "Needed: Leaders Under God" (6 pages); 5) "God's Love for People" (6 pages); 6) "When God's Love is Refused" (7 pages); 7) "The Lord of History (6 pages); 8) "God's Call to Faith" (7 pages); 9) "Thy Kingdom Come" (7 pages); 10) "God requires economic justice" (6 pages); 11) "God Requires Personal Righteousness: Another Helpful Lesson from Micah" (6 pages). L43.5,#5; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #5, Letter "b, 2b".

statements here, that is, if we allow "Leupold to interpret Leupold," as we should likewise always allow "Scripture to interpret Scripture." Leupold simply says that verbal inspiration is not affected in the least whether the prophet himself or some slightly later qualified faithful disciples actually copied out and arranged the final form of the written Biblical prophetic texts; Dr. Leupold adds that this need not necessarily be an "either-or" question, but that:

Both modes of procedure may have been used. But there can be no question about it that we are in possession of authentic messages of these prophets of the Lord. They have left us words divinely inspired . . . for . . . our day.²²⁰

Lesson #5

The bulk and climax of this dissertation is a study of Dr. Leupold's exegetical approach in his unpublished Hosea manuscript found in the Leupold Archives; if Leupold had completed

²²⁰"Clash with World-Empires Now a new factor appeared on the scene -- world empires, first of which was Assyria. . . . Guidance was abundantly provided by a new set of prophets. . . . Whether the written messages that grew out of their ministry were copied out and arranged by these prophets during their own lifetime, or whether they were gathered after the death of the prophets by faithful disciples or other qualified persons, matters comparatively little for present purposes. Both modes of procedure may have been used. But there can be no question about it that we are in possession of authentic messages of these prophets of the Lord. They have left us words divinely inspired and serviceable in many ways for guidance in situations that prevail in our day."

.
 "For Our Day Strangely, though all these messages were contemporary and applied to a situation prevailing in those days of old, . . . they speak eloquently and clearly even to our day and age. Sometimes they convey their message in words so pertinent that they could not be phrased more appropriately." L43.5,#5; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #5; Background Article: "The Prophets and their Times," p. 6.

and published it, he would have doubtlessly entitled it, "An Exposition of Hosea." Here in Lesson #5 on Hosea 11 and 14, entitled, "God's Love for People," we have a good foretaste and example of what Leupold regarded as "exposition" of Hosea -- a blending of the doctrinal, devotional, homiletical and exegetical.²²¹

²²¹"The prophet Hosea emphasizes the love that God bears to men more strongly almost than any other prophet, (p. 1).

"God Loves As We Love Dear Children (Hosea 11:1-2)

The beginnings of Israel's history amply demonstrate this. When the nation was . . . in bondage in the land of Egypt . . . Moses was given to lead them out. (p.1).

"God's Kindness (Hosea 11:3-4)

Did he cast off his people for their unfaithfulness? Quite touching is the language used to show how he reached out from them. He 'taught Ephraim to walk.' As a father delights to work with his child while it is learning to take its first steps, so did the Lord. When they fell and were bruised, 'he took them up in (his) arms,' He bound up their little wounds and scratches and 'healed them,' though they often were not aware how kindly he was dealing with them. (p. 2)

"Punishment Richly Deserved (Hosea 11:5-7)

Lest Israel take all this too lightly, God speaks sternly, showing his people that they have deserved quite the opposite of his tender love. . . . They deserve another Egyptian bondage. (p.2-3)

"Love Incomprehensible (Hosea 11:5-7)

God should long ago, according to what his people deserved, have abandoned them. . . . But God cannot do that. Strict logic, plain deserts, are not always followed by God. His love stands out far more prominently than his stern justice. . . . 'How could I give you up, oh, Ephraim!' His love is too deep to allow him to 'give over' his people to their well-deserved punishment.

". . . God cannot forget his own. Even stronger language is used to express the fullness of his love: 'My heart recoils within me.' . . . One almost sees God wrestling with himself over his people.

". . . An explanation is given that fully covers, what would otherwise be an impossible situation. The Lord says: 'I am God and not man.' In his being and actions powerful love is at work and gains the upper hand. (p.4-5).

"Behind the Scenes -- God

It often looks as though the Lord intentionally hides himself when we need him most. But behind it all is a God who cares very deeply,

loves very earnestly, and helps very readily. That's where faith on our part enters into the picture, trusting the unseen God for his marvelous love.

"Nowhere does this appear more clearly than in the work of our Lord Jesus Christ. He made it plain for us that 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son.' This Jesus entered into death for us, suffered untold agony, endured things that our mind cannot fully grasp, bore the curse of sin for us and saved us (p. 5-6). L43.5,#5; Leupold Archives, Box #4, Folder #5: "God's Love for People," p. 1-6.

CHAPTER III

EXEGETICAL APPROACH OF DR. LEUPOLD

Hosea Manuscript

Dr. Leupold's Research Methodology

Dr. Leupold's research methodology for his prospective Hosea Commentary was exactly the same as for his other commentaries, except that very little of his research material survives in the Leupold Archives. Of course, even the Hosea Manuscript itself is incomplete, but the next largest surviving unit of research material is a 6 x 9 spiral notebook with "Hosea" handwritten on the cover, there are thirty-eight pages¹ of handwritten notes on Hosea.²

The next largest surviving unit of research material for the Hosea Commentary is thirteen half-sheets of handwritten notes about Hosea.³ The only other research item is one lone half-sheet of handwritten notes on Hosea mixed in with a folder of miscellaneous papers in the Archives.⁴

¹That is, 19 sheets of paper with Dr. Leupold's handwriting on both sides.

²Dr. Leupold quotes in this notebook from Myers "Laymans Bible Commentary," Notscher, Robinson, Mauchline, Weiser, G. A. Smith, von Orelli, and Wold. L45.1,#3, Leupold Archives, Box #6; 6x9 spiral-bound notebook, "Specially Selected Steno Paper."

³L46.17,#5, Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #5.

⁴L45.6,#12, Leupold Archives, Box #6, Folder #9.

Description of Hosea Manuscript

The Extant "Hosea" Manuscript

As was said above, the Hosea Manuscript itself is incomplete, its total length extending only from Hosea 1:1 - 11:5.⁵ And the extant Manuscript, Hosea 1:1 - 11:5, is found in the Leupold Archives divided between two folders, the first folder containing Hosea 1:1 - 6:7 (a total of 164 pages), and the second folder containing Hosea 6:7 - 11:5 (a total of 117 pages). This total of 281 typed, double-spaced pages of manuscript appears to be a first draft.⁶

This draft of Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary has four different pagination numberings, all in this first folder. To provide exactness when quoting from them below, let us consistently distinguish them with the designations shown below. Also note that a fifth separate designation for distinguishing those pages in the second folder from those in the first folder has been made, even though the second folder has no pagination problems.

Folder #1 (containing Hosea 1:1 - 6:7) has the following four different pagination numberings:

"A" Pages 1-15 (covering Hosea 1:1 - 2:1). Let us assign the letter "A" to these 15 pages; from now on they will be designated as page "A1," page "A2," page "A3," "A4," "A5," and so forth.

"B" Pages 1-6 (covering Hosea 2:2 - 13). Let us assign the letter "B" to these 6 pages; from now on they will be designated as page "B1," page "B2," "B3," and so forth.

⁵With Hosea 11:6 - 14:10 completely missing.

⁶L44.6,#5-#6; Leupold Archives, Box #5, Folders "Hs.1-5" and "Hs. 6 - 11:5."

"C" Pages 1-117 (covering Hosea 1:2 - 5:7, with two consecutive pages numbered "21"). Let us assign the letter "C" to these 118 pages; from now on they will be designated as page "C1," page "C2," "C3," "C4," and so forth, with the two consecutive "21" pages designated as page "C21a" and page "C21b."

"D" Pages 112-137 (covering Hosea 5:7 - 6:7, with two consecutive pages numbered "131"). Let us assign the letter "D" to these 26 pages; from now on they will be designated as page "D1," page "D2," "D3," and so forth, with the two consecutive "131" pages designated as page "D131a" and page "D131b."

Folder #2 (containing Hosea 6:7 - 11:5) has only one pagination numbering throughout, pages 138-254.

"E" Pages 138-254 (covering Hosea 6:7 - 11:5). Let us assign the letter "E" to these 117 pages; from now on they will be designated as page "E138," page "E139," page "E140," and so forth.

In Folder #1 there are two overlapping versions of chapter 1 of Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary.⁷ There are various speculations as to why, and they will be mentioned in the subsection below entitled, "Two Different Overlapping Versions."

The Mystery of the Missing Manuscript

There is only speculation about why the manuscript breaks off with Hosea 11:5. Dr. Leupold's son, Herbert, stated that he threw out an enormous quantity of his father's personal papers after his father's death; possibly the last third of the Hosea Commentary was thrown away and lost then.⁸

Or possibly Dr. Leupold wrote only to Hosea 11:5 and then became dissatisfied and decided to make some revisions in the

⁷Ibid.

⁸Mr. & Mrs. Leupold interview, p. 5.

Manuscript starting from the beginning; but then he died before ever being able to get back to it and complete even the first draft. There will be a further discussion of this possibility below.⁹

Even the year that this Hosea Commentary manuscript was composed is unknown; but Dr. Leupold's grade books indicated that the only class on Hosea that he ever taught was in 1963-4, so possibly the date of the composition was in the early 1960s.¹⁰

It appears that Dr. Leupold was originally planning to publish this Hosea Commentary as another in his series, but that in this case, for some unknown reason, he never finished it. Maybe his efforts on his last published commentary, his "Exposition of Isaiah," squeezed out any time for work on this Hosea Commentary manuscript. Except for this writer's xerox copy of Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary manuscript, the only other known extant copy of it is the original itself, which is preserved in the Leupold Archives in the Trinity Lutheran Seminary Library Archives in Columbus, Ohio.

Two Different Overlapping Versions of Chapters 1-2 of Hosea Commentary

Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary manuscript shares with the Bible book of Hosea the characteristic of having a very confusing

⁹Doermann interview, p. 1. Dr. Leupold told Doermann he was having trouble with his Hosea Commentary, for example, what to do with the last part of Hosea -- the part following Hosea 11:5 -- whether this is to be interpreted as a later interpolation or not.

¹⁰Doermann interview, p. 1. Doermann said Dr. Leupold mentioned that he was working on Hosea.

beginning -- but for a very different reason. Keep in mind the five different pagination numbering designations just made above.

It is the contention of this writer that the five different pagination numberings can be condensed into only two theologically significant overlapping versions of chapters 1 and 2 of the manuscript: 1) the "A-B" version. 2) the "C-D-E" version. It is this writer's further contention that Dr. Leupold wrote the "A-B" version first, and the "C-D-E" section second.

The first evidence found to support these two contentions was, of course, the discovery that Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary Manuscript in the Trinity Lutheran Seminary Archives was in the above-designated order, "A-B-C-D-E." The manuscript was found in that order by Dr. Leupold's faculty colleagues, Dr. Schaaf and Dr. Hals, after Dr. Leupold's death.

The second evidence for these two contentions is that "A" commentary (Hosea 1:1 - 2:1) is the only numbering that includes commentary on Hosea 1:1. It is further deduced that since the "B" commentary (Hosea 2:2-13) continues onward from exactly where the "A" commentary left off, that Dr. Leupold composed the "B" commentary next. But of course this does not explain why Dr. Leupold began his page numbering all over again for the "B" commentary.¹¹

It appears that after Dr. Leupold had composed his "A-B" version he became dissatisfied with his work -- all except for his

¹¹Dr. Leupold's Hosea Manuscript, p. B1-B6.

commentary on Hosea 1:1 -- went back almost to the beginning and started recomposing his commentary over again beginning with Hosea 1:2. That may explain why the "C-D-E" version goes straight through from Hosea 1:2 - 11:5 with the only pagination numbering problem being what appears to be an accidental mistake by Dr. Leupold. The mistake between the "C" pagination¹² and the "D" pagination¹³ appears to be a simple confusion of a "2" and a "7" by Dr. Leupold ("112" for "117"), especially because the numbering discrepancy occurs right in the middle of the commentary on Hosea 5:7. The first half of the Hosea 5:7 commentary is at the end of the "C" pagination (ending with Page "117"), and the second half at the beginning of the "D" pagination (beginning with Page "112"). So there does not seem to be any theological significance to this numbering discrepancy between the "C" and "D" paginations.

However, this writer does attribute theological significance to the numbering discrepancy between the "B" and "C" paginations as stated above. It appears that after Dr. Leupold had composed his "A-B" version (Hosea 1:1 - 2:13), he became dissatisfied with his work, except for his commentary on Hosea 1:1, and began again with Hosea 1:2. Since Hosea 1:2 is the beginning of the "Marriage Metaphor" problem in the Bible book of Hosea, it does seem as if Dr. Leupold was having trouble deciding how to interpret it; Dr. Doermann remembers hearing Dr. Leupold saying he was having some

¹²Dr. Leupold's Hosea Manuscript, p. C1-C117.

¹³Ibid., p. D112-D137.

trouble with the book of Hosea.¹⁴ This could have been the trouble. This "Marriage Metaphor" problem will be discussed in great detail below.

The third bit of evidence supporting the contention that Dr. Leupold composed the "A-B" version first and the "C-D-E" version second, is that the interpretation of Hosea 1-3 offered in the two different versions read like two different commentaries. In the "A-B" version, Dr. Leupold says that the woman mentioned in Hosea 1 and 3 is the same woman, and concludes that the problem of Hosea's marriage to Gomer need not be solved to attain a full understanding of Hosea 1:2.¹⁵ In the "C-D-E" version, Dr. Leupold says that the women mentioned in Hosea 1 and 3 are two different women, and that the entire "Marriage Metaphor" was an inner visionary experience of Hosea.¹⁶

The fourth bit of evidence supporting the contention that Dr. Leupold composed the "A-B" version first and the "C-D-E" version second, is Dr. Leupold's methodology in each version. The "A-B" version (which we assume Dr. Leupold became dissatisfied with) does not read like his previous commentaries, but the "C-D-E" version does. Beginning with Hosea 1:2, the "A-B" version plunges into an un-Leupold-like philosophical discussion about the "Marriage Metaphor," but the "C-D-E" version begins immediately at Hosea 1:2

¹⁴Doermann Interview, p. 1.

¹⁵Dr. Leupold's Hosea manuscript, p. A4-A5.

¹⁶Ibid., p. C6, C14.

with a textual, grammatical and syntactical exposition of the Hebrew words, sentence structure, and so forth, just the same as his procedure in all of his other commentaries.

In addition, Dr. Leupold's "C-D-E" version exposition is reinforced by reference to his familiar, long-time favorite "trademark" exegetical tools, Edward Koenig's Syntax, and Edward Koenig's Woerterbuch zum Alten Testament. Whereas Koenig's exegetical reference works do not appear even once anywhere in Dr. Leupold's "A-B" version, the Koenig references appear immediately at the very beginning of Dr. Leupold's "C-D-E" version, and continue to appear all the way to the end of that version.

So it is for these reasons that we may condense the five different pagination numberings in Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary Manuscript into two theologically significant versions ("A-B" and "C-D-E"), or stages of composition, of the commentary.

An Analysis of Dr. Leupold's Exegetical Approach

Our Methodology in this Section

This writer's methodology in this section of the dissertation will be to track Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary Manuscript verse by verse through the first three chapters of the Bible book of Hosea to see where Dr. Leupold stands in his understanding, interpretation, translation, emphases, exegetical approach and hermeneutical principles.¹⁷

¹⁷This writer has depended here especially upon Dr. H. D. Hummel's graduate seminar on Hosea; in addition, to provide

Discussion of each verse will begin after Dr. Leupold's translation of the given verse is first quoted. Beginning with Hosea 1:2 and extending through Hosea 2:13, Dr. Leupold has two different overlapping versions of his Hosea Commentary, usually including two different translations of each verse. Both Dr. Leupold's translations of each verse will be quoted (one in the footnotes) whenever they are not identical.

Dr. Leupold's manuscript does not have a separate "Prolegomena" section but like Luther's lectures on Hosea, starts right off with the exegesis of Hosea 1:1. We cannot here be simply reproducing Dr. Leupold's Hosea Commentary Manuscript (consisting of a total of 281 pages), therefore we will have to be almost cripplingly selective of only the most prominent representative samples of his exegesis of Hosea.¹⁸

Dr. Leupold's Outline of the Book of Hosea

The question of how to outline the book of Hosea is bound up with the associated problems of the authorship of the book and the

occasional perspective or background for evaluating Leupold, this writer has also made reference to commentaries by H. W. Wolff, F. I. Anderson, D. N. Freedman, J. L. Mays, T. Laetsch, and Martin Luther.

Greek transliterations in this dissertation will follow the pattern in Molly Whittaker, New Testament Greek Grammar, (London: SCM Press, 1969), p. 9. Hebrew transliterations will follow the pattern in J. Weingreen, A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew, Second Edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978/1939), pp. 1, 4, 8-11.

¹⁸It would not be a bad idea for someone to xerox the whole 281-pages Hosea Commentary manuscript in its exact present form -- With Dr. Leupold's scribbling in the margins and all -- and publish it just as it is.

historical date of composition. Because of the age-old problem of trying to show the relationship between the first three chapters of the book and the last eleven chapters, it has even been suggested that they represent the writings of two different Hoseas -- that the prophet Hosea wrote only Hosea 1-3, and that an entirely different prophet (Deutero-Hosea) or later disciple of the prophet wrote Hosea 4-14. Although almost no one today holds to this "Deutero-Hosea" theory, it highlights the difficulty of settling on any completely satisfactory outline for the book of Hosea.¹⁹

Dr. Leupold's outline of Hosea is two-part: 1) Hosea 1-3, a Marriage Metaphor as a pictorial illustration of Israel's unfaithfulness. 2) Hosea 4-14, the Noise of a Nation Falling to Pieces, the story of Israel's collapse.²⁰ Since we will be doing almost no exegesis of Hosea 4-14 in this dissertation, let us now draw out one quote from Dr. Leupold's summary of that section:

It has been well-argued by G. A. Smith that the book of Hosea tells the story of the ruin and collapse of a nation, and that a collapse cannot be said to proceed in a regular and systematic manner. Ruins may topple anywhere; no man knows what will fall next. He calls Hosea 4-14 "The noise of a nation falling to pieces, the crumbling of a splendid past. And as decay has no climax and ruin no rhythm, so we may understand why it is impossible to divide with any certainty Hosea's record of

¹⁹Horace D. Hummel, The Word Becoming Flesh: An Introduction to the Origin, Purpose, and Meaning of the Old Testament (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), pp. 284-5, 290, 298. Hans Walter Wolff, Hosea: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea, trans. Gary Stansell, ed. Paul D. Hanson, in Hermeneia -- A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), pp. xx, 1, 3, 11.

²⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C11, C78-C79.

Israel's fall." All outlines that try to present the sequence of thought as clearly articulated strike us as being artificial. Yet, it cannot be denied that chapters 4-14 have a common theme, the story of Israel's collapse.²¹

Hosea 1:1, Superscription

The word of Yahweh which came to Hosea, son of Beerī, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, King of Israel.²²

Dr. Leupold's first comment about Hosea 1:1 is really a comment about the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture, especially as it applies to the superscription. Dr. Leupold says that regardless of whether the superscription was actually written by the prophet himself, it does not change the fact that what follows in the Bible book of Hosea -- the entire book -- is "the word of Yahweh," as the first two Hebrew words explicitly state.²³ Dr. Leupold says:

All the chapters that follow are "the word of Yahweh." In fact this includes that a high and noble conception of Yahweh's word is involved. It is the

²¹Ibid., pp. C78-C79.

²²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A1. Notice that here Dr. Leupold translates the Tetragrammaton as "Yahweh." Elsewhere he translates it "Jehovah." No doubt liberals will insist that this is sure evidence for the existence of two schizophrenic Leupolds, the "Yahwistic" Leupold and the "Jehovistic" Leupold, corresponding to two "sources" in his theology, or two chronological periods in his life, the "Young/Early Leupold" and the "Old/Late Leupold," one man who radically changed his theology from conservative to liberal, etc. The fact is that Dr. Leupold himself gives no explanation why he uses them interchangeably and indiscriminately throughout his "Hosea" commentary.

²³Ibid.

controlling force, the creative and effective word that is spoken and then becomes operative, producing the thing whereof it speaks, even as God's word did in the days when the world was created (Gen. 1). God's is word is the controlling factor in history.²⁴

Hosea is described as ben Beeri (the son of Beer);

Dr. Leupold says:

The father (Beer) who is mentioned in this connection merely helps to identify the son. Nothing more is known of the father than that he had this son.²⁵

Dr. Leupold takes up the problem of the historical date of composition of the Bible book of Hosea; this is a question arising from the list of kings named in this superscription, following the word bime (in the days of), that is, "contemporary with." This listing of kings reads strangely for a Northern Kingdom (Israel) prophet; it lists four kings (Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah) of Judah (Southern Kingdom) and only one (Jeroboam II) from Israel (Northern Kingdom).

In the book of Hosea, the "History of Election" (that is, the history of Israel) is treated with great importance, but secular world history is almost entirely absent. Naturally this fact makes it difficult to supply Hosea with exact dates.²⁶ Dr. Leupold concludes:

That only one king of the Northern Kingdom is mentioned would seem to indicate that since the division of the nation under Jeroboam I, the kings of the Northern Kingdom were not regarded as legitimate heirs or

²⁴Ibid., pp. A1-A2.

²⁵Ibid., p. A2.

²⁶Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 284-5.

successors to the throne. The prophets recognized only the line of David, which reigned over the Southern Kingdom.

Jeroboam II is too prominent to pass by, so Jeroboam (786-746 B.C.) is mentioned only casually. Why no other of the kings of the Northern Kingdom are mentioned, we simply do not know.²⁷

Hosea 1:2 - 2:1, Beginning of the "Marriage Metaphor"

Prolegomena

This sub-section really introduces us to the most controversial prolegomena question of the entire book of Hosea, the "Marriage Metaphor."²⁸ Chapter 1 of Hosea in literary form is a biographical account (written in the third person singular), and Chapter 3 is an autobiographical narrative (written in the first person singular). Chapter 2, interposed between them, is a theological application of the marriage to Israel's apostasy and God's grace, appearing in the form of a speech by God himself.²⁹ The prolegomena question about the "Marriage Metaphor" is basically the question of whether or not Hosea 1-3 records an historical event. One of the thorniest factors in this question is the difficulty that there are no crystal-clear categories that completely gather up all the possible alternatives into neatly defined pigeon-holes that all interpreters agree with. There always

²⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A2.

²⁸Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 286. James Luther Mays, Hosea, A Commentary in The Old Testament Library, ed. G. Ernest Wright et al (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976 [1969]), p. 21, footnote A.

²⁹Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 292-3.

seem to be some trailing loose ends even at the most elementary and general level of defining this issue. This very characteristic of undefinability, however, is probably one of the reasons behind the lasting appeal of Hosea 1-3, because real "life" itself, too, is never quite completely definable. Dr. Leupold lists as chief among the views advanced:

Hosea simply married a wife of ill fame. Or again: Gomer was a harlot; Hosea married her in the hope of reforming her. Or again: When Hosea married Gomer she was a good woman, but she turned to evil ways after her marriage, becoming unfaithful to Hosea. Or: Gomer was a typical temple-prostitute at the time of her marriage. Or again: Since such a course of procedure on the part of the prophet might well undermine his reputation, all that took place could well have been an inner visionary experience, which was experienced by the prophet in such a way that it was as real as though it had actually taken place.

. . . All this takes on further shades of meaning when chapter 3 is considered, which is usually construed to mean that Gomer is the woman there referred to. So that Hosea practically went through the same experience twice. Each position above described, plus certain other variations of these experiences, all have to be supplemented by certain assumptions. For not a one of them is really set forth unequivocally in the text.³⁰

Dr. Leupold rejects the "omniscience" interpretation as reading too much into the words "Harlotrous wife" and "Harlotrous children":

She, it is claimed, was a woman who had done nothing irregular but was merely animated by a strong inclination to sexual promiscuity, with the result that married as a pure virgin, Gomer later develops into a shameless whore.

How could Hosea have been in a position to determine the character of a woman with such certainty as to be able to foretell that Gomer had these tendencies in her and having found that she would thus degenerate after

³⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A4-A5.

marriage, he promptly married her, as a one who measured up to the requirements laid down by the Lord? This would require almost a measure of omniscience on the part of Hosea.

Besides, in this interpretation, the expression, "harlotrous children" is made to mean, children who will have in their make-up the same trait of sexual perverseness as this mother. In reality, then, the prophet could not have married Gomer until after a searching character analysis he had . . . further run his test-psychoanalysis so far as to know that her offspring would bear the same taint. This view then collapses at this point under the weight of the impossible things it demands.³¹

Dr. Leupold likewise rejects the "evolutionary" interpretation offered by critical modernistic commentators who say that from Hosea's marriage experience the prophet later "developed" via an "evolutionary" inner process of enlightenment an insight into the divine truth about God's relationship with Israel.³² This is the first of Dr. Leupold's many severe scoldings directed at the liberal critics throughout the length of his "Hosea" commentary:

At first glance this interpretation seems to meet all difficulties, and to explain in addition how, by an almost purely human and natural process, the prophet acquires a deeper insight into spiritual truth. However, one fatal objection looms up at once, and that is that the process of revelation, the mode of imparting the truth, is humanized or rationalized too much.

. . . Prophets do not grow into an insight of a truth and then afterward attribute the acquisition of the truth to divine inspiration and call it "the word of the Lord." No case of such procedure is found in the Scriptures.

. . . Here is one of the many instances where modernistic interpretation reduced Biblical concepts to a shallower meaning and then operated with them as a

³¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C7-8.

³²Wolff, p. 13-14.

convenient representation of modernistic views. This is in reality perversion of Scripture.³³

Dr. Leupold also deals with the question of "theodicy" (that is, defense of the consistency of God's integrity), and realizes that this is a question whether or not one takes the "harlotry" in the literal sense or not:

With a literal interpretation of the event you run pretty close to putting God at variance with His revealed will and word. On the one hand, certainly, a man should not consort with whores. Least of all should he marry them. In fact, this was specifically forbidden to priests (Lv. 21:7). Besides, a husband was to be divorced from a wife who was guilty of fornication (Mt. 5:38).³⁴

In other words, by raising the "theodicy" question, some interpreters try to pit theology against history. They attempt to answer the question why God would command a prophet to marry a prostitute. So these interpreters try to "rescue" the moral consistency of God's word and the moral integrity of God -- defending God against the charge that God had contradicted himself and his written word by instructing Hosea to do something that was contrary to the Decalogue Commandment against adultery. Another reason for not taking Hosea 1-3 in a "literal" sense is the parallel attempt to preserve the moral integrity of the prophet Hosea himself.³⁵ Dr. Leupold is aware of that question too:

³³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C13.

³⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C5.

³⁵Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 286-7. Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C5.

In any case, even if the most favorable construction could be put upon the . . . prophet's course of conduct . . . yet . . . chapter III brings us face to face with a very similar case. . . . This second similar case with a woman of very doubtful character . . . would have damaged the prophets reputation beyond repair. . . . Consequently the obstacles in the way of a literal interpretation become insuperable. . . . The prophet's . . . reputation would have suffered under the double impact of two morally questionable acts, to the point where his public usefulness would have been cancelled.³⁶

Dr. Leupold is also aware of the protest of some "theodicy" interpreters who insist that the "integrity" difficulty is not removed by understanding the Hosea 1-3 "harlotry" not as an outward physical historical event, but as an inner spiritual visionary one. These "theodicy" interpreters say, "the issues of right and wrong are still the same whether the experience be inward or outward; wrong is wrong." Dr. Leupold simply denies that it would have been wrong, even if Hosea's marriage to a harlot had been an historical event. Dr. Leupold says:

If the prophet were to have entered into the union with the very purpose of reforming Gomer, such a union could not be proved to have in it any elements in themselves wrong or at variance in any way with the revealed will of God. Already St. Augustine stressed the idea that reformation may have been the prophet's object.³⁷

Dr. Leupold identifies his own position on the "Marriage Metaphor" as follows:

We feel the need, then, of turning to a view which is in reality the view held already by the earliest Jewish tradition, that of the Targum. The Targumist translates the second verse of this chapter very loosely. He says:

³⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C6-C7.

³⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C5-C6, C14.

When Jehovah began to speak to Hosea, Jehovah said to Hosea, "Go and speak a prophecy against the inhabitants of the wicked city for they are multiplying their sins, for the inhabitants of the land have indeed strayed from the worship of Jehovah."

In essence this view was held by the reformers, except that Luther gave it an usual turn by supposing that the prophet had an honorable wife and children, but executed a kind of pantomime with them by using them in a figurative illustration to portray this unsavory truth. Hengstenberg put up the staunchest defense of this view. Kiel gives it the most satisfactory formulation. He says:

"The marriages of Hosea are inner experiences of the prophet, that is to say, they are to be thought of as having transpired only in the inner, spiritual intuition through which the word of God came to him."³⁸

A little later on, Dr. Leupold restates his position, but putting more emphasis on the God/Israel relationship:

Fausset states the case more adequately: "not externally acted, but internally and in vision; as a pictorial illustration of Israel's unfaithfulness."³⁹

The "harlotry" metaphor⁴⁰ is just another of the countless metaphors Hosea deploys in the course of his book, and after chapter

³⁸Ibid., pp. C8-C9.

³⁹Ibid., p. C11.

⁴⁰Luther's view on the "Marriage Metaphor" and "Harlotrous Wife/Children" is:

"Here people stir up big questions on account of that harlotry, whether the prophet committed fornication, . . . or took a harlot as a wife. What some people say does not satisfy me, not even the words of Jerome:

'The prophet did not lose his chastity because he was joined to a harlot, but the harlot gained a chastity she did not have previously, especially because Hosea . . . obeyed the will of God.'

By their names the sons signify below what sort of people the Israelites are going to be. I think we must say the same thing about the harlot, because she was called a 'wife of harlotry' to signify that the people now were committing harlotry and would do the same in the future. So, also, her sons born of her called 'sons of harlotry.' Do not take this to mean, then, that harlotry is charged to the wife, that is, do not take this in the active sense, but understand that the wife has allowed herself, her sons, and her

3, the "harlotry" metaphor virtually disappears.⁴¹ Wolff says:

Hosea independently creates numerous metaphors. No other prophet -- indeed, not one writer in the entire Old Testament -- uses as many similes as Hosea does.⁴²

Dr. Hummel says:

The husband-wife metaphor scarcely appears in the Book of Hosea after Chapter 3, being replaced (if any metaphor is used) by the father-son analogy.⁴³

Dr. Leupold rebukes E. B. Pusey for denying any other possible interpretation except a totally literal one. Dr. Leupold says:

It will not do to try to dispose of the case with positive assertions claiming that the clear word of the text describes this as a regular, though somewhat extraordinary, marriage between two persons, and therefore all possibility of any other construction is to be ruled out.

So Pusey tries to dispose of the problem with categorical assertions: "There is no ground to justify our taking as a parable, what Holy Scripture relates as a fact." He even adds, "There is no instance in which it can be shown that Holy Scripture relates that a thing was done and that with the names of persons, and yet that God did not intend it to be taken as literally true."⁴⁴

husband to be so named because of the people and against the people, as if she were saying: 'I am called a harlot and my husband is called a whoremonger because you are harlots and whoremongers.'" Martin Luther, Luther's Works (American Edition), vol. 18: Lectures on the Minor Prophets (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), pp. 3-4.

⁴¹Wolff, p. xxiv. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 287.

⁴²Wolff, p. xxiv.

⁴³Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 287.

⁴⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C4-C5.

Dr. Leupold deals with the problem of how God could have commanded a prophet to do something (that is, marry a harlot) and the prophet write (Hosea 1-3) as though he actually carried it out, but in reality not actually do it. Dr. Leupold says:

There are very close parallels. There are instances where prophets were bidden to do a thing which in the nature of the case will not have been done, yet the prophets recorded the matter as though it had been carried out to the letter.

The strongest case may be Jeremiah 25:15ff. Jeremiah is bidden to "take this cup of the wine of wrath" and to give kings and cities and peoples to drink of it. Jeremiah says v. 17. "Then I took the cup at Jehovah's hand and made all the nations to drink unto whom the Lord had sent me." Then follows an enumeration of those to whom he gave it. Yet all this comes under the head of "the word that came to Jeremiah" (Jeremiah 25:1). . . . He could without misrepresenting the case claim that he carried out the Lord's behest. Similar must be the case of Hosea.

Zechariah 11:4 to the end of the chapter constitutes a second good parallel. Some of the things involved were physically possible but cannot be conceived of as actually carried out by Zechariah, especially, "I cut off three shepherds in one month" (v. 8). . . . Isaiah 30 seems to be a third parallel.⁴⁵

Dr. Leupold could agree with Mays' summary statement on the Marriage Metaphor:

Disagreement about the nature of this family narrative is as old as the interpretation of the early Church Fathers. Is the story an allegory whose only reality is the meaning, or do marriage and births represent actual episodes in the life of Hosea? The majority of recent commentators agree that the latter is correct.

The very character of prophetic symbolism requires that the divine word be actualized in a representative event. The narrative itself gives clues to the factual human history of which it tells. Gomer and Diblaim are personal names, not sign language for some reality other than a person.

⁴⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C10-C11.

. . . The story reports the real. And yet it is not, indeed cannot be, approached as though it were biography. The interest is not in Hosea and the experiences of his life.

. . . The narrative is kerygmatic, not biographical. Through it, as well as oracle, the word of Yahweh is known -- and this is its sole purpose. The details of Hosea's family life are hidden behind the word-function of the narrative. Modern questions formed out of legitimate curiosity about just what happened are frustrated and will never be answered with final certainty because the data are missing.⁴⁶

As has been amply demonstrated by thrashing through some of the issues discussed above, it is this Hosea 1-3 "marriage metaphor" issue that in the history of Hosea interpretation has taken up most of the time and space in Hosea commentaries. Therefore, to bring this introductory section to a close so that we may proceed with the verse by verse exegesis, let us simply conclude by repeating Dr. Leupold's statement previously mentioned:

Each position above described, plus certain other variations of these experiences, all have to be supplemented by certain assumptions. For not a one of them is really set forth unequivocally in the text.⁴⁷

Hosea 1:2

Dr. Leupold's "A" version:

How Yahweh began to speak through Hosea. Yahweh said to Hosea: "Go take to yourself a wife of harlotry and children of harlotry; for the land commits great harlotry by forsaking Yahweh."⁴⁸

⁴⁶Mays, pp. 23-4.

⁴⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A5.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. A2-A3.

There is no substantial difference between Dr. Leupolds "A" and "C"⁴⁹ versions -- only vocabulary and stylistic variations.

Dr. Leupold says that the word techillath (beginning of) is in the construct state, and that it:

. . . places strong emphasis on the fact that all this happened at the very beginning. This unique beginning Hosea never forgot. . . . It certainly riveted itself upon his own consciousness -- a "beginning" never to be forgotten.⁵⁰

Dr. Leupold says that dibber Jahweh (Yahweh . . . to speak) is a relative or temporal clause, with the relative pronoun omitted; dibber (speak) therefore is a finite verb.⁵¹

Note that Dr. Leupold understands dibber (speak) in the Masoretic Text as a verb, but since the Masoretic pointing is not part of the verbally inspired Hebrew text, this could also be pointed as a noun, "word," and that is the way the Septuagint translators rendered it with the Greek word logos (word: "The beginning of the word of the Lord." No meaning change seems to be involved in either event, but this is just an example of one of Dr. Leupold's consistent exegetical traits: he overwhelmingly favors the Hebrew Masoretic Text over against the Septuagint if there is a choice between them -- unless there is an unusually

⁴⁹Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

"When Jehovah began to speak with Hosea, then Jehovah said unto Hosea, 'Go take to yourself a woman of whoredoms and children of whoredoms, for the land has indeed gone awhoring from after Jehovah.'" Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. Cl.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. Cl.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. A2, Cl.

serious textual-critical corruption of the Hebrew text as it stands.⁵²

Finally, Dr. Leupold discusses the word zenunim (harlotry):

Much hinges at this point on the interpretation of the expression "wife of harlotry." The word for "harlotry" is zenunim. This word occurs again in Hosea 4:12 and Hosea 5:4. In the use that Hosea makes of the term in these passages ("spirit of harlotry") the term would appear to describe the total spiritual attitude that prevades the nation, an attitude of infidelity over against Yahweh, a spirit of defection to Baal. Coupled with the Baal-worship of those days was the practice of temple prostitution, . . . regarded as an act of worship. Such practices may have been quite common in Iseael. At least the land was infected with this ungodly spirit.

The next statement . . . could well be interpreted in the same manner; "For the land commits great harlotry in forsaking Yahweh." This harlotry could involve the sacrifice of virginity as well as taking part in the seductive Baal rites introduced into the land since the days of Jezebel.⁵³

Dr. Leupold always kept in close touch with what Luther had to say, though not in any slavish sense.⁵⁴ Part of the problem with this "wife of harlotry" phrase is the grammatical linguistic problem of the use of the adjective in Hebrew.⁵⁵

⁵²Alfred Rahlfs, ed., Septuaginta, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935), 2:490.

⁵³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. A5-A7.

⁵⁴About this verse Luther says: "Committing harlotry means practicing idolatry. Idolatry is the genuine trust in works; harlotry is to sin with unfaithfulness against the First Commandment. Properly, harlotry is to act against the First Commandment in the name of God, that is, to do without faith what you imagine you are doing to worship God." LW #18, p. 4.

⁵⁵For example: instead of saying, "my holy mountain," Hebrew says, "the mountain of my holiness" (Isaiah 11:9) This is a construct chain in Hebrew and can have all kinds of meanings; Hebrew

Dr. Leupold's translation of be-hoshea as "with/thru Hosea" (using beth) and not "to Hosea" (using lamed) correctly reinforces Dr. Leupold's exegesis, which argues against any kind of retrospective/proleptic/evolutionary interpretation of Hosea's own self-understanding of his marriage, as Mays explains:⁵⁶

The story of Hosea and his family is to be told as an instance of Yahweh's speaking through him. The narrator excludes with this characterization any proleptic interpretation of the marriage as a normal marital contract which Hosea came to regard as revelation in the light of subsequent experience. The marriage was not a way for Yahweh to speak to Hosea, but through him; it was from the first an enterprise of declaring the revelation of Yahweh.⁵⁷

Hosea 1:3

Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C" versions identical:

So he went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim; and she conceived and bore him a son.⁵⁸

Even though the translation of the verse in the "A" and "C" versions is identical, we begin to see a sharp divergence in

normally avoids adjectives. So "wife of harlotry" is a standard Hebrew construction for a "harlotrous wife."

Although zenunim (harlotry) is only a common Hebrew word for any kind of immorality, Wolf argues that Gomer was a cultic prostitute in the technical sense. However, arguing against the idea that Gomer was a cultic prostitute is the fact that Hosea does not use here the technical term for a cultic prostitute, " (Holy One). But in the final analysis, Yahwistic ethics would denounce either. The real interest of the text and point of comparison is the YHWH-Israel comparison. Wolff, p. 15.

⁵⁶Mays, p. 24.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A3.

Dr. Leupold's interpretation in the "A" and "C" sections. In the "A" version Dr. Leupold says:

When it is said that the prophet immediately obeyed and "took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim," this is the regular expression (Gen. 4:19, Ex. 34:16) for taking a wife in marriage. The wife's name and that of her father are here given . . . in a strictly factual account.⁵⁹

But in the "C" version Dr. Leupold says:

"So he went and took" is indicative of prompt obedience. Though it was an inner prophetic experience, yet even there the prophet displayed a fidelity and zeal which give proof of his willing obedience.

The name of the woman and her father are significant. . . . In a visionary experience every item is significant, and the names given to the visionary character involved must . . . be important more for the meaning they convey than as proper names marking well-known individuals.⁶⁰

There is a vast literature on the meaning of the names "Gomer" and Diblaim." Dr. Leupold's interpretation in his "A" version is that "Gomer" means "completion" in reference to the completion or the birth of their son, but says, "It is impossible to fit this meaning suitably into the text." Dr. Leupold says "Diblaim" means "double lump of pressed figs" and is even harder to fit into the text.⁶¹

Dr. Leupold's "C" version says "Gomer" means "completion" to symbolize that Yahweh's spouse, Israel, has completed the full measure of her iniquity. Dr. Leupold says "Diblaim" means "double fig-cake" to designate the character quality of a person who

⁵⁹Ibid., p. A8.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. C16.

⁶¹Ibid., p. A8.

delights in delicacies, and meaning that Israel has grown addicted to the luxurious living connected with idol worship.⁶²

In both the "A" and "C" versions Dr. Leupold says that the son born to Hosea and Gomer was a legitimate son of the prophet. As evidence for this Dr. Leupold appeals to the Hebrew personal pronoun lo (to him), which the LXX confirms with the Greek translation autw (to him).⁶³

Hosea 1:4

Dr. Leupold's "A" version:

Then the Lord said to him: "Call him Jezreel, for yet a little while I will avenge the blood of Jezreel on the house of Jehu; and I will exterminate the dominion of the house of Israel."⁶⁴

There is no substantial difference between Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C"⁶⁵ versions -- only vocabulary and stylistic variations. Dr. Leupold makes the traditional associations here of Jezreel with Jehu's slaughter of the last of the dynasty of Omri (2 Kings 9) and with vengeance on the house of Ahab and Jezebel for the murder of Naboth and the theft of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kings 21):

⁶²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C16.

⁶³Ibid., pp. A8, C16-C17. Rahlfs, 2:490.

⁶⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A3.

⁶⁵Dr. Leupold's "C" version: And Jehovah said unto him, call his name Jezreel: for yet a little while and I will visit the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and I will cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cease. Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C17.

It is not without Scriptural analogy that prophets give significant symbolic names to their children, cf., Isaiah 8:3, 18. . . . The name Jezreel is to remind of the fact that in a comparatively short time . . . shall transpire . . . the final collapse of the Northern Kingdom. . . . So Jezreel stands here with an ominous sound, like a kind of Waterloo.⁶⁶

Here again Dr. Leupold's ire is raised against the liberal critics, this time one of his favorite targets, E. Sellin⁶⁷, who misrepresents Hosea's meaning in this verse. Dr. Leupold complains:

Unnecessary and ill-founded charges are brought against Hosea, when the case is pressed into the meaning that Hosea saw the vengeance upon the house of Jehu coincide in point of time with the complete and final downfall of the Kingdom of Israel. Then when Jehu's house fell and the kingdom not, Hosea [allegedly] recognized his mistake and never again so closely identified the two.

Such misinterpretation first misreads the prophet, attributing the expositor's views to the prophet, then making the correction at the prophet's expense, attributing a more or less evident retraction or admission to the prophet.⁶⁸

Hosea 1:5

Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C" versions identical:

And it shall come to pass in that day that I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel.⁶⁹

Dr. Leupold first makes the usual identification of "bow" with "military strength," indicating Israel will be conquered in the

⁶⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C17-18.

⁶⁷Ernst Sellin, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch Bond XII in Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung Dr. Werner Scholl, 1922).

⁶⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C20.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. A3, C17.

valley of Jezreel. But in Dr. Leupold's "A" version he identifies that battle as the victory of the Assyrian King Tiglath-Pileser III in 733 B.C. However, in his "C" version, Dr. Leupold says: "Hosea here refers to an event of which we have no record. . . . The Scriptures do not report the battle."⁷⁰

Hosea 1:6

Dr. Leupold's "A" version:

And she conceived again and bore a daughter. Then he said to him: "Call her Un-pitied (Lo-ruhamah); for I will no more bestow my pity on the house of Israel; for I will completely take it from her."⁷¹

There is no substantial difference in translation between Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C"⁷² versions -- only vocabulary and stylistic variations. Regarding the matter of the name "Not pitied," negative names are very rare in the Bible, and there are very few parallels to a negated verb as a negative name. The old classical standard work on etymological name-studies is Martin Noth's Israelitischen Personennamen, but a more recent work is Herbert Hoffman's Amorite Personal Names; therein one can find very few examples of a negated verb as a name. But of course there are

⁷⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. A9, C20-21.

⁷¹Ibid., p. A3.

⁷²Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "And she conceived again and bore a daughter. And He said unto Him, Call her name 'Un-pitied;' for I will no more have pity upon the house of Israel, that I should in any wise pardon them." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C21.

other Old Testament examples of negative names, in this case using a noun.⁷³

They have stirred me to jealousy with what is No-god; they have provoked me with their idols. So I will stir them to jealousy with those who are No-people; I will provoke them with a foolish nation. (Deuteronomy 32:21).⁷⁴

At any rate, the point of comparison for the negative names in Hosea is national, not personal. Although "Not-pitied" may have actually been the name of the child, its intent is not biographical, but is a theological reference to Yahweh rejecting his own people.⁷⁵

Dr. Leupold interprets:

The three childrens' names do not so much aim to run to a climax, as rather to present the different sides of the great evil growing out of Israel's sins. Nor need the three sides presented cover every angle of the case, but they certainly do give an adequate and relatively complete picture of what Israel is bringing down upon herself.⁷⁶

Dr. Leupold also again fulminates against the liberal critics:

⁷³D. Schreiber's student notes on Louis A. Brighton's lectures, "Introduction to the Septuagint," EN-480 Seminar, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., September 30, 1981 and October 2, 1981. Martin Noth, Die Israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der Gemeinsemitischen Namengebung (Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ansg. Stuttgart, 1928) Hildesheim Gg Olms, 1966.

⁷⁴Schreiber's "LXX" notes, pp. 20-1.

⁷⁵D. Schreiber's Student Notes on Dr. Horace D. Hummel's Lectures, "Exegesis of Hosea," EO-818 Seminar, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO, September 15 to November 17, 1975, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C21.

Sellin gives a good demonstration of the unscientific way of discrediting Biblical texts, so much in vogue among the critics. First, he translates somewhat unsatisfactorily: "that I should completely forgive them." Then since Hosea could hardly reckon with half a forgiveness, Sellin concludes that such a statement would be nonsense.

Then instead of seeking to correct his rendering of the absolute infinitive, he belabors the passage as a textual corruption and proceeds to rectify it after the Septuagint translation to mean, by a transposition of two letters: "I will thoroughly hate them." Such rash manipulation of texts still parades under the name of science and Old Testament exegesis.⁷⁷

In his exposition of this verse, Dr. Leupold does not look ahead to Hosea 2:3, to the "great reversal" of the curse in this verse, or even mention the two New Testament usages of this "great reversal" in 1 Peter 2:10 and Romans 9:25. However, he does mention Rom. 9:25-6 in connection with Hos. 1:10.⁷⁸

Hosea 1:7

Dr. Leupold's "A" version:

But upon the house of Judah I will take pity:
[accidentally omitted: "and will save them by Jehovah their God"], but not will I deliver them by bow or by sword, nor by implements of war, nor by horsemen.⁷⁹

Dr. Leupold seems to have accidentally omitted the phrase, "and will save them by Jehovah their God" in version "A"; otherwise there is no substantial difference between his "A" and "C"⁸⁰

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. C22-23.

⁷⁸Supra, p. 243.

⁷⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A3.

⁸⁰Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "But upon the house of Judah I will take pity and will save them by Jehovah their God, and not will I save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle equipment, by horses, nor by horsemen." Leupold, "Hosea," p. C23.

versions except for vocabulary and stylistic variations. The textual apparatus footnote in the new Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia⁸¹ suggests that this whole verse is an interpolation. Dr. Leupold in his "A" version says:

This verse is usually regarded as an interruption of the train of thought of the chapter which deals with Israel, not with Judah. It may even be regarded as a legitimate word of Hosea, though inserted later at this point.

So this verse makes the point that God's mercies toward Judah will not be cancelled out; they will continue as in days of old. In fact a remarkable deliverance is in store for Judah.

. . . We know from Isaiah 37:36 that it was nothing less than the angel of the Lord who was called upon to work the deliverance. . . . The direct intervention of Yahweh is made to stand out by the use of the statement "I will deliver them by Yahweh their God."⁸²

In his "C" version, Dr. Leupold defends the reliability and authenticity of the Masoretic text, and delivers a broadside at critical muddling of the issue:

Fulfillment of this general truth came in the days of Sennacherib's invasion, when Israel succumbed and Judah experienced a marvelous salvation, II Kings 18-19, especially 19:35ff. But Hosea lays the emphasis chiefly on the principle . . . that this deliverance will be wrought "by Jehovah their God." . . . However, criticism, with surprising unanimity, in a case so poorly established rejects the whole verse as a later addition.

. . . Prophecy is regarded as unable to make so specific a prediction. However, . . . we have reason to believe that prophecy could when it so pleased God, foretell future events. If criticism, instead of using as criterion of judgement what the individual critic thinks he would have written under such circumstances, would try to enter sympathetically into the line of

⁸¹K. Elliger, et al., eds. Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977), p. 991.

⁸²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. A10-A11.

thought that actually lies before men in the Masoretic text, there would be less of the parrot-like repetition of idle claims about the integrity of the original text and more sound exegesis.⁸³

Hosea 1:8

Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C" versions are identical:

Now when she had weaned Un-pitied, she conceived and bore a son.⁸⁴

Note the extreme brevity, as the historical reports get even more brief and cryptic as we proceed. Dr. Leupold says:⁸⁵

No particular meaning should here be attached to the statement that Un-pitied was weaned. In the land of Palestine in days of old, as II Maccabees 7:28 proves, children were given suck for a space of from 2 to 3 years. Weaning, after so long a period of suckling, came to be counted as an event. (cf. Genesis 21:8).⁸⁶

Hosea 1:9

Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C" versions are identical:

Then he said: "Call his name Not-my-people (lo-ammi), for you are not my people and I will not be yours."⁸⁷

The original covenant founded at Sinai is: "You are my people and I am your God" (Ex. 6:7, Lev. 26:12, Deut. 26:17-19, 2 Sam. 7:24, Jeremiah 7:23, 11:4, and so forth) This negative name,

⁸³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C23-C24.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. A3, C25.

⁸⁵Hummel, "Hosea," p. 12.

⁸⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C25.

⁸⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. A3, C25.

then, is the climactic total rupture, the break-up of the heart of the covenant.⁸⁸

When God says "I Will Be" ("ehyeh"), we are reminded of the definition of His person and being that He gave in Ex. 3:14, where the very expression "eyheh" is used in explanation of the divine name Jehovah. So this statement of Hosea came to be the equivalent of the statement: I shall no longer display myself to you in the fulness of grace and faithfulness that lies embodied in my name Jehovah.⁸⁹

Hosea 1:10-11,2:1, A Glimpse of the
Coming Day of Salvation

Prolegomena

If the "Marriage Metaphor" in Hosea 1-3 is the most controversial question in the history of Hosea exegesis and interpretation, then these three verses rate as runner-up -- the second most controversial Hosean problem. As in the case of the "Marriage Metaphor," the suggested solutions presented for the problems in these three verses seem to start out very low-key, simple and plain. But as discussion proceeds we begin colliding one after another with increasing speed into more and more speculative ideas -- each of which seems to contain a grain of the truth.

Again, as in the case of the "Marriage Metaphor" in Hosea 1-3, immediately as we begin to look at these verses we are deluged with so many overlapping alternatives and suggestive implications that no one has even attempted to collect them into "categories."

⁸⁸Hummel, "Hosea," p. 12.

⁸⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C25.

So the difficulty is that there are no categories that completely gather up all the possible alternatives into neatly-defined, pigeon-holes that all interpreters agree with. There are always some loose ends even at the most elementary and general level of defining the issue. This very characteristic of undefinability, however, is again probably one of the reasons behind its lasting appeal as being "life-like." Fortunately for us however, we find that we are in good hands with Dr. Leupold; in his steady reliable manner, he has a handle on the issue:

The first section [Hosea 1:1-9] closed with a word . . . marking the climax of disasters. Now without explanation or even without any kind of transition the approach is a radically different one: a hopeful outlook flashes across the page. All the evils threatened are suddenly forgotten and a cheerful prospect dominates the scene.⁹⁰

Also, in his "C" version Dr. Leupold demonstrates he has good understanding of the issue:

A surprising right-about-face on the part of the prophet: Without rhyme or reason apparently, all the bitter consequences of her infidelity brought upon herself by Israel are here suddenly regarded as wiped out. . . . There can be no question about it, the statement is extremely paradoxical.⁹¹

The "issue" is the sudden transition from the theme of judgement to that of promise. Dr. Leupold is able to meet this challenge:

⁹⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. A12-A13.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. C26-27.

A word must yet be spoken to ease the minds of those who feel that the transition from verse 9 to the next verse (Heb. 2:1, Eng. vs. 10) is too abrupt and unmotivated. . . . A startling abruptness is here found.

. . . But prophecy elsewhere does the same thing, and that prophets suddenly veer from denunciation to strong comfort is a more or less common observation for those who study prophetic writings.

. . . As unusual a case as the one under consideration is that offered by Amos. A book that brings a message of doom, uninterrupted by any hopeful note, suddenly in Amos 9:11 breaks into a jubilant note of promise, with which the book closes.⁹²

The interpretation that has understood not only the "marriage," but also the "harlotry" in Hosea 1:1-9 as literal history says that to continue with the purely historical narrative, the reader must skip from Hosea 1:9 over to Hosea 3:1-5 to keep the continuity of the historical narrative unbroken. This is a legitimate concern because it immediately admits the existence of a genuine nagging textual question about whether the arrangement of our present text of the first three chapters of Hosea is the result of a rearrangement of the Bible book of Hosea by one of Hosea's later disciples, a Hosean redactor or editor.⁹³

The theories about "rediscovering" the "original arrangement" of Hosea 1-3 get very speculative. The most prominent problem has been the question of where the chapter-division belongs between chapter 1 and chapter 2. Which verse should be the last verse of chapter 1 and the first verse of chapter 2? Following Dr. Leupold,

⁹²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C34-C35.

⁹³Hummel, "Hosea," p. 12.

the Septuagint/English⁹⁴ text chapter-division has been used for this dissertation, that is, dividing up the three verses under discussion, leaving the first two verses in chapter 1, and making the third verse become the first verse of chapter 2. The following are the two most important alternatives:⁹⁵

1. Hebrew/Masoretic text:
 Chap. 1:1-9 (9 vss).
 Chap. 2:1-25 (25 vss).
2. Greek Septuagint and English KJV/RSV:⁹⁶
 Chap. 1:1-11 (11 vss).
 Chap. 2:1-23 (23 vss).

But since Chapter 2 reads somewhat like a bunch of seemingly unconnected two- or three-verse pericopes strung together one after another, it almost looks like one could put in the chapter division at any number of places. Even the Hebrew/Masoretic text has more or less appropriate-looking breaks at several different places. And for that matter, compared to Chapters 1 and 2, note the curious brevity of Chapter 3 -- it is only five verses long; this could be a further symptom of a textual problem.⁹⁷

⁹⁴Dr. Leupold doubtlessly used the LXX/English chapter division not out of preference for the LXX over the Masoretic text in this case, but because Dr. Leupold was writing for an English Bible readership audience.

⁹⁵Hummel, "Hosea," p. 12.

⁹⁶Sir Lancelot C. L. Brenton, trans. and ed., The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1978), pp. 1070-1 (originally published by Samuel Bagster & Sons, London, 1851). Alberto Colunga, ed., Biblia Sacra: Vulgatam Clementinam, nova quinta editio. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1977), pp. 870-1.

⁹⁷Hummel, "Hosea," p. 12.

The English KJV/RSV chapter-division goes back to the Septuagint, and the Hebrew/Masoretic goes back as far as we can trace, but both have their problems. Neither the Septuagint/English nor the Hebrew chapter-division is completely satisfactory, for the following reasons.⁹⁸

Against the Hebrew/Masoretic division is that putting all three of these "promise" verses in Chapter 2 makes Chapter 1 end with a "woe" section (Hosea 1:1-9). This goes against the Hebrew/Masoretic liturgical tradition that preferred that texts begin and end on a positive note. For example, after reading the last verse of the last chapter of the book of Isaiah, the very negative-sounding Isaiah 66:24, Masoretic liturgical rubrics directed the reader to go back and re-read the two preceding positive verses, Isaiah 66:22-23, so as to end on a happy note. Another example is the Masoretic liturgical rubrics for (re-)reading the last verses in Malachi.⁹⁹

Also against the Hebrew/Masoretic chapter division is that after these three initial positive verses, and without any transition, there is an abrupt change from blessings to woes, as well as an abrupt change of the subject-metaphor.¹⁰⁰

The Septuagint/English chapter division has as its only justification the establishment of a theme of alternating blessings and woes -- a pattern common in the prophetic books. But against

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

the Septuagint/English chapter division is that it divides up the three verses under discussion, leaving the first two verses in Chapter 1, and making the third verse become the first verse of Chapter 2.¹⁰¹

Thus, the Septuagint/English chapter division makes two verses of blessing at the end of chapter 1, one verse of blessing at the beginning of Chapter 2, followed by woes in most of the rest of Chapter 2 -- hardly a great improvement in the sense, because it leaves the one verse of blessing at the beginning of Chapter 2 hanging all alone. There were apparently no good alternatives, but the two traditions (Hebrew, and Greek/English) each made an attempt.¹⁰²

Liberal critics often reposition Hosea 1:10-11, 2:1 by saying that it originally stood at the end of Chapter 2 of Hosea. Thus, Wolff's hypothesis says that Hosea 1:9 was originally the end of Chapter 1, and that Hosea 1:10-11, 2:1 were originally at the end of Chapter 2. Many commentators suggest this, even some conservatives, because it does seem to have in its favor the order in which the Apostle Paul quotes these verses in Romans 9:25-26. Of course, since Paul was not concerned with the present question, one cannot necessarily bring the Romans 9:25-26 order to bear on the Hosea 1-3 order, but it remains a possibility. And if we look ahead to the

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Ibid.

end of Chapter 2 where the "great reversal" of the negative names is again discussed, it does make sense in meaning and context.¹⁰³

A second expedient even more commonly resorted to is relocating the whole of Chapter 3 between the end of chapter 1 (Hosea 1:9) and the beginning of Chapter 2. This relocation joins the two "historical" sections (Hosea 1:1-9, Hosea 3:1-5) and makes Hosea 1:10-11, 2:1, become the conclusion to Hosea 3:1-5 thus relocated as follows:¹⁰⁴

- 1) Hosea 1:1-9
- 2) Hosea 3:1-5
- 3) Hosea 1:10-11, 2,1

One cannot dismiss this problem, but on the other hand, one must ask if we get any substantial results from the effort. The common assumption with this second expedient is that some Hosean redactor/editor moved these verses around to highlight the over-arching range of Hosea's thought, that is, Law and Gospel, promise and woe, judgment and salvation, and so forth.¹⁰⁵

Dr. Leupold reacts against the attempted "relocations" of the verses in Hosea 1-3 hypothesized by the liberal critics:

Critics have not met the challenge. Their attitude is aptly summed up by Harper, who speaks as if the issue were a closed one and settled beyond a possibility of doubt by the critical method. He says: "This piece (Hosea 1:10-11, 2:1) has been recognized as occupying an impossible place."

¹⁰³Wolff, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴Hummel, "Hosea," p. 13.

¹⁰⁵Mays, p. 31.

Apparently, however, criticism is here providing more than is a consistent with her own purpose. For if the passage does not belong here, where put it?

What a wretched hodge-podge do the critics suppose the prophetic writings to have been? Pieces floating around loose without anchorage, pieces that cannot be fitted in anywhere: How could a book so constituted ever have survived the test of time and come down to posterity?¹⁰⁶

Hosea 1:10

Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C" versions are almost identical (same except for "children/sons"):

Yet the number of children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured or numbered. And it shall come to pass instead of that which was said to them: You-are-not-my-people, it shall be said to them: Children [Sons]-of-the-living-God.¹⁰⁷

The first word of the verse, ve-haya (Yet . . . shall be) begins with a vav-adversative (ve-, that is, "yet"), and sets off what follows from the preceding section, and is a major division-sign signal.¹⁰⁸ Dr. Leupold picks up this detail and blasts the liberal critics for bending their translations out of shape:

The contrast between the patriarchal promise and Hosea's word gives the clue to the understanding. The A.V. with its rendering of the ve- . . . as "yet" catches this aspect of the case very correctly. So Luther: aber. J.M.P. Smith misses this point in the American translation when he renders the ve- as "then." . . . Sellin hopelessly entangles himself. . . . Sellin . . . indicates that he has not caught the drift of Hosea's line of argumentation.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C27.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., pp. A3, C26.

¹⁰⁸Hummel, "Hosea," p. 13.

¹⁰⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C27-C28.

Dr. Leupold's excellent interpretation of "sand of the sea" hits right in the center of the target again, as usual:

In the beginning of verse 10 comes a quotation that helps us understand very readily what the prophet aims to make clear. This quotation is in the words, "as the sand of the sea which cannot be measured or numbered."

Compare with it the words of Genesis 32:12, to Jacob; "I will make your seed as the sand of the sea which cannot be numbered for multitude." Or, as spoken to Abraham, cf. Genesis 15:5, 22:7, etc.¹¹⁰

This means that Wolff is wrong when he says: "The metaphor of the sand of the sea recalls the promise to the patriarchs, although there is no recognizable literary dependency."¹¹¹

Here Theodore Laetsch makes a good point which not even Dr. Leupold makes quite so clearly: later books of Scripture frequently quote earlier books by "weaving" together (like a carpet) their words, phrases and thoughts, instead of extracting long quotations and setting them off rigidly in an indented section with bracketing quotation marks:

Here the Lord combines all the prophecies given to the patriarchs, taking various expressions from the various prophecies and combining them into one all-embracing promise in which all shall be fulfilled. There shall be countless children of Israel.¹¹²

This "carpet-weaving" style of gathering up previous Biblical prophecy is well demonstrated by the Apostle Paul in 1 Cor.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. C29-C30.

¹¹¹Wolff, p. 26.

¹¹²Theo. Laetsch, Bible Commentary: The Minor Prophets (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 24-5.

15:54-55, or by John in Rev. 1:12-20.¹¹³ But Dr. Leupold does say:

Now all the great promises given to the patriarchs are brought into the picture from Gen. 12:2 onward. Also cf. Gen. 13:16. The great miracle promised there is renewed here.¹¹⁴

Even Mays agrees with Dr. Leupold:

The prediction that the population of Israel would grow until it could not be counted is an assertion that the promise to the patriarchs would overcome even the decimation of judgement.

. . . A progeny so numerous as to be uncountable is a constant motif of the promise-formulations in Genesis (cf. 13:16, 15:5, 26:24, 28:14, etc.) and the specific comparison "like the sand of the sea" appears in 32:12 and 22:17.¹¹⁵

Having established the literary aspect of this passage sufficiently, Dr. Leupold elaborates more on its theological significance:

With this approach established we may more fully unfold the meaning of the passage. That numerous descendants of Israel are declared to be in prospect is linked up with the general thought that prosperity always includes numbers, cf., Micah 2:12, Isaiah 48:19.

At the same time verse 10 is seen to promise the annulment of the curse of verse 4: Jezreel implied vengeance; numbers implies blessings. Israel knew well enough as a result of frequent instruction in the past that this blessing could become reality only on the condition of return to Jehovah, i.e., repentance.¹¹⁶

¹¹³Schreiber's "LXX" notes, (Nov. 11, 13, 16, 18, 1981). D. Schreiber's student notes on Louis A. Brighton's lectures, "Revelation," EN-442 Seminar, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 23-24, 1981.

¹¹⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. A14.

¹¹⁵Mays, pp. 31-2.

¹¹⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C30.

Although Wolff must be judged wrong about literary dependency, the rest of his excellent commentary on this "sand of the sea" phrase could well have been written by Dr. Leupold:

The very beginning of the saying announces an immeasurable increase of the people of Israel. This was spoken in a time in Israel when there were, relatively speaking, a small number of people.

. . . Hence those contemporaries of Hosea who heard these words could have understood them only as the announcement of an absolute miracle.

The future miracle will fulfill this promise. . . . The new message Hosea proclaims is always related to the ancient traditions. This message is new in that it proclaims a complete transformation of Yahweh's judgment. . . . Whereas the dwindling number of people was a sign of Yahweh's judgement, the eschatological increase in their number can only be understood as the abrogation of this judgement.

The miracle consists primarily in the fact that Yahweh's love overcomes his anger (11:9). Hence, with these words of the prophet, the promise to the patriarchs has become a new eschatological promise of salvation.¹¹⁷

The next phrase in Hosea 1:10 says: "and it shall come to pass instead of that which was said to them"; there has been a flurry of discussion around the word bimekom (instead of). The word could be translated literally, "in the place where."¹¹⁸ In English "in place of" has two senses: spacial, and as a contrast. But it is not grammatically certain that bimekom (in the place where, instead of) can be used that way in the Hebrew. Luther predictably says:¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷Wolff, p. 26.

¹¹⁸Wolff, p. 27.

¹¹⁹Hummel, "Hosea," p. 14.

This place is neither Israel nor Judah but a place where up to now there was no people of God, that is, there the kingdom of God, the victory over sin, death, and hell, will be preached.¹²⁰

Dr. Leupold solves this problem in the following manner:

As . . . the disfavor of God (vs. 4) . . . must ultimately yield to God's favor, so . . . the name "Not-My-people" must ultimately be cancelled, "Sons-of-the-Living-God" taking its place.

This simple meaning of the passage already ought to help materially in disposing of the question whether "in the place where ("bimekom") should be construed locally, "in the very spot where," or logically, "in place of," i.e., "instead of."

Though commonly the local meaning prevails in the Scriptures, here the emphasis clearly does not lie upon the place, but upon the alteration. Sellin suggests as good parallels Is. 33:21, I Kings 21:19.¹²¹

The Septuagint translated the Hebrew lo-ruchamah (Un-pitied, Not-pitied) from the root racham (pity), with the Greek words ouk eleemene (Un-pitied, Not-pitied) from the root eleos (pity, mercy). 1 Peter 2:10 uses this same Greek word eleos (pity, mercy) from the Septuagint, but the Apostle Paul in Romans 9:25 uses another Greek word, ouk egapemenen (Not-beloved) from the root agapeo (love).¹²²

In commenting on this Dr. Leupold in passing also deals handily with the challenge of alleged "contradictions" in the Bible:

How could Israel then become like the sand of the seashore for multitude: Gen. 32 and Hos. 1 look like flat contradictions. Yet having spoken chapter 1, Hosea goes on to assert . . . Gen. 32 stands also. Nor does he attempt to reconcile the seeming discrepancy.

¹²⁰LW #18, p. 6.

¹²¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C30.

¹²²Rahlfs, 2:490-1.

For so challenging a paradox we should expect the Scriptures somewhere to furnish a solution. Nor do we look in vain. St. Paul, Rom. 9:25-6 applies the passage to the conversion of the Gentiles.

The entrance of the Gentiles into the Jewish church makes the numbers of the latter full, as Rom. 11:26 also describes the process, "and so all Israel shall be saved." These two together truly make up the true Israel of God.

Both besides are practically in the same position. As the Northern Kingdom, so gradually all of Israel became "Not-my-people." Israel still deserves that name in our days. So Jews have virtually become Gentiles. Both need conversion to the true God, and both by such conversion again constitute what God will designate as "My-people" (ammi).

So there is no impropriety about Paul's use of this passage of Hosea. It truly applies to the Not-My-people. In that class may be Israel. In that class certainly Gentiles always are by nature.¹²³

So finally we note the "Great Reversal" pattern centering around the symbolic names of the children, that is, that even "Not-my-people" would again become "sons of the Living God." The fulfillment of the promise in Christ and the Christian Church is proclaimed in 1 Peter 2:10. Also Hosea 1:10 is a reference to the promise to Abraham of innumerable descendants, as the Apostle Paul quotes it in Romans 9:25-26.¹²⁴ So all that needs to be added is Dr. Leupold's conclusion:

The expression "children of God" does not yet in this passage, nor anywhere in the Old Testament cover quite as much as the New Testament expression does with St. John. The idea of personal individual sonship by virtue of being begotten of God is prepared for but not yet found. So "sons of the living God" refers to Israel as a nation, and describes that relation as being as intimate as is

¹²³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C28-C29.

¹²⁴Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 292.

the relation of children to parents, a relationship of love (Ps. 103:13).

However, according to St. Paul's use of this passage in Rom. 9:25-6, it would appear that it also may distinctly include a reference to the Gentiles. Of them also it would be true in a very positive sense that after their recovery from the blindness of idolatry, they now have a Living God after having followed the "dumb idols" so long.¹²⁵

Hosea 1:11

Dr. Leupold's "A" and "C" versions are almost identical (except for words underlined and in brackets):

And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint for themselves one head, and they shall go up from the land [advance to battle], for great shall be the day of Jezreel.¹²⁶

All commentators seem to agree that we have three eschatological events described in this verse. Mays ties them all together with the last three words of the verse: "Verse 11 outlines the events which will make up the 'day of Jezreel.'"¹²⁷

1] "And the children of Judah and . . . Israel shall be gathered together" could imply that both Judah and Israel have been rejected by God, and that in the great day of the Lord there will be a restoration of their unity. Typologically this has its counterpart in the unity of the church, which is one because God is one, no matter what the political-ecclesiastical circumstances. So

¹²⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C31.

¹²⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. A4, A13, C32.

¹²⁷Mays, p. 32. Wolff, p. 27.

the empirical fact of unity in the Christian Church today is just as eschatological as the unity of Judah and Israel in the Old

Testament.¹²⁸ Laetsch says:

Then shall there be no more two kingdoms. That breach which for centuries had severed Judah and Israel shall have been healed. The true children of God out of Judah and Israel according to the flesh shall be gathered together and, with all the children of God among the Gentiles, shall form one people (Ep 4:4-6), una sancta catholica ecclesia.¹²⁹

So, historically, the promise reads as a restoration of the Davidic Empire like all the other messianic promises. This kind of promise is found in other prophets, especially Ezekiel 37:21-3, where it is developed at length and formulated differently than here. Here in Hosea we have another case of a later prophet reversing what a previous prophet had said, just as Hosea previously in Hosea 1:4 seems to reverse the blessing put on Jehu's revolt. Likewise the schism between North and South was predicted and encouraged by the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh, who goaded Jeroboam I on with the rending of the coat into twelve pieces. But this is no ultimate clash, just two different events in God's timetable.¹³⁰

Dr. Leupold says:

A specific application of the fulfillment of the passage . . . is now offered. It will be a token of God's favor . . . that the former state of curse is at an end, when the old division between Judah and Israel is healed.

¹²⁸Hummel, "Hosea," p. 15.

¹²⁹Laetsch, p. 25.

¹³⁰Hummel, "Hosea," p. 15.

. . . The blessed days of unity, as it obtained under David and Solomon, will return.¹³¹

2] "And they shall appoint themselves one head" uses the Hebrew word rosh (head) instead of melek (king). Liberal critics find in this rosh (head) an implicit polemic against the monarchy, since Hosea elsewhere (Hosea 8:4) criticizes kings and the term rosh (head) is used of the premonarchic amphyctyony leaders (Number 14:4, Judges 11:8) which were later replaced by the monarchy.¹³²

But here it is more a case where the liberal critical presuppositions show through; the critical presupposition is that a Northern prophet must be against kings. But this word rosh (head) does not demand the assumption of such a polemic. It could very well be that rosh (head) points back to the tribal amphyctyony, where the term is used, as well as other terms, that is, shophati (judges), Judges 2:16.¹³³

In any event, it could be harking back to some earlier, more God-pleasing rulers. Positively speaking, God's covenant with the Davidic Monarchy could be understood as simply an extension and climax of older covenants under God. So even if rosh (head) points back to earlier times, it need not be polemic. Wolff denies outright any messianic content here: "This is no evidence for a messianism in Hosea." But even Harper in the I.C.C. (historical-critical liberal commentary) disagrees with Wolff and argues in

¹³¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C32.

¹³²Mays, p. 32. Wolff, p. 27.

¹³³Hummel, "Hosea," p. 15.

favor of a messianic interpretation. Lastsch correctly interprets:¹³⁴

The King of the New Testament Israel is actually an Israelite according to the flesh, of the seed of Abraham, the house of David, Jesus of Nazareth.¹³⁵

This is the most natural reading of Hosea, to read and understand it to mean a second Davidide as king in the eschatological messianic period. Luther says: "We necessarily take this to mean the kingdom of Christ." So says Dr. Leupold:¹³⁶

This one head will be none other than the Messiah-king. All divisions cease for Israel when the Israelites find their true king, the rightful heir of the line of David. The reference is seen to be to the spiritual Israel.¹³⁷

3] "And they shall go up from the land [advance to battle], for great shall be the day of Jezreel," shows that Dr. Leupold himself was not sure quite how he wanted to translate this phrase. Dr. Leupold has "go up from the land" in both his "A" and "C" versions, but in addition has "advance to battle," as a second translation of the verse in his "A" version.

There has been a lot of debate about this phrase in the commentaries. So of the three eschatological events described in Hosea 1:11, this third event has been interpreted at least seven

¹³⁴Wolff, p. 27.

¹³⁵Laetsch, p. 25.

¹³⁶LW #18, p. 6.

¹³⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C32.

different ways. As Mays says, "The riddle in the picture lies in the sentence, 'they shall go up from the land.'"¹³⁸

a]. Thus the first interpretation raises the question of what eretz (land) is referred to -- an exile land and a return from exile or not? The word alah (go up) is used of migration (to go up) from Egypt or Babylon, and in ancient and modern Israel is used to "go up" to the topographically elevated Jerusalem. As a possible reference to migration from Egypt or Babylon, it could be a typology of the Second Exodus (with "Egypt" used symbolically, not literally or historically). It is just so used theologically in Hosea 2:16-7, where the restoration of rejected Israel is accomplished by leading Israel through the desert to Canaan.¹³⁹ Dr. Leupold agrees:

This going up from the land, i.e., coming out of the misery occasioned by sin, found a preliminary fulfillment in the return from the Babylonian captivity. The few of Israel that were of a right mind toward Jehovah, united with Judah and appointed one head, Zerubbabel, and came up out of the land. Pusey says: "A little image of this union was seen after the captivity in Babylon." But the broad scope of the prophetic word could hardly be regarded as having met with an appropriate fulfillment at that time.¹⁴⁰

In Hosea 8-9 we have Hosea's threat that apostate Ephraim will have to return to Egypt as God's judgment, and this passage could be read in the same light, not literalistically that they actually go to Egypt, but in terms of the theological yield. But

¹³⁸Mays, p. 33. Wolff, p. 28.

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C33.

arguments against this interpretation are strong. Wolff's and May's counterargument is that the word eretz (land) in Hosea never means "foreign nations," and so therefore must mean "Promised Land."¹⁴¹

b]. A second interpretation is that alah (go up) might mean that there will be such a population explosion that all the people will not be able to fit into the land, so that many of them will "go up" from the land in all directions.¹⁴²

c]. A third interpretation is a military picture. This "go up" is what Dr. Leupold was toying with in his translation, "advance to battle," in the sense of "rally" or "assemble." A military picture would also fit in with the "day of Jezreel" (a final battle of Armageddon), eschatologically reversing whatever the historical point of reference is, like the "day of Midian" in the messianic oracle, in Isaiah 9:3, as Wolff explains:¹⁴³

Like Isaiah, who during the same period expected a day of liberation for the "people who walked in darkness" (Isaiah 8:23 - 9:6). Hosea similarly preclaims the great day of Jezreel as the important turning point for all of Israel.¹⁴⁴

Wolff says that the word "Jezreel" may also have a historical and geographical connotation, that Hosea thought of "day of Jezreel" as a great battle of liberation in the valley of Jezreel; the verse

¹⁴¹Mays, p. 33. Wolff, p. 28.

¹⁴²Hummel, "Hosea," p. 16.

¹⁴³Mays, p. 33. Wolff, pp. 25, 28.

¹⁴⁴Wolff, p. 25.

would thus serve as an antithesis for Hosea 1:5. Mays is especially jubilant about this interpretation.¹⁴⁵

Dr. Leupold in his "C" version translation ("go up from the land") disagrees with himself in his "A" version translation ("advance to battle") when he says:

To take the verb "go up from the land" (ahu) in the sense of a victorious advance to battle, as do v. Orelli and many others, does not agree well with the phrase, "from the land," even if alah (go up) may be used of a victorious advance to battle.¹⁴⁶

d]. A fourth interpretation is that "go up" might mean "sprout up," "flourish in luxurious growth" and fill the land, to tie in with a play on the word "Jezreel," which etymologically understood means, "God will sow," yizrah-el (God sows). In support of this interpretation, Hosea actually uses this exact root in this exact sense in Hosea 2:23-23, "I will sow him (Israel) for myself in the land." Dr. Leupold reacts against this interpretation:¹⁴⁷

Nor is it good policy to take Jezreel in the first instance of its occurrence (v. 4) in the figurative sense, "God will scatter," for the root (zara), which is involved, does not mean "scatter." Even less acceptable then must be the interpretation which first takes Jezreel in the sense of "God will scatter," and then in this verse in the sense of "God will sow." This makes the meaning of the words vacillate beyond the point of control.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵Wolff, p. 28. Mays, p. 33.

¹⁴⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C33.

¹⁴⁷Mays, p. 33. Wolff, p. 28.

¹⁴⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C33-C34.

Maybe Dr. Leupold is a little bit hasty in so summarily rejecting this whole fourth interpretation, however. The text seems to apply a double interpretation to the name "Jezreel." In Hosea 1:4-5,10 it is not explained etymologically like the other names, the negative names "Not-pitied" and "Not-my-people," but is explained geographically and historically with respect to Jehu (2 Kings 9-10). But in Hosea 2:22-23 the text does give the etymological explanation that "Jezreel" means "God will sow," that is, that God will make the entire earth fruitful in the time of the "new creation" eschatological reversal. So this double explanation of "Jezreel" deploys both the historical and eschatological facets of Biblical theology.¹⁴⁹

e]. A fifth interpretation, which Wolff mentions but ultimately rejects, is that "go up" implies the eschatological pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem, in the cultic sense. The idea is a coalescing of the three main cultic pilgrimage festivals -- sort of the ultimate pilgrimage. Although Hosea does have a lot of interest in cultic matters, Wolff's rejection of this interpretation is based on the fact that this interpretation does not fit the immediate context very well.¹⁵⁰

f]. Wolff mentions a sixth interpretation, that "go up from the land" means "take possession of the Promised Land," as it seems to mean in Ex. 1:10. Wolff says.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 292.

¹⁵⁰Wolff, p. 28.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

This meaning fits . . . best of all when we understand the passage in terms of the state of affairs after 733. . . . The united nation shall again possess the land that had . . . become part of the Assyrian province.¹⁵²

g]. The seventh interpretation would certainly be judged "quaint" by modern historical-critical liberal scholars, and it certainly does make an interesting contrast with all of our "scientific" theology today. Indeed, will our "scientific" criticism of today hold up any better twenty-five years from now? Laetsch says:

"They shall come up out of the land." From wherever they have been called into the sonship of God, they shall come up into that spiritual kingdom of Christ, which knows no boundaries, no limits, which extends to the end of the world. Since they are in the world, yet not of it (Jn. 17:11, 14), their citizenship is in heaven (Phil. 3:20), to which they will finally come with songs and everlasting joy upon their head (Is. 35:8-10). Then "great shall be the day of Jezreel." The name of apostate Israel is here used of spiritual Israel.¹⁵³

Luther's interpretation probably belongs here:

"And they will go up." He does not place this kingdom on earth. Rather, it will be lifted up from . . . earthly things to heavenly. . . . "For great will be the day." It will be a great day when God will illumine the hearts of men that they may be sons of God. No longer will Jezreel be terrestrial but celestial. . . . This is how he often signifies neither a carnal Israel nor Zion, but a spiritual one.¹⁵⁴

As always, Dr. Leupold is his own man:

The reference is . . . to the spiritual Israel. . . . The expression "and shall go up from the land" is figurative, and therefore needs no further specification as to what land is involved. It is almost a proverbial

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Laetsch, pp. 25-6.

¹⁵⁴LW #18, pp. 6-7.

expression. It was used at the time Israel came up out of Egypt.

In Deut. 28:68 future calamities that might befall Israel are spoken of as being led back to Egypt. Hosea 2:14-15 uses the same mode of speaking of Egypt. "Going up from the land" therefore refers to deliverance.

When Israel returns, penitently, of course, to its true King, then will God work a great deliverance. The explanatory clause, "for great shall be the day of Jezreel," merely confirms this thought.

It takes Jezreel as a word of good omen, as it sometimes appears to be used in the Scriptures. In the plain of Jezreel Barak (Judges 4:12d) and Gideon (Judges 7) obtained notable victories and wrought great deliverances.¹⁵⁵

Hosea 2:1

Dr. Leupold's "A" version:

Call your brethren, "My-people," and your sisters, "pitied."¹⁵⁶

Here Dr. Leupold only says that just as the preceding verse cancels the curse upon the name "Jezreel," so this verse does to the two remaining names, Lo-ammi (Not-my-people) and Lo-ruchamah (Not-pitied). Also take note of the common prophetic idiom that expresses a prophecy through the Imperative, instead of the Future Tense.¹⁵⁷

But this verse is an example where even Dr. Leupold's interpretation fails to make the New Testament connection. Even Dr. Leupold here commits one of the most elementary errors of Old

¹⁵⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C32-C33.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., pp. A4, A13. Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "Say to your brethren, 'My-people,' and to your sisters, 'Pitied.'" Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C32.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. C34.

Testament exegesis and interpretation. He leaves us "stuck" in the Old Testament. The extreme critics rarely trouble themselves to be careful to include this trans-testamental aspect of exegesis and hermeneutics. And this is not to say that one always can make a New Testament connection; but this time we have to go back to Laetsch -- one of the old conservatives of the former generation -- to get satisfaction:

In true brotherliness shall all the members of God's people acknowledge one another as children of the one Father, all having experienced the same compassion. Read Romans 15:7-13, which exactly describes the situation here pictured.

Welcome one another, therefore, as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God. . . . As it is written, "Therefore I will praise you among the Gentiles, and sing to your name." . . . And further Isaiah says, "The root of Jesse shall come, who rises to rule the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles hope." May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, so that by the power of the Holy Spirit you may abound in hope. (Romans 15:7, 9, 12, 13.)¹⁵⁸

Hosea 2:2-13, Judgment

Prolegomena

History, Allegory, and Literary Structure

We have now finished with Dr. Leupold's "A" version (Hosea 1:1 - 2:1). In this section (Hosea 2:2-13) we will be comparing Dr. Leupold's "B" version, as far as it goes (Hosea 2:2-13), with his "C" version.

The Masoretic Hebrew text distinguishes the beginning of a new context here, so that in the Hebrew, Hosea 2:2-13 is a

¹⁵⁸Laetsch, p. 26.

self-contained literary and theological unity. Dr. Leupold treats it so in his commentary. He continues to understand that the topics and people in the text are the same as before, except that the literal and historical meaning of the text have become out and out allegory. Here Yahweh equals husband, and Israel equals wife, and so forth, as for example, Mays and Wolff also understand.¹⁵⁹

But for different people the term "allegory" has different meanings. For example, Catholic interpreters use the term in a much more favorable sense than do Protestant Evangelical commentators. And Lutherans have traditionally been antagonistic toward the term "allegory" as allegedly representing everything that Luther stood against, namely an ahistorical attitude toward the text. But this is not necessarily the case. It is true that Luther was discerning and cautious in his use of allegory, but he did not reject it altogether. Dr. Leupold's understanding of Hosea 2:2-13 followed closely Luther's cautious and discerning understanding of allegory.¹⁶⁰

Although Luther does not take the time to restate all of his distinctions between a literal allegorical interpretation of a text, he does not hesitate to interpret chapter 2 of Hosea in a somewhat allegorical sense -- appropriately in this writer's judgment:

I understand that the entire chapter is addressed to those who have obtained mercy -- both Gentiles and Jews.

¹⁵⁹Mays, pp. 35-6. Wolff, p. 31-3.

¹⁶⁰See Appendix VIII, "Luther's Hermeneutical Presuppositions Behind Dr. Leupold's "Allegorical" Understanding of Hosea 2:2-13," p. 579.

The rejected sister I take to mean the unbelieving Jews.
 . . . The synagogues are the mothers of the church. . . .
 The Gospel condemns the works of the Law and the
 confidence of the mother. Whatever the mother uses as an
 excuse for her wickedness is useless. She is a
 harlot.¹⁶¹

Like Luther, Dr. Leupold accordingly understands Hosea 2:2-13
 in an "allegorical" sense:

This section constitutes a unity both as to subject
 matter and as to style. The unfaithful person dealt with
 is no longer Hosea's wife, as in the first chapter, but
 faithless Israel.¹⁶²

Theological or Literary Allegory

However, in Ezekiel, as here in Hosea, there are many obvious
 "allegories" when "allegory" is understood as a literary genre.
 That is, from a literary standpoint it is allegory, but from a
 theological perspective it is not. So the literary form here in
 Hosea 2:2-13 is allegory, but this does not mean that there is no
 history involved here as well. From the theological point of view
 there is history involved here in Hosea. So it is not "allegory" in
 the theological sense, but only in the literary sense.¹⁶³

In Hosea 2:2-13 we have a literary allegory wherein Israel
 equals the wife, and the individual children refer to individual

¹⁶¹LW #18, p. 8.

¹⁶²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. B1, B3.

¹⁶³Mays, p. 35. Wolff, p. 32. But when maximalist
 historical-critical liberals inveigh against "allegory," they
 usually mean something else. Such critics are usually against any
 kind of spiritual, New Testament application of the Old Testament.
 Anything that isn't "the" historical meaning (i.e., Historicism) is
 labeled "allegory" by such critics.

Israelites. The individual and the collective aspects are not kept strictly separate by Hosea, but are somewhat interchangeable, nation and individual. The Hebrew language can do this more easily than English, but this is also a reminder that we are dealing with figurative speech, where the poetry is more fluid.¹⁶⁴

Allegory in the Form of a Spiral-like Literary Structure

Dr. Leupold treats Hosea 2:2-13 as a literary unit, but most other commentators are skeptical about it; their basic suspicion is about the circular motion (from Israel's sin to Yahweh's judgment), again and again in different words. Three times (if you count the beginning of the next section, Hosea 2:14) a sub-section begins with lacken (therefore), the common way of introducing a judgment oracle (though the third time reads more like a blessing).¹⁶⁵

Instead of just once, a sub-section begins this way three times, but these three sub-sections do not seem to follow any logical order. There are various proposals about this problem. Wolff and Mays suggest changing the order of certain verses around to arrive at some alleged "original" order. As usual the reason for the present order is attributed to some later disciple of Hosea. Dr. Leupold soundly rebukes the historical-critical liberals for exactly this practice of theirs. By the way, take note of the first sentence in the quotation below. Dr. Leupold is so incensed at the

¹⁶⁴Hummel, "Hosea," pp. 17-18.

¹⁶⁵Mays, p. 37. Wolff, p. 32.

critics for their horrendous methodology, that in good German tradition Dr. Leupold's first sentence contains 105 words, 13 verb forms, 9 commas, and extends 11 lines long in his Hosea Commentary manuscript:¹⁶⁶

Criticism losing itself, as usual, in a display of ingenuity and in purely subjective opinions and preconceived notions, and failing to trace through the very cogent logic and the very natural reasoning followed by the prophetic word, shifts verses around ad libitum, charges many verses with being out of position, and rouses the suspicion that she holds that books in days of old, or at least individual chapters, must have consisted of many little filing-cards with a verse or portion of a verse on a card, and that these cards sometimes became disarranged and the true original order has only been restored by critics.

How else could Sellin group verses thus: 16, 9b, 17? . . . How else could Harper set up as the original part of the chapter verses 2-5, 8-12, 13, (16) 17 and then treat other verses as later additions and glosses, and finally close with 1:10-2:1. Or why should Kittel wish to insert vs. 6-7 after 13?

. . . But the critics are far from having reached agreement. When will the world of Old Testament scholarship awake to discern the thoroughly unscientific and unsound method that is being pursued in all such cases:¹⁶⁷

New Testament Johannine Parallels to the Hosean Spiral-like Literary Structure

Possibly we can understand the present circular sequence was originally intended for emphasis, as in the case of Isaiah II, and in the New Testament Johannine literature. This is all the more likely since Hosea is often characterized as "the St. John of the Old Testament" -- partly because of the prominence in Hosea of the

¹⁶⁶Mays, pp. 36-7. Wolff, pp. 32-2.

¹⁶⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C36-C37.

word chesed (devotion, steadfast love); chesed is the Old Testament's single closest equivalent to the New Testament agape (love) so frequently used in the Johannine literature.¹⁶⁸ This "circular sequence" is very similar to that which appears in the Johannine literature.¹⁶⁹

At any rate, this is as good an explanation of the circular structure of Hosea 2:2-13 as anything that the critics have been able to come up with, because this suggestion has the added advantage of accrediting the integrity of the text as it stands. In addition to being aware¹⁷⁰ that the content subject matter of the first two chapters of Hosea are repetitious, Dr. Leupold notes that these first two chapters also have a similar, cyclical structure:

The thoughts of the first chapter are reproduced in this portion Hosea 2:2-13. Another feature is common to these first two chapters. After threats of punishment in a very sharp tone have pervaded the first half of the chapter (Hosea 2:2-13) there follow promises of grace and

¹⁶⁸Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 297.

¹⁶⁹In its vocabulary, 1 John resembles very, very closely the Gospel; in fact they are almost identical. It is a repetitious spiraling-like structure, or . . . cyclic-like structure. It is not like Paul's structure, "I, A, B, II, A, B," but rather it keeps going around and around.

This spiral, repetitious-like, cyclic-like structure is apparent in all of his writings, i.e., the Gospel of John, 1 John, and Revelation -- strongly so. But in each of the three it is a different way in which he is doing this kind of structure. . . . The structure of the Gospel, Revelation, and 1 John are the same.

It is a spiraling-like, repetitious-like structure that ends open-endedly. It begins at a very specific point, but then ends open-endedly. That is, it ends at the Parousia or in the New Age. D. Schreiber's student notes on Louis A. Brighton's lectures, "Epistles of John," EN-441 Seminar, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 30, 1981, p. 2; Dec. 2, 1981.

¹⁷⁰Supra, pp. 254-55, and pp. 258-59.

mercy throughout the second half, promises that constitute just as sudden a break in thought as Hosea 2:14 as is met with at Hosea 1:10.¹⁷¹

Hosea 2:2

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

Bring charges against your mother, bring charges; for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband. Let her remove the marks of harlotry from her face, and the marks of adultery from between her breasts.¹⁷²

There is no substantial difference between Dr. Leupold's "B" and "C"¹⁷³ versions -- only vocabulary and stylistic variations. The first word of the verse, ribu (plead, bring charges, contend) is repeated twice for emphasis, like in Isaiah 40:1, "Comfort, comfort, my people." There is massive unanimity among modern interpreters including Dr. Leupold, that the form of speech we have here is the "covenant lawsuit" pattern, so that ribu here technically means "go to court" or "bring a lawsuit."¹⁷⁴

The classic article written on the "covenant lawsuit" was B. Gemser's "The Rib or Controversy Pattern in Hebrew Mentality."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C35.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. B1.

¹⁷³Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "Contend with your mother, contend: for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband; and let her put away her harlotry from her face and her adultery from between her breasts." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C37.

¹⁷⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. 3. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 293. Mays, pp. 37-8. Wolff, p. 33.

¹⁷⁵p. 120-37 in M. Noth and D.W. Thomas, eds., "Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East," in Vetus Testamentum, supplementary vol. 2, 1955, pp. 120-37. H. B. Huffman, "The

Here we see the picture of Yahweh presiding over the heavenly court as king of the world, like an earthly monarch except with angels as counselors.¹⁷⁶

On the surface this heavenly court scene has many parallels with ancient Near East pagan contexts, and formally is not unique to the Bible at all. In his article entitled, "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," Frank M. Cross¹⁷⁷ marshalls the evidence. The usual understanding is that the decisions of the heavenly king are what really determines the course of history, and the prophets are the heralds of the decisions made in the heavenly court.¹⁷⁸

Specifically regarding the "covenant lawsuit" in the heavenly court, here unfaithful Israel is being sued in court, and this notion underlies much of the prophetic denunciation of the people. This notion is not found only in the word ribu (bring charges, contend), but also in other explicit statements in the prophets. It is in Hosea 4:1, 12:3, Micah 1 and 6, Isaiah II, and so forth. This heavenly lawsuit structure may be patterned after the local courts in Israel, but we need not limit it to that. And this pattern probably explains certain details in the text, namely, that the husband never addresses the wife directly, but in the third person;

Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," in Journal of Biblical Literature, 1959, pp. 285-95.

¹⁷⁶Mays. p. 37. Wolff, p. 32.

¹⁷⁷Frank M. Cross, "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 1953, pp. 274-77.

¹⁷⁸Hummel, "Hosea," p. 18.

Yahweh begins as plaintiff, but then seems to also become judge and even executioner. Thus, Yahweh seems to play all the roles. This is the exact understanding Dr. Leupold has of the passage:¹⁷⁹

Since it is a court-scene that we have before us, where Yahweh is Judge and prosecuting attorney and even perhaps executioner, it may be best to use the translation "bring charges." For that is what the nation is to bring against the nation, that is, the better element against the disloyal element.¹⁸⁰

Laetsch suggests that this "better element" might be thought of in terms of the "faithful remnant" similar to the "7000 in Israel . . . that have not bowed to Baal" in Elijah's time (1 Kings 19:18).¹⁸¹ Dr. Leupold criticizes Luther's interpretation of this verse. Dr. Leupold says:

Luther . . . is led to interpret the whole chapter in reference to the just condemnation that the Christian church is to pronounce upon the unbelieving Jewish synagogue -- an interpretation which fails to do justice to the passage. This all plainly refers to Hosea's contemporaries, the better element being encouraged openly to do their part in an effort to stem the tide of godlessness.¹⁸²

The next phrase of this verse is: "For (ki) she is not my wife, neither am I her husband." Dr. Leupold points to the ki (for) as casual, that is, giving the reason for "bringing charges" or "contending." But this entire phrase is a specific complaint against Israel by Yahweh in court. Wolff wants to read this as a

¹⁷⁹Mays, pp. 37-8. Wolff, p. 33.

¹⁸⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B3.

¹⁸¹Laetsch, p. 27.

¹⁸²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C37.

formal "reciprocal divorce formula," but this is only a remote possibility considering the scanty evidence from the Bible or surrounding ancient world. The closest parallel is Is. 50:1 (where Isaiah mentions a writ of divorce).¹⁸³

However, it would make little sense in this context to understand it as a divorce formula, because the ultimate purpose of the contention is not to divorce the wife, but to regain her. Even Wolff agrees, "Yahweh's purpose is not rejection but reconciliation." So here we have a coalescing of two images, wherein the marriage image is mixed with the courtroom picture, with the result that a strictly legal process is abandoned. If the text would have followed the legal process for a prostitute, it would have meant the death-penalty.¹⁸⁴

The marriage picture comes to the fore to bring out the relational aspect that overrides the legal picture. So in context, the husband (Yahweh) does not want the death penalty nor even his legal "rights" of separation, but he simply wants her back again and wants the marriage to go on. This is the overriding concern. Theologically, therefore, in terms of God's relationship to all sinners -- to his legal rights in contrast to what he actually does in love -- there is a typological application that should not be lost sight of. That is, this verse is to be understood as a parenthetical explanation (the preaching of the Law and Judgment)

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 38. Wolff, p. 33. Mays, pp. 38-9.

¹⁸⁴Mays, pp. 37-8. Wolff, p. 33.

that the adultery has destroyed the relationship, so that when the relationship is restored it is plain that the restoration has come about solely by God's initiative -- from start to finish -- and not in any sense by the desire and will of mankind. This is exactly the kind of "relationship" delineated by the Apostle Paul's use and meaning of the term dikaion (to justify) in Romans 3:28, as Scharlemann says:¹⁸⁵

Paul is always talking relational dikaion means "to treat as just," "to justify," "to vindicate," and in the Passive particularly, it means "to be pronounced or treated as a dikaion by declaration," by decision of the king, God himself, of whom we read that "he justifies the ungodly," people who have nothing of dikaion about them at all, whose life is one of impiety. He . . . by his grace declares them to be dikaion.

And so it comes to mean in other places, "to be set free," as in Acts 13:38-39, . . . one of the echoes of St. Paul that you have in the Book of Acts, where Paul in Antioch of Pisidia . . . says that, "from everything from which you could not be freed (or justified) by the law of Moses, from all these things you are now justified on the basis of faith through grace." So that in both Testaments, "to be justified" means to be brought into the right relationship.¹⁸⁶

Dr. Leupold also definitely understands this verse in "relational" terms and interprets it accordingly:

That Israel no longer dare lay claim to the title of being Jehovah's wife and that He on His part refuses to be called her husband . . . strikes at the root of the relation to God. The trouble lay at the very base of true religious life.

If religion is communion with God, then the breaking off of that communion immediately brings the death of

¹⁸⁵Wolff, p. 33.

¹⁸⁶D. Schreiber's student notes on Martin H. Scharlemann's Lecture, "The New Testament Teaching on Justification," Feb. 2, 1981, at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

true religion. The nation is to be taken to task as one who has broken this deep inner bond, and has, as a result, compelled God to sever his relations with her.¹⁸⁷

Dr. Leupold also takes this opportunity to rebuke the illegitimate treatment of this verse inflicted by the historical-critical liberals:

The thing to be charged against the nation is first complete inner alienation and then manifest outward shamelessness. Criticism therefore has missed the point when she brands the clause: "For she is not my wife, neither am I her husband," as an interpolation.¹⁸⁸

The last phrase in this verse is a result clause, beginning with the word, vetaser (with the result that she put away).

Dr. Leupold's translation does not emphasize this: "and let her put away (vetaser) her harlotry from her face . . . adultery . . . breasts." But at any rate the point is that the harlot be brought into court to produce the result that she put away her immorality (that is, idolatry).¹⁸⁹

Regarding the harlotrous face and adulterous breasts, we have Jeremiah's reference (Jeremiah 3:3) to the "harlot's brow," almost as if this referred to some kind of cosmetic trademark or jewelry badge of a prostitute. Wolff, Mays and even Laetsch seem to think of such Canaanite sex cult emblems or headbands. The closest parallel is a law from Assyria, mentioned in James Pritchard's Ancient Near Eastern Texts, that requires prostitutes to go unveiled

¹⁸⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C38.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

in public; if caught veiled they were to be whipped, their clothes given to the prosecutor, but -- very strangely -- they would be allowed to keep their jewelry. So this Assyrian text is not much of a direct parallel with Hosea actually.¹⁹⁰

The allegorists interpret the face and breasts as a reference respectively to open and secret sins. Luther seems to make an allegorical interpretation: "Breasts. These are the wicked teachers who, like a mother's breasts, feed the people."¹⁹¹

Instead of cueing his interpretation off the twin terms, face and breasts, like most commentators, Dr. Leupold concentrates on the other parallel terms in this phrase:

That Israel is guilty of spiritual "harlotry" is written upon her very "face." . . . Her "adultery" is "between her breasts." . . . Both these nouns "her harlotry" (zenuneha) and "her adultery" (na'aphupheha) are really plurals of intensity, showing how assiduously these sins have been practiced.¹⁹²

Again it is only Laetsch who tries to make a New Testament connection in this case with 2 Peter 2:14.

They have eyes full of adultery, insatiable for sin, they entice unsteady souls. They have hearts trained in greed. Accursed children (2 Peter 2:14).¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰Mays, p. 38. Laetsch, p. 27-8. Wolff, pp. 33-4. James B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 183.

¹⁹¹LW #18, p. 8.

¹⁹²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C38.

¹⁹³Laetsch, p. 27.

Hosea 2:3

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

Otherwise I will strip her naked, and make her as in the day when she was born, and make her like a wilderness, and set her like a parched land and slay her with thirst.¹⁹⁴

There is no substantial difference between Dr. Leupold's "B" and "C"¹⁹⁵ versions -- only vocabulary and stylistic variations.

The first word, pen (otherwise, lest) initiates five successive lines in this verse that describe the various punishments that await an adulteress. The plaintiff (Yahweh) becomes the judge and executioner; but there is not complete consistency in the courtroom picture. It is a mixed metaphor. Dr. Leupold says of this verse.¹⁹⁶

This is not a new sentence, but merely the continuation of verse 2, . . . two points of view . . . merging into one another. . . . Sometimes Israel is thought of as a woman, . . . sometimes as the land. These two blend.¹⁹⁷

The punishment of stripping naked is a punishment for adultery or prostitution and is referred to in Ezekiel 16:36-43 and Nahum 3:5. Behind this picture is the fact that it was the legal duty of the husband to clothe the wife, support her, and so forth,

¹⁹⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B1.

¹⁹⁵Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "Lest I strip her naked and set her as in the day that she was born, and make her as a wilderness and set her like a parched land, and slay her with thirst." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C39.

¹⁹⁶Hummel, "Hosea," p. 21.

¹⁹⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C39.

as in Exodus 21:10. Also behind this picture, as can be seen from the supporting Bible verse above, was evidently the existence of a traditional stock of prophetic metaphors, images, and so forth, which each prophet would adapt and tailor to his own prophecy; so the prophets were neither treadmill traditionalists -- as fundamentalists sometimes insist -- nor completely "original" thinkers -- which Liberalism sometimes makes them out to be. This, rather than any kind of direct quotation or mutual influence, probably accounts for most of the parallel passages between the prophets and other parts of the Bible.¹⁹⁸

The next phrase of this verse is: "And make her as in the day when she was born." Ezekiel 16 and 23 develop this picture at length, where God finds Israel abandoned in the desert helplessly. Here the application must be to use Egypt typologically as the place where Israel was born (Ex. 1:13-16, 2:23, 5:6-19) and the type to be repeated again in principle -- just as Israel was at the mercy of

¹⁹⁸Mays, p. 38. Wolff, p. 34, Laetsch, p. 28. D. R. Hillers' Treaty Curses and Old Testament Prophets (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964), is a fairly important book on this subject. Hillers is a Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, graduate, and head of the John Hopkins U. semitics department. This book is his Ph.D. thesis which adduces ancient Near Eastern parallels especially concerning the covenant treaty background of the Bible. The picture developed by the five lines of this verse is that of covenant-breaking. Since Yahweh only wants to discipline and not execute Israel (death was the usual penalty for adultery, Gen. 38:24, Lev. 21:9, Deut. 22:23), this verse does not proceed to a death sentence. The metaphor is thus not carried beyond the point of comparison. Mays, p. 38. Wolff, p. 34.

taskmasters in Egypt, so now she is at the mercy of the trackless wilderness.¹⁹⁹ Dr. Leupold says:

The day when Israel was born was the time of the Exodus from Egypt. To that level God threatens to reduce the faithless one. This came to pass in the Exile.²⁰⁰

"And make her like a wilderness . . . parched land . . . slay her with thirst." Here Hosea shifts the application of the wife-picture to the land of Israel, threatening to make the land like a wilderness stripped of vegetation, with drought and thirst. Here Hosea's polemic against the Canaanite fertility myth rises in the background again -- the myth that the "land" was a female that had to be fertilized by the rain of Baal. Here Yahweh sends a drought to expose the absurdity of Canaanite Baalism, as in the drought of Elijah's time, to mock the pagan gods. So here Hosea does what he consistently does, that is, steal ammunition from the Devil to use against him. That is, Hosea uses the Canaanite myth to attack the Canaanite myth.²⁰¹

Mention of "wilderness" here does not refer to some "pristine wilderness ideal" held by the prophets, such as the Frederick Jackson Turner "Frontier Thesis" in American history.²⁰² There is

¹⁹⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C39-C40. Mays, p. 38. Laetsch, p. 28.

²⁰⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C39-C40.

²⁰¹Mays, p. 38. Wolff, p. 34.

²⁰²Frederick Jackson Turner, "Frontier Thesis, cited by Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1963 [1960]), pp. vii-ix, 1-11.

a scholarly hypothesis which Wolff refutes that says the prophets allegedly championed some kind of nomadic ideal; but such an alleged "nomadic ideal" is more of a sociological than a theological reading of the prophets -- as if the prophets were like our American Mennonites (against "civilization"), who considered return to the "wilderness" as a pure state of existence. On the contrary, Hosea's "wilderness" in this verse is not some nostalgic return to something good, but an evil and a judgment.²⁰³

This verse is a fulfillment of the warnings of the Lev. 26:14-39 judgment to come upon Israel if the covenant was ever broken -- the ever-growing intensity of punishment, the ever-increasing stripping away of her possessions, until she is again a castaway and as helpless an infant as on the day she was born. Luther's interpretation of this verse is quite allegorical, but not invalid:²⁰⁴

"Lest I strip her." I shall take away the priesthood, the kingdom, the Law, yes, everything earthly.
 "The day she was born." This is when she had neither a kingdom nor priesthood.
 "In a wilderness." This is where there is no teacher, no prophet, no Word of God. . . . Christ says, "The kingdom will be taken away from you." (Matt. 21:43).²⁰⁵

Dr. Leupold relates the phrases, "and I will slay her with thirst" to the captivity: "the nation was slain -- the miserable

²⁰³Wolff, p. 34.

²⁰⁴Laetsch, p. 28.

²⁰⁵LW #18, p. 8.

remnant remaining for a long time did not merit to be called a nation."²⁰⁶

Hosea 2:4

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

Upon her children also I will not take pity, because they are children of harlotry.²⁰⁷

There is no substantial difference between the two versions except vocabulary and stylistic variations.²⁰⁸ Because the "children" are here suddenly implicated in the mother's guilt, some critics claim to see here "a new invisible [literary] seam in the garment of this speech"²⁰⁹ or "a new rhetorical unit which . . . has been joined to the foregoing as a gloss . . . in the process of the tradition's taking written form,"²¹⁰ but this is to apply an alien standard of consistency to the Biblical text.²¹¹ In both versions of his commentary Dr. Leupold understands that the "children" personify the inhabitants of the land of Israel.²¹²

In verse 2, when the children were addressed, in the very nature of the case it had to be the God-fearing individuals of the nation. Here now the general point of

²⁰⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C40.

²⁰⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B2.

²⁰⁸Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "Yea, upon her children I will not take pity, for they are children of whoredom."
Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C40.

²⁰⁹Mays, p. 39.

²¹⁰Wolff, p. 34b.

²¹¹Hummel, "Hosea," p. 23.

²¹²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. B4, C40-41.

view prevails, that the mother represents the nation collectively as the wife of Jehovah, and the children represent the individuals of the nation.²¹³

Hosea 2:5

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

For their mother has played the harlot; she that bore them has acted shamelessly; for she said: "I will run after my lovers; they are the ones that gave me my bread and water, my wool and my flax, my oil and my drink."²¹⁴

The two versions are the same except for vocabulary and stylistic variations.²¹⁵ Dr. Leupold says that this verse indicates what a relatively prosperous state of affairs prevailed in the land of Israel, but that, following the custom of the native Canaanites, Israel was attributing her physical prosperity to the fertility cults that glorified Baal as the giver of such prosperity. The native gods of the land were thus credited with having maintained the "economy" (bread, water, wool, flax, oil, drink). Hosea brands these Canaanite deities as Israel's "lovers." In terms of the figure of speech used in the first chapter, Israel had thus "played the harlot" and "acted shamelessly." Israel was not merely sought out by her seducers, but she ran after them.²¹⁶

²¹³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C40-C41.

²¹⁴Ibid., p. B2.

²¹⁵Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "For their mother hath played the harlot; she that bore them hath acted shamelessly; for she said I will go after my lovers, that gave me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, my oil and my drink." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C40.

²¹⁶Cf. Laetsch, pp. 28-9. Mays, p. 39. Wolff, pp. 34-5.

Dr. Leupold says she was "boycrazy" (einemannstolle Dirne).²¹⁷

The statement, "for their mother hath played the harlot," also introduced by a causal (ki), like the preceding clause, shows how the individuals became "children of whoredom," -- the mother's very shameless example contaminated them: the nation so prominently fostered this sin that practically all members of the nation became infected by it.

. . . The next causal particle "for" (ki), gives proof for her shameless conduct by offering one very flagrant instance: She failed to acknowledge God's goodness in bestowing material gifts, and attributed them instead to the Baals, her "lovers" (me-ababhai). Such ingratitude, according to Rom. 1:21, is the root out of which the worship of idols arises.

. . . And since these idols seem to provide these gifts, at least, the gifts had been forth coming, so men resolved to adhere to these divinities, for "to go after" (elekhah achari) implies religious adherence (BDB-p. 235). On the whole, the picture. . . indicates a nation rather assiduously following these idols and images in their worship and convinced that such worship is right.²¹⁸

Dr. Leupold commends Pusey's application of this text:

Pusey rightly sees a similar tendency displayed by all those who attribute to a "divine Providence," and the like, all those blessings which God so richly gives us to enjoy.²¹⁹

Hosea 2:6

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

Therefore I will block your way with thorns, and I will build up a wall against her, so that she cannot find her paths.²²⁰

²¹⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. B4-B5.

²¹⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C41-42.

²¹⁹Ibid., p. C42.

²²⁰Ibid., p. B2.

The two versions are the same except for vocabulary and stylistic variations.²²¹ Dr. Leupold mentions the laken (therefore), also to be seen in Hosea 2:9, 14, as one of the outstanding features of the spiral-like, cyclical literary structure of this pericope, as discussed above (pp. 219-21).²²² laken (therefore) generally introduces the announcement of some action Yahweh is about to take in response to man's deed or his sufferings; it occurs more frequently in Amos (7 times), Micah (6 times), Isaiah (14 times) Jeremiah and Ezekiel (about 50 times each), than in Hosea (only in Hosea 2:6, 9, 14, 13:3) or Deutero-Isaiah (3 times).²²³

Dr. Leupold also mentions that the hineni-sahk (Behold - I will hedge/block) is a participle that points to an act yet to be performed. This idiom of hineni (Behold) followed by an active participle is very common in the prophets; the term for this in the older grammars was futurum instans ("instant future"),²²⁴ with the nuance, "I am about to" or "I am on the verge of" or "I shall do shortly," plus the participial action. As in eschatology in general, here the "foreshortening of time" tends to telescope both

²²¹Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "Therefore, behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and I will erect a wall against her, so that she cannot find her paths." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C42.

²²²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B5. Cf. Mays, p. 39. Wolff, pp. 35-6.

²²³Wolff, pp. 35-6.

²²⁴H. F. W. Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, ed. E. Kautzsch, revised by A. E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976 [1813, Halle]), pp. 359-60.

the immediate future and the eschatological end of the world into one thought.²²⁵ Dr. Leupold explains the figurative language of "hedge" and "wall:"

Because of the course followed by the nation, God . . . will . . . correct his unfaithful spouse. She [Israel] had said, v. 5, "I will go"; God said, v. 6, "I will hedge up thy way," i.e., I shall make it impossible for you to go.

The first figure is taken from a practice more or less common in the Orient of walling in certain paths along-side of fields or orchards by the use of thorns, and so preventing the entrance of flocks that are wont to be driven past. Cf. also Job 3:23.

But to make the thought, of completely hindering the going of Israel, stronger, the second figure substitutes the building of a wall, literally, "walling up a wall." (Ghadhar eth ghedherah).²²⁶

Dr. Leupold interprets the meaning of the figurative language just discussed above:

In the Hebrew the nation is personally addressed -- "your way" not "her way." The way mentioned could well be the way to the Baal sanctuary. . . . So the Lord will block Israel's way. How this will be done is not told. The reference could be to the Assyrian Captivity.²²⁷

God states the intended result thus: "So that she cannot find her paths." The "paths" are, of course, . . . her accustomed mode of behavior. It is evident that the event that blocked Israel's path is the Exile.²²⁸

But amidst this scene of judgment, Dr. Leupold has an uncanny way of making the grace of God and the "Gospel in the Old Testament"

²²⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. 43. Cf. Wolff, p. 36a.

²²⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C43, also p. B5. Cf., Wolff, p. 36. Laetsch, p. 29. Mays, pp. 39-40.

²²⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B5. Cf. Wolff, p. 36. Laetsch, p. 29. Mays, pp. 39-40.

²²⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C44. Cf. Wolff, p. 36. Laetsch, p. 29. Mays, pp. 39-40.

stand out:

The Lord himself (v. 7) will make Israel's idolatrous worship impossible. It would appear that the expression "seek them" is cultic (cf., Hosea 5:6, 15) and refers to visits to the Baal shrines. So with the worship of Baal made impossible the nation will bethink itself and choose the Lord, of whose love in days of old she had manifold proofs.

Here the spiritual realities transcend the physical. For according to Deut. 24:1ff., a woman who had left a husband and married another was not allowed to return to her first spouse. But God is so gracious that his love far exceeds what seems to be humanly possible.²²⁹

Although Dr. Leupold's "B" version translation covers Hosea 2:2-13, Dr. Leupold's "B" version commentary on the translation ends here with Hosea 2:6. That is, the "B" version commentary covers only Hosea 2:2-6. Nevertheless, we will continue to list Dr. Leupold's "B" version translation as far as it goes (Hosea 2:13) as we have been doing side by side with his "C" version translation of the Hebrew text as we proceed below.

Hosea 2:7

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

Then she will run after her lovers but will not overtake them; she will seek them but will not find them. Then she will say: "I will go back and return to my first husband, for I was better off then, than now."²³⁰

The two versions are the same except for vocabulary and stylistic variations.²³¹ Dr. Leupold's "B" version commentary

²²⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B5-B6.

²³⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B2.

²³¹Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "And she shall follow after her lovers, but she shall not overtake them; and she shall seek

ended with the last verse, so from here on we will have only Dr. Leupold's "C" version commentary to analyze. In common with most other commentators, Dr. Leupold takes note of the two Piel verbs, "run/follow" and "seek":

The normal thing in life is for the man to seek the woman. A shameless boldness may cause a fallen woman to seek out her paramours. To this level Israel . . . sunk. . . . The intensity of her feelings in the matter is indicated by two verbs in the intensive stem (riddeph [run/follow]) and (bigqesh [seek]), both Piel. The thing portrayed is the eagerness with which Israel will follow her idolatrous inclinations even in the Exile.²³²

Dr. Leupold says that these two Piel verbs indicate that at first, even the experience of the Exile will not turn Israel from her idolatrous ways -- until one major difficulty looms up in her path. Her supplies of bread, water, wool, flax, oil and drink from her "lovers" will finally cease. That deprivation will then awaken Israel to the realization that the Baals are unreliable, and that such calamities never befell her as long as Yahweh was "Baal": "It was better with me then than now." Dr. Leupold says:²³³

That realization will provoke the resolution: "I will go and return to my first husband." -- This is the one brief statement in the chapter which indicates that God's treatment of Israel will result in repentance on Israel's part.²³⁴

them, but shall not find them: then shall she say, 'I will go and return to my first husband; for it was better for me then, than now.' Dr. Leupold, Hosea," p. C44.

²³²Ibid., p. C44. Cf., Mays, p. 40. Wolff, p. 36.

²³³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C44-C45. Cf. Mays, p. 40. Wolff, p. 36.

²³⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C45. Cf. Mays, p. 40. Wolff, p. 36.

Dr. Leupold correctly points out above the importance of the word shub (return), because this word is as close as the Hebrew language gets to the New Testament word metanoia (repent), because Hebrew has no technical word for "repentance" except this word shub (return); repentance is returning. There is thus here a general parallelism with the Prodigal Son (Luke 15) who "returned" to his father; and the two pericopes immediately preceding that about the Prodigal Son in Luke 15 explicitly use the word metanoia (repent). Strangely, neither Wolff, Leupold, nor Luther make this New Testament connection,²³⁵ but only Mays and Laetsch.²³⁶ And as in the case of the father in the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Yahweh, in receiving estranged Israel back home again, is going beyond what the letter of the law would have him do; here God's love accomplishes what no discipline nor nagging nor admonition would.²³⁷

Hosea 2:8

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

She on her part failed to recognize that it was I who gave her the grain, the wine, and the oil, and gave her abundance of silver and gold, which they used for Baal.²³⁸

²³⁵Wolff, p. 36. Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C44-45. Luther, LW #18, pp. 9-10.

²³⁶Laetsch, p. 29. Mays, p. 49.

²³⁷Mays, p. 40. Wolff, p. 36.

²³⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B2.

The two versions are the same except for vocabulary and stylistic variations.²³⁹ This verse resumes the description of the wife's (Israel's) sin against her husband (Yahweh), and the opening words, "But she does not know/acknowledge that it was I" are echoed in the climactic anguish of the end of Hosea 2:13, "But me she forgot, says the Lord."²⁴⁰ So even though in the previous verse (Hosea 2:7), Israel penitently said she would "return" (shub) to Yahweh, this present verse does not need to be construed as though the previous shub (return, repentance) was an insincere "semblance of repentance"²⁴¹ requiring a critical "rearrangement of the text" back to some allegedly "original" order, only now finally restored to us by the liberal critics, but is simply once again Hosea's circular, cyclical "Johannine" literary structure (as discussed above, p. 254-55, 258-60) reappearing again. This verse is a sort of "flashback" wherein Hosea is merely backtracking to a thought that chronologically came earlier. And that is how Dr. Leupold understands it.²⁴²

The meaning yadha [know] bears here is "acknowledge" or "consider." Again Hosea is back on the subject of plain ingratitude, pure and simple.²⁴³

²³⁹Dr. Leupold "C" version: "And she did not know that it was I that gave her the grain and the new wine and the oil, and multiplied unto her silver and gold which they used for Baal." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C45.

²⁴⁰Mays, p. 40. Wolff, pp. 36-7.

²⁴¹Wolff, p. 36b.

²⁴²Hummel, "Hosea," p. 25.

²⁴³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C45.

The trilogy of "the grain, the wine, and the oil" is a stereotypical formula, semi-poetic vocabulary, for "the bounty of the land," or in our modern terms, "the economy," as Dr. Leupold notes.²⁴⁴

It is rather . . . ungrateful . . . when the abundant gifts bestowed by one are not recognized as coming from him or are attributed to another. . . . It is that trait which throws the heathen into idolatry and corrupts God's people. The gifts Jehovah had been wont to give were first of all the gifts covering the ordinary wants of life, -- therefore each of these with the article, signifying "the customary grain," etc., -- "grain," "wine" and "oil." To this He had added even in generous quantity certain things less essential in those days: "silver and gold" -- without article.²⁴⁵

Mays and Wolff mention that this trilogy formula, "grain, wine, oil," belongs to the vocabulary of Deuteronomy (Deut. 7:13, 11:14, 12:17, 14:23, 18:4, 28:51), and is reminiscent of the theology of the "first-fruits" in Deut. 26:1-11, which had always attributed the good things of the land to Yahweh.²⁴⁶ Mays says:

The ancient ritual of first-fruit recounted in Deut. 26 is an early testimony to that theology. In the ceremony, Yahweh is hailed repeatedly as the giver of the land and its produce (Deut. 26:1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11). The worshipper concludes with the presentation sentence: "Behold, now I present the ground's first-fruit which you, Yahweh, have given me."

In the recitation of the worshipper, the gift of the land is connected directly with the history of saving events (Deut. 26:5-9). The blessings of agricultural life are viewed as the continuation of Yahweh's action in history on Israel's behalf.

It is from this theology that the profound conflict between the "lovers who gave" and "Yahweh who gives"

²⁴⁴Mays, p. 40-1. Wolff, p. 37.

²⁴⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C45-C46.

²⁴⁶Mays, pp. 40-1. Wolff. p. 37.

derives. Israel's turning to the Baals as the source of the land's produce . . . was a denial of the whole Yahwist theology and . . . of the contemporaneity of Yahweh's ongoing history with his people -- a failure to acknowledge Yahweh himself.²⁴⁷

Dr. Leupold does not explicitly make this important Hosean connection with Deuteronomy, but his comments seem to assume this connection. Dr. Leupold does explicitly comment on the word "Baal." In fact, the phrase, "which they made into Baal" contains two grammatical surprises: the third-person plural verb ("they made") departs from Hosea's consistent use of the third feminine singular, and the singular "Baal" is a contrast to Hosea's usual plural (Hosea 2:13, 17).²⁴⁸ Dr. Leupold's interpretation of this grammar and context totally differs from, for example, Wolff's historical-critical liberal "emendatory" impulse that shows through so clearly in his dealing with this phrase. Wolff says:

"They made into Baal" . . . appears to be foreign to the context because of the plural verb form and the singular baal (cf. Hosea 2:7ff., 15). The phrase is probably a gloss. . . . The gloss is now connected with the rest of the sentence as an asyndetic relative clause, which should be regarded as the mechanical appropriation of a marginal notation rather than as an example of Hosea's literary style, for in the sayings which follow in vv. 14-15, he does not leave out the asher [which] for the sake of the meter.²⁴⁹

Dr. Leupold agrees that the grammatical structure is that of an asyndetic relative clause, but he does not resort to Wolff's "emendatory" impulse: "asu labba'al [they made into Baal] -- a

²⁴⁷Mays, pp. 40-41.

²⁴⁸Mays, p. 41. Wolff, p. 37.

²⁴⁹Wolff, p. 37.

relative clause with the relative sign asher [which] suppressed."²⁵⁰

In his comments on the singular "Baal," the second of the "two grammatical surprises" in this phrase, Dr. Leupold indicates awareness of the "mythologizing" connection between the trilogy "grain, wine, and oil" and Hosea's use of "Baal" in this context. The "grain-wine-oil" trilogy is found not only elsewhere in the Bible but also widely elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern texts, such as in pre-Israelite Ugaritic literature, and was probably stock Semitic phraseology -- where all three (grain, wine, oil) were "mythologized" as the names of gods: the "grain-Baal," "wine-Baal" and "oil-Baal." In Israelite theology they were thus "de-mythologized" (reduced from the rank of minor deities to that of inanimate creations of the one Creator, Yahweh), and here in this verse and others in Hosea (as well as possibly elsewhere in the prophets generally) an implicit polemic against these pagan deity-metaphors may be intentional. So here if Yahweh is the true giver of "grain, wine, and oil," they are not minor deities themselves, but are mere creations, the products of one Creator, Yahweh -- a massive "put-down" of heathenism in Hosea's day, a frontal assault on pagan mentality. This is all the more likely because this trilogy refers more to the raw materials coming directly from Yahweh (products more or less as they are found in nature, and thus more likely to be "mythologized") -- grain, new

²⁵⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C46.

wine (grape juice), olive oil -- and not to the commodities resulting from human manufacture and processing -- bread, fermented wine, or processed oil.²⁵¹ Dr. Leupold says:

The article is used with Baal, the Baal, to indicate the one particular Baal that the individual might happen to be worshipping out of the great number of available Baals.

How numerous these Baals actually were appears from the various names found in the Scriptures, mostly place-names: Baal-Berith, Baal Gad, Baal Hamon, Baal Hanan, Baal Hazor, Baal Hermon, Baal Meon, Baal Peor, Baal Perazim, Baal Shalisha, Baal Tamar, Baal Zelhub, Baal Zephon.²⁵²

Whether it was intentional or not, Wolff vaguely implies that evidence of "evolutionary" development is alluded to by this verse, but then leaves his discussion teasingly incomplete; Wolff says:

It is significant that the controversy over apostasy to the Canaanite religion does not proceed from the doctrine of creation, but from a confession of the historical works and gifts of Yahweh: "I have given."²⁵³

Dr. Leupold's interpretation of this verse completely excludes any "evolutionary" interpretation from being imposed on Hosea's theology. Some liberal critics assert that it is very "Lutheran" to reverse the doctrinal sequence of proceeding from creation to redemption. That is, Dr. Leupold's interpretation excludes the idea that Yahweh as "creator" is a late-comer in Biblical thought. The common evolutionistic hypothesis is that Israel's theology began to develop only during the Exodus, and then

²⁵¹Wolff, p. 37.

²⁵²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C46.

²⁵³Wolff, p. 37a.

progressed in an upward evolutionary spiral from the elementary Exodus experience of Yahweh as "redeemer" to the advanced, complex, abstract, but "decadently doctrinal" idea of Yahweh also as "creator" -- development from the "Second Article" of the creed to the "First Article," in Lutheran terminology. There is no way such a thought would be found or tolerated in Dr. Leupold's commentary.²⁵⁴

There may be this much truth in it, that although the "First Article" is in a sense "Law," and the "Second Article" in a sense "Gospel" (and "Law" comes before "Gospel"), the article on redemption is functionally the central and most important article. But all of this is the old error of confusing "logical order" with "chronological order"; and even if it is logically true that redemption is in this sense primary, that still does not tell us anything about the way the doctrine developed and grew. And the whole idea that Israel's theology developed out of its own thinking is offensive also.²⁵⁵

So such critical allusions to evidence in the text of the "evolutionary" development of doctrine is on a totally different wave length when compared to Dr. Leupold's exposition of the Bible's own presentation. If one lets the Bible stand as it is, as Dr. Leupold does, there is no way to say that the "creation" idea is a late development; there may have been implications of the

²⁵⁴Hummel, "Hosea," pp. 25-26.

²⁵⁵Hummel, "Hosea," p. 26.

"creation" idea that were not explicit until certain catalysts aroused them, but this is a different thing than the "evolution" advocated by some liberal critics. As Dr. Leupold has it, the idea of Yahweh as the real giver of everything is the point of departure for much of Israel's sacrificial thinking, which is summarized by the "first-fruits" theology, and whether the technical term for "first-fruits" is present or not, the concept is still the background for the idea that all good things come from Yahweh.²⁵⁶ Dr. Leupold holds "creation" and "redemption" together in the proper order:

A striking instance of Israel's faithlessness was that when God allowed his people to thrive to such an extent, as to acquire moderate wealth ("multiplied silver," etc.) then such tokens of his goodness were expended upon the worship of Baal or upon Baal images.²⁵⁷

Hosea 2:9

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

Therefore I will take back my grain in its time, and my new wine in its season and I will withdraw my wool and my flax, which served to cover her nakedness.²⁵⁸

The two versions have only vocabulary and stylistic variations. Dr. Leupold summarizes the content of the next five verses (Hosea 2:9-13), including, of course, this one:

²⁵⁶Hummel, "Hosea," p. 26.

²⁵⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C46.

²⁵⁸Ibid., p. B2. Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "Therefore will I return and take away my grain in its time, and my new wine in its season, and I will rescue my wool and my flax which serves to cover her nakedness." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C47.

Now follow various statements of the punishment that God is about to employ to correct Israel. Some of these chastisements might be employed repeatedly. They would all be combined and concentrated in the ultimate captivity into which Israel would go.²⁵⁹

Dr. Leupold comments on the use of the initial double verb grammatical structure:

When the Hebrew wants to express the idea of . . . inaugurating a new departure in . . . action, it may use the verb shubh, lit., "to turn back," coupled with a second verb of what is done. So here. Literally translated the statement would run: "Therefore I will return and take away."²⁶⁰

Dr. Leupold also comments on the phrase, "which were to cover her nakedness." The Septuagint reads the lamed (in "to cover") as though it were introducing a result clause. But the RSV is probably right here in reading the lamed (to) as introducing an infinitive of purpose ("in order to cover"). As in English, Hebrew can say the same thing two ways; Hebrew can use the word lema'an: (in order that) to indicate purpose, but it can also abbreviate lema'an to just the letter lamed (to). That is, in English we can abbreviate and say, "I went to do that" instead of saying, "I went in order to do that" -- so that the plain sign of the infinitive (lamed in Hebrew) does double duty (introduces either a purpose or a result clause). The Septuagint reads the lamed (to) only as the plain sign of the infinitive, and then, since that did not make sense in Greek translation, the Septuagint had to put in the negative particle me

²⁵⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C46.

²⁶⁰Ibid., p. C47.

(not), with the result that the Septuagint says, "So that she will not be able to cover her nakedness."²⁶¹ Dr. Leupold rejects the LXX rendering, again revealing his habitual preference for the Masoretic Text instead of the LXX when they disagree:

The expression is somewhat condensed: "my wool and my flax (which serves) to cover her nakedness," the relative being omitted. See K.S. [Koenig's "Syntax"] 385c. "So that she cannot cover her nakedness" (G.M.P. Smith) is inaccurate, necessitating the insertion of a negative.²⁶²

Hosea 2:10

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

And now I will uncover her lewdness before the eyes of her lovers; and no man shall deliver her out of my hand.²⁶³

The two versions are the same except for vocabulary and stylistic variations.²⁶⁴ In his treatment of the word "lovers," Dr. Leupold tries to avoid backhandedly attributing any genuine existence or real life to the Baals, but understanding "lovers" to mean "foreign nations." But this is the same problem that we have elsewhere in the Bible, for example in Psalm 95:3, "the Lord is a great God . . . above all gods." Also Paul in 1 Cor. 8:5 says, "there are many 'gods' and many 'lords.'" There is a sense in which

²⁶¹Rahlf's, 2: 491. Brenton, LXX, p. 1071.

²⁶²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C47.

²⁶³Ibid., p. B2.

²⁶⁴Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "And now will I uncover her lewdness in the eyes of her lovers, and none shall deliver her out of my hand." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C48.

they have genuine existence and real life as demons; there is demonic power there and not just imaginary magic or mythology. But Dr. Leupold prefers to avoid this whole problem by interpreting "lovers" as the "foreign nations" around Israel.²⁶⁵ Dr. Leupold says:

As throughout the chapter the idea of the harlot and the land blend into one another, so in the term "lovers" here used of the idea of the Baals and of the foreign nations that worship these Baals blend rather closely. Else one is under the necessity of supposing that . . . Israel is shamed while the Baals whom she served stand by and look on.

. . . Though this view is possible, it personifies those who are usually regarded as having no existence whatever. Therefore, we suggest that "lovers" here stands for the individual nations round about, with whom Israel flirted more or less while flirting with their national deities.²⁶⁶

Dr. Leupold also notes that the word "hand" refers to God's personal involvement, that God "had his hand in it," and that it was not just an historical accident.²⁶⁷ Dr. Leupold says:

There shall not be a human power capable of forestalling the catastrophe when it begins to descend on Israel's head: "none shall deliver her out of my hand."²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵Hummel, "Hosea," p. 27.

²⁶⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C48.

²⁶⁷Hummel, "Hosea," p. 27.

²⁶⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C49.

Hosea 2:11

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

And I shall make an end of all her pleasures, her feasts her new moons and her Sabbaths, and all her appointed festivals.²⁶⁹

The two versions are the same except for vocabulary and stylistic variations.²⁷⁰ With most commentators, Dr. Leupold understands that the allegory of the "marriage metaphor" continues uninterrupted. When Yahweh removes the natural resources of the land, both the feasts and the pleasures/mirth must come to an end. For Hosea, it is especially during the festivals that Israel's adultery and idolatry takes place, so Hosea describes this series of feasts as "her pleasures/mirth," and expressly repeats the third feminine singular suffix with each one.²⁷¹

Older commentaries indebted to Julius Wellhausen try to fit this into their evolutionary scheme, that before the Exile Israel had a joyous celebration of the bounties of nature, but that gradually Sabbath legalism dampened the joy and made the celebrations into a time of penitence. According to Dr. Leupold, such an evolutionary interpretation is not possible unless one rewrites most of Scripture. Dr. Leupold says, "That 'mirth'

²⁶⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B2.

²⁷⁰Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "I shall also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast, her new moon, her Sabbath, and every stated feast." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C50.

²⁷¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C40-C50. Wolff, p. 38. Mays, p. 42. Laetsch, p. 30-1.

(mesosah) was much in evidence on holy days appears from Judges 21:19ff ; 1 Samuel 1:3, 7, 13ff ; Exodus 32:5f."²⁷²

Dr. Leupold interprets "her feasts," used collectively, as reference to the three major festivals of the Jewish calendar: Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. Dr. Leupold understands "her new moon," also a collective, to be the semi-official monthly celebration which was more important in ancient times because they had a lunar calendar; Wolff and Mays see in addition in this term a veiled allusion to Israel's participation in adulterous and idolatrous pagan fertility Baal-rites. Dr. Leupold finally understands "her Sabbath" as the divinely-appointed seventh day, and "every stated feast" ("all her appointed festivals") as the summary of all these observances. God will cancel the entire liturgical calendar.²⁷³

Hosea 2:12

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

And I will lay waste her vines and her fig trees, of which she said: "They are my gifts that my lovers gave me." I will make them a wilderness, and the beasts of the field shall devour them.²⁷⁴

There is no substantial difference between the two versions except vocabulary and stylistic variations.²⁷⁵ With other

²⁷²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C49.

²⁷³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C49. Mays, p. 42, Wolff, p. 38. Laetsch, p. 30-1.

²⁷⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B2.

²⁷⁵Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "And I will lay waste her

commentators, Dr. Leupold understands this verse as further describing how Yahweh will dispose of Israel's cultic festivals. The great autumn festival came after the grape and fig harvests, so if Yahweh destroys the grapevines and fig trees, all the joyous feasts must come to an end; these two principal fruit trees of Israel's agricultural "economy" -- the archetypal image of peace and prosperity -- will in this way be reduced to a "wilderness," something not economically productive. Dr. Leupold says:²⁷⁶

In addition to the removal of joyful and holy days, there shall be the loss of the things that are "types of the highest blessings of God" (Harper), the vine and the fig-tree. See such use of this double expression in I Kings 4:25, Joel 2:22, Zech. 3:10.

. . . So complete and of such long standing will the devastation be that a "wilderness" will grow where these cultivated trees stood, ya'ar [wilderness] could also be translated "jungle" (G. A. Smith).

The only creature left to feed on what may by chance grow up will be the "wild beast," collective, like "vine" and "fig tree." Such a state was reached on a minor scale prior to the Exile in certain parts of the land, and during the Exile by the entire land.²⁷⁷

Dr. Leupold makes mention of ethnah (gifts/hire/tip paid to a prostitute). Usually the word is spelled ethnan, with a nun at the end, reflecting its etymology from nathan (to give), but here Hosea uses a final he, which as Wolff suggests, could be intended to achieve assonance with te-enah (fig tree); at any rate, it is an

vine and her fig-tree, of which she said, 'They are my hire, which my lovers have given me;' and I will make them a wilderness, and the beast of the field shall devour them." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C50.

²⁷⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C50-C51. Cf. Wolff, p. 38. Mays, p. 42-3. Laetsch, p. 31.

²⁷⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C50-51.

unusual form. Deut. 23:18 forbade any such fee being brought into the temple of Yahweh to be used as payment for any vow, but the syncretistic Baal religions influenced Israel to the extent that it was done anyway. Behind the use here of the word nathan (give) is another example of the theological problem of substituting works for grace; the bounty of the land which from the first Yahweh freely and gladly gave, expecting only thanksgiving, here Israel wants to achieve, earn and buy through ritual magic and prostitution.²⁷⁸

Dr. Leupold says:

The removal of joyful and holy days . . . was provoked by an attitude like unto that of a harlot who might boast of "her hire" (ethnah; German: Buhlerlohn), which she had received for her shamelessness.

For that was practically what it amounted to when Israel spiritually prostituted herself to the worship of Baal and then attributed her good gifts like vine and fig-tree to the favor of Baal.²⁷⁹

Hosea 2:13

Dr. Leupold's "B" version:

So I will punish her for the feast-days of the Baals, to whom she offered incense, and decked herself with her rings and her necklaces, and went after her lovers but forgot me -- oracle of Yahweh.²⁸⁰

The two versions have only vocabulary and stylistic variations.²⁸¹ In defense of the first word of his translation,

²⁷⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C50-C51. Wolff, p. 38.

²⁷⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C50.

²⁸⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. B3.

²⁸¹Dr. Leupold's "C" version: "So I will punish her for the days of the Baalim to whom she offered sacrifice, and decked

"so," Dr. Leupold disagrees with Wolff, but agrees with Mays' understanding. Wolff says:

"The days of the Baals" are the Canaanite cultic feasts, with their outdoors festivities upon the sacred high places and underneath the holy trees.²⁸²

Dr. Leupold rejects Wolff's interpretation of "the days of the Baals" as separately organized Baal festivals. Dr. Leupold's understanding is more along the line of what Mays says: "Feast-days . . . of the Baals include all the cultic celebrations listed in v. 11."²⁸³ Dr. Leupold says:

It will be difficult to make these "days of the Baalim" to be different from the "feasts, new moons," etc., of v. 11. For it is unthinkable that the Jehovah festivals should have been kept unto Jehovah and the Baal festivals should have been perhaps an equal number of separate holy days.

Since religious syncretism was being practiced and Jehovah was being reduced to the level of just another Baal, this verse is to be regarded rather in the nature of a summary and the introductory waw is well rendered "so" (J.M.P. Smith). Besides the verse makes the entire punishment appear as occasioned by one cause, "the days of the Baalim."²⁸⁴

Although Dr. Leupold has assumed it all along, here for the first time in Hosea, Israel's "lovers" are specified as the baalim, the general name for all false/foreign gods. Technically there was only one Baal, that is, "Hadad," and "Baal" (Lord) was his title, but Hadad manifested his presence by means of many local "Baal"

herself with her rings and her necklaces, and went after her lovers and forgot me, -- oracle of Jehovah." Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C51.

²⁸²Wolff, p. 40a.

²⁸³Mays, p. 43.

²⁸⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C51.

hypostases, as Dr. Leupold described above.²⁸⁵ The plural, "Baals," appears also in Hosea 2:17, 11:2; it corresponds to the plural "lovers" throughout Hosea 2:2-13. So as Wolff says:²⁸⁶

The conclusion that Hosea did have a number of Baals in mind is unavoidable. . . . In Hosea "Baal" has become a collective term for Canaanite deities (= "foreign gods" in Hosea 3:1, cf. Hosea 13:4).²⁸⁷

By making a comment in passing about the word qatar (burn incense, offer sacrifice), Dr. Leupold gets himself into the middle of a controversial issue from which in the end he does not clearly disentangle and extricate himself. qatar in Dr. Leupold's "B" version translation is rendered "burn incense" (like the RSV), and in his "C" version translation is rendered "offer sacrifice."²⁸⁸

An issue has been made out of these two alternative translations. The Masoretic Text has qatar pointed as a Hiphil in the text itself; but based on philological considerations the editors of the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (Elliger and others) suggest in their footnote apparatus that we substitute a Piel pointing of qatar instead.²⁸⁹ Behind this Piel substitution is the idea that the Hiphil is statistically most often used of burning

²⁸⁵Supra, p. 283.

²⁸⁶Mays, p. 43. Wolff, pp. 38-40.


²⁸⁷Wolff, pp. 39-40.

²⁸⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. B3, C51.

²⁸⁹Stuttgartensia, p. 993.

incense to Yahweh, while the Piel is most commonly used of burning incense to Baal (as is the context in the case of this verse.)²⁹⁰

The critical school wants the Piel substitution because the critics assume that there was no burning of incense in the Yahweh cultus until after the Exile (and Hosea is regarded by the critics as being pre-exilic), when the syncretistic priesthood allegedly imported incense-burning. So the critical school understands the prophetic period as a time when attacks on such syncretisms as incense burning were being made by prophets such as Hosea, and Dr. Leupold does not clearly separate himself from this interpretation. Wolff reflects this perspective of the critical school in his comments:²⁹¹

The word "  " [burn incense, offer sacrifice], Piel, is ordinarily used in reference to the pagan cult. Thus, Old Testament prophecy considered the practice of making the sacrifice go up in smoke apostasy to pagan gods. . . . The burnt offering was as characteristic of the ancient vegetarian culture in Canaan as the meal offering was of the culture of the

²⁹⁰Wolff, p. 40a.

²⁹¹Wolff, p. 40a. Besides reducing the Biblical material to cultural sociology, Wolff's liberal critical presuppositions also reduce it to a German philosophical construct, the Hegelian triad (thesis, antithesis, synthesis). This is part of the whole reconstruction of the history of sacrifice by the critical school; that burnt offering and incense was part of the vegetarian culture of Canaan ("thesis"), and that when Israel came in from the wilderness all it had was the meal offering ("antithesis"); then allegedly out of the conflict during the prophetic period arose the "synthesis" (when a syncretistic, post-exilic priesthood innovation brought incense and burnt offering into the Yahweh cult). Because Dr. Leupold does not rule this out, either out of ignorance or disdain to mention it, he leaves himself open to criticism.

shepherds living on the steppes, the latter being the culture in which Israel had its origins.²⁹²

This whole cultural, sociological, and philosophically Hegelian circular argument of the critical school enters into their decision about the meaning of qatar. But the textual evidence is not sufficient to date a document, such as this verse of Hosea (that is, that the use of the Hiphil here indicates that it is to be dated as a later interpolation). Rather, it is all part of the reconstruction of the text as attempted by the critical school. So there is no problem in leaving the text stand as it is here with the Hiphil form. And a possible explanation of Hosea's use of the yod here, but not in his other two uses of the word (Hosea 4:13, 11:2), might be that it represents a different orthography, an alternative spelling using the vowel letter "yod." Dr. Leupold does not extricate himself from this controversy; on the contrary, it sounds like he attributes a developmental "earlier" and "later" sense to the word qatar.²⁹³

"The days of Baalim" . . . festivals were in reality a concentrated display. . . . For how religiously and devoutly they were observed appears from the account here given: "they offered sacrifice" (taqtir) -- here used rather in this general than in the later sense of "burning incense."²⁹⁴

Dr. Leupold does not interpret the reference to the jewelry and ornamentations as the liturgical dress of fertility cult

²⁹²Wolff, p. 40a.

²⁹³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C32-C33.

²⁹⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C51.

participants, nor the phrase "went after her lovers" as processions in and around the pagan Baal shrines, as Mays and Wolff understand them. Similar to Laetsch's comments, Dr. Leupold says:²⁹⁵

The nation, -- still addressed as the adulterous woman that she is, -- "decked herself with her rings and necklaces." For occasions that are deemed important all the fine jewelry that is available is brought forth. This is just what Israel did. The shamelessness and guilt of it all is once more referred to in the closing statement: "she went after her lovers and forgot me."²⁹⁶

Commenting on the concluding words of this verse, "oracle of Yahweh," Dr. Leupold makes a theological point about the "verbal inspiration" of this passage of Scripture:

Men may, in a spirit of what they deem broadmindedness, deem it a light thing for a nation to lapse into idolatry. God describes it as the very essence of iniquity and the source of all manner of sin. That this is not a mere private opinion of the prophet but God's own decisive judgment is clinched by the closing statement: "oracle of Yahweh."²⁹⁷

Finally, both Dr. Leupold and Laetsch consider this verse to be the last verse of the present "judgment" literary unit, Hosea 2:2-13. Wolff and Mays, on the other hand, treat this literary unit as extending on for two more verses, Hosea 2:2-15. Dr. Leupold thus considers Hosea 2:14 to be the first verse of the upcoming "restoration" or "regeneration" sections. Dr. Leupold says:²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵Mays, p. 43. Wolff, p. 40. Laetsch, p. 31.

²⁹⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C51-52.

²⁹⁷Ibid., p. C52. Cf. Wolff, p. 40-1.

²⁹⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C52. Laetsch, p. 31. Wolff, pp. 31-3, 41-5. Mays, pp. 35-7, 44-5.

Now comes a break in thought, as abrupt as any in the Scriptures: v, 14-20 treat of God's promise of a tender courtship of Israel. If this passage is not to appear on the scene entirely without motivation, it must be based on the assumption that the very sharp tone of v. 2-13 is thought of as having produced a state of penitence. We find warrant for this attitude in v. 7c; Israel said: "I will return."²⁹⁹

As mentioned above (p. 235), Dr. Leupold's "B" version commentary ended with Hosea 2:6, and his "B" version translation ends here with Hosea 2:13. From now on we will have only Dr. Leupold's "C" version translation and commentary to work with.

Hosea 2:14-15, Regeneration

Prolegomena

Hosea's understanding of Israel's history as a manifestation of God's hesed (love) is again in this section the crucial and important focal point of Hosean theology. Hosea's marital history made Hosea an "incarnation" of the inner meaning of God's way with Israel; Hosea is a "walking typology of Israel's history." Second only to Jeremiah, Hosea brings to light the inner life, so that his whole theology comes not only from some book of abstract doctrines, but from his own inner personal experience.³⁰⁰

The theological point made in the "scandal" (1 Cor. 1:23) of God Himself actually commanding a prophet to marry a disreputable woman was to highlight that God's election and continuing hesed (love) for Israel was being extended to a nation that did not merit

²⁹⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C52.

³⁰⁰Wolff, p. 44. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, 288, 298.

it in the slightest degree. God's election of Israel was thus based on grace alone. Here Hosea connects up with, and amplifies, the one and only main theme of all Scripture: Justification of men by the grace of God through faith in Christ alone, apart from works of law.³⁰¹

Akin to this "unmerited grace" theme is the "wilderness honeymoon" or "Exodus typology" (or "Second Exodus," or "New Creation," or "Eschatological Great Reversal") portrait of Israel's history in Hosea. "Typology" means classification according to types, and refers to one method of describing both the unity of the two testaments and the unity within the testaments. Typology implies much more than a mere correspondence, analogy or symbol, but should be understood in the Lutheran sense of the word "sacrament." That is, the external history (for example, sacramental element) is certainly "real," but "in, with, and under" it lies the ultimate meaning, the "real" presence (Song of Sol. 2:9, Is. 45:15). There is thus an integral, internal connection between the earlier, original type (prototype, archtype, model, analogy) and the subsequent antitype (recapitulation, consumation). This is how Dr. Leupold understands it. Dr. Leupold says:³⁰²

³⁰¹Wolff, p. 44. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 287, 298.

³⁰²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-4; Wolff, pp. 41-2, 44-5. Mays, pp. 44-5. Laetsch, p. 31. LW #18, p. 11. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, 16-18, 293, 316. Leonard Goppelt Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New, trans. D. H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982 [1939]).

The being in the wilderness is a type. As for Israel it meant the end of bondage and a season of tender courtship on Jehovah's part, cf. Jer. 2:2, so the thought is God will bring Israel's bondage or sufferings, cf. v. 8-13, to an end, and will institute a season of courtship a second time.³⁰³

In contrast to Ezekiel, who viewed the Wilderness Wandering as an era of unbroken apostasy and rebellion against God, both Jeremiah and Hosea treat the forty years in the Wilderness as a period of Israelite faithfulness to God, a "Wilderness Honeymoon." This does not mean that the Bible contradicts itself, but only that it all depends upon what theological point Hosea and the others were making in a particular verse, because even Hosea later refers to the wilderness period negatively in a few places (Hos. 9:10, 15, 11:2, 13:6).³⁰⁴

As Dr. Leupold said just above, "The being in the wilderness is a type." What Hosea presents is that "history repeats itself" (recapitulation) sub contrario (by opposites) via "types": Israel's total depravity forces God to lead Israel back to its beginnings, back into and under "Egyptian bondage," as a symbol of non-being and annihilation, and then out again in a "Second Exodus." This "Second Exodus" pattern is a form of the more general "Eschatological Great Reversal" pattern of Biblical theology that can also be seen, for example, in the name change of Hosea's children in Hos. 1-2, a

³⁰³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-C54.

³⁰⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C52-C54, Wolff, pp. 44-5. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 293.

daughter from "Not-Pitied" to "She-has-obtained-pity," and a son from "Not-My-People" to "Sons-of-the-living-God."³⁰⁵

The main burden of this whole section is the "Great Reversal," even though the exact full length technical term "שׁוּב שְׁבוּת" (restore the captivity of) is not used here in this Hosean context.³⁰⁶ But even though the technical term for the "Great Reversal" -- shub shebuth (restore the captivity of) -- is not explicitly found here, that does not mean that the idea is not here. As in the case of "the kingdom of God," the technical designation is rarely found in the Old Testament, but the idea forms the bedrock of all Old Testament theology. Likewise, although this term for the "Great Reversal" is not found even once in Hosea 1-3, nevertheless, it forms a comprehensive summary of the meaning of these first three chapters. Indeed, the shub shebuth (restore the captivity of) is the basic eschatological term in the whole Old Testament for the "Great Reversal." In fact, that is what

³⁰⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C52-4. Wolff, p. 45. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 292-3.

³⁰⁶The exact technical term, however, is found, for example, in Jer. 30:3, "I will restore the captivity of my people Israel and Judah." The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha: Revised Standard Version, ed. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), "I will restore the fortunes of my people Israel and Judah." The Holy Bible: King James Version (New York: The World Publishing Co., n.d.): "I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah." William F. Beck, trans. and ed., The Holy Bible: An American Translation (New Haven, MO: Leader Publishing Co., 1976): "I will free the captives of my people Israel and Judah." Jay Green, trans. and ed., The Interlinear Hebrew-Greek-English Bible, vol. 3: Psalms 56 to Malachi (Evansville, IN: Associated Publishers & Authors, 1978): "I will turn the captivity of my people Israel and Judah."

eschatology is in Biblical thinking: it is the God who reversed the whole fallen human condition, no matter where one looks in the furthest corners of the Bible, Old Testament or New Testament, that the poor should be made rich, and so forth, as in the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55) -- which is a nice commentary on this section of Hosea. Or behind the Magnificat stands the pattern set by Hannah's prayer in 1 Sam. 2:1-10. Or to reach back even further, there is the cry of Moses: "Let my people go!" (Ex. 5:1). And finally the fulfillment of this "Great Reversal" promise in Christ and the Christian Church is proclaimed in 1 Peter 2:10.³⁰⁷

Hosea 2:14

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

Therefore, behold, I am going to persuade her and bring her into the wilderness and speak reassuringly to her.³⁰⁸

As mentioned above (pp. 276, 298), Dr. Leupold's "B" version commentary ended with Hosea 2:6, and his "B" version translation ended with Hosea 2:13. From now on we will have only Dr. Leupold's "C" version translation and commentary to work with.

Lakhen (therefore) followed by the participle "persuade" introduces the announcement of how Yahweh will act in response to Israel's desertion; Yahweh himself promises to assume the

³⁰⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C52-4. John Bright, The Kingdom of God: The Biblical Concept and Its Meaning for the Church, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1978 [1953]), p. 18. Wolff, p. 45. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 292-3.

³⁰⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C52.

responsibility for the reconciliation of his faithless wife. Raised into the New Testament key, this connects up with the cross of Christ; here is where God's "therefore" is really exhibited.

Dr. Leupold says:³⁰⁹

The opening lakhen (therefore) . . . requires an unfolding of its implications. . . . Because . . . v. 8-13 will produce the state of mind described in v. 7, "therefore" God will be permitted to make kindly advances. These kindly advances are described as "I am going to persuade her" (mephatteha). . . . Kindly persuasions only are now under consideration. . . . The time has come to bind up the broken-hearted.³¹⁰

But in showing the connection of this term, lakhen (therefore), to the character of God, E. B. Pusey, the great evangelical commentator of a century ago, makes the point much better than Dr. Leupold. Pusey says of the word "therefore."³¹¹

The inference is not what we should have expected. Sin and forgetfulness of God are not the natural causes of, and inducements to mercy. But God deals not with us as we act one to another. . . . Man's miseries invited God's mercies. God therefore has mercy, not because we deserve it but because we need it. [i.e., because God is that way].³¹²

The point that Pusey makes more clearly than Dr. Leupold is that the "therefore" is not the "therefore" of human logic --

³⁰⁹Mays, p. 44. Laetsch, p. 32.

³¹⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C52-3.

³¹¹Hummel, "Hosea," p. 30.

³¹²E. B. Pusey, The Minor Prophets: A Commentary, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1956), p. 35a.

"anthropo-logic," if you will -- but just the opposite -- the "therefore" of "theo-logic,"³¹³

Dr. Leupold understands the participle, mephatteha (I am going to persuade/allure her) as the strong prophetic Biblical accent on Yahweh's personal involvement and action. Dr. Leupold says:³¹⁴

For Israel it meant . . . a season of tender courtship on Jehovah's part, cf. Jer. 2:2, so that the thought is God . . . will institute a season of courtship a second time.³¹⁵

Yahweh's announcement of a second courtship is thus not just an impersonal report about an upcoming historical fact, but is an indication of Yahweh's personal care and attention. Dr. Leupold avoids the pitfall of the Heilsgeschichte School, which sometimes made the Bible sound like an impersonal report about abstract historical data, and de facto eliminated Yahweh's personal involvement in history. Heilsgeschichte sometimes leaves the impression that a Christian is someone who attributes whatever "happens" to "God's will," but this is "fatalism" or mechanistic Deism or "Historicism" and not Biblical theology. Thus the mistake of Heilsgeschichte is really nothing more than an over-emphasis on the horizontal component (for example, the objective historical event that "happened") of typology. Although we distinguish the horizontal component of typology from the vertical component

³¹³Laetsch, p. 32.

³¹⁴Wolff, p. 41b.

³¹⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-C54.

(supernatural and propositional revelation), typology itself is basically the horizontal -- prophecy and fulfillment, what God is doing on earth. But on the other hand, if the horizontal (that is, history) is missing or recedes so that there is an over-emphasis only on the vertical (that is, supernatural), then one has allegory, which is really also just the "Eternal Now" of Existentialism. Rather it is a combination of the vertical and horizontal that makes Dr. Leupold's Biblical typology dynamic, and Yahweh's personal involvement and action important for Dr. Leupold.³¹⁶

Allegory (and its predecessor, Platonic philosophy) was primarily only the vertical orientation (salvation from history), while Dr. Leupold's typology is oriented toward the future (salvation incarnationally through history). The proper combination of horizontal and vertical components can be indicated by the

³¹⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C52-54. Goppelt, Typos.: Claus Westermann, ed., Essays on Old Testament Interpretation (London: SCM Press, 1963 [1960]). G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe, Essays on Typology, (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1957). Patrick Fairbairne (1805-74), The Typology of Scripture (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, n.d.). Jean Danielou, The Bible and the Liturgy (Notre Dame; University of Notre Dame Press, 1956); Danielou, From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1960). B. W. Anderson, ed., The Old Testament and Christian Faith (New York: Harper & Row, 1963). James D. Smart, The Interpretation of Scripture (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961). James Barr, Old and New In Interpretation: A Study of Two Testaments (London: SCM Press, 1966). F. F. Bruce, New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1968). Arthur Gabriel Hebert, The Throne of David: A Study of the Fulfillment of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ and His Church (London: Faber, 1956 [1941]); Herbert, When Israel Came Out of Egypt (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1961). Wolff, p. 41b. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 16-18.

formula: prophecy is to typology as Word is to Sacrament.

Dr. Hummel explains:³¹⁷

Prophecy and preaching [Word] would be only words about words, great ideas and ideals, if the "visible word" did not accompany it. Similarly, mere history or sacramental elements are mute without the inspired word to explain and apply.

That is to say that Old Testament history really is our history via Christ, . . . accomplished "for us men and for our salvation," and into it we were baptized. Since Christ is "Israel reduced to one," and since Israel's inner history was all recapitulated and consummated [for us] in Him, the "New Israel," the church, expresses its identity and mission in terms of the promise given to the old Israel.³¹⁸

Eph. 5:21-33 presents the typology of the bride of Christ in terms of the word mysterion (mystery) in Eph. 5:32, which the Latin Vulgate translated sacramentum. This illustrates how closely the ideas of typology and sacrament come together. But the problem with Dr. Leupold's typology is that it is not closely identified with sacrament. Even though for Dr. Leupold, Yahweh's personal care and attention, Yahweh's immanental involvement and action, is strongly emphasized, nevertheless, the sacramental dimension of Yahweh's courtship, the mysterion (mystery), strangely recedes into the background.³¹⁹

³¹⁷Goppelt, Westermann, Lampe, Fairbairne, Danielou, "Liturgy," Danielou, "Shadows," Anderson, Smart, Barr, Bruce, Hebert, "Throne." Herbert, "Israel." Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 16-18.

³¹⁸Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 17.

³¹⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," C52-4. Raymond E. Brown, The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, Facet Books, 1958), Biblical Series No. 21. David Hill, Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in

Raymond E. Brown's The Semitic Background of the Term 'Mystery' in the New Testament probes the apocalyptic roots of the Old Testament terms raz (mystery) and pesher (interpretation) in the exegesis found at Qumran. In the Old Testament the root raz (mystery) is used only really in the apocalyptic strand of thought (Dan. 2:18-23); in Amos and Jeremiah the word raz (mystery) is used in the later sense of mysterion (mystery) of the supernatural component of revelation that has come from above as God's word, and not some pesher (interpretation) of man, as it was at Qumran. The Old Testament prophet, as it were, has been given a special pass to sit in on the deliberations of the Heavenly Council where history is made (Dan. 7:9-10), and hence reports the Council decisions as a herald on earth. This is the whole rationale and legitimatization of prophetic preaching: the raz (mystery) he declares is God's raz (mystery) from the Heavenly Council. The New Testament just fills out that raz (mystery) Christologically so that the content of that "mystery" of God's plan is essentially Christ.³²⁰

The sacrament of baptism is thus the typology of the individual; Biblical history becomes my history, for I am baptized into it, and in that sense it is recapitulated in me. And the

the Semantics of Soteriological Terms, (Cambridge, University Press, 1967). Wolff, p. 41b. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 574-5.

³²⁰Brown, Mystery. Raymond E. Brown, The Sensus Plenior of Sacred Scripture (Baltimore: St. Marys University, 1955). Frank M. Cross, "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah" in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, (1953); p. 274-7. Hill, Greek Words. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 574-5.

sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the typology of the group; the group appropriates in it the death and resurrection of Christ, which in turn points forward eschatologically. Finally, since all Biblical typology is both Christological and eschatological, only eschatologically, at the end of our sinful time will both the vertical and horizontal typology be totally reconciled, fulfilled and consummated in a "new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells" (2 Pet. 3:13). So although Dr. Leupold here understands Hosea's narrative describing God's announcement of a second courtship to be a thoroughly immanent idea about God, nevertheless, the sacramental dimension of Yahweh's courtship typology -- as in the Eph. 5:32 mysterion (mystery) -- is nowhere developed.³²¹

Sometimes claims about the importance of Biblical monotheism tend to submerge this immanent idea of God found in Hosea and elsewhere as emphasized here by Dr. Leupold. So often the uniqueness of the Bible is put in terms of monotheism versus polytheism. But what is unique to the Bible is not monotheism (the idea that there is only one God), but the idea here expressed in Hosea of God's personal involvement and action -- and as seen ultimately in Christ's incarnation. Monotheism is part of the uniqueness of the Bible, to be sure, but there were and are other monotheisms, other monisms, many of them -- from the earliest

³²¹Brown, Mystery. Brown, Sensus Plenior. Cross, Council of Yahweh. Hill, Greek Words. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 16.

mythologies and Baalism of the ancient world up to the process thought or the pagan "Joe College" religion of the modern man on the street. Where the clash occurs, ancient or modern, is with the Biblical accent on the personal God who supernaturally intervenes also in our world.³²² It is Yahweh's personal action that is important for Dr. Leupold in this text.³²³

Nor does Dr. Leupold try to isolate the technicalities of the historical means of this second courtship. That is left open and not specified. And this indicates where the normal Biblical accent is: on the primary action of God and not on the secondary means he uses. Nor does Dr. Leupold suggest that the Old Testament was too primitive, insufficiently evolved or immature to understand and detail secondary causes. The Bible is perfectly well aware elsewhere that God uses means, when it cares to talk that way, as the prophets sometimes do. But here one finds the main concern about God's personal involvement, and precisely what historical or natural means he may have used to persuade/allure is a secondary thing.³²⁴

³²²Here the theology of prayer is inevitably involved, against those who say that the whole idea of a personal God answering prayer is a remnant of medieval magic. What the prayer-question shows, is that the conflict between the idea of a personal God vs. the idea of an impersonal God is anything but a dead battle. Cf., Current Constitutional Prayer Amendment Controversy.

³²³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-54. Wolff, p. 41b. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 575.

³²⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-54. Wolff, p. 41b.

Dr. Leupold does not go overboard in his interpretation of mephatteha (persuade/allure) the way Wolff does. As in English, the word can have the negative sexual connotation of "entice" or "seduce" or even "rape" (Ex. 22:16). This same word is used of Yahweh overcoming Jeremiah's (Jer. 20:7) will and resistance, but to translate it that strongly here or in Jeremiah is to press it beyond the "point of comparison" as Wolff overstates it:³²⁵

Thus Yahweh is represented here in a crudely anthropomorphic picture as a "seducer" who allures a young woman with many other suitors (cf. Ex. 22:15).³²⁶

Wolff overstates what the word will really support. The same problem is found in Hosea 2:20 (Heb. 2:22) with the word yada (know) following immediately after "I will betroth you." A few commentators try to press a sexual application of "know" in the sense of Gen. 4:1 to imply some crude picture of Yahweh virtually having sexual relations with Israel. But that is pressing intimacy beyond the "point of comparison," and not applying common sense in the use of this picture-language (or "body-language" if you prefer). On the other hand, Wolff's excess throws into relief the boldness and daring of Hosea's use of this language, all the more so against the background of the fertility religions, even though Hosea would have undercut himself if he would have intended it read Wolff's way. Mays summarizes it nicely:³²⁷

³²⁵Wolff, p. 41b.

³²⁶Ibid.

³²⁷Ibid.

Measured against Yahwism's studied aversion for speaking of God in any sexual terms, the picture is astonishing. Yet precisely at this point . . . it is in this daring kind of portrayal that the passion of God becomes visible -- a passion that does not hesitate at any condescension or hold back from any act for the sake of the beloved elect.³²⁸

One of the strong points in Abraham Joshua Heschels' The Prophets is how he brings out the intense emotional involvement of the prophets, which in turn becomes the foil for their anthropopathic description of God's involvement in history. So as Dr. Leupold sees it, Hosea's description of God in this verse is not only anthropomorphic in a general sense, but is a picture of God described in terms of human emotions and human suffering.³²⁹

The real meaning of mephatteha (persuade/allure) here is thus shown by the Hebrew parallelism, especially the second phrase, which Dr. Leupold translates, "and speak reassuringly to her," but which can also be translated more literally, "and I will speak to her heart." This idiom is used elsewhere in the Old Testament: it means basically "to woo" or "to make love to" or in English slang, "to whisper sweet nothings" in the beloved's ear, to speak to her heart, her inner being. This is the same phrase that is used in Isa. 40:2, "Speak to the heart of Jerusalem"³³⁰ -- that is,

³²⁸Mays, pp. 44-5.

³²⁹Abraham J. Heschel, The Prophets (New York: Harper & Bros. 1962), pp. 221-78.

³³⁰KJV: "Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem." RSV: "Speak tenderly to Jerusalem." Luther predictably interprets: "Through my apostles I will teach you a sweet doctrine that is different from the Law." LW, #18, p. 11. Wolff, p. 42, note 92.

comfort Jerusalem in her captivity -- and it is also used with Boaz and Ruth (Ruth 2:13), with Shechem and Dinah (Gen. 34:3), and with the Levite and his wife (Judges 19:3). Therefore here, as in parallelism so often, one interprets the other. And since "speak to the heart of" does not normally have as potentially overt sexual overtones as does mephatteha (persuade/allure), in the parallelism the former has the function of toning down the latter, as Dr. Leupold correctly treats it.³³¹

Finally, Dr. Leupold takes up the interesting phrase, "And I will bring her into the wilderness" -- one of the more important concepts in the Book of Hosea. Dr. Leupold, referring to Koenig's Syntax, says that "in the wilderness" is grammatically an adverbial accusative, an accusative of place to which.³³²

Dr. Leupold answers the question, "Where is this wilderness?" Dr. Leupold says, "the wilderness is a type." By this Dr. Leupold means that ultimately one is going to have to typologize this into the frame of reference of the cross and resurrection. The over-all scope here is judgment, with resurrection coming out of judgment, after rebirth in baptism. Thus Dr. Leupold interprets this verse the same way that he interprets the phrase, "the land of Egypt" in Hos. 11:5. Of Hos. 11:5 Dr. Leupold says:³³³

³³¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C52-54. Wolff, p. 42a. Mays, p. 44.

³³²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C53. Wolff, p. 44.

³³³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-4, p. E253. Wolff, p. 44.

Egypt had been considered as the land of Exile, and yet, . . . we were compelled to interpret Egypt to be merely a type of the bondage to befall Israel. . . . An actual return to Egypt is not to be expected.³³⁴

So when Dr. Leupold says, "the wilderness is a type," the point to be stressed here is that although Dr. Leupold is making a comparison, it is more than just merely a comparison, merely an analogue -- as though what God did on Calvary is merely another example like this wilderness typology. That is, the wilderness typology is not just another example, another illustration, of God's love along side of the one on Calvary, rather, it is really part of the Gospel.³³⁵

No doubt a passage like this did provide some ingredients for the millennial intertestamental expectations of sectarian Judaism at Qumran,³³⁶ which on the basis of Is. 40:3 advised, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord." And no doubt behind John the Baptist at the Jordan there is that type of thinking, as also elsewhere in the New Testament, more positively and substantially, where the "wilderness" becomes a symbol. But again, it is more than just a mere symbol, but a necessary precondition of the human soul

³³⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. E253.

³³⁵Hummel Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 16-18.

³³⁶Cf. 1 Qm. 1:2f. "When the Sons of Light who are now in exile return from the 'desert of the nations' to pitch camp in the desert of Jerusalem, the children of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, who are now among those exiles of the wilderness, shall wage war against these peoples -- that is against each and every one of their troops." Theodore H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, (New York: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 301. Wolff, p. 42, note 91.

which must be emptied and purified before it is ready for rebirth. Naturally the wilderness typology was also part of the rationale behind the later extremism of Christian monasticism.³³⁷

But Dr. Leupold is not led astray by any maximalist monasticism or millennial extremism in his understanding of "wilderness." What then does Hosea mean here? What location does Dr. Leupold have in mind about the phrase, "And I will bring her into the wilderness"? There is quite a bit of debate as to whether this is a reference to the Exile, a prophecy of the Babylonian Exile, or whether this is purely eschatological in terms of Paradise Restored. Dr. Leupold's response to these false alternatives would probably be to say that this is not the right question to ask. It is not so much a geological as a theological location or an eschatological location that is in mind. And this again is just another way of saying that it is a "type." According to Dr. Leupold, here we have part of Hosea's standard typological pattern that emerges at many points later on, in Hosea 9-11 especially, that Israel will have to return to Egypt. And what is Egypt? This is not predicting that in a geographical sense Israel will have to recapitulate its early history and go back into Egypt and go through the Exodus again. Egypt has become a type of non-existence. Martin J. Buss, in his last couple chapters works that out in his own way.³³⁸ In his comments on Hosea 9:3 about

³³⁷Wolff, pp. 41-2, 45.

³³⁸Martin J. Buss, The Prophetic Word of Hosea: A

Egypt and Assyria, Dr. Leupold says:

Two places seem to be mentioned as places of Exile, Egypt and Assyria. In reality but one is indicated, Assyria. . . . Egypt is mentioned only as a type, as is seen very clearly from Hos. 11:5, which rules out Egypt and leaves only Assyria. . . . Already in Deut. 26:68 this typical use of the land of Egypt occurs, . . . a captivity like that once experienced in the land of Egypt.³³⁹

For Hosea, "Egypt" and the "Wilderness" are not even kept completely distinguished from one another. They interchange, which is another way of saying they are both symbols. Since they both represent the condition prior to full restoration, whether it is Egypt or wilderness, in this poetic, typological way they easily merge with one another and can be used somewhat interchangeably, as Mays implies:³⁴⁰

"Wilderness" is more than place; it is a time and situation in which the pristine relation between God and people was untarnished and Israel depended utterly on Yahweh (cf. Hos. 13:4f). Hosea is not the advocate of a nomadic ideal with simple nostalgia for life away from the agricultural civilization of Palestine. . . . The wilderness is . . . an epoch. . . . It represents a point of new beginning (cf. Jer. 2:1-3).³⁴¹

So then, when was this exile? Where will it be? For Dr. Leupold it is one of those constants that Lutherans prefer to stress in terms of Law and Gospel, that God must constantly bring us back to the wilderness. But, of course, he does that not only

Morphological Study (Berlin: Toepelmann, 1969), p. 130-2.
Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-54. Wolff, p. 45.

³³⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. E203.

³⁴⁰Mays, p. 44. Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-C54.

³⁴¹Mays, p. 44.

psychologically or existentially, but always via baptism, and only in relation to his major soteriological work in connection with the cross. This is surely connected with Jesus' being tempted in the wilderness (Matt. 4:1-11), and probably also in the pattern of Jesus' withdrawal into the wilderness for mediation (Luke 5:16). And even at the end of the New Testament, in Rev. 12:6, 14, the woman, representing the Church, flees into the wilderness to escape from the dragon. To adopt another position than this Lutheran Law-Gospel position which Dr. Leupold here holds is probably to become captive by default to the views of the modern Palestinian Jewish Zionists controlling the modern state of Israel, or to Hal Lindsey's millennialism³⁴². For Hosea, "Egypt" and "wilderness" are poetically and typologically interchangeable. Dr. Leupold's comments on Hos. 9:6 provide a fitting summary:³⁴³

The land of captivity -- that's what Egypt here represents, as in Hos. 9:3. . . . Of course, this is not an assertion that Egypt actually becomes the land of captivity.³⁴⁴

Hosea 2:15

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

And I will give her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door to hope; and she shall respond

³⁴²Hal Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970).

³⁴³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-C54. Wolff, p. 45.

³⁴⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. E208-E209.

there as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt.³⁴⁵

Dr. Leupold's typological interpretation of this section continues from where he left off in the last verse:

The whole background at this point is typical: the pleasant experiences of Israel after deliverance from Egypt are the type. As the stay in the wilderness was followed by the entrance into Canaan, so shall it practically be again.

A further type -- the experience at the Valley of Achor where (Jer. 7:25f) Achan had caused great troubling (Achor-troubling). What caused trouble will become a door that opens into hope. . . . From having been in a state of confusion and turmoil, cf. v. 8-13, Israel shall find a door that leads to new and golden hopes.³⁴⁶

Dr. Leupold's typological approach to this verse understands that Hosea picked this name, "the valley of Achor," because it fits both the historical basis of the typology and the theological recapitulation of it. Historically, the Israelites, after conquering Jericho, ran into trouble in the Valley of Achor, where Achan was finally caught up with for his violation of the anathema law (Joshua 7). And theologically it also fits in terms of the meaning of the word, "the valley of trouble (Achor)," and the way in which Gospel comes only out of Law, and God's grace only out of judgment.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵Ibid., p. C54. Unless the LXX had a radically different Hebrew text behind it, it is hard to see how the LXX translated "her vineyards" into "her possessions," the common explanation is that here is a bit of an application, an update, sort of a "Living Bible" type of paraphrase, in order to communicate the same idea basically to an urban Alexandrian audience in drastically different circumstances than agricultural Palestine. Rahlfs, 2:492. Brenton, p. 1072.

³⁴⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C54-55.

³⁴⁷Ibid. Wolff, p. 43b. Mays, p. 45.

Although strictly speaking it goes beyond what the text here explicitly says according to a mere surface reading, Dr. Leupold's typological interpretation leaves open an implied allusion to the way in which God restores favor after expiation of guilt. That is, just as historically the Israelites had no success in trying to capture Ai until Achan was exposed and executed, so also in Christological terms there is no salvation until this expiation is done in Christ's vicarious death.³⁴⁸

Dr. Leupold's typological interpretation does not eliminate history or geography. In Isaiah 55 there is a similar reference to a valley (that is, Achor) becoming like a paradise (that is, door of hope) in a New Creation prophecy, and commentaries will spend a lot of time asking what exact geographical location this is; but in terms of Hosea's interests here this is probably the most trivial and irrelevant question of all and almost beside the point. On the other hand theologians cannot dismiss these historical-geographical questions too quickly, because if this Hosean account is history (which we hold it is), then history must take place on real estate somewhere, and not on Cloud Nine. So Dr. Leupold's typological approach does not dismiss these questions prematurely, but makes the historical connections. In this case, the traditional site of the valley of Achor is on the main road from Jerusalem to Jericho, which is also the setting for the story of the Good Samaritan.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C54-55.

³⁴⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C54-55. Wolff, pp. 42-3. Mays, p. 45. Laetsch, p. 32.

On the other hand, there was apparently never any known ancient site by the name of "door of hope."³⁵⁰ Dr. Leupold sees no special geographical significance to the name, but rather a sort of "Eschatological Great Reversal" word-play on the Valley of Achor. The geographical "Valley of Achor" has dead-end canyons leading out of it which would not normally suggest themselves as gateways to anywhere; that could be the contrast intended by the use of the word pethach (door) here. And then regarding the theological significance of the root gawah (hope): particularly in the Psalms this is one of the major words for "hope" alongside of yah-kal (hope), and somewhat parallel to batach (trust) and aman (believe). Thus gawah (hope) is one of the important words of piety in the language of the Old Testament, and overlaps in meaning with all these others. On this integration of meaning Dr. Leupold's typological interpretation depends.³⁵¹

Dr. Leupold makes an issue out of his translation "respond" for anah (answer, respond) and disagrees with Luther's translation. There is a tradition, picked up by the KJV, going back to Jewish commentators, and also in Jerome, that translates anah as "sing." Jerome reflected such rabbinical usage at many points because he learned not only Hebrew grammar but also traditional Hebrew exegesis

³⁵⁰Although in the modern state of Israel this was the name given to the first Israeli settlement, and still remains a major city in modern Israel, sort of a suburb of Tel Aviv today. Israel's national anthem is also prominently related to this prophecy in a more secular application.

³⁵¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C54-55. Laetsch, p. 32.

from rabbinical teachers in Bethlehem. Their translation "sing" is based on a comparison with Exodus 15, where Miriam "answers the song" of Moses with her own song. Following out this thinking the Jewish tradition tends to translate anah here in Hosea as "sing": "And she shall sing there as in the days of her youth." Jerome, Luther, KJV and Laetsch appropriate this translation.³⁵²

But the consonants of this root anah (answer) can also be pointed with vowels as a Piel, and in the Piel this root means "to humble oneself." The LXX takes this route and translates, "and she shall be humbled there as in the days of her youth." That does not give a radically different meaning ultimately, because "answer" especially in this context implies surrender, docility, acceptance of her suitor's hand, and humble consent to his desires, and so forth. Dr. Leupold will allow this LXX paraphrasing of anah (answer), but not the "sing" translation of the Jewish commentators, Jerome, Luther, KJV and Laetch. Dr. Leupold says:³⁵³

anah means only "answer" or "respond." According to the connection, it could here mean "obey" or "be obedient," . . . but it does not mean "sing," A. V. and Luther.³⁵⁴

Dr. Leupold does not carry his interpretation of this verse through to its New Testament culmination as well as Wolff does.

³⁵²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C55. LW, #18, p. 11. Laetsch, p. 33. Wolff, p. 43b. Mays, p. 45.

³⁵³Rahlfs, 2:492. Brenton, p. 1072. Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C55. Mays, p. 45. Wolff, p. 43b. Laetsch, 33.

³⁵⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C55.

Wolff says: "The culmination of Hosea's message points us toward Rom. 5:8 [while we were yet sinners] and Eph. 2:4-5 [even when we were dead through our trespasses]."³⁵⁵

Hos. 2:16-20. Restoration

Prolegomena

Hosea's understanding of Israel's history as a manifestation of God's chesed (love) is still again in this section the main focus of Hosean theology. In the last section (Regeneration), the theological point made was the "scandal" (1 Cor. 1:23) of God's election and continuing chesed (love) for Israel being extended to a nation that did not merit it in the slightest degree -- election based on grace alone -- amplification of the one and only main theme of all Scripture: Justification by the grace of God through faith in Christ alone, apart from works of law.³⁵⁶

The theological point made in this section -- Restoration -- is that Justification and Sanctification are merely two sides of the same coin; they interpenetrate one another. Like most other commentators, Dr. Leupold acknowledges the reappearance here of the themes and metaphors formulated in chapters 1 and 2: the allegory of Israel as wife and Yahweh as husband, the analogy of covenant and marriage, and the battle of the Baals. Also like most other commentators, Dr. Leupold treats this section as roughly divisible

³⁵⁵Wolff. p. 45b.

³⁵⁶Wolff, p. 44. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 287, 298.

into three sections, each displaying a facet of how justifying regeneration becomes manifest in sanctifying restoration: 1) Hos. 2:16-17, victory in the battle of the Baals. 2) Hos. 2:18, peace with nature and safety from enemies. 3) Hos. 2:19-20, five-fold betrothal of God and his bride.³⁵⁷

Hosea 2:16

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

And it shall come to pass in that day -- oracle of Jehovah -- thou shalt call me, "My husband," and thou shalt no longer call me, "My Baal."³⁵⁸

Dr. Leupold notes that "vs. 16 hinges on a paronomasia on the word 'Baal.'" The subtle play on the meaning of the two Hebrew words, ishi (my husband) and ba"ali (my Baal) cannot be reproduced directly in English, since both can mean "husband." The latter, however, is, of course, in addition also the designation of the primary idol-diety of the pagan Canaanite cult. "Baal" comes from a verb that means "to own" and "have rights over," and tends to emphasize the legal position of the husband as lord and "possessor" of the woman or wife (see also, in such legal texts as Ex. 21:3, 22; Deut. 22:22, 24:4). Ishi (my husband) on the other hand is more of an endearing expression which addresses the husband as partner and even heroic Savior who enjoys a deep personal relationship with the wife. So with the "wilderness honeymoon" metaphor in the

³⁵⁷Mays, p. 46. Wolff, p. 47a. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 293-4.

³⁵⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C55.

background, and with this paronomasia directly preceded by "says [oracle of] Yahweh," this verse can be construed as Yahweh's courtship words whispered into the beloved Israel's ear, namely, that Yahweh himself provides the word she needs to respond to him, that Yahweh himself opens her lips, and also gives us the proper words in order to respond to him directly, as we ourselves confess it in the first versicle of Matins; "Oh Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise" (Ps. 51:15). And this as well as anything in this first verse of the triple restoration shows the intertwining character of Justification and Sanctification as two sides of the same coin.³⁵⁹

All commentators including Dr. Leupold seem unanimous in their assent to not only the archaeological but also the Biblical evidence that Yahweh was often referred to by the title ba"al (lord). And there are many Biblical names that are compounded out of ba"al (lord) alongside of those compounded out of "Yahweh." For example, two of Saul's sons were named "Jonathan" (that is, "Jehovah-Nathan," which means "Yahweh gives," 1 Sam. 13:16) and "Eshbaal" (that is, "Esh-Baal," which means "man of Baal", "man of the lord," or "man of God," 2 Sam. 2:8). So it appears that there was a long period when the two name-titles, Yahweh and Baal, were cultically/socially acceptable as quite interchangeable. Perhaps it was partly because of the struggle for survival by the Yahweh cultus

³⁵⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C55-56. Mays, p. 48. Wolff, p. 49a.

under prophetic impetus that it became no longer cultically/socially acceptable or culturally safe to refer to Yahweh as Baal. At any rate, here at least is a classical example of the problem of "Christ and Culture." That is, what things from the environment can be adapted or baptized and still avoid having the Gospel get mixed up with all the "causes" of the day? How does the church live "in" the world without being "of" the world so as to avoid having the world write the church's agenda? When does symbolism become syncretism? Can the church steal ammunition from the devil to use against him?³⁶⁰

Dr. Leupold's answer, like conservatism in general, probably runs the risk of often unnecessarily rejecting things that are possibly good in the attempt to maintain purity, whereas liberalism exemplifies the opposite, that in its openness it often lets in all types of things that certainly do pollute and obscure the main point. Dr. Leupold's conservative interpretation "bends over backwards":³⁶¹

In token of the sincerity of her conversion from Baal-worship, Israel shall avoid even such use of the word "Baal" as might seem permissible.³⁶²

In this case, however, Dr. Leupold and the conservatives are probably right -- grammatically at least -- because the text here

³⁶⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C55-56. Helmut Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper, 1951). Mays, p. 49. Wolff, pp. 49-50.

³⁶¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C55-56. Mays, p. 48. Wolff, pp. 49-50.

³⁶²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C55.

does not manifest an example of hyperbole or "dialectical negation" such as is found in the case of Hos. 6:6, where the grammatical structure of the Hebrew parallelism indicates it:³⁶³

For I desire steadfast love and not [only] sacrifice, the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings (Hos. 6:6).

Hosea 2:17

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

For I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth, and not shall they be remembered any more by their names.³⁶⁴

This verse paired with the preceding verse constitutes the first "restoration" of the triple restoration extending from Hos. 2:16-20. Dr. Leupold's first comment here simply reemphasizes the thought continued from the previous verse:

Verse 17 expresses the same thought [as the previous verse, except] with emphasis on God's causation: "I will take away the names," as well as the thought that ultimately the very Baal-names will be forgotten -- thorough cure from an evil propensity.³⁶⁵

Dr. Leupold emphasizes that the first verb, sur (I will take away) in the Hiphil as here is a very strong word meaning, "uproot, exterminate," and that here surely cultic ideas come to the fore if this last verb zakar (they shall not be remembered) is properly heard, because in Biblical usage zakar (remember) does not mean just

³⁶³Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 295.

³⁶⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C55.

³⁶⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C56.

plain "recollect." But particularly in this idiom, "to remember a name," as it stands here in the Niphal (passive), in general Biblical usage refers to the cultic use of the name of God.³⁶⁶

Dr. Leupold thus maintains the sharp, clear-cut distinction between paganism and Yahwism. In paganism "to remember a name" had a magical aspect, that by mentioning the god's name one was able to tap his magical powers and sort of control him to get out of him what one wanted. But for Israel "to remember the name" of Yahweh involved historicity, that his name is the name of a person, not merely the name of a natural force.³⁶⁷ So once again bound up with the name of Yahweh and calling upon his name is the whole historical, personal field of Biblical theology in the narrow sense, in contrast to an-historical, impersonal approach of paganism.³⁶⁸

Dr. Leupold tries to restore to us the whole meaning of the Biblical idiom, "to remember a name" which is almost all but lost to us today. Only remnants of it survive in our liturgy: "Call upon the name of the Lord," or "Hallowed be thy name." Most talk today about "Hallowed be thy name" or "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain" is reduced to a jejune, legalistic scope and limited to hushed discussion about certain indiscrete words. On the

³⁶⁶Ibid., pp. C55-6. Mays, p. 49. Wolff, p. 50. Laetsch, pp. 33-4.

³⁶⁷Altering only the one word, "Lord," in 1 Sam, 17:37, the all-time box-office motion-picture champion, "Star Wars," repeatedly invokes its pantheistic "deity" with the phrase: "May the Force be with you!"

³⁶⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C55-56. Mays, p. 49. Wolff, p. 50. Laetsch, pp. 33-4.

contrary, the promise in this verse appears to be based on the command in Ex. 23:13, in the Book of the Covenant, where there is a prohibition against invoking pagan deities in this magical way. The promise of this verse is that this command will be obeyed in the New Covenant; that this will really be done in the future age is repeated almost word for word in the eschatological text, Zech. 13:2.³⁶⁹

So in terms of Justification and Santification, here is a transfer from one whole realm of allegiance to another. And Yahweh will make this possible, as only he can; only Yahweh can bring Israel out of false worship and into true worship by all that is implied by invoking the proper name.³⁷⁰

Hosea 2:18

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

In that day will I make an agreement (league) for them with the beasts of the field, and with the birds of the heavens and with the creeping things of the ground; and the bow, the sword and war will I break out of the land, and I will make them to lie down safely.³⁷¹

This verse is the second "restoration" in the triple restoration. Dr. Leupold's very first words about this verse are a polemic against historical-critical liberalism:

³⁶⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C55-56. Mays, p. 49. Wolff, p. 50. Laetsch, pp. 33-4.

³⁷⁰Ibid.

³⁷¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C56.

In highly figurative language the blessed state that God will bring about for a converted people is here depicted. The colors used are in part drawn from the situation as it prevailed in the original paradise.

Sellin speaks very ill-advised words when he claims that "the old myth of the transformation of the world furnishes the colors for this picture," for the very expressions, "birds of the heavens," "beasts of the field," and "creeping things of the ground" are literal quotations from the creation account of Genesis and were used when the earth in pristine perfection had come forth from God's hand and so do not refer to a myth.³⁷²

Note how Dr. Leupold emphasizes that these expressions, "birds, . . . beasts, . . . creeping things," are "literal quotations from the creation account of Genesis." Dr. Leupold is so strong on this point because one will read in liberal critical works that allegedly Genesis 1-3 are never mentioned again elsewhere in the Bible (the liberal critical presupposition being that they are myths invented by later theologians). But a verse like this demolishes the claim that the rest of the Old Testament never really knew anything of any creation account or story of the Fall, as Dr. Leupold correctly interprets.³⁷³

In view of his strong repulse of liberalism just above, Dr. Leupold strangely soft-pedals a traditional launching pad for working out a conservative emphasis in this verse, the word berith (covenant). Maybe this is because here is one of the relatively few times that the word berith (covenant) is used in Hosea (the other two being Hos. 10:4, 12:1, both times in the political sense of a

³⁷²Ibid., pp. C56-57.

³⁷³Ibid., p. C57. Mays, p. 49.

treaty between nations), although this verse is the only place where Hosea really uses it theologically.³⁷⁴

That is, in Hosea, as in the prophets in general, the word berith (covenant) is all but conspicuous by its absence. For classical historical-critical liberalism this was proof positive that the berith (covenant) idea did not evolve until the Deuteronomic compromise and priestly inventions after the Exile; from that presupposition the critics extrapolated that the covenant idea was then retrojected via legends back to Mosaic times. Then after the discovery of the Suzerainty Treaties, and the strong case for them made by recent Biblical Theology, it became plain that covenant language in the political context of the Ancient Near East was of very ancient origin and easily antedated the traditional composition dates of the Biblical documents. But as one can easily see from his weak translation of berith (covenant) as "agreement" or "league," Dr. Leupold for some unknown reason strangely does not press the conservative case at this point (and neither does Laetsch, for that matter). Dr. Leupold's interpretation is as weak as his translation.³⁷⁵

To make it appear more distinctly as an achievement of permanence, a "league" or "agreement" is spoken of as to be made with the creatures that might do harm to man. Berith had better be translated thus; "covenant" (A.V.)

³⁷⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C57-58. Mays, p. 49.

³⁷⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C57-58. Wolff, pp. 50-1. Mays, pp. 49-50. Laetsch, p. 34.

implies too much of solemn agreement which the beasts as such could hardly be said to make.³⁷⁶

Even Mays presents a stronger interpretation of the word

berith (covenant):

In effect, this berith is like Ezekiel's "covenant of peace." . . . The peace is the blessing of the re-established covenant (cf. Ezek. 34:25-8). But the wonder of the time of renewal lies in the fact that Israel does not receive the blessing as a reward for the obedience required in Lev. 26, but as a gift of the grace and as a sign that Yahweh himself has brought them again into the covenant.³⁷⁷

The new creation idea up to now in Hosea has been expressed more in the language of "Second Exodus" or "Wilderness Honeymoon" or "Eschatological Great Reversal," that is, until we encountered the word berith (covenant) in this verse. Now the same New Creation idea is expressed in terms of a "New Covenant," and even though we do not yet have here Jeremiah's classical formulation of it (Jer. 31:31-4), the "covenant" that Hosea has here surely boils down to essentially the same thing. Dr. Leupold does not exploit this resource as he surely could have; even Wolff makes use of this material in appealing his case. Wolff says, "Here we have the first reference to a 'new covenant' of the end-time. (cf. Jer. 31:31)."³⁷⁸

On the other hand, perhaps the reason why Dr. Leupold does not want to associate the creation account with the word berith

³⁷⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C57-58.

³⁷⁷Mays, pp. 49-50.

³⁷⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C56-58. Wolff. p. 51.

(covenant) is because in terms of Biblical typology the first creation is never expressed in Genesis 1-3 in terms of "covenant" -- as if God had made one covenant at the time of creation which had to be replaced by the Mosaic covenant later. Although there have been many scholarly attempts to arrange the early chapters of Genesis along that line of thought, Genesis itself does not explicitly express the creation account in covenantal language. Only if one reasons backward from passages like this verse in Hosea is there more of a case for such a reconstruction of the Genesis account, because certainly the new creation, the second creation, is expressed much more explicitly in covenantal language. Thus only by reasoning backward from antitype to type, from second creation back to first creation, can one build a much stronger case for developing that Genesis account in explicitly berith (covenant) categories. Perhaps for this reason then, Dr. Leupold did not want to cast the first creation Genesis account in covenantal terms.³⁷⁹

Dr. Leupold notes the reversal of the role of the animals only a few verses back (Hos. 2:12), where the animals were to have been instruments of judgment. And that peace with animals is paralleled by peace with people. The "renovation of nature" and the "renovation of history" are mentioned almost in one breath, as all one aspect of the new covenant. Hosea's nature-history (animals-nations) parallelism here is continued elsewhere only in

³⁷⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C56-58.

the Holiness Code in Lev. 26:6 and in Ezek. 34:25-28.³⁸⁰

Dr. Leupold parallels the reversal of the role of animals in the "renovation of nature" with the reversal of the role of people/nations in the "renovation of history," the latter being a reversal of the reference to Israel's bow being broken at Jezreel in Hosea 1:5. Dr. Leupold says:³⁸¹

In completing the picture negatively, mention is made of the removal of the most grievous physical evils man knows. They are the evil connected with and centering about "war." It, therefore, as well as its implements, "bow" and "sword," will "be broken" and cast forth "from" the land.

The pregnant construction, so called, covers this in the brief statement: "I shall break them out of the land." The removal of this most horrible of evils implies the removal of lesser evils. Result: men on every hand will be lying down when the time of rest comes, in a feeling of perfect security.³⁸²

According to Dr. Leupold's understanding, not only Israel's dependence on her own armaments, but also warfare in total will be eliminated; and the accent will be on Yahweh's grace, not on Israel's merit. Nor can a case be made that the accent here is on Yahweh's grace in contrast to Leviticus 26, where it is allegedly posited on Israel's obedience, the result of reliance on works.

³⁸⁰And this fact is probably a good argument in favor of the antiquity of the Holiness Code of Leviticus 26. In critical thought the date of composition of the Holiness Code was relegated to exilic times. But Hosea's familiarity with this identical parallelism in his 8th century times means the probability of the Mosaic authorship of Leviticus is greatly enhanced.

³⁸¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C57. Mays, pp. 49-50. Wolff, pp. 50-2. Laetsch. p. 34.

³⁸²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C57.

This is the whole problem of the Third Use of the Law, that in one secondary sense, our receiving God's blessing is inferentially dependent on our obedience; such a formulation can be heard in a wrong or right way. But it is a matter of whether one is keeping Justification and Santification in the proper sequence. Otherwise one ends up with the universalistic misapplication of this verse, as was done when Isa. 2:4 (or Micah 4:3, "swords into plow shares") was engraved upon the cornerstone of the United Nations Building.³⁸³ But Dr. Leupold is not self-deceived by any transformation of this verse into such a species of universalistic misapplication, into conformity with the general genus of man-made hopes of a great human peace at the end of the rainbow somewhere. Dr. Leupold says:³⁸⁴

At that time [creation] the whole of the created world constituted one perfect harmony. That original harmony God holds in prospect, for when men leave off sinning, God can let "all things work together for good to them that love God."

Of course, the portrayal is ideal: the perfect state is described which will be realized when the obedience is perfect. That the obedience will not be perfectly realized is well understood.³⁸⁵

Although Dr. Leupold well described what this future harmony is not to be, he does not follow through with the New Testament

³⁸³As though Isaiah 2 or Micah 4 was just one species of the general religious genus of hopes of a great human peace at the end of the rainbow somewhere, that if men just hope and try hard enough and found enough leagues of nations, maybe we will all have peace one fine day. The United Nations is certainly no fulfillment of the kind of prophecy Isaiah and Micah were talking about. The United Nations rather made a universalistic misapplication of these verses.

³⁸⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C57.

³⁸⁵Ibid.

connection of what it is to be. We have to turn to Laetsch for that; Laetsch says:

Here, as so often in Old Testament prophecy, time and eternity merge into one grand picture. The perfect peace and riches of heaven will cause us to forget all trials of this life, however burdensome. Rom. 8:18 [sufferings of this present time not worth comparing with the glory to be revealed]; 2 Cor. 4:17 [preparing for us an eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison].³⁸⁶

Hosea 2:19

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

And I will betroth thee unto me forever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness and in justice, and in loving-kindness and in mercies.³⁸⁷

This is the first of the two verses describing the third of the three restorations. In this verse and the next, Hosea again picks up the marriage metaphor, and describes the eschatological climax of the covenant promise in terms of the consummation of a human marriage. Dr. Leupold says:³⁸⁸

How gracious God is to the penitent nation appears from the use of the verb aras [betroth], which is used of the betrothal of a maiden and not of the efforts to win back an unfaithful spouse. Much as the latter point should predominate, God will treat Israel as though she had not transgressed.³⁸⁹

Dr. Leupold does not make anything out of the three-fold repetition of this word 'aras (betroth) in this verse and the next,

³⁸⁶Laetsch, p. 34.

³⁸⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C58.

³⁸⁸Ibid. p. C58. Mays, pp. 50-2. Wolff, pp. 52-3. Laetsch, pp. 34-6. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 293.

³⁸⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C58.

such as some who suggest it is a foreshadowing of the Trinity. Wolff interprets this three-fold occurrence as an attestation to the binding legal action of the marriage. Laetsch says the Lord's triple announcement here reminds us of the tripartite blessing (Num. 6:24-6) in which as here God gives himself to his Church.³⁹⁰

But Dr. Leupold's translation of this word as "betroth" does leave us a little bit stuck in "King Jamesese" language. And this is because here we have a case where our culture is just different enough from that culture that we really do not have a word in our vocabulary that properly translates it. Their marriage customs were just different enough from our usages that we really do not have an English word that says exactly what the word 'aras (betroth) says. And in LCMS history a quarter of a century ago this word was very much bound up with the debate about whether engagement was tantamount to marriage or not -- whether the breaking of an engagement was tantamount to divorce. And no little bit of the LCMS debate was finding the proper translation of this word 'aras (betroth). What 'aras (betroth) referred to in the Old Testament was the public legal act when the groom paid the pride-price to the bride's father and thus sealed the marriage. So although the correspondence is far from exact, what 'aras (betrothal) most closely corresponds to in our culture is more like our public wedding ceremony (which in our culture officially seals the marriage), and not our custom of "engagement" (prior agreement to

³⁹⁰Wolff, p. 52a. Laetsch, p. 35.

get married on some more or less vaguely-designated future date).³⁹¹

This then is a classical case of where one has to translate correctly before one can exegete correctly; at the same time however, exegesis is bound up with translation. So no matter how one looks at it, every translation is an interpretation. It is fortunate for us, therefore, that ultimately, it is not that "the (Antichrist) Papacy interprets Scripture," but that Scriptura scripturam interpretatur (Scripture interprets Scripture), or, Scriptura sacra sui ipsius interpres (Sacred Scripture is its own interpreter). Dr. Leupold's decision to resort to the King Jamesesse translation "betroth" at least reveals the agony facing the translator, for whom often really no accurate corresponding English word exists, nor even a satisfying paraphrase is available.³⁹²

Therefore, as Dr. Leupold understands it, "God will treat Israel as though she had not transgressed." This theological theme of the justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly) is more fully disclosed above.³⁹³ What we have here then in effect is a whole new wedding that Yahweh is making with his people. Here the

³⁹¹Cf. Deut. 20:7, 22:23-9, Ex. 22:16-7, 1 Sam. 18:25, 2 Sam. 3:14. Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C58. Wolff, pp. 52-3. Mays, p. 50.

³⁹²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-C60. Laetsch, p. 34. Mays, p. 50. Wolff, p. 52.

³⁹³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C58. See Prolegomena section on Hosea 3:1-5 below, p. 364.

tertium comparationis (point of comparison) is not the patching up of an old marriage, but starting over again from scratch. The past is not only forgiven but forgotten. And this is where Dr. Leupold could tie in again with the theme of the return of the wilderness -- but he does not. Nor does Dr. Leupold mention that the theological application of all this in the New Testament comes ultimately with respect to Christ's atonement, if one hears it in its total Biblical context, that here the wife is once again, as in Eph. 5:27, "without spot or wrinkle," the pure bride of Christ. But neither Dr. Leupold, Wolff, Mays, nor Luther makes this New Testament connection -- only Laetsch.³⁹⁴

In the context of the marriage metaphor, Dr. Leupold's translation of olam as "forever" corresponds to the life-long commitment of "till death do us part"; so it is "forever" as far as human life goes, and thus in one sense relative. But in the theological context here the point of comparison is really eternity, as Dr. Leupold's commentary understands it. The importance of the use of this relatively common word (439 times in the whole Old Testament) here is heightened by the fact that olam (forever) occurs nowhere else in the Book of Hosea.³⁹⁵

Dr. Leupold next comments upon the beth (in) prefixed to each of the series of five nouns strung out in sequence in this verse and

³⁹⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C58. Laetsch, p. 35. Mays, p. 50. Wolff, p. 52.

³⁹⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59. Wolff, p. 52b.

the next: "in righteousness, and in justice, and in loving kindness, and in mercies, . . . in faithfulness." This is almost universally taken by commentators as grammatically the beth (in) of price, the mohar (bride-price), which traditionally amounted to fifty silver shekels (2 Sam. 3:14, Deut. 22:29), money transferred to the bride's father, so that all possible legal objections to the release of the daughter were eliminated. Theologically then, this is what redemption costs, the price of redemption, the price of grace, the price finally that Christ paid if the real inner meaning of these five theological words are put into the whole Biblical Christological New Testament context of the price being God's own Son. This is a case again where one must distinguish but not divorce the Old Testament imagery from the New Testament. Also here now the marriage analogy really is dropped, since the mohar (bride-price) in Old Testament times was not "righteousness," and so forth, but cold cash. So one must know where the tertium comparationis (point of comparison) stops, and that from here on one is really moving more into the application of the marriage metaphor.³⁹⁶

However, with this whole above-mentioned "bride-price" interpretation Dr. Leupold totally disagrees. In fact, Dr. Leupold says the beth (in) is the beth instrumentalis and the five nouns divine qualities or attributes of God.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-59. Mays, p. 50. Wolff, pp. 52-3.

³⁹⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-59.

The means God will employ to bring about such a betrothal are the divine qualities mentioned: "righteousness," etc. To look upon these as a kind of price paid for the bride confuses the issue, for to whom will it be paid?

Besides, it is by no means established that the children of Israel bought their wives. Beth is therefore not the beth of price. It is the beth instrumentalis; God put these attributes into operation to establish this betrothal.³⁹⁸

Thus Dr. Leupold considers these next five nouns with the prefixed beth (in) to be "attributes of God." It is true that these five nouns trailed by a sixth word, the verb yada (know), are a virtual catalogue of the most important theologically loaded Hebrew vocabulary in the whole Old Testament. One could almost summarize all Biblical theology around these words. In fact, that was exactly what the classical "Biblical Theology" School did go overboard on, as though Biblical theology could be reduced to just a matter of word studies. Thus, the Kittel Theological Dictionary sometimes leaves that impression. But life being what it is, the reaction against Kittel went overboard in the opposite direction. The Kittel Dictionary was one of James Barr's favorite targets; Barr's point was that finally words are used only in sentences. But then Barr's excess was to sometimes almost leave the impression that before words got into a sentence, the words themselves were virtually empty of meaning. If Dr. Leupold leans to either of these extremes, it is probably more in the direction of the former, the Kittel Dictionary word study emphasis.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸Ibid.

³⁹⁹James Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language (Oxford:

Here in these six words lies the heartbeat of the whole Old Testament -- the whole Bible. As in the case of 'aras (betroth) above, there are no English equivalents for a number of reasons, one of them being because the Hebrew words are both sacral and secular words in the unity of ancient Israel which was then both church and state (theocracy) -- a situation that does not apply to our church and state situation today. That is why in our hearing these words tend to assume the faded and colorless character of more Aufklaerung (Enlightenment) ideals. Thus each of these words, at least in terms of the history of the Hebrew language, was probably originally a secular word; that is, the Old Testament has hardly any really technically "religious" vocabulary at all. Words like these were really just theological applications of secular words used in everyday language. These six words are often treated as three pairs, which is at least the way Dr. Leupold handles the first four of them. Dr. Leupold says of the first pair:⁴⁰⁰

God put these attributes into operation to establish this betrothal. Tsedeq is "righteousness" as a subjective personal quality. Mispat is rather to be regarded as objective "justice." These attributes of God will guaranty that Israel is well-purged of evil when she becomes more intimately associated with God. Justice demands this: God's personal character demands this.⁴⁰¹

University Press, 1962, [1961]). Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-60. Mays, p. 51. Wolff, pp. 52-3. Laetsch, pp. 34-5. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 292-3.

⁴⁰⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-59. Laetsch, p. 34-5. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, pp. 293-4.

⁴⁰¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59.

Dr. Leupold understands tsedeg (righteousness) to be more than the mere abstraction implied by the English suffix "-ness," which also implies a moralistic kind of abstraction as well. Its original secular meaning appears to have been not a moralistic abstraction with the action component absent, but "rightness, consistency, faithfulness" in performance. And so as theologically applied to the Bible, it is Yahweh's unswerving pursuit of what had to be done for the salvation of mankind, Yahweh's entire plan of salvation, that we summarize on the basis of this Hebrew root with terms like "justification" or "forensic, imputed righteousness." These terms are merely a later way of saying the same thing, but which essentially summarize the Biblical message also in the Old Testament as man's ability being a gift and result of grace and not a pre-condition of it.⁴⁰²

Yahweh's "righteousness" is manifested in three spheres in the course of his unswerving pursuit of his plan of salvation: 1) It takes place first in the whole cosmic sphere, in the realm of nature, in moving toward a New Creation, a restoration of Paradise. 2) It takes place in the realm of history, of politics, of social

⁴⁰²The key book in the Old Testament for this is especially Isaiah 40-66, where the Hiphil of this verbal root, God's declaring righteous, the whole forensic aspect of it, is so prominent. Isaiah 40-66 applies that primarily to God's administration or redemption of the world, whereas St. Paul develops the Christological aspect of it and emphasizes its application to the individual. But again, those are parallel. And in Paul's case, there was the whole interaction with Judaism which had put the cart before the horse and tended to make "righteousness" into something of man's work that qualified one for God's favor rather than a result of God's favor.

relations -- here a parade example of in what manner the principle Hebrew vocable for "justification" directly connects with "history."

3) It takes place thirdly in the realm of the human heart, the human psyche. Finally, the semantic connection of tsedeq (righteousness) with the New Testament word dikaiosune (making right, declare right) indicates it is one of those words that wraps up the entire Gospel. Unfortunately, however, only Laetsch, and not Dr. Leupold, makes these New Testament and "forensic" connections.⁴⁰³

Likewise with the treatment of the binary (polarized) root mishpat (judgment/justice), we have to turn to Laetsch and not Dr. Leupold to hear even the faintest New Testament or "forensic" echoes in the exposition of this word. Once again mishpat (judgment/justice) suffers from its association with Aufklaerung (Enlightenment) ideals, especially at the hands of "social action" or secular activist philosophy. Dr. Leupold was correct above to discuss this word as parallel to the previous word, tsedeq (righteousness) since mishpat (judgment/justice) is the resultant order, the state of salvation that results, when proper judgments are made in righteousness. This noun mishpat (judgment/justice) comes from the verb shaphat (to judge), but here has the same sense of "making judgments," such as a judge does in court. And when right judgments are made, then one has law and order, to use the model of the secular state; likewise applied to God's work, this is

⁴⁰³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59. Laetsch, pp. 34-5. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 389.

the order of salvation. This binary (polarized) verb root shaphat (to judge) very often would better be translated "to save." One sees this in the parallelism of the Psalms especially very often, where the root shaphat (to judge) is found in tandem with the root yasha" (to save), for example, Ps. 36:6, 76:9, in Hebrew parallelism like "judge me, Oh Lord, and save me." This is where the Lutheran Reformation began, when Luther caught on to the real Biblical use of this binary, polarized word shaphat (judge/save). As long as Luther read this word in the Psalms as God's judgment on him in terms of the demands of God's Law, Luther tore his hair out. It was only when Luther started hearing this shaphat (judge/save) in the Psalms as a word of Gospel and not of Law, of God's forensic directed verdict of "not guilty," of forgiveness for Christ's sake, that the light went on in Luther's head, and the whole Reformation followed from that. Likewise, in understanding the "Book of Judges," it is necessary to understand that the shophatim (judges) were really "saviors" or "deliverers." The omission of this "forensic" aspect from Dr. Leupold's exposition of these two words is probably the most serious lacuna in Dr. Leupold's entire Hosea Commentary, in this writer's opinion, because these two words not only provide the bedrock rationale behind why a person should be a Christian, but also why he should be specifically a Confessional Lutheran. Leaving this first pair of words behind, Dr. Leupold moves on to the next pair. Dr. Leupold says:⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59. Laetsch, pp. 34-5. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 340.

But these qualities [righteousness, justice] need to be tempered by others, viz., "loving-kindness" (chesed) and "mercy" (rachamim), the latter form bring a plural of intensity.

Of the two qualities, each involves pity for the unfortunate, the former stressing that this expression of pity is felt to be kind, the latter stressing that it is a quality deep-seated in God, for it is derived from a root meaning the "mother's womb" and so involves a "motherly feeling." Both qualities appear together in Ps. 77:9; Jer. 16:5; Ps. 103:4. What then justice had to treat sharply is offset by these gracious divine attributes.⁴⁰⁵

Dr. Leupold's exposition of the second of these words, rachamim (mercy), is in line with other commentators, except that whether the "mother's womb" nuance of this word was functional any more in the language is hard to say. Once again New Testament connections are missing, and are supplied only by Laetsch; of course, it is also not to be denied that one could go on forever commenting on aspects of this word that are "important." But beyond this, the only other major matter that will be mentioned here is that Dr. Leupold does not allude to the "eschatological reversal" in the use of this word, as pointed out by Mays.⁴⁰⁶

Yahweh's "compassion" (rachamim), which he withdrew in the announcement of the name of Hosea's daughter (Hos. 1:6), will again be given to Israel.⁴⁰⁷

But now with the first of these two words, chesed (mercy), Dr. Leupold encounters a word that is probably the hardest of any to

⁴⁰⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59.

⁴⁰⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59. Wolff, pp. 52-3. Mays, p. 51. Laetsch, p. 35.

⁴⁰⁷Mays, p. 51.

handle in any brief compass. Once again it is because of the problem of how to find a decent reproduction of this in English; this is shown by the fact that our two best known English translations both use hybrid words here. The KJV has "loving-kindness," and the RSV has "steadfast love." Dr. Leupold's translation leans toward favoring the KJV, by his interpretation that the meaning of this word "involves pity for the unfortunate, . . . stressing that it is a quality deep-seated in God." But Dr. Leupold again stops short of adequate exposition of the forensic aspect; and it is the RSV translation that better brings out that chesed (steadfast love) has a legal/forensic background of obligations involved in a covenant, although it also implies the emotions of love that far transcend any merely legal relationship. So here the parallel with marriage works out very well, since a marriage must be more than just the legal union. This is why, Mays' suggested translation, "devotion," may be the best, because it implies the devotedness, the determination, the simple act of the will, to remain faithful to the forensic sanctions, even when the fires of "loving-kindness" are not always visible or equally active.⁴⁰⁸

Dr. Leupold does not draw any New Testament connections into the picture; only Laetsch attempts that. It is true that the LXX uses not agape (love), but usually eleos (mercy) to translate chesed (mercy, devotion); but the LXX is often inconsistent about it, since

⁴⁰⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59. Mays, p. 51.

the LXX translation frequently proceeds on the level of vocabulary or dictionary equivalents rather than theological equivalents. Thus theologically, chesed (mercy, devotion) is probably as close as any Old Testament word in the general semitic range to the New Testament word agape (love). Chesed (mercy, devotion) is used, theologically at least, primarily of God's covenant-making and covenant-maintaining activities that again imply both the love of election and the legal sanctions of the Law. Dr. Leupold at least retains a covenant-framework for both pairs of words so far (righteousness and justice; loving-kindness and mercy) by treating them all as attributes of God, that is, the determining factors in God's attitude of restoration towards wayward Israel.⁴⁰⁹

Hosea 2:20

Leupold's "C" version:

I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulness and thou shalt know Jehovah.⁴¹⁰

The third and last pair of words in this six-word catalogue of important Hebrew vocabulary is a noun, emuna (faithfulness, truth), and a verb, yada" (know). Dr. Leupold says:

In a sense these two verses [Hos. 2:19-20] then make the climax of all the gracious promises of God. . . . The conclusion adds the assertion that this work is to be done "in truth"; that also means "be well established and dependable." For in all of God's relations with man He aims at things that endure for eternity.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C59. Laetsch, p. 35. Mays, p. 51.

⁴¹⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C58.

⁴¹¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C58-59.

Dr. Leupold's interpretation is that emunah (faithfulness, truth) stresses divine constancy and reliability, in contrast to all human fickleness and self-interest, especially against the background of Gomer's unfaithfulness. Emunah (faithfulness, truth) is closely related to, and etymologically connected with, the word emeth (truth), except that, again, the Aufklaerung (Enlightenment) ideal injects a nuance of abstractness in the English translation, "truth"; again the Hebrew word is much more of an action word than the Enlightenment-influenced English translation, "truth" would imply. At any rate, emeth (truth) and emunah (faithfulness, truth) overlap to a fair degree, except that the latter is more of an action word, a dynamic word stressing more the way of acting that grows out of inner stability. One might translate emunah (faithfulness, truth) "conscientiousness," because one is conscientious when he has character and conscience. So maybe a formula for summarizing the difference between emeth (truth) and emunah (faithfulness, truth) is "conscience" versus "conscientiousness." These two words also overlap a fair amount with the first word of the series, tsedeq (righteousness), as well as with the familiar shalom (peace), with their root ideas of wholeness and integration. And to complete the circle of these six words and return for the moment to that first word, tsedeq (righteousness) again, tsedeq (righteousness) is often used to designate the whole world order somewhat, in the sense of that which makes everything hang together, somewhat parallel to hochmah (wisdom) in the cosmic sense, as in Prov. 8:12, 22-23. Hochmah

(wisdom) is a cosmic concept, part of the very essence of creation itself, and hence, Proverbs 8 has Christological applications also,⁴¹² as Deterding explains:⁴¹³

The picture of Christ which Paul presents here [Col. 1:15-20] is modeled after the description of wisdom recorded in Prov. 8:22-31. Since wisdom is associated with "the beginning" (re'shith) in Prov. 8:22-23, rabbinic exegesis identified wisdom with the first word of the Hebrew Bible ("in the beginning") and interpreted the opening of Gen. 1:1 (bere'shith) as meaning "by wisdom." The apostle evidently adopts this identification in Colossians 1. In presenting Christ as wisdom, Paul applies three possible explanations of the preposition be (in, through, into) and four possible interpretations of the substantive re'shith (beginning, sum-total, head, first-fruits) to our Lord. The apostle's meaning is that in every possible sense of bere'shith Christ is the fulfillment.⁴¹⁴

These Christological hochmah (wisdom) associations adhere to the root ideas of wholeness and integration in both shalom (peace) and the first of the six word series, tsedeg (righteousness). And as mentioned above, tsedeg (righteousness) is manifested in the three spheres of God's plan of salvation.⁴¹⁵ And tsedeg

⁴¹²H. D. Hummel, "Justification in the Old Testament," Concordia Journal, 9 (January 1983):13-14.

⁴¹³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-59. Laetsch, p. 35. Mays, p. 51. Wolff, p. 53. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds., Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, 4 vols. to date (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-1980), 1:292-323. R. L. Harris, and G. J. Archer, and B. K. Waltke, eds., Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament 2 vols. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1981 [1980]), 1:51-2, ahmen. Paul E. Deterding, "Echoes of Pauline Concepts in the Speech at Antioch," in Concordia Student Journal, Monograph Series No. 1, (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1980), pp. 17-18.

⁴¹⁴Deterding, pp. 17-18.

⁴¹⁵1) the cosmic realm of nature, New Creation and Paradise restored. 2) the realm of history, politics and social relations. 3) the human heart and psyche.

(righteousness) in turn overlaps with this action word, emunah (faithfulness, truth), as a way that God acts which grows out of his inner character -- as Dr. Leupold says it, "Dependable."⁴¹⁶

Dr. Leupold understands this last phrase here, "thou shalt know Jehovah," as surely climatic. Whether it stands technically outside the previous series of five words, or is rather the last of the third pair is really a distinction without a difference. And this time Dr. Leupold explicitly emphasizes the unity of the two testaments in his exposition of these words:⁴¹⁷

These . . . then mark the climax of all the gracious promises of God; for they culminate, in turn, in the glorious prospect, "thou shalt know Jehovah," on which statement light is thrown by the New Testament word: "This is life eternal that they might know Thee" (John 17:3).

. . . Of those who have experienced what all God will do to bring about salvation, it can rightfully be said: "they know Jehovah," for a new revelation of God's very being has dawned upon them.⁴¹⁸

Some commentaries want to argue that since yada" (know) is used of the sexual act (Gen. 4:1), of carnal knowledge, of the intimacies of marriage, that here too the marital background should be pressed that far. Mays frames that questions quite well: "Has Hosea gone so far as to assimilate even the hieros gamos to his eschatological drama?" That is, is Hosea describing the union

⁴¹⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-59. Laetsch, p. 35. Mays, p. 51. Wolff, p. 53. TDOT, 1:292-323. TWOT, 1:51-2. Deterding, pp. 17-8. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 389.

⁴¹⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-60. Laetsch, p. 35. Mays, p. 52. Wolff, p. 53.

⁴¹⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-60.

between Yahweh and his people in terms of the union between the king and the sacral prostitute in the typical fertility cult? The answer is no. In fact, the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia footnote apparatus notes that quite a few Hebrew manuscripts as well as the Vulgate do not have the Hebrew word yada" (know) at all. They have instead the typical kind of asseveration, "because I am Yahweh," this little oath of Yahweh swearing by himself, by his divine name, that has many Old Testament analogies. But one does wonder if that textual variant itself did not arise from the attempt to obviate this very type of crassly sexual misunderstanding to which the words certainly do lend themselves. Furthermore the related noun dahath (knowledge) is one of Hosea's favorite and more inclusive words for the "knowledge of Yahweh" (Hos. 4:1, 6, 6:6). So if one allows Hosea to interpret Hosea, one certainly has here something very parallel to what Jeremiah formulates as the "New Covenant" in Jer. 31:31-4. This is basically the difference between the New Covenant and the Old Covenant, that now it is simply written in their hearts rather than written in letters. It is thus no longer a requirement but a promise. It is no longer Law but Gospel. And the Good News is that in Christ it has been completely fulfilled and the promise and its power made available to all who will take it. So this word yada" (know) need have no particular sexual reference, but certainly rather by this formula, "thou shalt know Jehovah," Hosea is saying the same thing as Jeremiah. Dr. Leupold's translation and interpretation is certainly more in harmony with understanding the

Hosean yada" (know) here from the perspective of Jer. 31:31-34 as even Wolff insists:⁴¹⁹

Here too the marriage imagery has receded into the background. yada" should be interpreted in view of its other uses in Hosea. . . . Hos. 4:1, 6, 6:6).⁴²⁰

Hosea 2:21-23, Return

Prolegomena

Looking ahead to the last three verses of Chapter Two of Hosea, Dr. Leupold says, "Now the section v. 21-23 pictures Israel's future blessed state after her return to Jehovah." Dr. Leupold treats this section as roughly divisible into two sections, each displaying a key aspect of Israel's future blessed state: 1) Hos. 2:21-22, revival of the land's fertility. 2) Hos. 2:23, restoration of the children's names in the eschatological reversal.⁴²¹

Hosea 2:21-22

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

21. And it shall come to pass in that day I will answer -- oracle of Jehovah -- I will answer the heavens and they shall answer the earth.

22. And the earth shall answer the grain and the new wine and the oil; and they shall answer Jezreel.⁴²²

⁴¹⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58-60. Mays, p. 52. Wolff, p. 53. Laetsch, p. 35.

⁴²⁰Wolff, p. 53.

⁴²¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C60. Mays, p. 46. Wolff, p. 47a. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 293.

⁴²²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C60.

For the third time in this pericope, and for the fourth and last time in Hosea, this material is punctuated by the eschatological formula, "in that day" (Hos. 1:5, 2:16, 18, 21). In more than two-thirds of its occurrences, the formula introduces a promise. In Hosea it introduces one judgment-saying (Hos. 1:5) as compared with three promises (Hos. 2:16, 18, 21). Dr. Leupold summarizes this formula succinctly:⁴²³

"In that day" is the general designation of time that can also very aptly be rendered "at that time," as Luther regularly does: zur selbigen Zeit. This refers, of course, to the time after penitent Israel has been rebetrothed to the Lord. Then, since all obstacles that hinder have been removed, God can bless. See our comments on v. 15 as to the time involved, namely after the Exile. There is not a ghost of an allusion to the future conversion of Israel at the end of New Testament times.⁴²⁴

Dr. Leupold's statement above, "See our comments on v. 15 as to the time involved, namely after the Exile," recalls Dr. Leupold's exposition of Hos. 2:15. Dr. Leupold there said "Egypt" was the historical basis for the theological recapitulation in the "valley of Achor" typology.⁴²⁵

The repetition of anah (answer) here raises the question again of whether or not Dr. Leupold's interpretation of it back in Hos. 2:15 is correct, that is, that it means only "answer" and not

⁴²³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C60. Mays, pp. 46-8, 52. Wolff, pp. 47, 49, 53.

⁴²⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C60.

⁴²⁵Ibid., pp. C54-55, C60. Laetsch, pp. 32-3. Wolff, pp. 42-3. Mays, p. 45.

"sing." Mays thinks the Sitz im Leben behind this repetition of anah (answer) here is an "oracle of hearing" situation in Israel's cult; Mays says rather monodimensionally:⁴²⁶

The two verses are formulated as an "oracle of hearing" in which a priest or prophet announces that an appeal to the deity has been heard and will be answered. The emphatic "I will answer" presupposes an intercession. (1 Sam. 7:9, 1 Kings 18:37, Micah 3:4, Ps. 3:4, etc.)⁴²⁷

Another possibility is that the repetition of anah (answer) is the result of scribal dittography, because the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia footnote apparatus shows that both the LXX and the Syriac versions omit the first anah (answer). Or this could be an intentional repetition for emphasis; and another species of this possibility -- if against Dr. Leupold we would translate anah (answer) as "sing" -- in this context could be an antiphonal, liturgical chanting, a picture of a chorus of nature answering antiphonally back and forth to one another. Thus it is not easy to figure out exactly how the repetition of anah (answer) fits into this context, and Dr. Leupold does not really take a stand on it.⁴²⁸

What is clear here is that God does not answer directly, as in Hos. 1:1-2 for example, but that he answers through nature, through natural mediators. Here is one of the classical cases in

⁴²⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C55, C60. Mays, p. 52.

⁴²⁷Mays, p. 52.

⁴²⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C55, C60.

the Bible where God is described as immanent in nature, almost a "Biblical pantheism," as Dr. Leupold explains:⁴²⁹

By a kind of chain-thought, the interdependence of one element on the other in God's creation is portrayed. The connection is soonest understood by inverting the whole process.

A cry or summons for help goes from one to the other. "Jezreel," a play of the words on "Israel," the one whom "God has sown" (zara and el) calls for what it needs for its sustenance, for "grain, new wine and oil," all items on the daily menu of the nation.

But these in turn are dependent for their growth on the earth, which gives of her strength that they might grow. But the earth, on her part, cannot give her strength unless there be rain given from the heavens to make growth possible.

So the earth is regarded as crying out to the heavens. But the heavens, at last can do nothing except God grant them rain to give. So the heavens are rightly regarded as calling out to Jehovah, the faithful God of His people, to let them give rain.

Our verses merely start from Jehovah as answering this last cry and then the whole chain of interrelated causes and effects gets into action, one always answering the other.

There are few Scriptures which so effectively show the interdependence of the forces of nature, first upon one another, and then ultimately on God. Nor are there many that state quite so effectively that God is the Prime Cause.

The emphasis lies chiefly on the positive side of this inter-relation, on God's answering, and so all others answering successively until man's prayers are answered. At the same time man's utter dependence on the world of nature, which God sustains, is graphically depicted. Analogous are Lev. 26:19, Deut. 28:23⁴³⁰

Dr. Leupold shows that although this "Biblical pantheism" is not the most distinctive part of the doctrine of God, it is surely a part. God's answer here through nature runs all the way through all

⁴²⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C60-62. May, pp. 52-3. Wolff, pp. 53-4. Laetsch, p. 36.

⁴³⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C60-61.

of the stages of the fertility cycle, and this is surely intended by Hosea as a frontal opposition to pagan mythology with its "myth of the eternal return" in the circle of nature. In the pagan mythology of the eternal return, there is no one who is at the top of the heap, but it is simply a perfect circle. But in Hosea's portrait, the fact that Yahweh is at the top of this chain of command breaks the myth of the eternal return in the natural cycle. Yahweh preempts the entire sphere of this fertility process, and the whole thing is drawn into the covenant relationship again. The new covenant includes nature. Nature is demythologized by Hosea and remade into an aspect of covenant history. It is the nature of pagan mythology that it is always a cycle; it is a self-contained circle and there is nothing basically outside of it. It is just the same old thing over and over, "round and round she goes, and where she stops, nobody knows." It is true that in Dr. Leupold's typology there is a certain rhythm, and in that sense there is a sort of return, a doubling back, but it is always a movement forward too, a spiral-like forward movement.⁴³¹

Dr. Leupold not only steers the text clear from becoming identified with the dubious "Wisdom" of the mythological scientia of the ancient world, he also avoids getting entangled as Wolff does in the modern recent faddish accent on "Wisdom Literature" that sometimes goes hand in hand with an all too typical glorification of

⁴³¹Ibid., pp. C60-62. Mircea Eliade, Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return, trans. W. R. Trask (New York: Harper and Row Torchbooks, 1959[1949]), The Bollingen Library. Mays, pp. 52-3. Wolff, pp. 53-4.

modern science as some new vehicle for apotheosis. Such glorification is often a confusion of the freedom of the Gospel with man's "freedom" to do research and to search for the truth. One of the common arguments here is that science is one of the major fruits of Christianity, which at best in the last analysis may to a large extent be an argument from silence, the way Wolff states it at least. Wolff says:⁴³²

Here we see the influence of didactic motifs that derive from the sapiential study of nature. The series Yahweh-heaven-earth-grain-wine-olive oil-Jezreel follows the route of human nutrition from Yahweh to the heavens that provide rain, to the ground made fertile by the rains, to the threshing floors, the wine press, and the olive press, and finally to man.

Vv. 23f. are quite unlike the sapiential studies of nature found in the miracle stories of the ancient Orient and encyclopedic lists of natural phenomena of the Egyptians. There we find merely enumeration of items.

But the background of these verses indicates a genuine scientific representation of relationships within nature. In this regard, Israel had apparently accomplished something new in the ancient Orient since the time of Solomon. Only the listing of objects in a series derives immediately from wisdom, since Israel elsewhere expresses that bread comes from the earth (Ps. 104:4) and that rain makes the land fertile (Ps. 65:10f).

In the book of Hosea, it is instructive to note how Israel's liberation from the nature myths of the cult of Baal permitted the free study of nature to flourish.⁴³³

Dr. Leupold on the other hand emphasizes that these verses are almost unsurpassed elsewhere in Scripture in graphically

⁴³²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea, pp. C60-62. Charles Norris Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Book, 1957), pp. 500-507. Alan Richardson, The Bible in the Age of Science (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), p. 26. Wolff, pp. 53-4.

⁴³³Wolff. pp. 53-4.

depicting man's utter dependence upon the world of nature, the interdependence of these forces of nature, first upon one another, and then ultimately on God's sustaining power. Dr. Leupold scolds the critics for their concessions to liberalism:⁴³⁴

The whole sketch is also a portrayal of the harmony pervading the world, even of nature, if the disturbing cause, sin, be removed. The fine thought is very much discolored by even suggesting, as Sellin does, that this sequence-chain may be an adaptation to some old, "word of magic" (Zauber-formel).

Are prophets, inspired by God, leaning on such weak props, or drawing on such flimsy and ungodly material for inspiration, when they give utterance to their sublimest thoughts?

Harper at least concedes that the thought and the form are highly poetic" in these verses, but instead of drawing the most natural conclusion, that this is, because the discourse is coming to its climax, he lets this higher strain serve as reason for dating these verses as belonging to "later times than those of Hosea." Such a line of reasoning can hardly be said to grow out of a sympathetic appreciation of the prophets sentiments.⁴³⁵

Dr. Leupold understands "and they shall answer Jezreel" as a "reversal" of its judgment sense in Hos. 1:5. Here there is probably some etymological idea of the seed, a symbolic meaning for this word "Jezreel" completely different from what it was in Hos. 1:5. There it was mentioned for its historical associations and there etymology played no role at all. But here it is probably just the reverse, so that the historical associations here are secondary. With the reversal of the other symbolic names in the next verse it fits in nicely, just the opposite of what they were in

⁴³⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C61-62.

⁴³⁵Ibid., pp. C61-62.

Hosea 1. So this name is developed etymologically and is treated as a typical "confessional" name, as most Biblical names were, compounded out of either el or "Yahweh," plus some other verbal or nominal predicate, so that "Yahweh" either is or does something. In this case, "Yahweh sows" (Jezreel). So the thought possibly is that by actually living out the meaning of this "confessional name," by being "sown anew," Israel will experience the reversal of the judgment implied by the name of Hosea's first child in Hos. 1:5. So the major reference must be to the people of Israel, with the picture being of Yahweh as the farmer and the people as the seed. Dr. Leupold says:⁴³⁶

"Jezreel" (v. 22) has lost the ominous note of Hos. 1:5 and is being used in the good sense found already in Hos. 1:11 (Heb. 2:2).⁴³⁷

Hosea 2:23

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

And I will sow her for myself in the land; and I will have mercy upon Un-pitied, and I will say to Not-my-people, Thou art my people, and he will say, My God.⁴³⁸

Dr. Leupold shows even more clearly here how loose the connection is with Hosea 1, in the sense that here the biography of the children as members of Hosea's family is no longer in view at all. In Hosea 1 already the family biography of the children was

⁴³⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C62. Mays, p. 53. Wolff, p. 54.

⁴³⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C62.

⁴³⁸Ibid.

secondary. The interest was never really biographical or historical in that sense of the family circle, but simply in terms of what their metaphorical application was. And here Dr. Leupold shows even moreso that the family life-story of the children as such is of no interest whatever, but only their symbolic names, and the reversal works out even more smoothly than with "Jezreel." Dr. Leupold says:⁴³⁹

As in Hos. 1:10 - 2:11 (Heb. 2:1-3) the names pregnant with evil were cancelled, so here in order to form a suitable conclusion reminding us that the entire second chapter grows out of the first, as well as to clinch firmly the great mercies of God here set forth.⁴⁴⁰

The final phrase of Hos. 2:22 ("and they shall answer Jezreel") is connected with the first phrase of Hos. 2:23 ("And I will sow") because the same verbal root (zara) appears both in the name "Jezreel" (Je-zara-el) and in the verb "And I will sow" (zara). Some commentators, however, find the suffix of the verb, "I will sow her" to be troublesome because the feminine suffix, "her," appears to have no clear antecedent in the text. Even the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia footnote apparatus promptly wants to take the easy way out by suggesting an emmendation from the feminine to a masculine suffix here, presumably assuming that the suffix is referring back to the son, "Jezreel." However, since even the LXX

⁴³⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C62. Mays, p. 53. Wolff, p. 54. Laetsch, p. 36.

⁴⁴⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C62.

translation, auten (her), agrees with the Masoretic Text, probably one cannot wiggle out of this textual problem quite that easily.⁴⁴¹

Dr. Leupold does not resort to Wolff's "emendatory impulse" here. Wolff wants to assume that a whole first part of a clause was lost in the process of textual transmission. Wolff assumes that the problem is the result of a homoeoteleuton, where there were two clauses, two phrases, that both ended with the word "Jezreel," and that the copyist's eye skipped over and omitted one of them. On the basis of this allegation of a corrupt text, Wolff has a free hand to proceed with one of his sweeping reconstructions of the context. Wolff presupposes that behind Hos. 2:21-22, the historical Sitz im Leben was a famine, and that Hosea uttered those words in Hos. 2:21-22 as an assurance that eventually God would send relief if they were faithful. This then in turn was allegedly a specific historical prophecy or promise that the Israelites would be allowed to return to the Jezreel Valley that the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser III had taken away from Israel in the deportation of 733 B.C.⁴⁴²

But this whole Wolffian reconstruction is probably bound up with the trace of historicism in his commentary that demands excessively specific historical applications or meanings behind virtually every single verse in Hosea. With Wolff's historicistic type of exegesis, each verse gets to have such a precise, almost

⁴⁴¹Ibid., pp. C62-63. Rahlfs, 2:492. Brenton, p. 1072. Mays, p. 53. Wolff, p. 54.

⁴⁴²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C62-63. Wolff, p. 54.

"sub-theological" historical application, such an accent on history with a vengeance, that this immediate historicistic application almost crowds out the theological meaning of the text. This is not to deny that the history of exegesis has seen plenty of the other extreme too, wherein the history and the historical connections are of no moment. But a less tortuously convoluted and much more satisfyingly simple "reconstruction" than the long hypothetical suggestion Wolff tries to develop would be to take this feminine suffix, "her," as referring in a general way to the wife whom God has betrothed to himself forever, she who is to become a true "Jezreel," a real "sowing" on God's part. Or "her" could refer to the "people," who are often collectively personified as a woman, as feminine. Dr. Leupold, somewhat casually in passing, seems to take this latter route; Dr. Leupold says:⁴⁴³

The only difference between this verse and Hos. 1:11 is a further amplification of the idea of "Jezreel," which name was merely set down without evil connotation. There we were left to our own devices to establish its actual meaning.

Here we find the meaning that we found there confirmed by the statement: "I will sow her in the land" Like a good seed likely to bring forth fruit, Jehovah sows His people back "in their land" (ba'arets) after the Exile.⁴⁴⁴

Dr. Leupold understands the rest of the verse to be the reversal of the meaning of the other symbolic names -- "I will have mercy upon Un-pitied, and I will say to Not-my-people, Thou are my

⁴⁴³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C63-63. Wolff, p. 54.

⁴⁴⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C62-63.

people, and he will say, My God." Really here at the end of this chapter these reversals are an echo of the basic original Old Testament Sinai covenant formula, "You shall be my people and I will be your God" (Ex. 6:7, Lev. 26:12, Deut, 26:17-19, 2 Sam. 7:24, Jer. 7:23, 11:4, and so forth), God plighting his troth to his people, and they returning it to him, saying "My God." Here the people confess both sin and trust, "confession" in both aspects of that term, a real marriage ceremony, a real covenant, in which they verbally devote themselves totally to one another again, a nice wrap-up of the whole chapter, a happy ending (the way the whole Bible ends, Rev. 11:20-21). And the after-glow of this verse is seen in the whole context of Zechariah 13, where there is an unmistakable allusion to his passage, as well as in the New Testament again in Romans 9 and 1 Peter, as was discussed above.⁴⁴⁵

However, it is Laetsch who spots that low-profile little phrase, "in the land/earth," by-passed by Dr. Leupold and the other commentators including Luther, and hears in it a New Testament melody. Laetsch says:

God will sow "her," the Church, God's Spouse, "in the earth"; not Canaan only, for in the New Testament God's people are not restricted to Canaan.

Throughout the world God will plant the seed of His Church, so that her branches will extend over all lands (Matt. 13:31, 32, 36-43; Rom. 10:18; also Isa. 61:3b, 11). In New Testament times there shall again be a great people of Israel, sown by God, having obtained mercy from Him.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C62. Wolff, p. 55a. Mays, p. 53.

⁴⁴⁶Laetsch, p. 36.

But it is finally this time not Leupold, nor Luther, nor, even Laetsch who points out the most New Testament relationships, but Wolff; how this is not the restoration of the old covenant, not new wine poured into old wineskins (Mark 2:18-22); that Jer. 31:31-4 adds to Hosea little more than the catchword "new covenant," and that this Hosean theme reaches its culmination in the New Testament metaphor of Christ as bridegroom of his bride the church; that Jesus will care for his people that follow him into the "wilderness" to hear his word (Mark 6:32-44), and seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness (Matt. 6:33); and that the new covenant must inevitably make all things new (2 Cor. 5:17, Rev. 21:5). But Dr. Leupold's last word about this verse and all of Chapter Two re-emphasizes his comments on Hos. 2:15 about the uniqueness of the Biblical idea about God not basically being in terms of monotheism versus polytheism, but in terms of an immanental idea of God. That is, in Hosea, God's second courtship emphasizes not monotheism, but God's personal involvement, action and supernatural intervention in "the world we live in." Dr. Leupold says:⁴⁴⁷

Like a good seed likely to bring forth fruit, Jehovah sows His people back "in their land" . . . after the Exile. . . . His personal interest in what He does is indicated in the expression, "for myself" (li), a dative of interest.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C53-54, C63. Wolff, p. 41b, 55. "The World We Live In," Editorial Staff of Life Magazine (New York: Time, Inc., (1955)).

⁴⁴⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C63.

Hosea 3:1-5, Recapitulation

Prolegomena

If the Marriage Metaphor of Chapter One seemed to be a complex problem study, the recapitulation of it in Chapter Three has all of those original problems, plus some new ones -- not the least of those being the subtle swirl of theories that attempt to explain it all. Dr. Leupold tackles this problem with this longest prolegomena section up to this point in his commentary.

But, surprisingly, what Dr. Leupold does not state in his long prolegomena section is the main theological significance of Hosea 3 within the whole structure of these first three chapters, namely, the clear expression of Hosea's certainty of restoration, that is, the whole theological theme of the justificatio indigni, that God justifies the ungodly. Dr. Leupold's summary caption for Hosea 3:1-5 indicates his theologically truncated interpretation of this chapter: "Israel, the Adulteress, is to be prevented from continuing in her sins (Ch. 3:1-5)."⁴⁴⁹ Dr. Leupold does, however, begin his prolegomena by sweeping away "misconceptions":

The first of these is the notion that this chapter offers merely a second account of matter treated in Chapter One. The refutation of this view will be presented below, chiefly under v. 1. Several forms in which this view is presented must be noticed.

One view so closely identifies Chapter One and Three as to claim that Chapter three should be treated immediately after Chapter One. So particularly Harper.

Others again differentiate between Chapter One and Three by treating the former as a later account by an unknown author and the latter as the prophet's own

⁴⁴⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C64. Cf., p. 346.

account (Ichbericht--Sellin). So also J. M. P. Smith, who, in the American Translation, uses the heading "Hosea's Own Account of His Marriage and Its Meaning."⁴⁵⁰

As we will find below in Dr. Leupold's discussion of Hosea 3:1, Dr. Leupold does not think that the "woman" here in Hosea 3 is the same person as the "Gomer" in Hosea 1. Dr. Leupold thereby disagrees with Laetsch and Mays who think the "woman" and "Gomer" are the same person. Luther does not really explicitly say either way, and Wolff's argumentation on this issue is so circuitous that this writer is unable to determine what Wolff thinks -- let the reader understand (compare Mark 13:14)! But by denying the identity of the "woman" and "Gomer" Dr. Leupold has surrendered the theological theme of the justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly) in Hosea 1-3, the theological theme of restoration, which is the whole point of these three chapters.

A second misconception listed by Dr. Leupold is limiting Hosea's account to be an interpretation of only a very small portion of Israel's history immediately surrounding Hosea's own lifetime. But Dr. Leupold says this account is rather a summary of the whole record of God's dealings with his chosen people from the beginning. Dr. Leupold names a third misconception:⁴⁵¹

Another very common misconception arises from the fact that where v. 1-3 give the symbolical act that forms the foundation of the chapter, and v. 4 gives the interpretation (in part also v. 5b) some hurriedly

⁴⁵⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C64.

⁴⁵¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C64-65.

conclude vs. 4-5 must offer the interpretation and, when they find that v. 5 runs beyond what v. 1-3 offer by way of symbol, rashly rule out vs. 5 as a later addition.

The mistake made is that a particular pattern that the prophecy should follow is first constructed, and then, when it is observed that the prophecy does not tally with the preconceived pattern, fault is found with the prophecy rather than with the pattern.

A careful analysis yields the following result: v. 1-3 largely the symbolic act; v. 4 the explanation of this act; v. 5 an addition leading beyond the thing symbolized and portraying the ultimate result achieved by the course God inaugurates with His people.⁴⁵²

Wolff, Mays and Laetsch pretty well agree with Dr. Leupold's basic outline of Hosea 3:1-5 with only minor variations.⁴⁵³

Dr. Leupold makes no mention about the fact that the Masoretic Text prints Hosea 1-2 as poetry, but prints Hosea 3 as prose or narrative. But there seems to be wide disagreement about whether Hosea 3 is basically prose or poetry in different translations and commentaries. One discussion of the poetic characteristics of this chapter is by W. R. Harper in the I.C.C. Harper points out that although the Masoretic Text is not printed as poetry, there are poetic devices used, so that one could argue that Hosea 3 is basically poetic in its conception. Harper calls attention to the parallelism and assonance. Both Wolff and Mays print their translations in a sort of poetic format but Laetsch prints it as prose; none of the three discuss the issue.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵²Ibid., p. C65.

⁴⁵³Wolff, p. 57-8. Mays, pp. 54-6. Laetsch, pp. 38-40.

⁴⁵⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C64-66. W. R. Harper, "Amos and Hosea," vol. 23 of International Critical Commentary, (New York: Scribners, 1905), p. 215. Wolff, pp. 56-9. Mays, pp. 54-6. Laetsch, pp. 36-8.

Hosea 3:1

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

And Jehovah said unto me, Go again, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, even as Jehovah loveth the children of Israel, though they turn unto other Gods and love cakes of raisins.⁴⁵⁵

The rebia (diamond-shaped dot) Masoretic accent above the word elai (to me), and the little oleh (arrow-shaped mark meaning "going") Masoretic accent just below the line between elai (to me) and odh (again) combine to indicate one of the minor accentuation marks in Hebrew, roughly like an English comma. These Masoretic accents indicate very strongly that the Masoretes want us to read, "The Lord said to me, 'Go again.'" But even though Dr. Leupold adheres to the traditional Masoretic pointing regarding the word, odh (again), he interprets the "woman" here in Hosea 3:1 to be a different person than the "Gomer" of Hosea 1-3. Dr. Leupold says:⁴⁵⁶

Two things very distinctly stand in the way of making this woman to be the Gomer of Hosea 1:3. One is the very indefinite way of referring to her -- "a woman" ('ishshah). For it avails little to draw upon parallel Arabic usage in an attempt to make this construction plausible, for though K. S. [Koenig's Syntax] admits this usage, he rejects it at this point (293d.). In any case, first the identity with Gomer would have to be established, then the reason shown why the noun without the article applies in this case.

The second objection to this construction is that by such a demand Jehovah would be put at variance with Himself. For according to Deut. 24:1-4 as well as Jer. 3:1, remarriage with a woman who had definitely turned

⁴⁵⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C66.

⁴⁵⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C66-67.

from her husband and had become associated with another man was completely out of the question. Jeremiah claims such conduct "pollutes the land." Deuteronomy informs us that such conduct is "an abomination before Jehovah."⁴⁵⁷

Thus in his first objection above, Dr. Leupold treats "Gomer" in Hosea 1 and "a woman" in Hosea as two different women, and in his second objection above surrenders the theological restoration theme of the justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly). The big problem here syntactically is what the word odh (again) modifies. Do we translate the first sentence, "And the Lord said to me AGAIN," and put odh (again) with the introductory phrase, or do we translate according to the traditional Masoretic accents, "And the Lord said to me, "Go again'"? The way one decides about this classical problem of Hebrew syntax to a certain extent has paralleled how one decides about the relationship between Chapter 1 and Chapter 3 in general. The LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, Luther, KJV, RSV, most of the Versions, and probably the majority of the modern commentators go along with the Masoretes here; Wellhausen did, and his influence here, as usual, settled it for a lot of people. Presumably odh (again) here is first for emphasis, "again go" The Hebrew word-order, however, is usually the other way around, parallel to our English idiom. English would normally say, "Go again," and not "Again go," except in the case of emphasis; in both languages one might put "again" first for emphasis. It is probably especially because of this strange Hebrew word-order where "again" comes first,

⁴⁵⁷Ibid., p. C66.

that many prefer to abandon the Masoretic accent and take odh (again) with wayomer (and he said), that is, "And the Lord said to me again." With this kind of translation, it is much easier to think of two entirely different women. Mays takes this latter word-division, but not the interpretation of it then as two different women; Wolff, Laetsch and Dr. Leupold take the traditional Masoretic alternative. But it is Dr. Leupold who comes out with the un-traditional interpretation -- that these are two different women. Dr. Leupold dismisses his opposition with rather far-fetched rationale:⁴⁵⁸

The identification of this woman ('ishshah) with Gomer is an expedient caused by the embarrassment resulting from the interpretation that would maintain that Hosea's marriage was physical reality.

Besides the odh (again) indicates that an act once performed before is to be repeated: the prophet married once; he is to marry again, -- that is, the inner spiritual experience. For though 'odh could be construed with the verb "said" (wayyo'mer) yet the earliest Hebrew tradition of the accents rejects this, even as do the versions with practical unanimity. Instances of 'odh preceding its verb: Ps. 84:5; Job 24:20; Eccl. 3:16; Jer. 2:9. Cf. G. K. [Gesenius-Kautzsch] 142g.⁴⁵⁹

Laetsch vociferously disagrees with Dr. Leupold's claim that Hosea 1 and Hosea 3 refer to two different women; Laetsch defends the justificatio indigno (God justifies the ungodly) restoration theme:

This question ought to be settled by the fact that the Lord tells Hosea very definitely that the action commanded to him was to be symbolical of God's continuing

⁴⁵⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C66-67. Wolff, p. 56. Mays, pp. 54-6. Laetsch, pp. 36-8.

⁴⁵⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C66-67.

love to, and reacceptance of, Israel. This love had been described at length in ch. 2. It was not a strange woman whom the Lord allured (2:16, A.V., 14) but idolatrous, adulterous Israel, whom He had led into the wilderness. To her He addressed that marvelous promise (2:17-25, A.V., 15-23) assuring her of His unfailing love. . . . This fact ought to be sufficient to establish the identity of the woman in ch. 3 and Gomer, ch. 1.⁴⁶⁰

Shifting to the word "love," Dr. Leupold argues rather weakly:

Nor can the verb 'ehabh -- love -- be construed as argument for the supposition that Gomer is meant. It merely stresses, -- a thing very essential for the truth symbolized, -- that the relation between these two is not merely to be one of outward union, but one of inner attachment, of true love.⁴⁶¹

Dr. Leupold argues this way because there are a few commentators who want to connect odh (again) with eh-hav (love, that is, "And the Lord said to me, 'Go, love again'" But Dr. Leupold is right that Hebrew usage all but eliminates this possibility that odh (again) would be that far separated from the verb that it modifies; thus this is grammatically almost out of the question. Consequently, "Go, again" fits the context admirably if one assumes that "Gomer" and "woman" are the same person. Indeed, Mays uses the word 'ehab (love) to argue that "Gomer" and "woman" are the same person; Mays says:⁴⁶²

The command in Hosea 3:1 is a variation on Hosea 1:2; there the prophet was told "to go take" a wife, but here he is ordered "to go love" a wife, as though to imply that what was required was this personal commitment within a relationship already established. The symbolism

⁴⁶⁰Laetsch, p. 38.

⁴⁶¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C67.

⁴⁶²Dr. Leupold, Hosea, p. C67. Mays, pp. 55-6. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 68.

is best served if the woman is Gomer; its point is that Yahweh's love will find a way with Israel even though this people has turned away from him to other gods,⁴⁶³

This word "love" is the key word in this chapter, appearing four times in this verse alone, Hosea 3:1, further confirming Hosea as "the St. John of the Old Testament," as mentioned above. But is Mays' interpretation just above reinforced against Dr. Leupold by the fact that the first of the four appearances of this word "love" is in the Imperative? This Imperative raises the psychological and theological question of whether it is even possible to command love. The answer, of course, is no, as Martin Buber correctly says. Love either comes spontaneously and voluntarily or it does not come at all. This means in this context that the command to love can be given only to one who already loves. God's command to love was given to Hosea who was within a relationship already established. Likewise, God's love for adulterous, wayward Israel proved the existence of a covenant relationship already established, as Dr. Leupold's translation emphasizes. Buber explains:⁴⁶⁴

Four times in one verse the verb "to love" recurs, each time signifying a different type of love: straight-forward love of a man for his wife, adulterous love that breaks the bond, divine love of YHVH for Israel, and the so-called "love" of the Baalim for the raisin cakes brought to them.

The first time, however, the verb occurs in the imperative, "Love!" rare and strange form: is it possible to order love? . . . The word can only be spoken to one who already loves.

⁴⁶³Mays, pp. 55-6.

⁴⁶⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C67. Wolff, pp. 58b, 60a. Martin Buber, This Prophetic Faith, trans. Hebrew by Carlyle Witton-Davies (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 111-14.

. . . All this is indeed very anthropomorphic, but . . . the theomorphism of man, that is to say, the fact of God's image in him, has been preserved only by God's own becoming anthropomorphous.⁴⁶⁵

The second appearance of the word "love," is 'ahubath (who is beloved of a), which is a Passive Participle in the feminine. But as the Kittel footnote apparatus points out, some Versions repoint this word and make it into an Active Participle, 'ohoboth (loving; who loves). In this case this alternative reading requires only a change of vowel points, and does not necessitate any change in the verbally inspired consonantal text at all. And this change into an Active Participle might be further supported by the fact that the next Participle, umena'apheth (and is an adulteress), here in pause, is also Active, and thus one could argue that both should be. But Dr. Leupold translates this second word "love" traditionally as a Passive Participle (beloved of a) and not as an Active Participle (loving; who loves), because Dr. Leupold translates the next word, re"a (friend) as meaning "husband," and the following phrases with an adversative vav, "yet an adulteress."⁴⁶⁶

In defense of Dr. Leupold's adherence to the Masoretic pointing as a Passive Participle (beloved of a) is the interpretation that intensifies the degradation into which the woman has fallen: "Go and love this disgraced and fallen woman!" This understanding brings out the theological concept, non potest non

⁴⁶⁵Buber, pp. 112-3.

⁴⁶⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C66-67.

peccare (not able not to sin; man since Adam's Fall must henceforth by nature sin). Another possibility as to why this second word "love" is a Passive Participle is that it might have arisen from the Passives in chapter 2 of Hosea, where there was a Piel Participle of going after her lovers (Hos. 2:7, ve-rid-phah, "and she shall pursue"). The Passive here might be the reverse of that Piel concept there. At any rate, Dr. Leupold retains the Passive Participle translation because he translates the next word, re"a (friend), as meaning "husband," and then the following phrases with an adversative vav, "yet an adulteress," as he explains:⁴⁶⁷

The re"a (friend) referred to as loving this woman is her own husband. Only by interpreting thus is a truly harmonious sequence of thought secured. Of course, before what these words now following describe can be rightly understood, an intermediate step has to be supposed, namely the step described in 2a, which reports the marriage as such.

In faithful love the prophet is attached to his new wife, but . . . she proves herself adulterous. . . . That re"a, "friend," is used for "husband" appears from Jer. 3:20; Song 5:16. "Beloved of her friend" manifestly stands in contrast with "and an adulteress" (mena'apheth), which we have therefore translated adversatively "yet an adulteress."⁴⁶⁸

A few commentators want to point this word re"a (friend) differently too, as the common Hebrew word, ra" (evil), and then translate, "loving evil" or "who loves evil." If this is the case, then the previous feminine Passive Participle, 'ahubath (who is

⁴⁶⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C67. David P. Scaer, A Latin Ecclesiastical Glossary for Francis Pieper's Christian Dogmatics, (Fort Wayne, IN: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1978), p. 35a.

⁴⁶⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C67.

beloved of a) has to also be repointed, as the Kittel apparatus suggests, as an Active Participle, 'ohebeth (loving; who loves), and the LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate versions do that. Again, since this change is only a change of the vowel points, and does not necessitate any change in the verbally inspired consonantal text at all, such a pointing change into an Active Participle might be supported, as hinted above, by the fact that the next Participle, umena'apheth (and/yet is an adulteress), is also Active; so one could conclude that both Participles should be Active. And that generally makes sense too, "loving evil," or "who loves evil." Then the text would contain a general statement followed by a specific one, "loving (who loves) evil, and an adulteress." Here is one case where without changing any consonants, one can very easily come up with a considerably different surface reading although the ultimate meaning of the text remains about the same. The meaning intended by Dr. Leupold's translation is, "beloved by her husband, yet an adulteress," and this presents the picture of a husband who still loves an unfaithful wife, the pathos of rejected love. Theologically, this is right on target, because it makes Gomer's sin all the greater, and highlights Yahweh's love for a total depraved people. So this is a case where the language is very elastic, and where one gets a nice theological yield in any event. Dr. Leupold does not give even the slightest gesture of an indication that he would agree with the kind of "reconstruction of Hosea, Chapters 1-3" that A. D. Tushingham presents, that is, that the phrase, "beloved of a friend"

originally referred to a sacral prostitute in the tradition of the pagan fertility cults.⁴⁶⁹

But Dr. Leupold's "historicization" of "Gomer" and the "woman" in Hosea 1 and 3 causes a bifurcation of the unus sensus literalis (one literal/unified sense) of Scripture, and this bifurcation of the text is what causes Dr. Leupold to lose the justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly) restoration theme. This loss of the main theme of all Scripture ought to be a clue that Dr. Leupold is on the wrong track, as Laetsch correctly explains; Laetsch says:⁴⁷⁰

The supposition that the woman of ch. 3:1 was a common street-walker whom Hosea married rests on the presumption that Hosea divorced Gomer, of which nothing is found in the text, and is opposed to the symbolism of God's command, ch. 3:1b. . . . Hosea in obedience to God's command did not divorce Gomer, but continued to love that adulterous woman, the paramour of illicit lovers.⁴⁷¹

The fact that the text has just plain ishshah (woman) without the definite article or any other reference could maybe have a derogatory nuance as in our English usage of the word "woman," implying "a woman of this despicable type." And understanding "Gomer" and "woman" in Hosea 1 and 3 as being the same person can have the theological application to Israel's history as being a

⁴⁶⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C66-67. A. D. Tushingham, "A Reconstruction of Hosea, Chapters 1-3." Journal of Near Eastern Studies 12 (1953):150-59.

⁴⁷⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C66. Laetsch, p. 38. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 288.

⁴⁷¹Laetsch, p. 38

reference to Israel before and after the Exile, a message that is exactly parallel to that of all the other preexilic prophets.⁴⁷²

The rest of Hosea 3:1 is supposed to be a first-person quotation of the words of Yahweh, but the quote contains the third-person reference, "Jehovah" within it, instead of the expected first-person "I." Dr. Leupold is not bothered by this, however, because the "I" of the prophet Hosea, as is also so often the case in all the other prophets, seems to so virtually merge with the "I" of Yahweh that any difference between them becomes imperceptible. And furthermore, Dr. Leupold does not see this third-person "Jehovah" as a sign of redaction. Dr. Leupold says:⁴⁷³

That this explanation bears the word "Jehovah" instead of an "I" does not constitute a valid argument against the originality of this clause as though it were an insertion by the prophet or a later addition. God may well speak thus objectively of Himself.⁴⁷⁴

Almost lost in the shuffle over the identity of "Gomer" and "woman" in Hosea 1 and 3 is the inconspicuous little phrase, "And the Lord said to me," at the very beginning of this verse. The striking brevity of this introductory phrase, "And the Lord said to me," is as much the cause of the trouble behind the problem of the identity of "Gomer-woman" in Hosea 1 and 3 as anything else, because it leaves us with an almost maddening lack of information here about

⁴⁷²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C66-67. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 288.

⁴⁷³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C68. Wolff, pp. 57b, 59b, 60a. Mays, p. 56.

⁴⁷⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C68.

what had happened to Gomer, if anything, in the meantime, between the reports in Hosea 1 and 3. And with almost classical perversity recent criticism has concentrated upon and has been preoccupied with exactly this question, which is precisely the question about which the text does not seem to care at all. There have been reams of speculation on who the identity of this adulteress was and how that fits in, rather than on the meaning of the text as it stands, which is finally all one can work with anyway. This is not to overstate the case. The woman's identity is totally irrelevant only if Hosea 3 is totally allegory; in that case, any symbol would work as well as the next one. However, Dr. Leupold does not consider "Gomer" in Hosea 1 and "woman" in Hosea 3 to be allegory, but rather two separate inner visionary experiences of the prophet.⁴⁷⁵

About the phrase, "even as the Lord loves the sons of Israel," Dr. Leupold has already indicated that the switch to the third person in a first-person quotation of Yahweh is no sign of a later addition by a redactor, even though we might have expected a continuation of the first person. In addition, this switch to the third person is yet another indication that Hosea's real concern is not autobiographical, but is kerygmatic. Hosea's real concern is theological, and to such an extent that here the kerygmatic interest interrupts the consistency of Hosea's first-person style. It is this basic interest and impulse of Hosea that surfaces here, but neither Dr. Leupold, Wolff, Mays, Laetsch nor Luther bring out this

⁴⁷⁵Ibid., p. C67.

aspect anywhere near strongly enough. Nor do Dr. Leupold and friends underscore the importance of the phrase, "children of Israel," the covenant background implications of adoption, of love, of rebellious sons, and of the heart-break of the loving father, as Isaiah says it: "Sons I have raised and brought up, but they have rebelled against me" (Is. 1:2). So Dr. Leupold is in equally bad company by not exploiting this phrase as well.⁴⁷⁶

Finally, the phrase, "though they turn unto other gods and love cakes of raisins." Not even here does Dr. Leupold expound the explicit justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly) theme, that by grace God loved us while we were yet sinners (Rom. 5:8). That is, God did not save us intuitu fide (in view of faith), in view of our possibility of repenting at some future time, but that God's whole work of redemption began when we were still running stubbornly in the other direction. Really only Wolff brings out this theme, pointing out the theological and linguistic parallelism with Deuteronomy, how Deuteronomy is virtually a theological commentary on Hosea. The word ponim (turn unto) especially stands out in this regard, where here in the marriage analogy, "turn unto" means "running after" other lovers, other gods. Dr. Leupold only says:⁴⁷⁷

Israel's inclinations to infidelity are described by a figure involving a strong measure of censure: they are

⁴⁷⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C64-69. Wolff, pp. 57-61. Mays, pp. 54-7. Laetsch, pp. 38-9. LW #18, pp. 16-7.

⁴⁷⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C68-69. Wolff, p. 60b. Scaer, p. 28b.

said "to turn to other gods and to love cakes of raisins."
 The "other gods" are here regarded under the same figure
 as in 2:7; they are in reality her illicit lovers.⁴⁷⁸

Dr. Leupold makes no mention of the justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly) theme, nor does he show the connection between the words elohim 'acharim (other gods) and the Decalogue, as even Wolff does. Wolff says these words are yet another instance revealing Hosea's obvious acquaintance with the Hebrew of the First Commandment (Ex. 20:3), that to "turn unto other gods" was to be unfaithful to the first and most basic of the commandments, showing the absolute exclusivity of Israel's marriage with Yahweh.

Dr. Leupold only says:⁴⁷⁹

The same thought lies in the term "they love raisin-cakes." Worship of idols is likened unto a tasty delicacy. So at least Israel esteems it for the present. The worship of Jehovah, by contrast, is regarded as a rather plain and homely fare.⁴⁸⁰

Dr. Leupold continues by going off into a physical description of raisin-cakes, but does not emphasize that in Jer. 7:18, 44:19, for example, these raisin cakes were offered to the "Queen of Heaven," the pagan mother goddess, which is probably ultimately a symbolic reference to the whole pagan cult worship in general, as Wolff and Mays explain. Possibly this is just a general statement again that what rightly belongs to Yahweh is being given to other gods, as we know in its New Testament form from the words

⁴⁷⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C68-69.

⁴⁷⁹Ibid. Wolff, p. 60b.

⁴⁸⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C69.

of Jesus: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22:21. Mark 12:17. Luke 20:25). However, Dr. Leupold is no doubt also right above in making his semi-allegorical interpretation of this as a reference to the sweetness of forbidden fruit -- that something is much more attractive to perverse mankind if it is forbidden -- the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence.⁴⁸¹

Hosea 3:2

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

2. So I secured her for myself for fifteen pieces of silver and a homer of barley a letch of barley (half homer).⁴⁸²

Beginning with the very first word, this verse bristles with controversies, the answers to each of which, Dr. Leupold nuances in his own way. The first word, then, va'ekreha (so I secured her) has almost as many translations as translators. Wolff and the RSV translated, "I bought her"; LXX and Syriac translate, "I hired her," Laetsch has, "I provided her"; Mays has the neutral translation, "I acquired her." Hengstenberg translates it as the verb "to pierce (ears)." LXX and Syriac seem to have either had a different Hebrew text or misread the present text as the root "שכר" (hire). Dr. Leupold has "I secured her." Wolff and the RSV take the usual translation derived from the root, "כרה" (buy), a typical

⁴⁸¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C69. Wolff, pp. 60-1. Mays, p. 57.

⁴⁸²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C69.

Qal Imperfect of a lamedh-heh verb except for the troublesome dagesh in the Kaph. It is this dagesh that has caused most of the trouble because an ordinary lamedh-heh verb would not normally have any dagesh in the Kaph. The grammatical term for this assigned by the grammarians is dagesh forte dirimens (a dagesh that divides; a separating dagesh). But this is just Latin for saying that this Kaph is a double letter, two "k's" instead of one, after the normal Hebrew manner of indicating a double letter, and therefore, this is a nonexplanation. This simply describes the dilemma rather than explaining it. It is just a way the grammarians conceal their ignorance under their Latin.⁴⁸³

That does not mean that this form could not have come from the lamedh-heh root "כרה" (buy), because the Masoretes very often did not just apply theoretical rules abstractly, but very often simply reproduced what they heard in common pronunciation or traditional liturgical reading. That being somewhat unpredictable then as well as now, the Masoretes could very well have heard a double "k" here. The most common other linguistic explanation of this renegade dagesh forte making the Kaph into a double "k" is to treat this word as coming from the root "כרן" (purchase), wherein the double "k" would then come from the assimilation of the nun in the Imperfect. This explanation has been especially popular among people who have studied a little Ugaritic and were possibly

⁴⁸³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C60-70. Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, p. 73. Wolff, pp. 56, 61. Mays, pp. 54-7. Laetsch, pp. 36, 38-9.

somewhat over-eager to bring in Ugaritic analogies. Although there is such a Ugaritic root, there is no agreement on what that word means in Ugaritic itself. C. H. Gordon, the chief American Ugaritic scholar, in his Ugaritic manual, lists, "to purchase in remarriage" as its Ugaritic meaning, which would fit superbly here, if that is what it meant, but the evidence Gordon gives for its meaning in Ugaritic is this passage in Hosea, so he is arguing in a circle. Wolff follows J. Aistleitner, a major German Ugaritic scholar and author of a German Ugaritic dictionary, where Aistleitner reads the Ugaritic word as simply an adjective, essentially parallel to the Hebrew "נִכְרַ" (strange, foreign); if this is the case, then the Ugaritic word probably is not relevant to the Hosea passage here at all. Usually "כָּרָה" is taken as having the meaning of "buy," and that is what the RSV has, "I bought her." But in contrast to the ordinary sense of our word "buy," this Hebrew word "כָּרָה" (buy) apparently also does have overtones of "to bargain for" or "to obtain by trading," and this is Dr. Leupold's basic emphasis in his exposition of the word. Dr. Leupold says.⁴⁸⁴

The manner in which the prophet secures this wife is significant though not without its difficulties, as far as the interpretation is concerned. It appears, however, that the solution offered is quite well established. The verb 'ekkereha in the expression, "I secured her for myself" does not actually mean "bought" (A.V.); better Luther: ich ward mit ihr eins, i.e., I arrived at an agreement with her. For the basic meaning is to trade, or to secure by trade. Now though this might verge into the idea of purchase, we have no proof of actual purchase

⁴⁸⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C69-70. Wolff, p. 56.

of wives as customary procedure among the Hebrews. There was a dowry, mohar, to be paid (Ex. 22:15), but actually purchase was not the rule. Besides, it appears that this dowry was paid to the bride, not to her parents (cf. Gen. 31:15). Therefore we translate, "I secured her."⁴⁸⁵

Dr. Leupold does not speculate on interesting marginal questions about this text -- marginal questions that "books about the Bible" spend all their pages on -- such as, who the seller is. But again, that is just one of those intriguing little things Hosea was not interested in at all, because it did not serve his purposes. Nor does Dr. Leupold spend any time on such interesting marginal matters. Hosea does give us tremendous detail about what he paid for the woman, and so Dr. Leupold, too, as usual following the main emphases of the text, goes into some detail on this also. Why so much detail on this payment is so important the text does not say, nor does Dr. Leupold offer a reason. Perhaps such detail is both an indication of the historicity of the text, as well as an indication that the historicity of it as such is not the main concern. Dr. Leupold says:⁴⁸⁶

Why the purchase-price should be paid in so unusual a fashion is the chief difficulty confronting us. Since Hitzig the following explanation has been commonly accepted; one homer equals 10 ephahs, according to Ez. 45:11. Now a "lethech" (lethekeh) -- a term used only here -- according to the Jewish grammarian Kimchi equals one-half homer. But a homer and a half would make 15 ephahs. Now from II King 7:1, 16, 18 we seem justified

⁴⁸⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C69-70.

⁴⁸⁶Ibid., pp. C70-1. Wolff, p. 651. Mays, p. 57-8. Laetsch, pp. 38-9. G. A. Buttrick et al., eds. Sellers, Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), s.v. "Weights & Measures," by O. R. Sellers, 4:828-39.

in concluding that the normal price of barley must have been about a shekel per ephah, inasmuch as during a time or siege, when the price had almost gone back to normal, two-thirds ephah was selling for one shekel. So the barley involved in the transaction had a value of fifteen shekels. This, plus the fifteen shekels of silver involved, makes a total of thirty shekels. Of course, the word "shekel" is not in the text, being omitted where readily understood -- cf. K.S. [Koenig's "Syntax"] 314h.

Now we also know from Ex. 21:32 that thirty shekels constituted the price at which an able-bodied slave was valued. So it would seem that since a dowry had to be paid to complete the marriage requirements, here in a symbolic act an amount is intentionally fixed low, in order to indicate the status of the bride. A bride normally received fifty shekels, as might be deduced from Deut. 22:29. This bride is not so worthy as she might deem herself. It is not because of her merits that she is chosen. God's condescending love is here to be prefigured. The thought just established seems to be further supported by the fact that "barley" (se'orim) was regarded as the grain of the poor. Besides, (Num. 5:15) an offering of barley was used in the case of an offering of jealousy by a husband of a faithless wife.⁴⁸⁷

One incalculably important theological point of this text that Dr. Leupold totally overlooks and only Mays catches a piece of is, "To carry out the command [of God given in Hosea 3:1] Hosea had to pay a price." Raised into its New Testament key, this is price paid by God in Christ on the cross of Calvary, the logos incarnandus (the word becoming flesh) of the Old Testament, the preexistent Christ in his many manifestations, that same logos (word) who became flesh of our flesh at Bethlehem.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C70-71.

⁴⁸⁸Mays, p. 57. Hummel, Word Becoming Flesh, p. 18.

Hosea 3:3

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

3. And I said unto her. Thou wilt abide for me many days; thou wilt not play the harlot, nor be any man's wife; neither will I myself come near thee.⁴⁸⁹

Dr. Leupold agrees with all the other commentators as to the general meaning of this verse, but once again Dr. Leupold comes up short on a clear expression of Hosea's certainty of restoration, the theological theme of the justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly); only Wolff makes this point explicit:⁴⁹⁰

The entire chapter is consistent with the Hosean concept of a temporary judgment that serves the purpose of renewal (Cf. 2:8f, 16f).⁴⁹¹

Here Wolff is truly bringing out Luther's thought that God always works sub contrario (via opposites), that he works under the opposite, that he "kills to make alive" (Deut. 32:39), that he "judges in order to save" (Ps. 36:6, 76:9), that he "imprisons in order to set free" (Ps. 61:1, compare Luke 4:16-21), that as here he destroys false love in order to create true love, and deprives in order to enrich. This genuine ringing Law-Gospel dialectic only faintly flickers in Dr. Leupold's exposition of this verse. For that matter, instead of amplifying Luther's Law-Gospel dialectic here, Dr. Leupold makes a critique of Luther. Dr. Leupold says:⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C69.

⁴⁹⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C71-72. Wolff, pp. 61-2. Mays, p. 58. Laetsch, pp. 38-9.

⁴⁹¹Wolff, p. 62a.

⁴⁹²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C71-71. Wolff, p. 62a.

Now comes the new and distinctive feature of this prophecy: the wife, Israel, is to be prevented from committing any irregularities. The husband . . . does not rebuke her, or admonish, or punish. . . . His mode of treatment is . . . "thou wilt abide for me." These imperfects with the negative in two instances, (teshebli, lo' thizni, and lo' thiyi) are not imperatives. . . . The words are predictions, not commands: "Many days thou wilt abide for me." The Lord segregates her for himself.

. . . For that matter, the husband himself "will not come near" her. . . . This simple translation of the much discussed wegham 'ani 'elayikh -- "neither will I myself come near thee" -- is best suited to the context and contains no thing to which objection could be raised. To convey the essence of this verse and so of the whole section, Sellin, in spite of much misconstruction beautifully catches the sentiment of the passage in the heading Die Einsperrung der Hure (the segregation of the whore). Luther's Halte dich zu mir eine Zeitlang is not correct. ⁴⁹³

Hosea 3:4

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

For the children of Israel shall abide many days with no king, no prince, no sacrifice, no pillar, and ephod and teraphim.⁴⁹⁴

As Dr. Leupold understood this verse in his prolegomena comments above⁴⁹⁵ in the context of Hosea 3:1-5,

v.1-3 [is] largely the symbolic act; v.4 the explanation of this act; v.5 an addition leading beyond the thing symbolized and portraying the ultimate result achieved by the course God inaugurates with his people.⁴⁹⁶

Dr. Leupold agrees with Wolff that the first word, ki (for) introduces the interpretation of, and the reason for, the symbolic

⁴⁹³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C71-72.

⁴⁹⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C72.

⁴⁹⁵Ibid., p. C65.

⁴⁹⁶Ibid.

prophetic action described in Hosea 3:1-3. That is to say, the tertium comparationis (point of comparison) is the temporary separation of Israel from its covenant gifts, that is, king, prince, and so forth.⁴⁹⁷

Dr. Leupold's first comment is to identify "the children of Israel" with the Northern Kingdom, "the group to whom Hosea was sent and to whom he spoke". All the other commentators seem to agree with Leupold's understanding on this point, and Luther even specifies that Judah is excluded from the purview of this verse, that Hosea here⁴⁹⁸

is therefore not speaking about . . . Judah. . . .
He is not speaking about the ephod which God instituted.
That was in Jerusalem. Rather he is speaking about king,
sacrifice, and ephod that were turned away in Israel.⁴⁹⁹

Dr. Leupold is aware that the expression "the children of Israel" might refer to both the Northern and Southern Kingdom, but does not think that is the reference here.⁵⁰⁰

The expression used might refer to the entire people, yet the prophet continues to make a distinction between Israel and Judah up to this point: cf. Hosea 1:7 and Hosea 1:6; contrast also Israel and Judah in Hosea 4:15. This then is not a prophecy spoken in reference to the fate of the entire nation.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁷Ibid. Wolff, p. 62.

⁴⁹⁸Ibid., pp. C72-73, Wolff, p. 62. Mays, pp. 58-59. Laetsch, p. 39. LW #18, p. 17.

⁴⁹⁹LW #18, p. 17.

⁵⁰⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C72-73.

⁵⁰¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C72.

Dr. Leupold's free translation, "the children of Israel," is also used by Luther, Laetsch, and surprisingly, Wolff. A more literal translation would be "the sons of Israel", or in a more "dynamic equivalent" translation for today, "Israelites", as Mays renders it. But there remains the ambiguity whether it refers to the ten tribes of Israel only; probably so, because Hosea 3:5 prophesies their return to "David their king." But ultimately it is probably a distinction without a difference, because in principle it is transferable to Judah as well, so at least ultimately the theological application is the same.⁵⁰²

Dr. Leupold does not comment on the "strict parallelism" Mays notices in phrase, "abide many days", both here and in the previous verse, Hosea 3:3. How many days is "many days"? Laetsch says "abide many days" equals "a long time". But Hosea does not attempt to be more precise than that; at the least, Hosea points to a time of judgment or deprivation, but to a definite limit to it also. That is, what Hosea is concerned about is that there must be a time of judgment, but that it will not go on forever, and that it is only a means to a more ultimate end of restoration -- the justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly) theme reappearing in more subtle form.⁵⁰³

Wolff sees a three-fold negation in Hosea 3:3, and a six-fold negation here in Hosea 3:4, listed in three related pairs of

⁵⁰²Ibid. LW #18, p. 17. Laetsch, p. 36. Wolff, p. 56. Mays, p. 54.

⁵⁰³Mays, p. 58. Laetsch, p. 39.

covenant gifts or perversions of covenant gifts. Technically, only the last two are formally in a pair relationship, because with the last two the 'en (without, no) is not repeated; but with the first two pairs, there is an 'en (without, no) before each one, "no king, no prince, no sacrifice, no pillar", probably for emphasis -- indicating the repeated hammer-blows of God's deprivation closing in upon what Israel had always previously depended upon. Dr. Leupold agrees with this understanding:⁵⁰⁴

The things Israel shall be deprived of are listed in a kind of happy-go-lucky disorder such as is found in Is. 3:2,3. The legitimate and the illegitimate are thrown together, just as they were found in the every-day life of the Israelites. Rulers, means of worship, means of determining the future are listed in three pairs without particular regard to what is legitimate and what not. But the fact remains that these three features which are essential to the nation's well-ordered existence . . . are forcibly to be taken from Israel.⁵⁰⁵

Regarding the first pair in the six-fold listing, Dr. Leupold only says:

"King" refers to the legitimate head of the nation and presupposes the existence of the kingdom. King and kingdom belong together. No King, no kingdom. . . .
"Prince" involves every species of subordinate ruler.⁵⁰⁶

Surely this first pair refers to Israel's political existence and political leaders. The abuse of Israel's political institutions is one of Hosea's major targets all the way through the book, and in that way Hosea is somewhat parallel to Isaiah. The perennial self-

⁵⁰⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C73. Wolff, p. 62. Mays, p. 58.

⁵⁰⁵Ibid., p. C73.

⁵⁰⁶Ibid.

delusion of politicians is that they really can "make history," that somehow they can call the shots and can determine their own fate or somehow make God follow their wishes. Or more specifically, as Hosea works it out, they think they can live independently of God, which is to say that politics really becomes their religion. Our modern "social action" theologians like Phillippe Maury and Harvey Cox still advocate that in so many words: "politics is the language of evangelism".⁵⁰⁷

Now in addition, with reference to this "no king," here the question always comes up whether Hosea was totally anti-monarchical, against the institution as such. Such a question is often bound up with the presupposition that the ancient Northern Deuteronomic tradition knew nothing of kingship, that is, at least never accepted the dynastic principle of the South and of Jerusalem -- that Hosea allegedly represents some ancient amphictyonic covenant democracy or the like. That Dr. Leupold does not seriously entertain this thought is seen from his comment just above, "'King' refers to the legitimate head of the nation".⁵⁰⁸

Since Dr. Leupold has also just previously identified "the children of Israel" with the Northern Kingdom, he doubtlessly understands that here Hosea is merely describing the end of the

⁵⁰⁷Phillippe Maury, Evangelism and Politics (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959), p. 28. Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: Macmillan, 1966 [1965]), p. 256. Wolff, p. 62. Mays, p. 58.

⁵⁰⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C73. Mays, p. 58. Wolff, p. 62. Laetsch, p. 39.

Northern Kingdom, and that it is a non sequitur to understand Hosea as saying this was God's judgment upon the institution of monarchy per se. But some commentaries operate with this assumption of the total disjunction between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, as if "king" were the first in a list of six evils which God would now annihilate. And this thesis is still very functional in the Cross-Freedman approach too, where the introduction of kingship in the first place was allegedly a total perversion of Israel's whole thought-world. C. E. Mendenhall has a study of the monarchy in Israel where this thesis is stated about as crassly as can be, namely, that the original establishment of the monarchy was a corruption of Israel's primitive purity; and that only later after the Exile, the monarchy was allegedly "baptised" in retrospect and transposed into messianic eschatology. So this thesis is tenacious even in the relatively conservative, post-Albright tradition, although W. F. Albright himself would probably have rejected such a reconstruction. Reinforcing the understanding that "king" here is a good gift from God is the reminder that back in Hosea 2:5, 8-9, 22, others of Yahweh's good gifts -- the trilogy "grain, wine and oil" -- are taken away. And also in the very next verse, Hosea 3:5, it is prophesied that the Israelites will return to "David their king," so the most that might be said is that there is a total rejection of the rebellious Northern monarchy. But we can probably conclude that Dr. Leupold understood "king" and most of the six items as God's good gifts taken away not because they were intrinsically bad, but

because they had been abused by Israel's breaking of the covenant.⁵⁰⁹ Dr. Leupold continues:

The next pair to be lost are "sacrifice" and "pillar". Israel's religion centered in its divinely ordained sacrifices. To lose them involved the loss of all true cultus. But more is implied: sacrifice as such, whether legitimate or illegitimate, is to become impossible. "Pillar" was a perversion of the legitimate cultus. The erection of pillars for purposes of worship was forbidden by the law (Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Deut. 12:3, 16:22).⁵¹⁰

The Stuttgartensia editors in their wisdom chose not to note in their apparatus that the LXX has quite a different reading here:

For the sons of Israel shall remain many days without a king, without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an altar, and without a priesthood, and without manifestations.⁵¹¹

The reading, "without a sacrifice, and without an altar," in the Hebrew would have been two nouns from the same root, zabach (sacrifice), and mizbeach (altar), and would thus make a nice pair of cognate words without changing the over-all impact of this verse. But in any event, here Dr. Leupold understands that it is Israel's worship, Israel's cult, that is condemned. And this condemnation is the other major prong of Hosea's attack throughout his book. The first prong is Hosea's attack on Israel's politics,

⁵⁰⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C72. George E. Mendenhall, "The Monarchy," in Interpretation 24 (April 1975):155-70. G. E. Mendenhall, The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). Mays, p. 58. Wolff, p. 62. Laetsch, p. 39.

⁵¹⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C73-C74.

⁵¹¹Brenton, p. 1072. Rahlfs, 2:492.

and the second prong is against Israel's false type of worship, specifically the priesthood -- although here the immediate application is not the priesthood as such, but the places where the priests officiate.⁵¹²

But although sacrifice itself is scarcely evil per se, here Dr. Leupold touches on an exegetical presupposition that runs deep in modern liberal scholarship, namely, the whole Wellhausenian reconstruction that sacrifice was intrinsically pagan, an alien import from outside Israel that did not really become baptised into Biblical thought until just before the Exile. This Wellhausenian reconstruction goes on to assert that the first clear expression of the fatal compromise between pagan ritualism and the spiritual "old-time religion" of the prophets is found in Deuteronomy. Then with "P," after the Exile, comes the really wholesale attempt to incorporate sacrifice into the Israelite cult. The climax of the Wellhausenian reconstruction then is the insinuation that the attempt to integrate sacrifice into prophetic thought did not succeed, but instead in "P" the cultus virtually experienced a reversion to paganism (all but identified with ritualism). Mays and Wolff seem to hold this Wellhausenian construct. There are passages in the prophets that can be read that way, such as Hosea 6:6 (I desire mercy and not sacrifice), Jer. 7:22 (For in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, I did not speak to your fathers or command them concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices),

⁵¹²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C73-C74. Mays, p. 58. Wolff, p. 62. Laetsch, p. 39.

or Amos 5:25 (Did you bring to me sacrifices and offerings the forty years in the wilderness, Oh house of Israel?); they can be misconstrued to read that God did not command Moses anything about sacrifice in the wilderness. But if they are read that way, then they are a frontal contradiction to half of the Pentateuch. But Dr. Leupold is not the least detoured by such Wellhausenian mischief. In his commentary on Hosea 6:6, Leupold directly answers and devastates this Wellhausenian challenge.⁵¹³

This good word of Hosea [Hosea 6:6], important and valuable as it is, does not merit quite the praise that present-day exegetes bestow upon it. It is hardly "the greatest word in the entire book of Hosea" (Sellin).

Such overevaluation originates from the evolutionistic reconstruction which is thrust upon Old Testament history and theology, and claims to find here the emerging of a more spiritual conception of religion. In fact, as the critics interpret this verse, they lay into it a meaning it cannot hold. Besides, Hosea is expressing only what the Mosaic religion had long taught the people, namely, that true religion is inward, not outward, and expresses itself in a holy life and not in ritual acts.

. . . Sacrifice as such cannot be what makes the heart of God glad. Yet absolute though the contrast seems to be, it is meant only relatively. For every form of right relation to God finds a commensurate mode of external expression.

For worship in the Old Testament the proper expression was very largely sacrifice. To deny this is to fail to discern the typical character of the Old Testament sacrifices in prefiguring the all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ. To deny this insight to the prophets is equivalent to denying that the Spirit of God enlightened and inspired them.⁵¹⁴

Having knocked the props out from under the theological and historical aspects of the Wellhausenian argument, Dr. Leupold

⁵¹³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C73-C74, C135-C136. Mays, p. 58. Wolff, p. 62. Laetsch, p. 39.

⁵¹⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C135-C136.

proceeds to "rebuild the walls of Jerusalem" linguistically, exegetically and canonically. Without actually using our current jargon, "dialectical negation," Leupold explains how the "not" in Hosea 6:6 is tempered by the comparative degree, "more than," in the Hebrew parallelism:

Fausset lists a very helpful group of passages where the "not" in reality is merely comparative, -- Ex. 16:8; Joel 2:13; John 6:27; I Tim. 2:14. Besides, the parallelism of the second half of the verse plainly demands the comparative idea, for the "min" [more than] used is the min comparative, as K.S. [Koenig's "Syntax"] rightly maintains, p. 308-b.

. . . Reduced to technical terms, we have the statement here that true devotion and godliness are more highly esteemed in the sight of the Lord than the outward visible expression of such devotion, . . . since this outward expression may degenerate into mere formalism.

. . . It is almost incomprehensible how some attempt to make this relative contrast appear absolute. Samuel expressed the truth involved very clearly for Saul, I Sam. 15:22. With this sentiment agree the words, Ps. 50:8,9; 51:16; Is. 1:11-12; Mic. 6:6-8; Jer. 7:21-23; Matt. 9:13. ⁵¹⁵

Having commented on the first member of the second pair, "no sacrifice, no pillar," Dr. Leupold then turns to the second member, "pillar," and presents a mono-dimensionally conservative position:

"Pillar" was a perversion of the legitimate cultus. The erection of pillars for purposes of worship was forbidden by the law (Ex. 23:24; 24:13; Deut. 12:3; 16:22).

Holy stones, either singly or in heaps, had been raised up in the past for memorial purposes (cf. Gen. 28:18ff, Bethel; Gen. 31:45ff, Gilead; Josh. 4:5, Jordan; I Sam. 7:12, Mizpah), but such good and legitimate use differed widely from the idolatrous use that the law forbade. No doubt, not a few pillars had been raised in the Northern Kingdom. ⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C136-C137.

⁵¹⁶Ibid., p. C74.

Dr. Leupold seems to sound "mono-dimensionally conservative" in this explanation because, although he distinguishes "pillar" from "holy stones," in the Hebrew they are the same word, and his distinction is a little bit more problematic than Dr. Leupold will admit. Probably the most recent and definitive study of matsebah (pillar, holy stones) in the Bible is by Carl Graesser, whose superb study in the light of both Biblical and archaeological evidence noted that these pillars were so characteristic of pagan worship that many of them have been found in excavations.⁵¹⁷

Agreeing with Leupold's understanding of "pillars," the most common explanation has been that in Canaanite mythology they seem to have represented the male principle, perhaps a phallic symbol. This is debatable, but at least this was apparently part of their meaning in pagan worship. The female principle was expressed by the Asherah, which represented the female goddess in Canaanite mythology. But that problematic aspect Dr. Leupold does not enlarge upon. Whatever exactly Hosea means here, it seems evident that earlier "pillars" of a certain type or with a certain understanding had been an accepted part of Israelite worship. In patriarchal times we see the Patriarchs relating themselves to pillars, but almost certainly not with a pagan understanding; apparently the term "pillar" was acceptable in earlier Israel. It could be that this

⁵¹⁷Carl Graesser was at one time a professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Carl F. Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," in Biblical Archaeologist, 35 (May, 1972):34-63. Also see Graesser's unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, "Studies in 'massebot,'" Harvard University, 1969. Mays, pp. 58-59. Wolff, p. 62. Laetsch, p. 39.

was another one of those terms like the word "Baal" (lord), as applied to Yahweh, where an earlier adaptation had been widespread originally, but then in the prophetic war against paganism, the very word virtually ceased to be used in any good sense. Thus in later prophetic times it appears that "pillars" together with "High Places" and other such terms, became stock epithets to haul out whenever the prophets condemned the pagan cults. Ultimately however, Dr. Leupold is probably correct theologically, that with this term "pillars," we have a transition from Yahweh's good gifts (king, prince, sacrifice) to things that are intrinsically evil.⁵¹⁸

Of the last pair, "ephod and teraphim," Dr. Leupold says that they are more closely linked together grammatically as a pair than the rest by the use of only one negative particle, 'en (no, without). But beyond that point of agreement, each interpreter seems to go his own way. Mays asserts, "The exact meaning of ephod in many of its uses in the Old Testament is not clear." Wolff says that the ephod was one of "the customary ways of inquiring into the will of God." Luther says Hosea "is not speaking about the ephod that God instituted . . . in Jerusalem." Laetsch claims it is one of the four items of Ephraimite worship that date back to the time of the Judges. Dr. Leupold says:⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C73-C74. Graesser, "Standing Stones." Graesser, "Massebot." Mays, pp. 58-59. Wolff, p. 62. Laetsch, p. 39.

⁵¹⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C74. Mays, p. 59. Wolff, p. 62. LW #18, p. 17. Laetsch, p. 39.

The ephod was a part of the sacred vestments of the high priest (Ex. 28:6ff), a kind of shoulder-garment, -- not a loin cloth, not an image, also not Judg. 8:26f, -- to which was attached the golden breast-plate and in the pockets of which the Urim and Thummim may have been placed.

It was legitimately to be used when members of God's people in matters of supreme importance, sought to determine God's will by consulting the wearer of the ephod (I Sam. 23:9; 30:7). Idolatrous perversions also were found (Judg. 17:5; 18:5).⁵²⁰

It is not very clear where the afore-mentioned LXX variant comes from; instead of "ephod and teraphim," the LXX reads, "neither priesthood nor manifestations." Dr. Leupold has the traditional understanding of the ephod as the major outer garment of the high priest, roughly comparable to the chasuble in Christian liturgical tradition. But as Dr. Leupold hints at negatively above, the ambiguity with the term is that there are other Bible passages that seem to suggest that the ephod was an idol or image. For example, Gideon later on in his life in Judges 8 sets up an ephod that becomes a snare, and Goliath's sword at Nob that David picks up on his flight from Saul is hidden behind an ephod. A common explanation, not mentioned by Dr. Leupold, is that what we have here in this word "ephod" is a homonym, two entirely different words with exactly the same spelling -- two different "ephod" words used in two totally different senses. Dr. Leupold takes "ephod" in the positive sense of the high priest's garment here, but in this context here it seems more likely that it is being used completely negatively --

⁵²⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C74.

unless it is intended as just a general representation of the priesthood, as the LXX suggests.⁵²¹

Then finally of the last word, Dr. Leupold says:

The "teraphim" were purely idolatrous, being small images, bust figures of various sizes, no doubt identical with figurines found by Sellin and other excavators. They were regarded as a kind of household divinities, that is, Penates, and since linked with the "ephod" must have been used as oracles of some kind. Instances of their appearance in Scripture: Gen. 31:19, 34f; Judg. 17:5; 18:14, 17f, 20; I Sam. 19:13, 16; II Kings 23:24; Ez. 21:21; Zech. 10:2; I Sam. 15:23.⁵²²

Dr. Leupold does not mention that these portable little household deities were apparently related to the family inheritance; that seems to be the point behind Genesis 31, which Dr. Leupold lists above, when Rachel joins Jacob in fleeing from Laban, she steals the teraphim and sits on them, making the excuse that she is menstruating and cannot get up when Laban searches for them. The reason both of them were so interested in them was not because they were so "religious," but because the inheritance or family property was bound up with these teraphim, as the Nuzi parallels seem to indicate.⁵²³

⁵²¹Brenton, p. 1072. Rahlfs, 2:492. Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C74.

⁵²²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C74-C75.

⁵²³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C74-C75. J. Oswalt, "Teraphim," in vol. 5 of Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible, ed. Merriall C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975), pp. 676-77. C. H. Gordon, "Teraphim," in vol. 4 (R-Z) of Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, p. 574. This reconstruction of the Patriarchal narratives has been challenged by recent research, such as that in the two following books. John Van Seters, Abraham in History and Tradition (New Haven: Yale University Press,

If such "teraphim" flourished in the semi-pagan substratum of ancient Israelite society, it would be easy to find parallels in the corresponding pagan substratum of modern Christianity. In this ancient society, their everyday life was not so much bound up with the great myths of El and Baal and by the sacrifices in the main shrine, as it was related to these little household deities that took care of their everyday life, warding off demons, spells, divinations, and so forth. It was much more on the "teraphim" level that the ordinary pagan religious life centered, and only very indirectly with the great mythologies to which our books usually direct our attention. Dr. Leupold does not direct our attention to this either.⁵²⁴

But that is not the only lacunae in Dr. Leupold's exposition of this verse; far more serious is his omission of any transition from his grammatical and historical exposition into a typological, Christological and New Testament theological key. Dr. Leupold did indicate that the most immediate historical reference is to the Assyrian/Babylonian Exile; the wife's deprivations mean that the Exile is the historical means that God is going to use to deprive Israel of all the apparatus of church and state, right down to the everyday "teraphim" of the people. But by this means God is going

1975). Thomas L. Thompson, The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham (New York: W. de Gruyter, 1974).

⁵²⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C74-C75. Oswalt, "Teraphim," pp. 676-77. Gordon, "Teraphim," p. 574. Van Seters, Abraham. Thompson, Historicity.

to remove from Israel all that has come to stand between him and them in the original covenant relationship, so that the proper covenant relationship and the original means of access between them can be restored -- so that again Yahweh can really be their God and they can really be his people, the standard covenant formula.⁵²⁵

Dr. Leupold does not mention the typology of the return to the wilderness, the return to "Egypt"; and even Babylon too ultimately becomes a type of a much deeper exile, namely that finally all Israel, and also the New Israel, is going to be lead into exile. It is going to descend into Hell, to die with Christ, in order to be brought back into the proper relationship.

Dr. Leupold does not explicitly state here that the ultimate theological application via Christian antitype is the death and resurrection of Christ. Even traditional Jewish exegesis in its own way understood this sort of application; the Jewish Dispersion was interpreted as God's means of judgment upon Israel, by means of which God was purifying them in order to prepare them for their return to their homeland. So Rabbi David Ben Joseph Kimchi (1160-1235 A.D.) interpreted it:⁵²⁶

These are the days of the captivity in which we now are at this day [twelfth century, A.D.]; we have no king or prince out of Israel; for we are in the power of the nations and of their kings and princes; and have no sacrifice for God, nor image for idols; no ephod for God that declares future things by Urim and Thummim; and no

⁵²⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C74-C75.

⁵²⁶Ibid., "Hosea," pp. C72-C75. Lutheran Cyclopedia, 443a. Laetsch, p. 39.

teraphim for idols, which show things to come, according to the mind of those that believe in them.⁵²⁷

Hosea 3:5

Dr. Leupold's "C" version:

Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek Jehovah their God and David their King, and they shall turn with trembling unto Jehovah and unto His goodness in the latter days.⁵²⁸

As Dr. Leupold understood this verse in his prolegomena comments above⁵²⁹ in the context of Hosea 3:1-5,

v.1-3 [is] largely the symbolic act; v.4 the explanation of this act; v.5 an addition leading beyond the thing symbolized and portraying the ultimate result achieved by the course God inaugurates with his people.⁵³⁰

In his comments on Hosea 3:5, Dr. Leupold expands on what he said in his prolegomena comments just quoted above:

At this point [Hosea 3:5], an additional explanation is added to the features embodied in the symbolic act, an explanation that extends beyond the things symbolized.

Nor is there anything irregular about adding such an explanation. The essential feature to be conveyed by the symbolic acts has been covered. The question naturally arises: what will transpire thereafter? This question is answered in brief.⁵³¹

In effect, Dr. Leupold agrees that this verse is "an addition" -- properly understood. It is not "an addition" in the

⁵²⁷Laetsch, p. 39.

⁵²⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C75.

⁵²⁹Ibid., p. C65. Supra, p. 365-66.

⁵³⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C65.

⁵³¹Ibid., p. C75.

sense that both Mays and Wolff claim that the phrases "David their King" and "in the latter days" are supposedly the work of a later redactor who transformed the verse into apocalyptic "Judaic messianic eschatology."⁵³² Rather, Hosea 3:5 is "an addition" in the sense that the topic of Hosea 3:5 is not anticipated by the parallel, by the metaphor, of Hosea's wife, that is, it is not directly suggested by the preceding symbolic action. But this is the same reason that the genuineness of Hosea 3:5 is so often doubted by liberal critics, who argue that since it is not directly suggested by the preceding symbolic action, it must be a late deduction by some redactor or disciple. But in effect, Leupold answers these critics by asserting that there is no compelling reason why Hosea himself has to so rigidly and mechanically work out the parallelism of the symbolic metaphor. Dr. Leupold in effect argues that Hosea had to "add" this in order to complete the interpretation of the metaphor as it specifically applied to Israel.⁵³³

Dr. Leupold only comments on the 'achar (thereafter, afterward) in passing, but declares it to be more clearly defined by

⁵³²"Both 'David their king' and 'at the end of days' appear to be later additions to the text which overextend the metrical quality of the measures. Cf. 'Yahweh their God and David their king' in Jer. 30:9. Hosea's concentration on the conditions of the wilderness makes this aspiration of Judahistic messianism unlikely in his eschatology. 'At the end of days' is a stock phrase probably added to note that this return belongs to the final period of history, a perspective which suggests also a Judean redactor after the eighth century (cf. Isa. 2:2; Micah 4:1; Jer. 23:20; and so forth)." Mays, p. 60.

⁵³³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C75. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60.

the last phrase in the verse, "in the latter days," an expression which refers to the Messianic era. In other words, Dr. Leupold stresses that there will be an "afterward," that God's judgment, according to Luther's favorite phrase, was merely God's "opus alienum" (strange/alien work; Is. 28:21). That is, this judgment was truly God's work, but it was the necessary negative work done in order that He may do his "opus proprium" (proper work) of the Gospel, of restoration. Wolff calls this "Hosea's two-phased eschatology," but these are just nothing less than the two phases that are constitutive of Biblical eschatology, as well as of the Gospel. This is Law-Gospel, that is, that the Law is God's "voluntas consequens" (consequent will) -- to use the Scholastic categories -- consequent upon man's sin, leaving God with no alternative but to judge. God's "voluntas antecedens" (antecedent will) is that "God . . . desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. 2:4). As Mays correctly says:⁵³⁴

"Afterwards": In this one adverb is the sign that in the history which Yahweh makes there is hope. When his action fills and determines time, then time becomes pregnant with the birth of a new day and a new life.

The deprivation of judgment opens the way to a second beginning. This "afterwards" is a pivotal point in Hosea's "eschatology" toward which the punishment of God always moves.⁵³⁵

Dr. Leupold's understanding is that judgment is not just fatalism, but it is part of the whole immanental operation of God

⁵³⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C75, C77. Wolff, p. 62. Mays, p. 59. Laetsch, p. 40. Scaer, p. 55.

⁵³⁵Mays, 59.

within history. Thus the turning point comes after the wife/people have repented, as the verse goes on to say, "Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek Jehovah." In one sense, then, their return is dependent upon their repentance -- in the same sense at least that God's kingdom may come to each of them is also dependent upon their prayer -- as Luther's exposition of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer describes: "The kingdom of God comes indeed of itself without our prayer; but we pray in this petition that it may come to us also." But at the same time, here is the whole mystery of salvation. In another sense it is not a matter of their working out their own salvation (Phil. 2:12-13) as it is merely accepting as grace the inexorable refusal of Yahweh to let them do anything else but move toward him. As Mays says, "They would not seek him, if he had not already found them." So even their seeking is a result of "gratia antecens" (prevenient grace); their action of repentance is really an expression of God's previous act of grace.⁵³⁶

Remember that Dr. Leupold understood "in the latter days" to refer to the Messianic era; in this understanding he is no doubt again following Rabbi Kimchi (on Isaiah 2:2), who declares as a canon of interpretation that whenever this expression occurs, it is meant of "the days of the Messiah." But Wolff's commentary, by means of an exaggeration of the distinction between "eschatology"

⁵³⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C75-C77. Martin Luther, "The Small Catechism," in Concordia Triglotta, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 547. Wolff, p. 62. Mays, p. 59.

and "apocalyptic," introduces a typical liberal shibboleth into Hosea 3:5. Wolff says:⁵³⁷

Although here one root of apocalyptic with its division of history into periods becomes visible, yet it is genuine prophetic eschatology, since the undetermined time of the first phase, which begins already with its proclamation, completely serves the second phase.

The eschaton will begin "thereafter" and "on that day" . . . as the final age, . . . which is not a qualitative opposite to history, but rather brings the beginnings of saving history to its consummation.

Both phases intersect from the standpoint of time: the second phase begins in and with the first; for it not only is implied in and with the first phase, but is predicated upon and effected by it.⁵³⁸

What is behind Wolff's contortions here is the virtual dogma, the liberal shibboleth of "Critical Orthodoxy," that apocalyptic, classically in Daniel, but frequently dated by critics as beginning with Ezekiel, represents a "going to seed" of prophetic eschatology. As it is often summarized by critics, "Prophetic eschatology speaks of salvation within history," of redemption within history, so that the end is merely the completion of what God is doing now, whereas "apocalyptic divorces the eschaton from history and speaks of salvation from history." The works by Paul Hanson and Walter Schmithals are just two examples of the tremendous upsurge of interest in apocalyptic in recent scholarship.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. Wolff, p. 62. Laetsch, p. 40.

⁵³⁸Wolff, p. 62.

⁵³⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. Paul D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975). Walter Schmithals, The Apocalyptic Movement, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1975 [1973]). Wolff, p. 62.

Whereas Dr. Leupold holds that "in the latter days" refers to the Messianic era, and that the post-Exilic time merges into the Messianic age, the common liberal dogma is that apocalyptic was "dualistic" while prophetic eschatology was "monistic." But here is a case where one has to check out what dictionary is defining what is meant by these words. That is to say, for a conservative like Dr. Leupold, Wolff's quotation above is just as good a summary of prophetic eschatology as it is of apocalyptic eschatology. No doubt apocalyptic accents the distinction between the two aeons, between the two periods, yet it does not basically depart from the unity of the divine action of Law and Gospel, judgment and grace. Apocalyptic naturally highlights much more the discontinuity, and no doubt there is a shift in accent there. But a shift in accent is something else other than a radically new and totally different theology -- which is what the critics say apocalyptic is.⁵⁴⁰

If Hosea 3:5 really presented a "dualism" in the critical sense of "apocalypticism," then Hosea really would be renouncing what is at the heart of Biblical theology. Rather, Biblical theology is consistently monistic -- even when it becomes apocalyptic -- whereas it is not Biblical apocalyptic, but paganism that is dualistic and/or pluralistic. In real dualism there are two principles -- light and darkness, life and death, or whatever -- in eternal opposition with no possibility that either one will ever get the upper hand. This is the basic perception of much paganism, that

⁵⁴⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. Wolff, p. 62.

one gets the upper hand only temporarily before the other one sooner or later turns the tables -- night and day, evening and morning, summer and winter -- and so there can be no eschatology. There can only be either fatalism or escapism, and the usual critical judgment about Biblical apocalyptic was that it was pure escapism, pure renunciation of this world's history. But Dr. Leupold refrains from such over-reaction by holding to the view that the post-exilic time merges into the "apocalyptic" Messianic era, and is not divorced from it.⁵⁴¹

Likewise, Dr. Leupold's understanding of the Messianic era "in the latter days" need not surrender the word "dualism" to the liberal critics, if it is merely a matter of how one understands the word "dualism." It is common to distinguish a "cosmological dualism" or "ontological dualism," that is, a real dualism, a pagan philosophical dualism, where there are two eternal opposites, on the one hand, from an "eschatological dualism," the genuine Biblical viewpoint, on the other hand. Biblical dualism is the teleological Law-Gospel "inaugurated eschatology" of "eggikev" (has come) in Mark 1:14-15 or 1 Peter 4:7, the Aorist ephthasen (has come) in Matt. 12:28 or Luke 11:20, or the shub shebuth (rescue from captivity) in Jer. 30:3 or Amos 9:14. That is, "inaugurated eschatology" impinges on the present moment in time as it did in Gen. 21:22-23, when King Abimelech feared God's promise to Abraham in such a way that this

⁵⁴¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. Hanson, Apocalyptic. Schmithals, Apocalyptic. Wolff, p. 62.

promise about the future impinged upon Abimelech's thought and action in the present. Abimelech said to Abraham:⁵⁴²

God is with you in all that you do; now therefore swear to me here by God that you will not deal falsely with me or with my offspring or with my posterity, but as I have dealt loyally with you, you will deal with me and with the land where you have sojourned. (Gen. 21:22-23)

Dr. Leupold must have encountered some millennialist interpretations of this verse, because he expends considerable effort refuting that aberration:

Since only the people of the Northern Kingdom are involved, as we demonstrated in connection v. 4, and the Ten Tribes, which constituted the Northern Kingdom, have passed off the stage of history and are no more, having been absorbed by the nations among whom they were

⁵⁴²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. D. Schreiber's student notes on Martin H. Scharlemann's lectures, "Parables of the Kingdom," Seminar EN-864, Sept. 15, 1975. D. Schreiber's student notes on Martin H. Scharlemann's lectures, "1 Peter," Seminar EN-432, July 31, 1979. Martin Luther, Luther's Works (American Edition), vol 4: Lectures on Genesis 21-25 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 73. Wolff, p. 62.

"eggikev" (has come) is a Perfect, meaning the action has been completed; the Present Tense of this verb means "to draw/come near," and the Perfect is "to have drawn near." The question about this verb is: If it has finished drawing near, does that mean it is already here? The New English Bible is ambivalent with this verb in Mark 1:14, translating, "the kingdom of God is upon you." Does that mean it has come near you, or that it is here? Is it "just around the corner" or is it with us now? The answer to this question is found by looking up other uses of this verb and parallels, that is, Matt. 12:28, which settles the question, at least as far as Christ's preaching about the kingdom is concerned. The Aorist ephthasen (has come) means "to have come"; this shows "the kingdom of God is here" (Mark 1:14), and "the end of all things has come" (1 Peter 4:7), is correct, and Luke 11:20 has the same verb. Kenneth Clark of Duke University and also Reginald Fuller disagree -- Fuller saying that Mark 1:14 means "almost here" and that the kingdom did not come until the Crucifixion -- arguing from the LXX that it means "approximately (drawn near)," but most New Testament scholars translate "has come," meaning the Kingdom is now present. -- Scharlemann, "1 Peter," notes, p. 62.

scattered, this passage cannot refer to a conversion of Israel.

The few remnants of the Ten Tribes that may be discernable among the Jews of our day are so negligible a factor as to be of no account in this connection. As long as the Ten Tribes still remained relatively intact, so long only was a fulfillment of this passage possible.

This fulfillment took place when scattered fragments of these tribes joined Judah in its return from the Captivity and associated themselves with Judah and its spiritual heritage before the Israelite fragments were absorbed by the Geniltes. All attempts, therefore, to make this passage refer to a future conversion of the Jews are abortive. This passage is fulfilled.

It cannot predicate a conversion of all the Jews because it refers to only a portion of them. Notice also that the wording of the verse does not allow for a conversion even of all of the group referred to. We do not read: "Afterward shall all the children of Israel," and so forth. In fact, only those are spoken of who truly constitute God's Israel.⁵⁴³

In contrast to the above, Dr. Leupold spends surprisingly little effort expounding the word shub (return). He says that "these now will 'return' involves in this case the inner spiritual return; for it is said, 'they will seek Jehovah their God.'" Perhaps Dr. Leupold gives this word short schrift here because the word first appeared in Hosea 2:7, where he noted that it is the common Biblical word for "repent," or in effect, "be converted"; but this is an especially prominent word in Hosea. "Returning" is "repenting," as was mentioned in connection with Dr. Leupold's exposition of Hosea 2:7, where the parallel with the Prodigal Son was also made. But so far Israel is driven by a spirit of harlotry, and so she cannot repent. She is perverse, totally depraved, "non potest non peccare" (not able not to sin). That is her predicament,

⁵⁴³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C76.

and it is only after Yahweh by his judgment creates a new creature (2 Cor. 5:17) -- which in one sense has continuity with the same old person but on the other hand is radically new -- can she return to him. Yahweh has to create exnihilo (out of nothing) again the conditions and event of their return to him. As Wolff notes,⁵⁴⁴

Such a conversion, brought about by God's efficacious action, is just as unknown among the gods of the ancient Orient as is apostasy from those gods (cf. Jer. 2:10-13).⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C76. Mays, pp. 59-60. Wolff, p. 63. Laetsch, p. 40. Scaer, p. 35.

⁵⁴⁵Wolff, p. 63. This is one of the points that Buss also brought out, that here Hosea is making a total break with any analogy with paganism, because the very idea of repentance is impossible in a pagan context. There was no such thing as apostasy in ancient paganism, just as in modern paganism. The ancient or modern pagan is self-satisfied and self-righteous and so attuned to life as it is that talk about apostasy or repentance is at best a joke to him; and so the pagan needs the preachment of the Law first until he is convinced that he really is apostate and totally out of tune with God's design, so that even his best righteousness is like a menstrous rag, that is, a used Kotex (Is. 64:6). Buss highlights how it was of the essence of paganism to basically acquiesce in the rhythms of nature: "That is just the way life is," "If you can't beat it, then join it," "That is just the way God made us," "Roll with the punches," "It is just part of the wheel of Fate," "You win some and lose some," and when your time is up, just lay down and die like an animal. And the modern pagan is very much attuned to the rhythms of nature, such as the role of sex in his life, for example. But Biblical Christian faith clashes head-on with such instincts of natural religion, of which paganism, ancient or modern, is merely one expression. This is very prominent in Hosea, where so much of the book takes shape in opposition to the whole pagan conception of holiness. "Holiness" philologically merely means "set apart," but when paganism appropriated the term it devaluated the concept to mean being "set apart" to pagan gods who were a-moral; thus "sacral prostitutes" were known in paganism as "Holy Ones," where "holiness" is merely a ritual matter, and no repentance was bound up in "holiness" at all. On the other hand, in Biblical theology, "holines" meant to be "set apart" to a God who was ethically different, that is, to a God whose covenant promise was

Dr. Leupold is aware that this verse describes both God's causation behind the inner return -- "and afterward the sons of Israel shall be converted" -- and from man's perspective, that psychologically it must be described as man's action, faith, repentance, and so forth.⁵⁴⁶

[That] these now will "return" involves in this case the inner spiritual return; for it is said "they will seek Jehovah their God." Baals will have lost all attraction for them. This seeking will involve a reaching out after "David their King." This can refer only to the embracing of the Messianic hope, as various other passages also indicate; cf. Jer. 30:9; Ez. 34:23; 37:24.⁵⁴⁷

But perhaps because of Dr. Leupold's somewhat one-sided accent (theologically at least) on "the sons of Israel" referring only to the people of the Northern Kingdom, the Ten Tribes, he does not develop the word "sons" as he might have, as a reference to "the brotherhood," or in Christian application, the adopted members of God's family -- that now both Israel and Judah will really act like sons who know their real father is Yahweh, know how much he done for them, and consequently react as loyal sons should.⁵⁴⁸

In the quote just above, Dr. Leupold points out the "inner spiritual" seeking by the sons of Israel, but does not clearly say that very often ubiqeshu (and they shall seek), from the root

not merely analogical, but typological and eschatological. Buss, pp. 116-40. Wolff, p. 63.

⁵⁴⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C76. Wolff, p. 62. Mays, p. 59.

⁵⁴⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C76.

⁵⁴⁸Ibid., p. C76.

"שׁוּב" (seek), usually in the Piel, means specifically cultic "seeking" of Yahweh at the sanctuary, via sacrifice, and so forth. And there is no reason why this aspect should be excluded here either, although by no means is it to be limited to merely the liturgical aspect of proper seeking of Yahweh. Wolff and others would dogmatically want to exclude that aspect here because of their assumption that allegedly Hosea, like all the prophets, is intrinsically anti-cult, and that, allegedly, "real" prophetic thought assumes that cult is necessarily evil. But although Leupold does not discuss this aspect here, he would be strongly against such Wolffian presuppositions. Both the roots "שׁוּב" (seek) and "שׁוּב" (seek) commonly have that whole range of meaning. Rather Dr. Leupold here emphasizes that "to seek Yahweh" is more or less parallel to yashubu (return), as Mays emphasizes. If the sons of Israel return, if they repent, they will seek him; thus it is just two ways of saying the same thing.⁵⁴⁹

Dr. Leupold's translation of Hosea 3:5 indicates who they will seek, "their God," although he does not emphasize the importance of the suffix, "their," which is an echo of the original old Sinai covenant formula (Ex. 6:2-8, 19:1-6; Lev. 26:12-13; Deut. 26:17-19; 2 Sam. 7:24). They will seek Yahweh "their" God, who really now is their God again after the restoration of the covenant by means of God's grace.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C76. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60.

⁵⁵⁰Ibid.

And then parallel to this is the phrase, "and they shall (come in) fear to Yahweh," about which Dr. Leupold says:

The spirit of humility, repentance and eager search is excellently referred to in the verb pachadh, "tremble unto," cf. Ps. 2:11. Such seeking is born out of true repentance.⁵⁵¹

Thus Dr. Leupold indicates the difficulty of a literal translation of the word for "fear." Here one cannot quite translate this literally, "and they will fear to Yahweh," or "They will tremble unto Yahweh." Almost every translation has something different here. Laetsch has "come tremblingly"; The Living Bible and The American Translation have "come trembling"; Mays has "come in trembling awe"; Wolff has "with trembling approach," and so forth. But at any rate, here one has the basic meaning of "the fear of Yahweh": in Biblical thought. The root "יָרָא" (fear) is more often used in this sense, but the word found here, "יָרָא" (fear), is used also. This is not fear in the sense of "fright," but in the sense of "reverence" or "respect" or "admiration and awe." This is in contrast to the attitude of paganism, ancient and modern, of brazen, presumptuous familiarity with God, based on a kind of self-confidence that presupposes that God is a "nice guy" who is so easy to get along with -- because that kind of "god" basically is made in man's image and designed to pat him on the back if he trys hard and does his best. On the contrary, Biblical "fear of Yahweh" is a combination of trembling because of one's

⁵⁵¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C76.

unworthiness together with trembling with joy, like a bride before her marriage.⁵⁵²

Of the phrase, "Yahweh and his goodness," Dr. Leupold says:

The marvelous "goodness" of Jehovah, which they learned to appreciate while they were deprived of it during the Exile, will constitute one of the elements that attract these eager seekers. All the goodness that God longs to bestow has become an object of aspiration for these penitents.⁵⁵³

Dr. Leupold connects "good" with God's covenant blessings lost during the Exile. Tov (good) is one of those terms used commonly in such a comprehensive sense in the Old Testament, and in Christian usage too, that its specificity often fades into vague generality. It refers both to God's spiritual and material blessings: "Every good endowment and every perfect gift is from above" (James 1:17). There is a parallel usage in Amos 5:14 that uses tov (good) and ra" (evil) as general terms: "Seek good and not evil." And then from Ps. 107:1 we have the prayer: "Give thanks to the Lord for he is good." But as Dr. Leupold implies, Yahweh's goodness is not to be limited merely to the realm of moralism and/or Providence -- merely the goodness God gives to all men: "for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good" (Matt. 5:45). That is also true, but usually in the Bible the reference is not merely to Yahweh's Providence, but it is specifically to his covenant grace. Also then Yahweh's Providence is included in his covenant

⁵⁵²Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C76. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60.

⁵⁵³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C76-C77.

grace, but theologically one has to start with redemption and work back to creation. Thus God's goodness is finally inseparable from himself, and "goodness" is not merely an abstract quality in God. It is closer to pagan thinking that God's goodness is just merely a datum of existence or literary construct that one might personify. But again Dr. Leupold implies that in the Bible the personhood of God and his concrete historical action is of the very essence of his "goodness," and that one cannot talk of God's goodness apart from the particularities of redemption-history without changing that "goodness" into something entirely different than it is.⁵⁵⁴

Finally there are the two phrases that are all but universally cut out by critics, "David their king," and "in the latter days." Sometimes critics cut out the whole verse, Hosea 3:5, as allegedly a spurious product of Judaic messianic eschatology, but Dr. Leupold's response to that has already been discussed above. But regarding these two above-mentioned phrases, part of the critic's argument against their authenticity is metric; and admittedly their inclusion naturally does make the line a little longer. But this is bound up with the question of the poetic nature of the Book of Hosea, and that problem itself is speculative enough all alone without attempting to build any further hypothetical superstructures upon it. Of the expression, "in the latter days," Dr. Leupold says:⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C76-C77. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60. Laetsch, p. 40.

⁵⁵⁵Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C75-C77. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60.

This expression, wherever it occurs, refers to the Messianic era. Nor is this statement of time at variance with our contention; for the post-Exilic time merges into the Messianic age. Nor was it given to the prophets of old on questions of this character to discern the lapse of time falling between successive forward steps in the achievement of God's purposes.⁵⁵⁶

This phrase is especially common in prophecies of positive eschatology, of restoration. So undoubtedly here the critics present an argument in a circle. It has always been one of the standard principles of the classical critical agenda that true prophets were only prophets of woe, of doom. Thus if their circular argument presupposes that positive eschatology, the prophecy of restoration, is exilic or even later, then its appearance here naturally must be latter too. Given that presupposition, that conclusion follows. But one of the major conservative arguments for the authenticity of this phrase is its appearance in two of the earliest messianic oracles in the Bible -- given the text as it now stands. It appears in Gen. 49:1 in the last words of Jacob to his twelve sons (especially Judah), and also in Num. 24:14 in Balaam's unwilling oracle about the star out of Jacob. Hence the critics like Wolff and Mays have to undertake a total editorial reworking of the Bible to argue for its lateness. Dr. Leupold and Laetsch assume the authenticity of this phrase, and apparently for that reason do not engage the critics on this issue.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁶Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77.

⁵⁵⁷Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60. Laetsch, p. 40.

As was noted above in the discussion about Dr. Leupold's understanding of eschatology, apocalyptic sharpens the distinction between the two aeons, "the end of the ages" -- as even Paul uses that phrase in 1. Cor. 10:11. But the critics deny that it refers to the final aeon, to the eschaton, arguing that it merely represents the terminus of Yahweh's work in history, a Teilhardian "omega point," something that is a product purely of God's immanental work within history. On the contrary, Dr. Leupold understands this to be a transcendent supernatural eruption from beyond -- the kingdom of God -- the major accent of apocalyptic eschatology. Thus the critics can eliminate that too from the prophets only by using the scalpel. John Bright says:⁵⁵⁸

Outside of the Gospels the expression "Kingdom of God" is not very common in the New Testament, while in the Old Testament it does not occur at all. But the concept is by no means confined to the New Testament.⁵⁵⁹

So this phrase, "in the latter days" is inseparably linked to the other disputed phrase, "David their king." Wolff mentions the common argument that this was inadvertently introduced by some scribe into the text here from Jer. 30:9, where it stands together

⁵⁵⁸Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. John Bright, The Kingdom of God: The Biblical Concept and Its Meaning for the Church (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1978 [1953]), p. 18. Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, The Phenomenon of Man, trans. (New York: Harper & Row, The Cathedral Library, Harper Torchbooks, 1965 [1955]), p. 318. Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, Human Energy, trans. J. M. Cohen, (New York: Helen and Kurt Wolff [Harcourt Brace Jovanovich], Harvest Book, 1969 [1962]), p. 188. Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, Activation of Energy, trans. Rene Hague, (New York: Helen and Kurt Wolff [Harcourt Brace Jovanovich], Harvest Book, 1970 [1963]), p. 413. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60. Laetsch, p. 40.

⁵⁵⁹Bright, p. 18.

also there with the phrase, "Yahweh their God." But Mays says in so many words that this phrase, "David their king," is a deliberate theological revision by some late Judean editor after the Exile; and thus Mays pits Southern Kingdom Judean theocracy against Northern Kingdom Israelite theology. A common rationale behind critical rejection of the accent on "David their king" and the institutionalism of the monarchy is that such an idea is incompatible with Hosea's otherwise major accent on the "Wilderness honeymoon" theme, which we already discussed above. That is, the critics insist that this phrase was interpolated by monarchist propagandists from the Southern Kingdom of Judah, and that really Hosea was a champion of the anti-institutionalist, charismatic Northern Kingdom of Israel, which was more faithful to the "old time religion" of the "Wilderness honeymoon" period. But Dr. Leupold does not regard Hosea to be the anti-institutionalist that the critics make him out to be.

Dr. Leupold says:⁵⁶⁰

That the Messianic hope was the objective of these seekers appears from the fact that they are also said to return "to David their king."⁵⁶¹

Thus Dr. Leupold says that a return to David as their legitimate king is part of their "seeking" Yahweh, because both words are parallel objects of the word bigesh (seek). The Book of Kings assumes that the very existence of Israel was inseparable from their political rejection of the Davidic dynasty. Thus just as the

⁵⁶⁰Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60. Laetsch, p. 40.

⁵⁶¹Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77.

apostasy of the ten tribes originally had been bound up with their rejection of the Davidic dynasty, so the reunification of the tribes in one kingdom of God is inseparable from their acceptance again of David as their king.⁵⁶²

Of course, in such an explicit verse as this one criticism strenuously endeavors to produce a log-jam at virtually every bend in the river. So the question comes up whether the phrase "David their king" goes beyond being merely messianic in some general sense, or is a direct reference to a personal Messiah. Already the Targum referred it to a personal Messiah, which was not edited out until Christianity had strongly accented the theme. The Babylonian Talmud, referring to this passage, says: "When Jerusalem is [re-]built, David comes." Even Ibn Ezra in the Middle Ages takes it as referring to a personal Messiah. Often in Jewish texts, the Jews eventually dropped the personal Messiah interpretation in the face of Christian appropriation of it, but here that did not happen. Some commentaries make the words refer merely to the dynasty, the Davidides, the descendants and representatives of David -- which admittedly is a possible interpretation according to a merely philological, surface reading of the text. Most of Judaism is much more comfortable talking about the Messianic Era than it is in any personal Messiah. Although Orthodox Judaism still holds to a personal Messiah, liberal Judaism tends to be embarrassed by any such talk and prefers secularized concepts about the destiny of the

⁵⁶²Ibid. Laetsch, p. 40.

Jewish people. Dr. Leupold does not distinguish between a dynasty, an era and a personal Messiah, because in any real sense one cannot have an era or dynasty without a personal representative of it.⁵⁶³

However, once again, Dr. Leupold should have put much more emphasis on the whole typological structure of Hosea -- on the return after Judgment. And this is the same as saying again that Dr. Leupold should have put more emphasis on the theological theme of justificatio indigni (God justifies the ungodly) -- as he in fact did in his comments on Hosea 2:19 above. But Dr. Leupold did not carry through consistently with that theme here in Hosea 3:1-5. That is, on the one hand, the return after Judgment is a return to the way things were before. But in another sense at the same time, if one is willing to grant that this passing reference to David is of a piece with the whole typological structure of Hosea, then internally (on a fulfilled antitypical level) there is no reason to exclude this as a reference also to the eschatological One who will represent the promise to David and who will bring it to fruition.

Not so Ward. James Ward's commentary argues in typical critical fashion that,⁵⁶⁴

The hope for a re-establishment of David's line is an alien feature in Hosea's promise (3:5). It is one of the marks of the Judean revision of the book. This revised text presents the absurd image of the Davidic dynast,

⁵⁶³Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," p. C77. Wolff, p. 63. Mays, p. 60. Laetsch, p. 40.

⁵⁶⁴Dr. Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C58, C77. Laetsch, p. 40.

alongside Yahweh, as the object of eschatological faith!⁵⁶⁵

Ward pits Yahweh and the dynasty against one another as though they have to be opposites, as though one could not seek both, God and God's elect. On the contrary, in the Bible those two run side by side, as in Ex. 14:31, "and the people . . . believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses." Also in eschatological passages, sometimes it is simply God who will bring in the Eschaton, and other times an agent, a Messiah, is mentioned. Indeed, there is a certain sense in which those two modes of expression are not ultimately unified until in the person of Jesus Christ, who is both God and man, where it is indeed God who does it, but also it is a man -- who is in some sense distinguishable from God the Father -- who does it. However, the type of thing that Ward does with it is not uncommon among critics. He goes on to argue very typically that even if it could be proved that this phrase was genuine, he would continue to ignore it.⁵⁶⁶

Even if, after all, the reference to David were a genuine part of the original oracle (something that probably will never be known), it would have to be interpreted as the symbol of a united people under God and not as a fragment of Judean propaganda.

Until such time as its originality is proved, however, I shall read chapter 3 without this phrase. As a matter of fact, I should do so even if it were proved, for the chapter has greater literary and theological

⁵⁶⁵James Merrill Ward, Hosea: A Theological Commentary (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 63.

⁵⁶⁶Ward, p. 63. Laetsch, p. 40.

integrity without it, regardless who it was who wrote
it.⁵⁶⁷

Here yawns the unbridgeable chasm between the presuppositions
of the liberal critics and Dr. Leupold's faith.

⁵⁶⁷Ward, p. 63.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Curriculum Vitae

Dr. Leupold was born into an impoverished immigrant family, but was a "gold medal" student by the time he was a high school Senior. The strongly orthodox Martin Luther Seminary curriculum laid the foundation for the conservative disposition of his lifework. He was a parish pastor for eight years, while teaching part-time at Martin Luther Seminary, thus permanently engraving a pastoral orientation into his theology. The Buffalo Synod's firm adherence to Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions became characteristic of Dr. Leupold's exegetical approach.

Dr. Leupold had a dozen years of Hebrew and Old Testament teaching experience before coming to the Columbus Seminary. In spite of the fact that Dr. Leupold never really did any significant formal graduate study, he nevertheless impressed his colleagues enough to award him a D.D. However, Dr. Leupold's theology was never really accepted as normative by the 1930-ALC, and the 1960-ALC ultimately rejected his orthodox, conservative, confessional exegetical approach.

Although opinions differ as to how large a contingent of conservative pastors is left inside the ALC/LCA who are favorably

influenced by Leupold's books, outside that organization the evangelical, conservative Biblical approach is presently very powerful in American church history today. For example, in the Old Testament Department at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, the appropriate one of Dr. Leupold's half-dozen commentaries has been listed on the corresponding official course bibliography for every such exegetical course offered during at least the last decade. Dr. Leupold was ahead of his time. He is much better known in the world today than when he was a professor at the Columbus Seminary.

Summary of Dr. Leupold's Approach to
Biblical Exegesis

Philology

Philologically, Dr. Leupold was consistent throughout his entire scholarly career. The bibliography "Abbreviations" listed in his very first commentary on "Genesis,"¹ as well as in his "Ecclesiastes" commentary² set the pace philologically for Dr. Leupold's career. There are listed the familiar "B.D.B." (Brown-Driver-Briggs)³ and "G.K." (Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley), as well as Dr. Leupold's favorite "trade-mark" exegetical tools, "K.S."

¹H. C. Leupold, Exposition of Genesis (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1942), p. 34.

²H. C. Leupold, Exposition of Ecclesiastes (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1952), p. 6.

³Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, Charles A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962 [1907]).

(Koenig's Syntax)⁴ and "K.W." (Koenig's Woerterbuch).⁵ And especially those latter designations, "K.S." and "K.W.," are found throughout all of Dr. Leupold's commentaries (Genesis, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Zechariah, Psalms, Isaiah) including this "Hosea" commentary manuscript.

It is obvious why Dr. Leupold stuck so close to Koenig. Frederich Eduard Koenig (1846-1936), who was a professor of Old Testament exegesis in Leipzig (1885), Rostock (1888), and Bonn (1900), was conservative in his theological position and opposed the extreme higher critics. Koenig is quoted in Pieper's Christian Dogmatics.⁶

Biblical Hermeneutics

Material Principle

The doctrine of Justification by grace through faith alone underlies Dr. Leupold's whole Hosea commentary, but it specifically comes to the surface in his exposition of Hosea 2:14-15 (Regeneration), just as its correlative, Sanctification, the other side of the same coin, surfaces in his exposition of Hosea 2:16-20 (Restoration).

⁴Eduard Koenig, Lehrgebaude der Hebraischen Sprache: II. Syntax, 1897.

⁵Eduard Koenig, Hebraisches und Aramaisches Woerterbuch zum Alten Testament, 1922.

⁶Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 449. Francis Pieper, Christian Dogmatics, vol. 2, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975 [1917]), p. 115, footnote #113.

Law-Gospel

This principle never did prominently emerge in the Hosea commentary. In fact, Dr. Leupold by-passed several opportunities to expound upon it. Most notable was omission of any discussion in Hosea 2:19 of the forensic, imputed righteousness aspect of tsedeg (righteousness) and mishpat (justice, judgment). He did specifically mention that rebu (plead, bring charges, contend) referred to a "court-scene" in Hosea 2:2, but did not relate it to the above-mentioned covenant vocables in Hosea 2:19 nor to the Law-Gospel hermeneutical principle.

Simul Iustus Et Peccator; Two Kingdoms

The only explicit reference here is Dr. Leupold's statement in connection with Hosea 2:18 that no achievement of perfection will be reached in this world. But this is the consistent presupposition throughout the commentary.

Typology

Dr. Leupold presupposes this principle throughout his commentary, but only spasmodically or intermittently expounds on the unity of the two testaments by showing how the New Testament fulfillments or connections grow out of a given text. One such application is in his exposition of Hosea 1:10, where he shows how Israel could become like the sand of the seashore for multitude, even though Genesis 32 and Hosea 1 look like flat contradictions; the solution to this paradox is Rom. 9:25-26, where Paul applies this passage to the conversion of the Gentiles. Dr. Leupold uses

typology effectively when he does appeal to it -- such as in his Messianic Prophecies booklet -- but nowhere develops the sacramental dimension of, for example, the "mystery" of Yahweh's courtship typology.

Eschatology

Dr. Leupold is aware of the "Eschatological Great Reversal" motif, because he comments on the sudden transition in Hosea 1:10, but he does not explain what this startling abruptness means. In Hosea 2:19, he does not point out the Eschatological theme at all.

Formal Principle

Dr. Leupold's Old Testament Introduction Notes booklet reveals that he regarded the Biblical text itself as the "primary source" of his information, and everything else as "secondary sources." Also an outstanding feature of his preaching was that he kept the portrait/profile of the Biblical text as it stands and did not tamper with it.

Plenary-verbal Inspiration, Propositional Revelation

In his exposition of the superscription, Hosea 1:1, as well as in his 1966 Lutheran Standard "Genesis" article and his 1968 Uniform Series "Home Augsburg Bible Study" article, Dr. Leupold sets forth as his exegetical operating principle that the Bible does not merely contain the word of God, but that it is (equated with) the word of God.

One Literal/Unified Sense

Dr. Leupold's treatment of the superscription, Hosea 1:1, is also characteristic of his assumption of the literal historicity of the Biblical account, that "in the days of . . . kings of Judah, and . . . Israel" literally means what it says. On the other hand, when it comes to the marriage metaphor, Dr. Leupold does not hesitate to understand that event as "an inner visionary experience, which was experienced by the prophet in such a way that it was as real as though it had actually taken place." Dr. Leupold would thus maintain "one literal sense" not literalistically, but at least as "one unified sense"; that is, he understands the figurative Marriage Metaphor in the light of the literal, historical context in which it is presented, and not vice-versa.⁷

Scripture Interprets Scripture

Dr. Leupold makes repeated lavish use of this principle, for example, in his discussion of Hosea 1:2 - 2:1, where he defends his interpretation of the Marriage Metaphor as "an inner visionary experience," by reference to three other parallel Old Testament passages: Jer. 25:15-17, Zech. 11:4, Isaiah 30. And later in his rejection of the "evolutionary" principle of interpretation offered by the critics, he scolds these liberal modernists for compromising this principle by saying that from Hosea's marriage experience the prophet later developed via an evolutionary inner process of

⁷Leupold "Hosea," pp. A4-A5.

enlightenment an insight into the divine truth about God's relationship with Israel.

Analogy of Faith

In his exposition of Hosea 1:7, Dr. Leupold defends Scripture as here foretelling future events, as Jesus did of his own resurrection. In his Old Testament Introduction Notes booklet, and in his Hosea 2:2-13 prolegomena, Dr. Leupold lists many ways in which the critics refuse to operate on the basis of clear, plain, certain and express passages of Scripture to interpret the figurative or unclear passages.

In his 1962 International Uniform Teacher's Quarterly article, Dr. Leupold eliminates an alleged "contradiction in the Bible" -- that in 2 Kings 22:10 the "Reformation" came before the discovery of the law-book in the Temple, while in 2 Chron. 34:15 the reforms started before the law-book was discovered. Dr. Leupold explains that "the author of 2 Chronicles follows the time sequence more exactly, whereas the writer of 2 Kings has a topical sequence in mind."

Inerrancy of Scripture

This writer knows of no instance where Dr. Leupold says that he has found an error in Scripture; but neither is he "inerrantistic." Rather, he reflects the Bible's own flexibility. He attributes the commentary 2 Kings 23:25 evaluation of Josiah to hyperbole ("Before him there was no king like him, . . . nor did any like him arise after him"), and thus acknowledges the Holy Spirit's

literary use of hyperbole without hedging on the Bible's factual inerrancy.

Evangelical Lutheran Confessions

There is no specific reference in the Hosea commentary to the use of "principles of Biblical interpretation in the Lutheran Confessions." In fact, there are only two statements about the Lutheran confessions in the whole 50,000 pages of the Leupold Archives and oral history material. After returning from his 1955 Lutheran World Federation trip to Europe, he said there was a return to the Confessions evident there. Also in his lecture, "A People Claimed by God, A New Testament Approach," he lamented the laxity toward the Confessions caused by American denominationalism.⁸

Textual Criticism

The most obvious characteristic of Dr. Leupold's exegetical approach is that he overwhelmingly endorses the Masoretic Text as it stands and works with that, rather than working with the "reconstructed" results of some subjective "emendatory impulse." Dr. Leupold also does exegesis of the Masoretic Text rather than some hypothetical "genre," although he is aware that at certain points, an appreciation of "genre," "reconstructions," the Sitz im Leben, and so forth, can contribute to a legitimate understanding of the text.

⁸Ralph A. Bohlmann, Principles of Biblical Interpretation in the Lutheran Confessions (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968).

A related consistent exegetical trait is that Dr. Leupold also overwhelmingly favors the Hebrew Masoretic Text over against the Septuagint or any other version if there is a choice between them -- unless there is an unusually serious textual-critical corruption of the Hebrew text as it stands. And this really says a lot about Dr. Leupold's loyalty to the Hebraica veritas (true Hebrew), because the textual-critical problem in the Book of Hosea is easily the worst in the whole Old Testament (followed by Ezekiel and Samuel), as Mays says:⁹

For several reasons the analysis and interpretation of the sayings [of Hosea] is more difficult than in other prophetic books. The first is the state of the text. It has the well-deserved reputation of being the worst preserved in the O.T.¹⁰

But then Mays goes beyond Dr. Leupold's procedural policy. Mays says: "At a number of places, exegetical decisions must rest on reconstructions of the Masoretic Text." Dr. Leupold nowhere talks this way. Even the new Anchor Bible commentary takes a conservative hermeneutical tack more closely similar to Dr. Leupold. While admitting the textual-critical difficulties, Anchor's

⁹Leupold "Hosea," pp. A2-A3, Cl. James Luther Mays, Hosea, A Commentary, in The Old Testament Library, eds. G. Ernest Wright, et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976 [1969]), p. 5. Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, in The Anchor Bible (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 66-67. Horace D. Hummel, The Word Becoming Flesh: An Introduction to the Origin, Purpose, and Meaning of the Old Testament (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), pp. 289-290.

¹⁰Mays, p. 5.

heremeneutical policy is to adhere to the Masoretic Text, as does Dr. Leupold. Anchor says:¹¹

The text of Hosea competes with Job for the distinction of containing more unintelligible passages than any other book of the Hebrew Bible. . . . That at least has been the opinion of most critical scholars, and our commentary confirms the fact that the text bristles with difficulties.

. . . Whatever the deficiencies of the Hebrew text, the versions are no better. . . . The LXX . . . translator . . . did no better than most scholars in trying to solve its many riddles.

. . . By and large, the MT is superior to all the versions. We have proceeded on that basis and have tried to work out translation and comments on the basis of the received Hebrew text.¹²

Dr. Leupold's heremeneutical policy regarding the textual-critical problem is in almost exact agreement with this Anchor statement. No doubt the sort of statistical prose-poetry "particles and articles" cognate language linguistic analysis presented in Anchor, which was largely developed after Dr. Leupold's prime, is of help in understanding both the history of the development of the Hebrew language, and also the literary structure of Hosea. Dr. Leupold would probably have welcomed this kind of statistical aid because it seems to strongly support his interpretation; but Dr. Leupold also probably would have agreed with Anchor's "confession" about the ultimate value of such statistical wizardry for overcoming the difficult textual-critical problem in Hosea. Anchor says:¹³

¹¹Ibid. Anchor, pp. 66-67.

¹²Anchor, pp. 66-67.

¹³Ibid., pp. 57-66.

In the end, however, it must be confessed that many problems remain unsolved, and that a good deal of the content of Hosea and its real meaning remain beyond reach.¹⁴

Dr. Leupold said as much of a related Hosean problem:

"We simply do not know."¹⁵

Isagogics

Dr. Leupold does not demand that the superscription (Hosea 1:1) was necessarily written by Hosea himself, nor does he categorically rule out all redaction, later collection or editorial harmonization. But he does insist that all this kind of work come under the over-arching umbrella of verbal inspiration and propositional revelation. In his 1966 Lutheran Standard "Genesis" article, Dr. Leupold grants total academic freedom on the issue of authorship of the Pentateuch while unequivocally upholding Mosaic authorship as his own view and the final results of his own lifetime of study on the issue.¹⁶

Dr. Leupold's outline of the Book of Hosea, which he has appropriated from the eloquent Britisher, George Adam Smith, is Dr. Leupold's second try, at least, to discover a coherent outline for this difficult prophetic book. In his Old Testament Introduction Notes booklet, Dr. Leupold's "first try" was to bid us to observe

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 67.

¹⁵Leupold, "Hosea," p. A2.

¹⁶Leupold, "Hosea," p. A1.

"the pronounced symmetry of the two halves" of the book, which he designated as Hosea 1-2, and Hosea 3-14:¹⁷

I. Hosea 1-2

Threat		Promise
	First Marriage	
Ch. 1		1,10-2,1 (Messianic)
	Commentary	
2,4-15		2,16-25 generally Messianic

II. Hosea 3-14

Threat		Promise
	Second Marriage	
3,14		3,5 (Messianic)
	Commentary	
a) 4,15,15a		15b-6, 3
b) 6,4-11,7		11,8-11
c) 12,1-14,1		14,2-9 generally Messianic

Dr. Leupold's "second try" to outline Hosea is also two-part: 1) Hosea 1-3, a marriage metaphor as a pictorial illustration of Israel's unfaithfulness. 2) Hosea 4-14, the Noise of a Nation Falling to Pieces, the story of Israel's collapse. But Dr. Leupold quite honestly concludes about Hosea, "All outlines that try to present the sequence of thought as clearly articulated strike us as artificial."¹⁸

¹⁷Dr. H. C. Leupold, Old Testament Introduction Notes, p. 41. George Adam Smith, The Book of the Twelve Prophets, vol. 1, rev. ed. (London: Harper, 1928).

¹⁸Leupold, "Hosea," pp. C78-79.

Postscript

There was no "Young/Early Leupold" and "Old/Late Leupold," two Leupolds, one man who radically changed from confessional Lutheran theology into historical critical liberalism. That is, in the Archive materials there is discernable no hermeneutical shift in his exegetical approach. In summary then, Dr. Leupold's attitude toward Scripture did not substantially change, but remained constant during his entire career.

Dr. Leupold's favorite Bible verse:

Ps 90:17

Let the favor of the Lord our God be upon us,
and establish thou the work of our hands upon us,
yea, the work of our hands, establish thou it.

56 pages of pictures - page numbers 437 to 492



#1
p.437

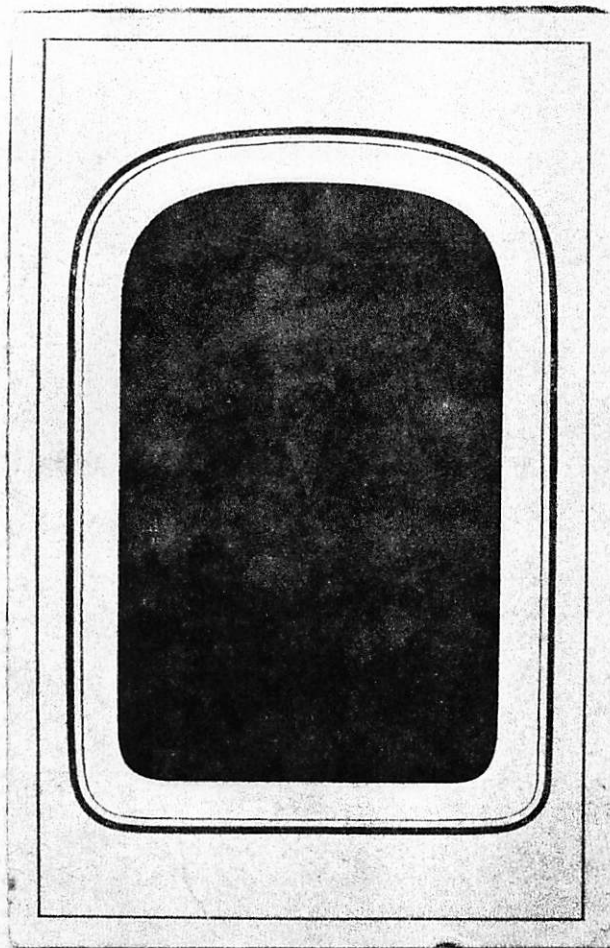


#2
p. 438



Conrad Leopold
(confirmation)
1868

#3
p. 439



Conrad Leopold
10.20.1872.
age 18.

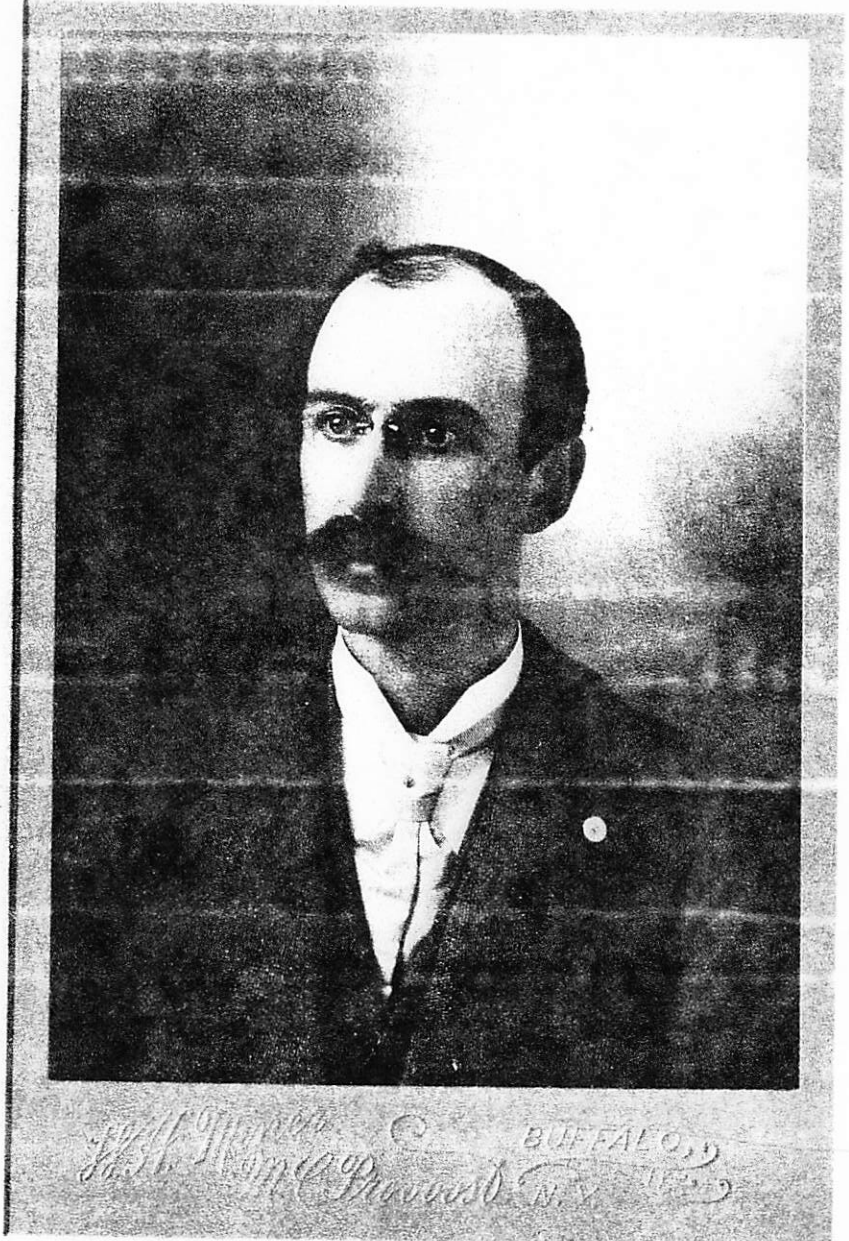
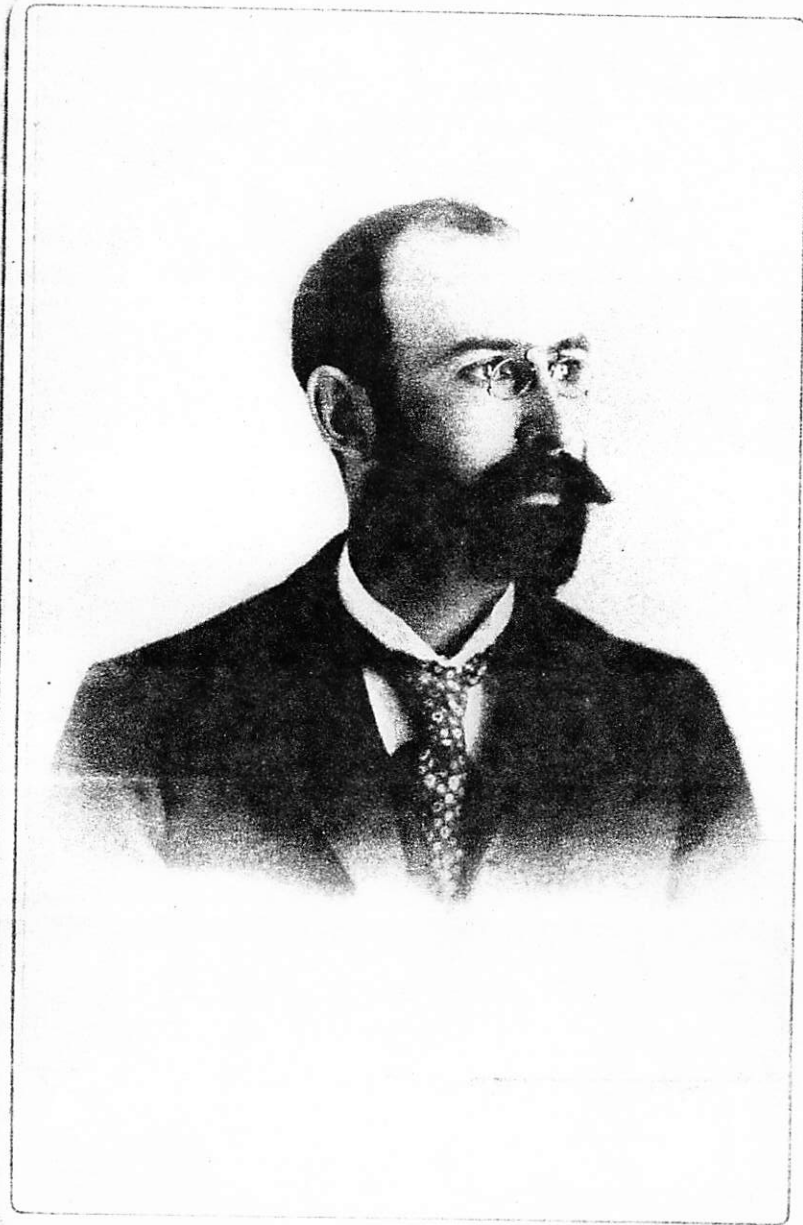


Conrad Leopold
Confirmation,
1868

#4
p.440



Conrad Leopold
10.20.1872.
age 18.



#5
p. 441

CONRAD LEUPOLD

TRAUSCHBIL

Conrad Leopold,
aus Buffalo, N. Y.,
und Pauline Wilhelmine Sophie Schroer,
aus Humboldt, Ontario,
sind am 5. ten Februar 1880 durch Unterzeichneten

in Gegenwart der Zeugen:
Carl Schroer, Eleonore Schroer,
Georg Leopold, Barbara Leopold.

Ehelich verbunden,

welches hierdurch glaubwürdig bezeugt wird.
Martinsville, Niagara Co., 2. 24 April
A.D. Ein tausend acht hundert und 80.

J. F. C. Hennrich
Pastor.



Der 127 Psalm.

1. Wo der Herr nicht das Haus bauet, so arbeiten umsonst, die daran bauen. Wo der Herr nicht die Stadt behüthet, so wachet der Wächter umsonst.
2. Es ist umsonst, dass ihr frühe aufstohet, und hernach lange sitzet, und esset euer Brod mit Sorgen, denn seinen Freunden giebt er es schlafend.
3. Siehe, Kinder sind eine Gabe des Herrn, und Leibestrucht ist ein Geschenk.
4. Wie die Pfeile in der Hand eines Starken, also Gerathen die jungen Knaben.
5. Wohl dem, der seinen Köcher derselben voll hat, die werden nicht zu schanden, wenn sie mit ihren Feinden handeln im Thor.

Ich und mein Haus wollen dem Herrn dienen



Der 128 Psalm.

1. Wohl dem, der den Herrn fürchtet, und auf seinen Wegen gehet.
2. Du wirst dich nähren deiner Hände Arbeit, wohl dir, du hast es gut.
3. Dein Weib wird sein wie ein fruehbarer Weinstock um dein Haus herum, deine Kinder wie die Oelzweige um deinen Tisch her.
4. Siehe, also wird gesegnet der Mann, der den Herrn fürchtet.
5. Der Herr wird dich segnen aus Zion, dass du sehest das Glück Jerusalems dein Lebentlang.
6. Und sehest deiner Kinder Kinder Friede über Jerusalem.



Leugold
Greatgrand parents Wedding





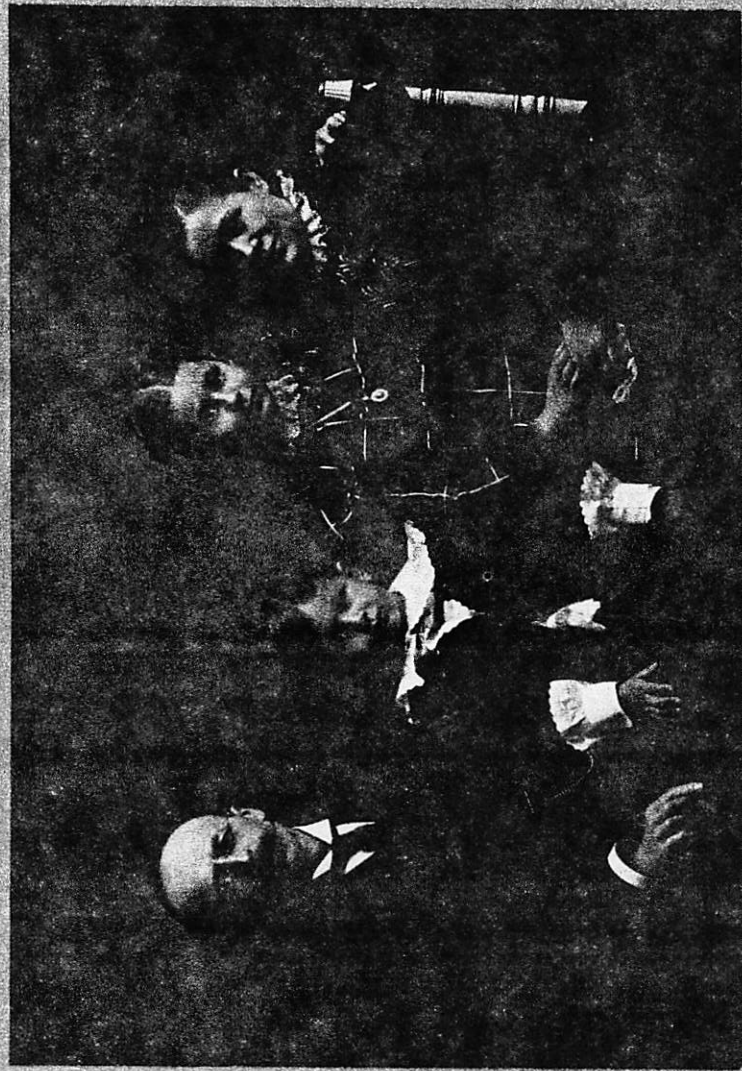
#8
p.444

Pauline Wilhelmine
Sophie Schroer Leupold
and son
Herbert Carl Johann Leupold.
born July 23 1892



1896

#9
p.445



Daddy Agnes

1898

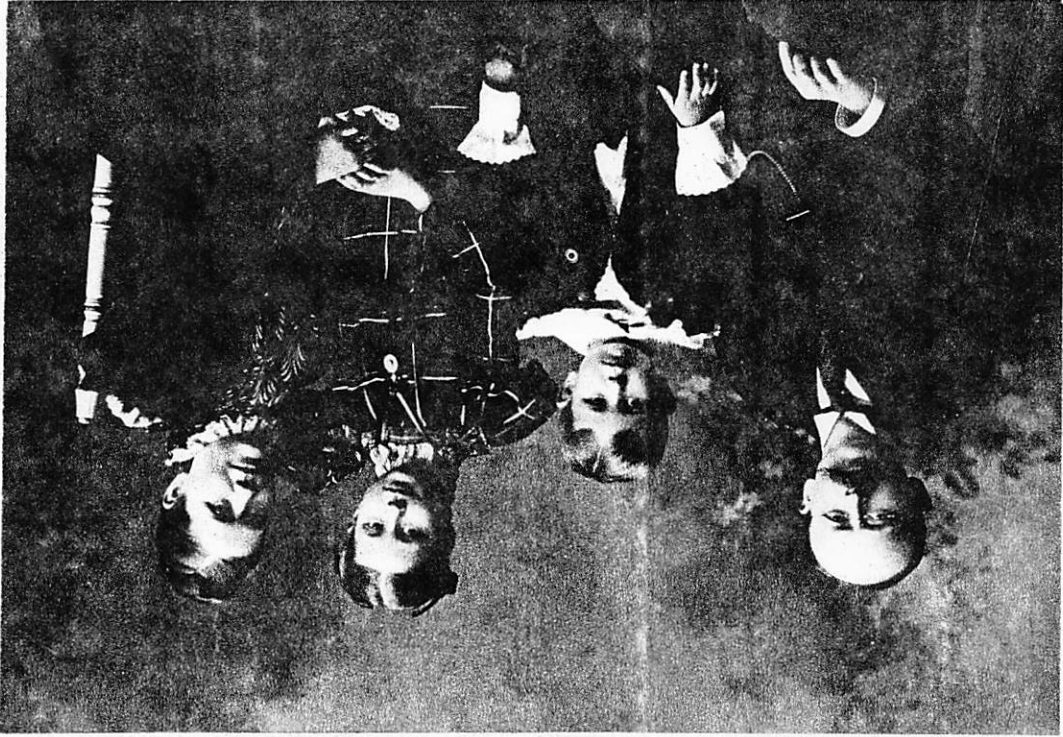
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Werner's Gallery
101-103 GENESEE ST.
BUFFALO

#10
d.446

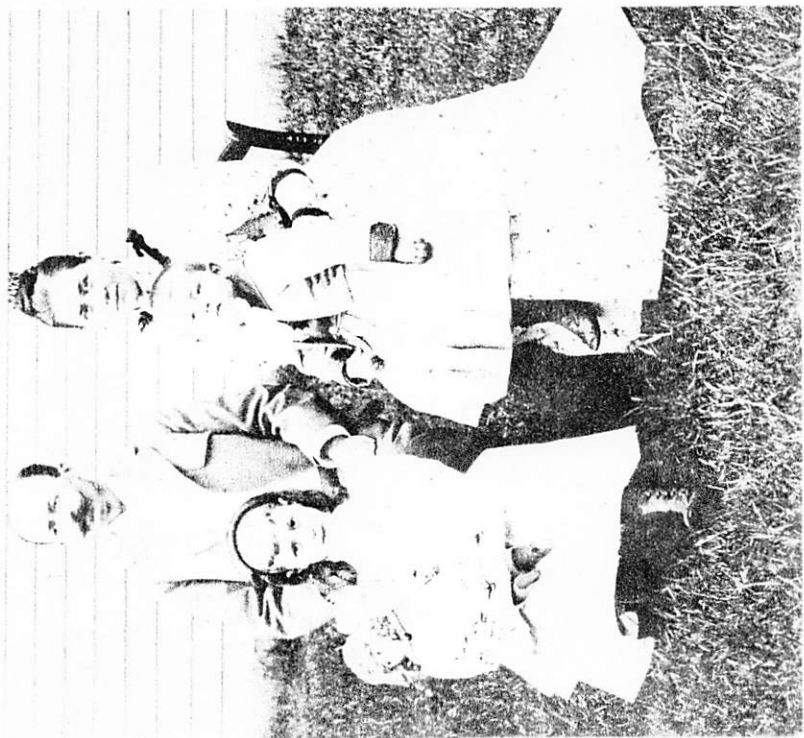
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Saddy Agnes

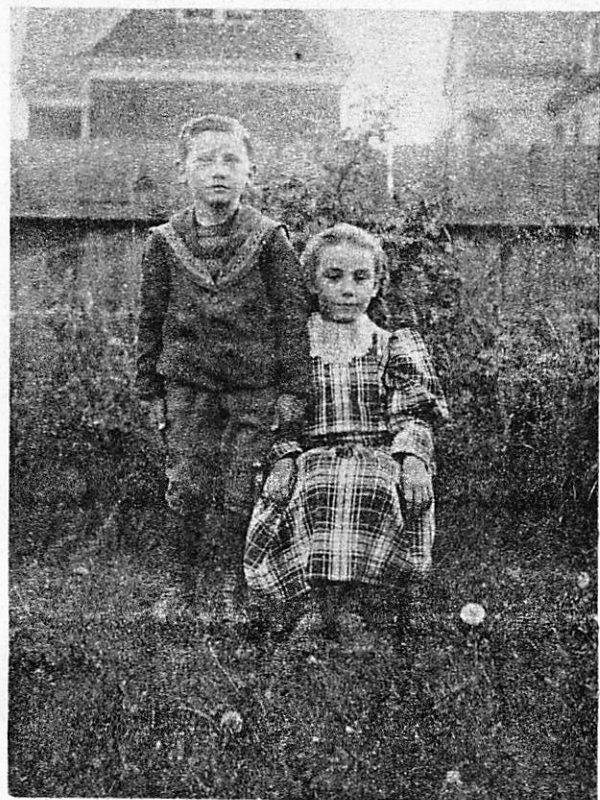


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U.S.A.
1898

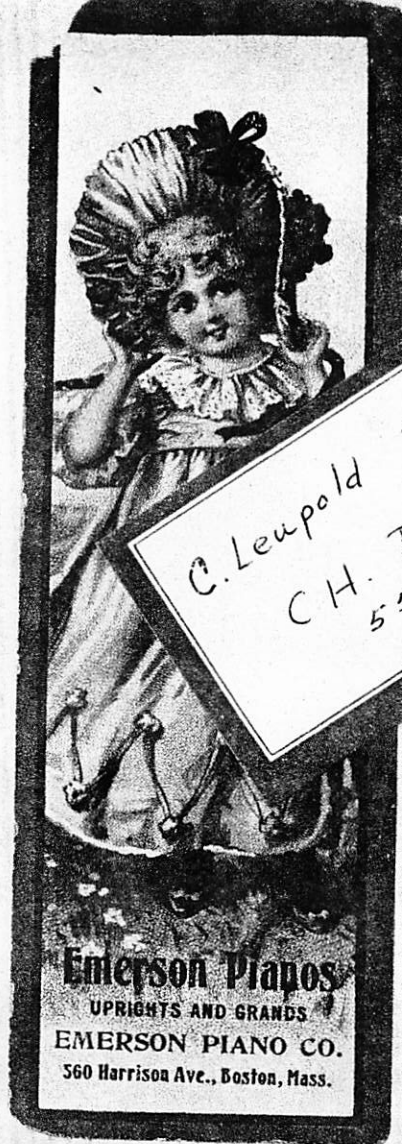
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IN
U.S.A.



1891



#11
p.447



C. Leupold Book Keeper
C.H. BAILEY
557 MAIN ST.
BUFFALO, N.Y.

#13
p.447

Agnes Josephine Barbara
Leupold

Born June 20 1889

Died September 4 1944



#12
p.447



Mr. and Mrs. Conrad Leupold
June 20, 1915

Evangelical Lutheran Church
of
"The Ascension"

#15
p.449

BAILEY AND DORRIS AVENUES
BUFFALO, N. Y.

REV. H. C. LEUPOLD
43 SCHRECK AVE.
TELEPHONE DIXON 3066-W

Aug 9, 1934

Lieber Herbert

Man spricht immer von Walter. Der
 schreibt im Fründebote
 hinein und wenn man
 es sagt sie sitzen in S.
 jeden Tag 100 und die
 den fünfzigsten Tag
 zu der Zeit
 kam am Montag
 im Parish Ho
 dem Pastor
 im Lath
 hat ihm
 Am
 Auf
 my
 my
 Missions
 Orphan Home,
 wird die fünfzigsten
 herzlich grüßen von fünfzig Jahren.
 Peter

von Walter. Der
 schreibt im Fründebote
 hinein und wenn man
 es sagt sie sitzen in S.
 jeden Tag 100 und die
 den fünfzigsten Tag
 zu der Zeit
 kam am Montag
 im Parish Ho
 dem Pastor
 im Lath
 hat ihm
 Am
 Auf
 my
 my
 Missions
 Orphan Home,
 wird die fünfzigsten
 herzlich grüßen von fünfzig Jahren.
 Peter

Ohio
 hat
 als
 Vorstand
 mit \$150.
 phinn
 für hat
 man auf
 August da.
 Kommission große
 ds of the St John's
 Dr Sheatsley



AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO
Prof. H. C. Leupold
27 Watwood Pl
BUFFALO, N. Y.

Prof. H. C. Leupold.
750 Roosevelt Ave
Columbus, Ohio

My father's last
letter to me.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet. "

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

jas. Jeremiah, a Hebrew prophet.

GERMAN DEPARTMENT.

Public School No. 17 English 7 Grade.

German 4 " "

Record of Herbert Leupold ★
 For the term beginning Jan 20 1908

STUDIES.	1st Month	2d Month	3d Month	4th Month	5th Month	Term Averages	Term Exam'n	LESSON PERIODS.					
								ABSENT.					
								1st Month.	2d Month.	3d Month.	4th Month.	5th Month.	Total.
Reading						100							
Spelling						100							
Grammar													
Translation						98							Ex.
Conversation						99							
Averages					★	99							9

General average for the term,.....

95-100=EXCELLENT; 85-95=VERY GOOD; 80-85=GOOD; 75-80=FAIR;
 BELOW 75=POOR.

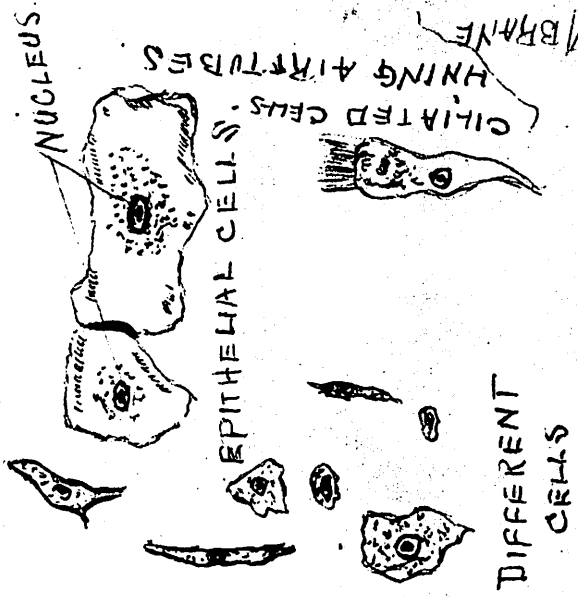
The above Report is substantially correct:

1st Month Teacher.
 2d " "
 3d " "
 4th " "
 5th " Ida Ruclolf

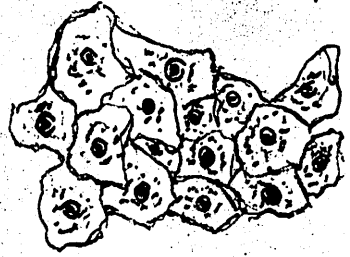
I have carefully examined the above Report:

1st Month Parent.
 2d " "
 3d " "
 4th " "
 5th " "

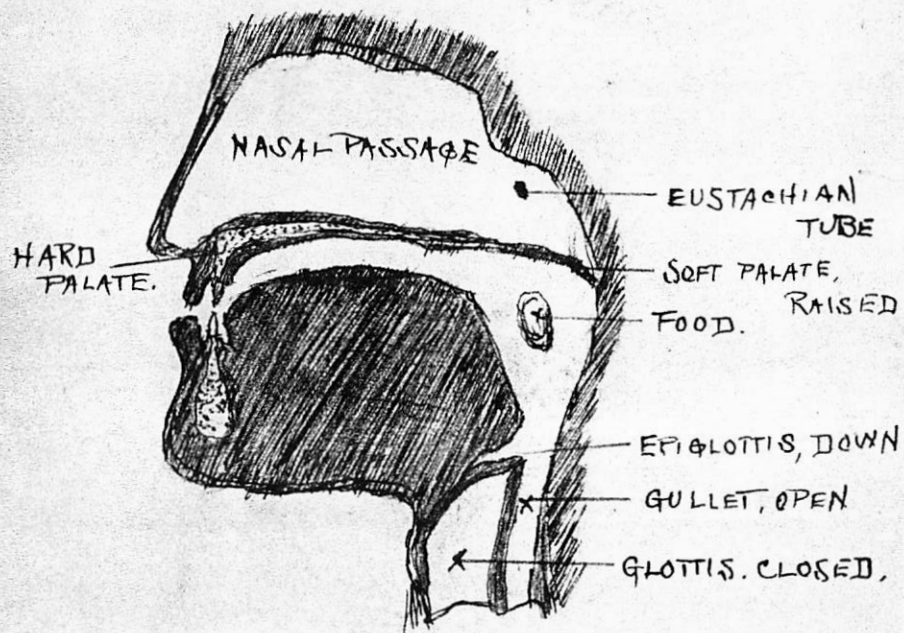
DIAGRAM. I. CELL.



FLAT CELLS FROM SURFACE OF MUCOUS MEMBRANE

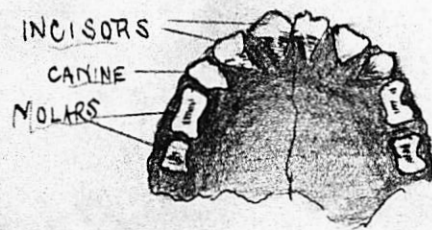


H. C. DeWitt

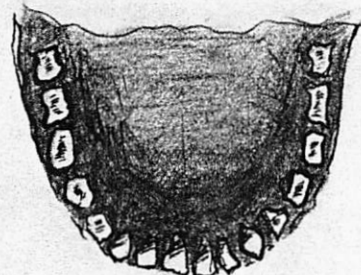
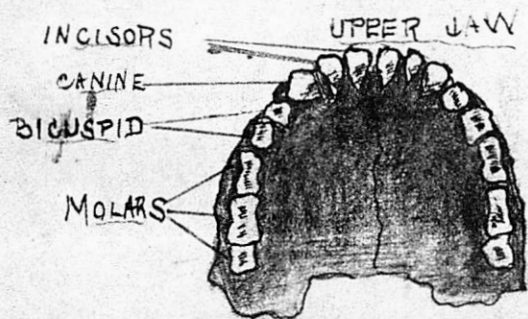


DIAGRAM, SHOWING POSITIONS OF THE ORGANS OF THE MOUTH AND THROAT, DURING SWALLOWING.

H.C. Leupold,



MILK OR ~~PERMANENT~~ TEMPORARY SET.

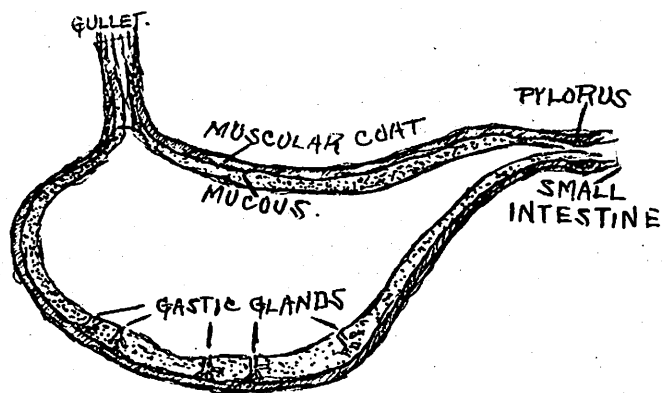


PERMANENT SET.

DIAGRAM. VI.

#19
p. 453

H.C. Leupold.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF STOMACH,
SHOWING GASTRIC GLANDS IN POSITION
DORSAL VIEW. MUCOUS COAT UNDULY
THICKENED.

H. C. Leubold

#20
p. 454

Diagram XII.—VIII.

19. Active principle of *saliva* is *ptyalin*, which changes starches into sugars; of *gastric juice*, *pepsin*, which changes proteids into peptones, and *rennin*, which curdles milk; of *pancreatic juice*, *trypsin*, which changes proteids into peptones, *amylpsin*, which changes starches into sugars, and *steapsin*, which digests fats.

20. Saliva acts on starches only; gastric juice on proteids only; and pancreatic juice on proteids, starches and fats.

21. INDIGESTIBLE SUBSTANCES. (a) Cellulose—in all vegetables, (b) elastic tissue—in meats, (c) mucin—in mucus secretion, (d) bile pigments—in liver secretions, (e) some starches, (f) some fats.

22. SALIVA. Feebly alkaline, mixed with mucus called "mixed saliva," colorless, cloudy, contains water, salts, and a ferment called *ptyalin*, which changes starches into sugars.

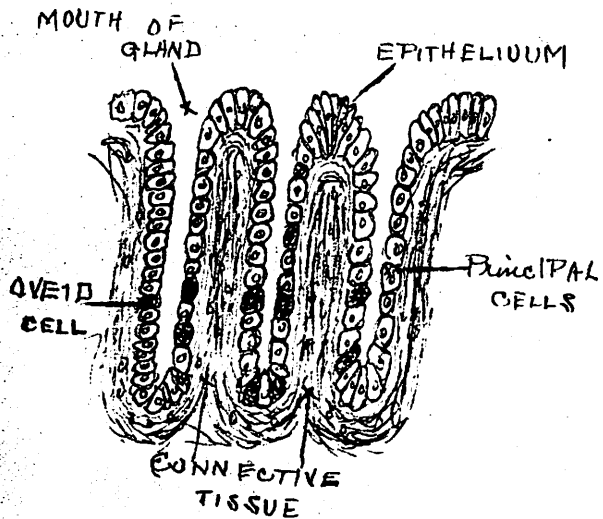
23. FUNCTIONS OF SALIVA. (a) To moisten mouth, (b) enable us to speak with comfort, (c) dissolve dry food, (d) enable us to swallow dry food, (e) give the sense of taste to dry food, (f) change starches into sugars, (g) stimulate the secretion of gastric juice in the stomach. (h) aid in preventing decay of teeth by neutralizing acids arising from stomach.

24. GASTRIC JUICE. Strongly acid, pale yellow, contains water, salts, a little hydrochloric acid, a ferment *pepsin*, which changes proteids into peptones, and *rennin*, which curdles milk.

25. PANCREATIC JUICE. Clear, strongly alkaline, contains water, salts and three ferments. (See No. 19.)

26. BILE. Golden brown, alkaline, contains water, salts, and coloring matter. (See No. 18.)

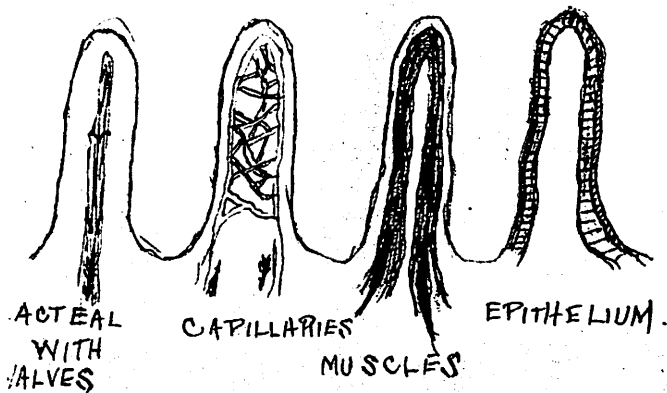
27. INTESTINAL JUICE. Mixed secretions of crypts of Lieberhühn, glands of Brunner, etc., alkaline, contains



THREE GLANDS OF THE STOMACH
CARDIAC PART.

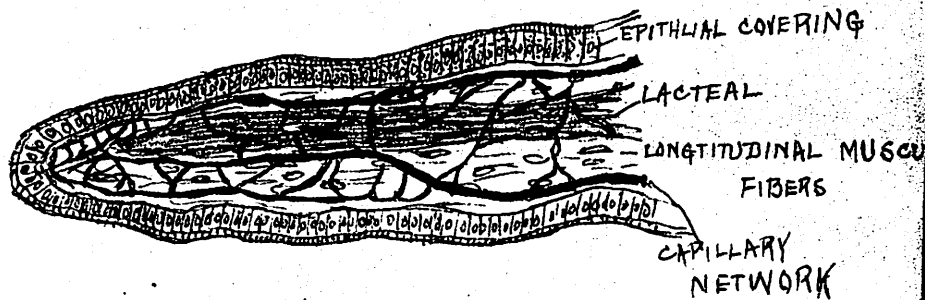
H. C. Leupold

p. 31



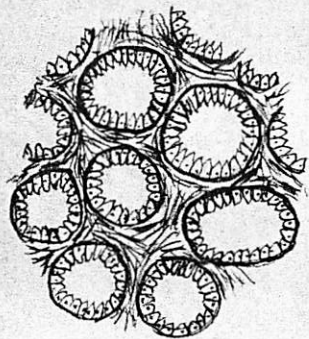
ELEMENTS ENTERING INTO THE STRUCTURE
OF A VILLUS.

H. C. Leupold



4.

#21
p. 455



HORIZONTAL SECTION THROUGH THE
MUCOUS MEMBRANE OF THE INTESTINAL
GLANDS, IN TRANSVERSE SECTION.
(HIGHLY MAGNIFIED)

p. 32

A. C. Leupold.

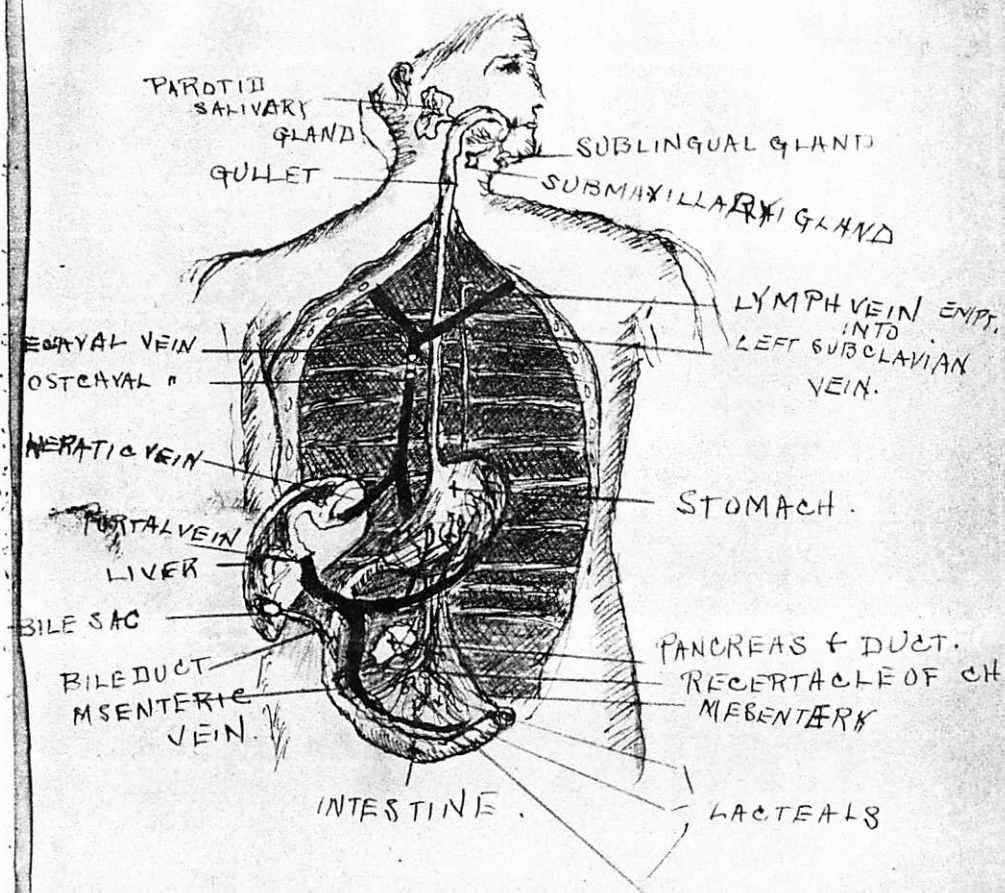


DIAGRAM OF ORGANS CONCERNED IN THE
CONVERSION OF FOOD INTO BLOOD.

A. C. Leupold.

p. 33

4. COMPOSITION. A fluid part called *plasma* within which are floating tiny little bodies called *corpuscles*—red and white. Plasma contains a proteid called *fibrin* which causes the clot and a fluid called *serum* which will not clot unless heated.

Diagram XV.—Composition of Blood.

Diagram XVI.—Magnified Blood.

5. FUNCTION OF RED CORPUSCLES. To carry oxygen to tissues.

6. FUNCTION OF WHITE CORPUSCLES. (1) To attack and destroy disease germs, (2) to form "pus" or matter which collects as in an abscess, thus carrying away impurities.

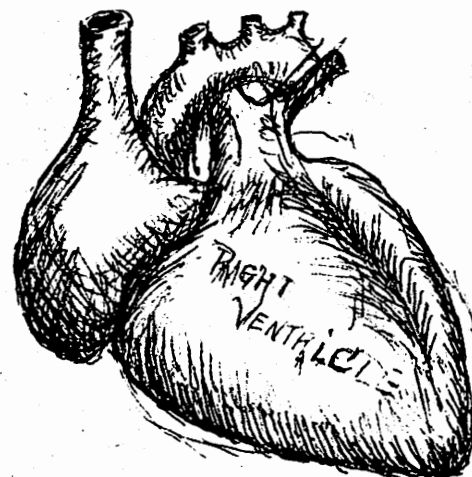
7. FUNCTION OF PLASMA. Carries nutrition to all parts of body and wastes to organs of excretion. Through its fibrin it produces clotting. (Serum, like plasma, carries nutrition and wastes, but containing no fibrin it is not so rich in nutrition, and cannot produce clotting).

8. CLOTTING (COAGULATION). Is caused by fibrin, which under some conditions, one of which is being exposed to the air, forms a net-work of fibres which catches the whole mass of blood. After a little time, the *serum* oozes out, because it will not clot unless heated. Beating blood with bunch of twigs will remove fibrin and prevent clotting.

9. USES OF COAGULATION. (1) To close the mouths of blood-vessels opened in a wound. (2) In surgical operations to prevent bleeding by forming a plug in the blood-vessels pressed upon by the ligature.

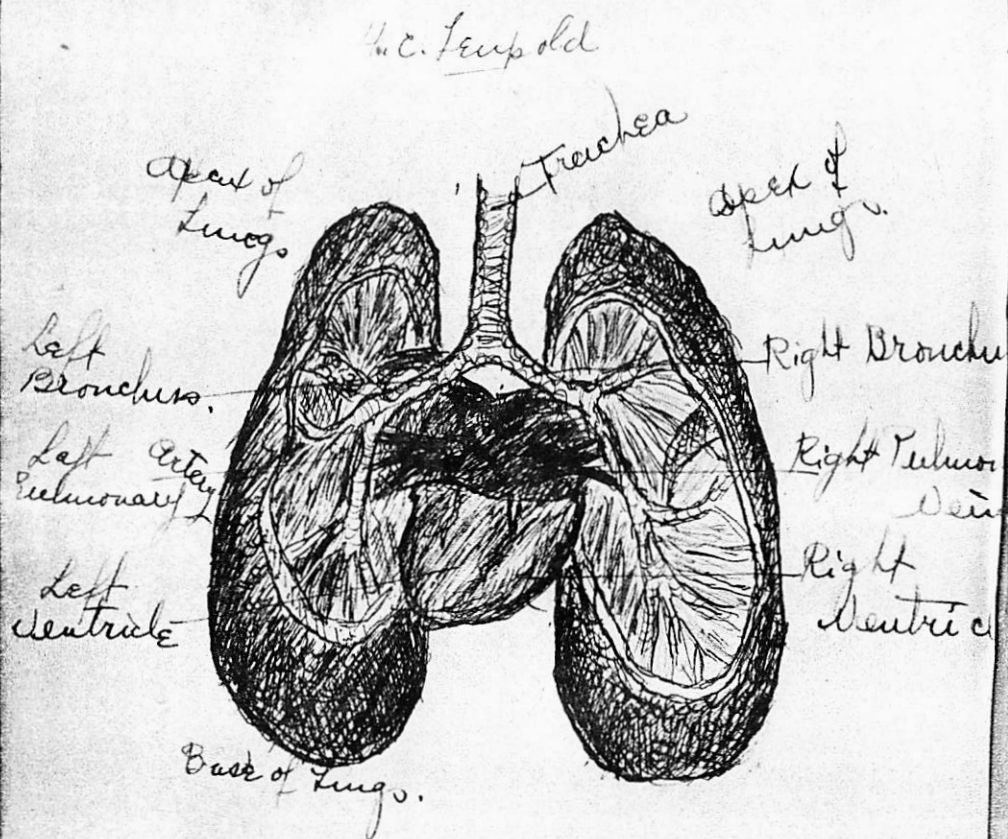
10. NON-VASCULAR TISSUES. (a) Nails, (b) hair, (c) epidermis, (d) enamel and dentine of teeth, (e) some cartilages, and (f) cornea of eye.

11. The red corpuscles are supposed to originate in the *red* marrow of the bones and in the spleen.



H. C.
Leupold.

The heart, from behind



7. FORCES OF CIRCULATION. (a) Beat of heart, (b) elasticity of walls of arteries, (c) elasticity of tissues, (d) capillary attraction.

8. CIRCULATION IS CONTROLLED BY NERVOUS SYSTEM; the heart action, by its own ganglia and by nerves from other sympathetic ganglia and by the pneumogastric nerves; the blood tubes by the *vaso-motor* nerves, which end in the walls of the blood-vessels,—branches from the sympathetic ganglia.

9. COURSE OF BLOOD. Left-ventricle, opening at semi-lunar valves, aorta, arteries of system, capillaries of system, veins of system, caval veins, right-auricle, opening at tricuspid valve, right-ventricle, opening at semi-lunar valves, pulmonary artery, pulmonary capillaries, pulmonary veins, left-auricle, opening at mitral valve, left-ventricle.

Diagram XXIV.—Course of Blood.

10. FUNCTION OF PULMONARY CIRCULATION. (a) To renew supply of oxygen, (b) to get rid of $C O_2$.

11. PROPERTIES OF WALLS OF ARTERIES. (a) Smoothness of *endothelial* lining—to reduce friction, (b) contraction and relaxation in muscular coat—to regulate or control the circulation, (c) elasticity of elastic coat—to enable the arteries to expand and receive the extra influx of blood at each heart-beat, and to help in sending the blood onward.

12. The vaso-motor nerves are affected by influences from the brain: Embarrassment paralyzes those of the head, more blood goes to the face, causing blushing. Fear and grief stimulate the nerves, cause muscles in arteries to contract, preventing blood from going to face, causing paleness. Heat causes arteries to dilate, cold to contract.

13. FUNCTION OF SYSTEMIC CIRCULATION. To carry nutrition to all tissues and to carry away wastes to the excretory organs.

14. Heart of child at birth beats about 135 times per minute; during the third year, about 95; in adult life,

1/2 - STREET STOCK
BETWN. P. 48-49.



#25
p. 459



#26
p. 460

Clara B. Bernhard
Christian H. Schaefer
Fred G. Roth
Lillian Z. Dodge
Charles F. Kreiss
Arthur B. Sauer
Clara M. Susemihl
Emanaline B. Friend
Emma M. Fischer
Raymond H. Ferrand
Etta Wagner
Lydia T. Hinaman
Harry J. Syme
James F. Elliott
Wilbur L. Tyrrell
Mary F. Burns
Gwendolyn E. Cowper
Edna M. Burk
Florence E. M. Arnold
Mabel J. Bowman
Lillian E. C. Mugler
Robert V. Fornes
M'Liss V. Burg
Pearlina R. Fischer
Floyd Miers
Mabel L. Klugherz
Emily C. Machemer
Antoinette F. Hasenzahl
George B. Copeland
Bertis A. Arnold
Mabel F. Long
Marguerite R. Warren
Elsie Z. Haberstro
Norman G. Fischer
Isabella Pomeroy
Pearl A. Ruth
Edward H. Wollschlaeger
Pearl H. Davis
Clarence P. Wobrock
Marjorie J. Wethy
Anita E. Curtis
Ralph L. Weir
Emma A. Frick
Leo Stafford

Edward S. Diem
George W. Korn
Alice M. Bullett
William F. Brandt
Edna S. Maass
May E. Powell
Charlotte A. Greenwood
C. Remington Bird
Nelson E. Hubbell
Harold S. Horton
Walter H. Popp
Gladys M. Wethy
Henry W. Huber
Carlton F. Weyand
Mildred M. E. Heilbronn
Agnes E. O'Day
Annie H. Gamago
Clara S. Jensen
M. Erai Winship
Frances A. Whaley
Earl W. Thoma
Ella L. Gerlach
Hoffman Goodman
Robert H. Reed
Frances A. Mayer
Joseph Silbert
Edwin B. Debus
Laura B. Spaeth
Levant L. Harvey
Louis F. Flemming
Evelyn E. Russel
James Maisel
Percy L. Bowen
Austin E. Stutzman
Christian Schuster
John Lamb
Carl Drexelius
Benjamin Brock
George J. Schopf
Albert E. Greanoff
Lester J. Kinney
Laroy J. Hellriegel
James W. Slatterly
Albert J. Davis

Twelfth Annual

Commencement

of

Masten Park High School

Thursday, June Twenty-third

Nineteen Hundred Ten

Assembly Hall

Masten Park High School

Eight P. M.

Program

MUSIC: "The Graduates' March," - M. Levi
M. P. H. S. ORCHESTRA

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

CLASS MARSHAL

MUSIC: "Martha Phantasie," from Flotow's Opera,
Tobani
M. P. H. S. ORCHESTRA

ADDRESS:

REV. SAMUEL VAN VRANKEN HOLMES D. D.

MUSIC: Overture, "Calif of Bagdad," - A. Boieldieu
M. P. H. S. ORCHESTRA

PRESENTATION OF DIPLOMAS:

PRINCIPAL FRANK S. FOSDICK

FAREWELL SONG:

I

O Masten Park, dear Masten Park,
With praise thy name we greet,
Our love for thee unchanged shall be,
In victory or defeat.
And thru the maze of later days
We'll be forever true—
Our hearts shall wear thy colors fair,
The yellow and the blue.

II

O Masten Park, dear Masten Park!
O school upon the hill!
The love we know for thee will grow
To live thru good or ill.
With parting cheers are mingled tears
We turn to pathways new—
But far or near we shall revere
The yellow and the blue.

MUSIC: "The Alumni March," - C. Van Baar
M. P. H. S. ORCHESTRA

Graduating Class

Arranged in order of standing for the course.

The members of the graduating class who have stood respectively first and second in scholarship during the course, and who have been recommended by the Faculty as candidates for the Jesse Ketchum Gold Medals are ETHLYN M. UNHOLZ and HERBERT C. LEUPOLD.

****Ethlyn M. Unholz
***Herbert C. Leupold
*Mary J. Dombrosky
***Esther Zaehringer
****Elfriede A. Meister
*Seltee Davis
*E. Frances Harris
***Florence E. Nickel
*Theodore J. King
*Edith V. Braunschweig
*Edna A. Weil
*Florence Adrian
*Jennie R. Young
*Florence C. Meyer
*J. Paul Teller
*Edna J. Adams
M. Elizabeth McCutcheon
Katherine I. Roesse
*Laura I. Zimmermann
Florence M. Boy
Edwin F. Hopkins
Mabel H. Robinson
Mary E. Freemyer
Marion M. Gollop
Arthur J. Pezold
Cora C. Kauth
Frank L. Hoyer
Clara M. Frey
*Mildred E. Eiss

Clara M. Koppisch
Edith M. Weston
Lillie C. Oatwald
Evelyn E. Schaefer
Ella C. Heinz
Florence M. Merlau
*John C. Winkler
Ruth M. Lipphardt
Frederick H. Peters
Grace I. Hobson
Mary E. Marx
Ruth B. Garretsee
Rose F. Weidemiller
Ethel M. Hohn
Christian F. Paasch
Ruth Ludwig
Louis W. Enslin
Herbert J. Kauth
Harvey M. Gersman
Elizabeth D. Guess
A. May Conklin
Frank H. Long
Florence M. Trank
Robert G. Braunlein
Ralph M. DeGraff
Wilhelmina F. Guess
Joseph A. Heaney
Helen M. Jackson
Amy C. Slatestone

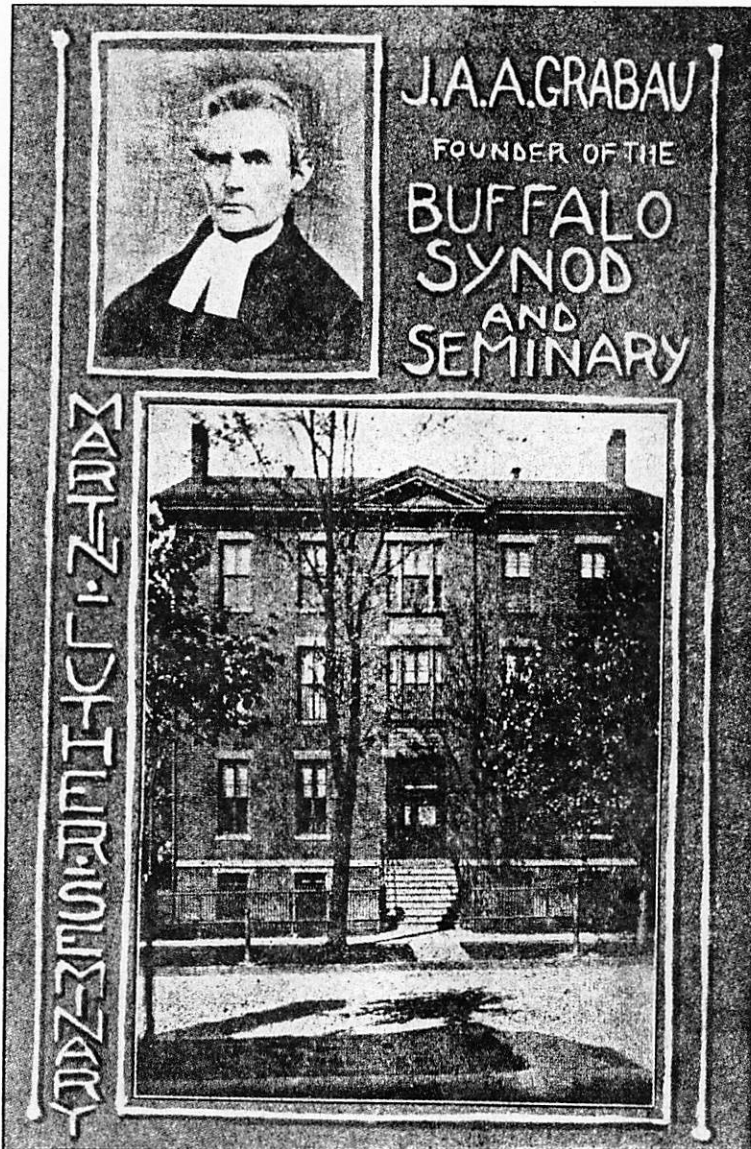
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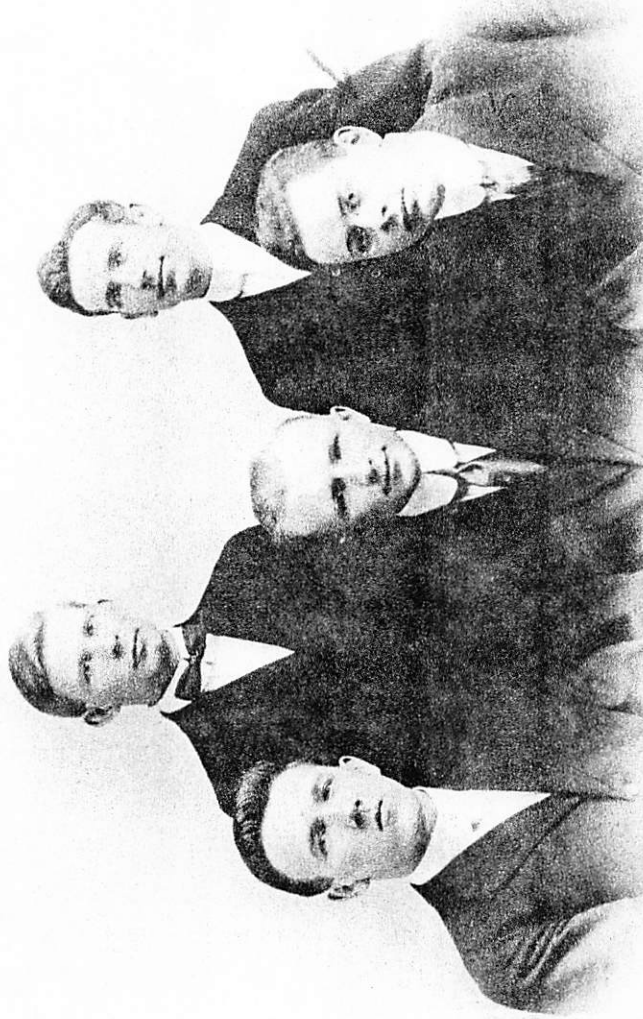
our fathers and



#28
p.463

grandfathers, the founders of the Buffalo Synod came to America. Here they were for the purpose of building themselves up on their most holy faith under the protection and blessing of religious liberty which was denied them in the fatherland, but granted by the Constitution of the United States, and to have the gospel preached to them in its purity.

61779 dh

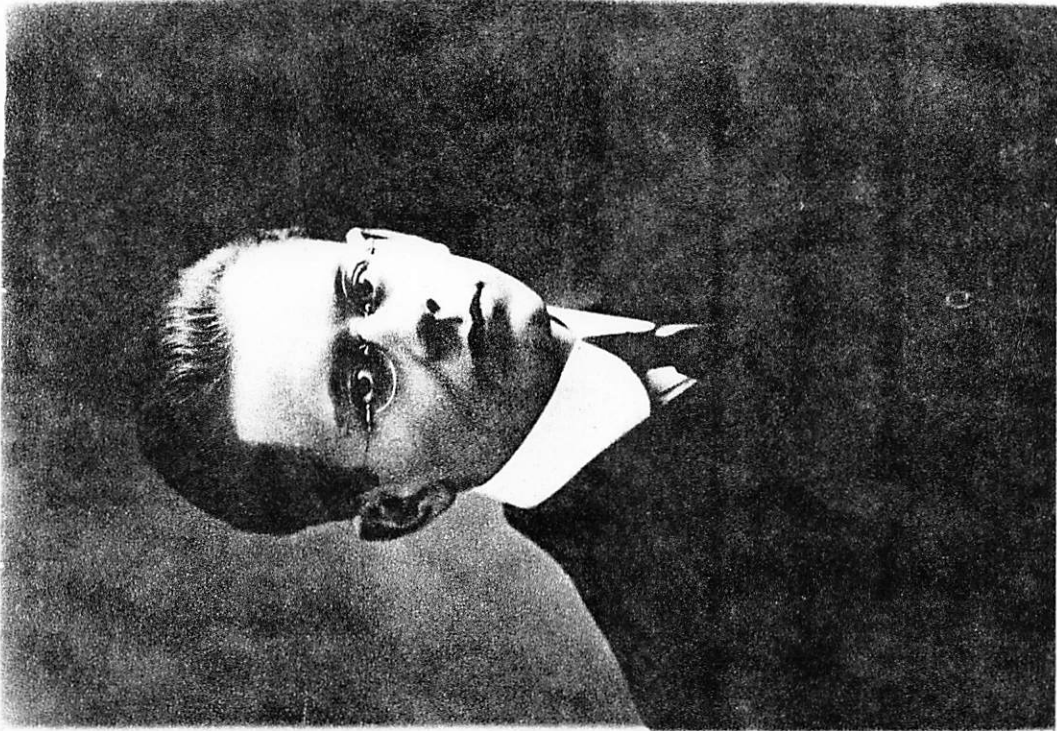


HENRY
SCHULTZ

H. C. L.

SEMINARY CLASS

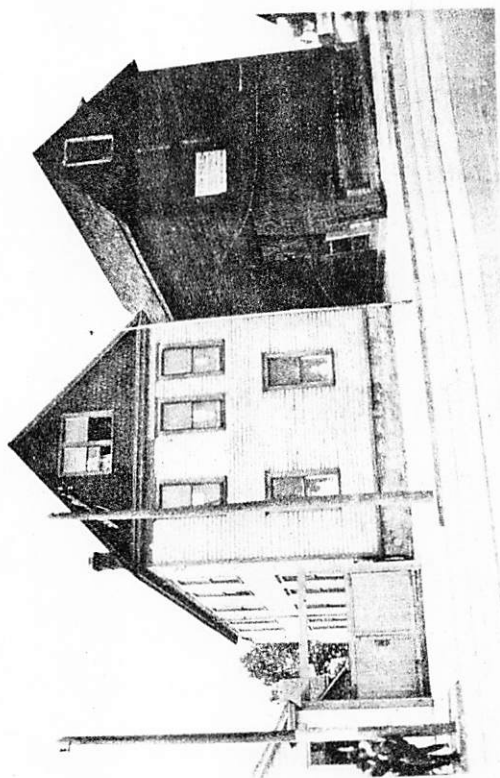
#29
p. 454



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LOOSE #3

#30
p. 465



#31
P. 466

ORDER OF SERVICES

1. THE OPENING CEREMONY

2. HYMN "Lift up your heads ye mighty gates etc." (To be sung as the congregation enters.)

Lift up your heads, ye mighty gates!
Behold, the King of glory waits:
The King of Kings is drawing near.
The Savior of the world is here:
Life and salvation He doth bring.
Wherefore rejoice, and gladly sing:

Fling wide the portals of your heart:
Make it a temple, set apart,
From earthly use for heaven's employ.
Adorned with prayer, and love, and joy,
So shall your Sovereign enter in,
And new and noble life begin:

We praise Thee, Father, now,
Creator wise art Thou!

To Thee, O God, be praise,
For word and deed and grace.

Redeemer, come! I open wide
My heart to Thee: here, Lord, abide!
Let me Thy inner presence know,
Thy grace and love on me bestow;
Thy Holy Spirit guide us on
Until our glorious goal be won!

Eternal praise and fame
We offer to Thy Name.

3. PRAYER

4. HYMN "All glory be to God on High etc."

Ohio hymnal No. 1. Small hymnal No. 9

5. SCRIPTURE LESSON Prayer, Consecration.

6. THE APOSTLES' CREED

7. HYMN

"Eternal Son of God, etc."

Eternal Son of God, O Thou,
Before whom earth and heaven bow,
Regard Thy people as they raise
To Thee their songs of prayer and praise.

Here sin's diseases healing find,
The weak grow strong, light cheers the blind,
The troubled heart with peace is blest,
And weariness finds heavenly rest.

This house they dedicate to Thee,
That here they may Thy glory see.
Thy body and Thy blood they here
Receive, their fainting souls to cheer.

When tempests shake the world around,
The rock-built Church secure is found;
The gates of hell may here assail
Whom Christ defends, but not prevail.

Here in baptismal water pure
They find for sins a gracious cure:
Their children here to Thee they bring,
O Thou, our death-subduing King.

To God the Father, God the Son,
And God the Spirit, Three in One,
Be praise: do Thou, whom we adore,
Teach us to praise Thee evermore.

8. The DEDICATION SERMON

Rev. H. Beutler

9. ANTHEM

The Choir of the Old Lutheran Church.

(Mr. G. A. Schroerer Director)

10. ADDRESS—(German)

Rev. J. N. Graubau.

11. HYMN

Ohio hymnal No. 359.

Small hymnal No. 11.

Gathering of offerings.

12. PRAYER and BENECTION

13. DOXOLOGY

14. CLOSING ANTHEM

Old Lutheran Church Choir.

#33
p. 468

LUTHERAN MISSION.

"Ev. Luth. Church of Our Saviour."

AT PRESENT: E. Del. Ave., 2 Doors East of Edison St., Up-Stairs.

IN THE NEAR FUTURE: In our Own Chapel.

SERVICES: { 10:45 A. M.
Beginning Sept. 7:30 P. M.
Sunday School, 2-3 P. M.

Rev. H. C. LEUPOLD, Pastor.

Address: 325 Northland Ave.

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CHURCH SERVICE

Sunday School 9.30 A. M.

Church Service 10.30 A. M.

Evening Service 7.30 P. M.

BUILDING COMMITTEE

Mr. J. H. Paasch, Chairman. Mr. F. Rudell, Treasurer.

Rev. H. C. Leupold Secretary.

Rev. J. H. Knuebel. Mr. L. Broecker. Mr. F. Gessner.

Mr. O. H. J. Petersen. Mr. C. H. Vandre.

CHURCH COUNCIL

DEACONS

O. H. J. Petersen

John Foeller

J. B. Wittig, Treasurer

TRUSTEES

Christian H. Vandre

Edw. F. Menge

C. E. Hayes Secretary

USHERS

Arthur Baehre

John Foeller

Dedication Service

of the

Evangelical Lutheran Church

of

"Our Savior"

Corner Bailey and Borris Avenue



Sunday, Dec. 6th. 1914

2- Advent

Pastor Rev. H. C. Leupold

#33

p. 467

LUTHERAN MISSION.

"Ev. Luth. Church of Our Saviour."

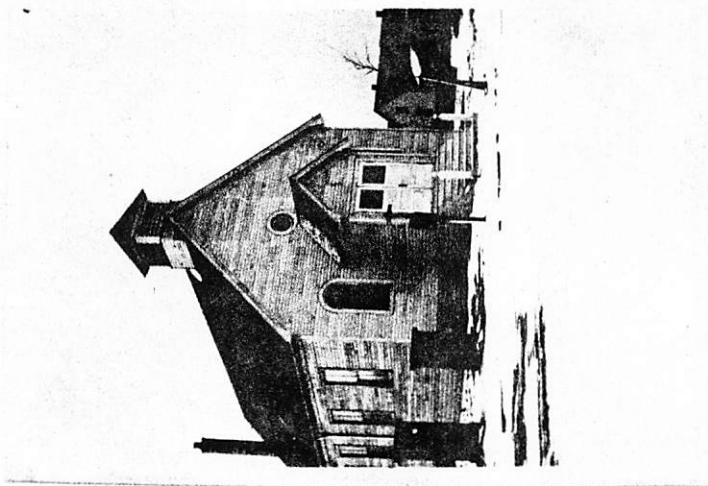
AT PRESENT: E. Del. Ave., 2 Doors East of Edison St., Up-Stairs.

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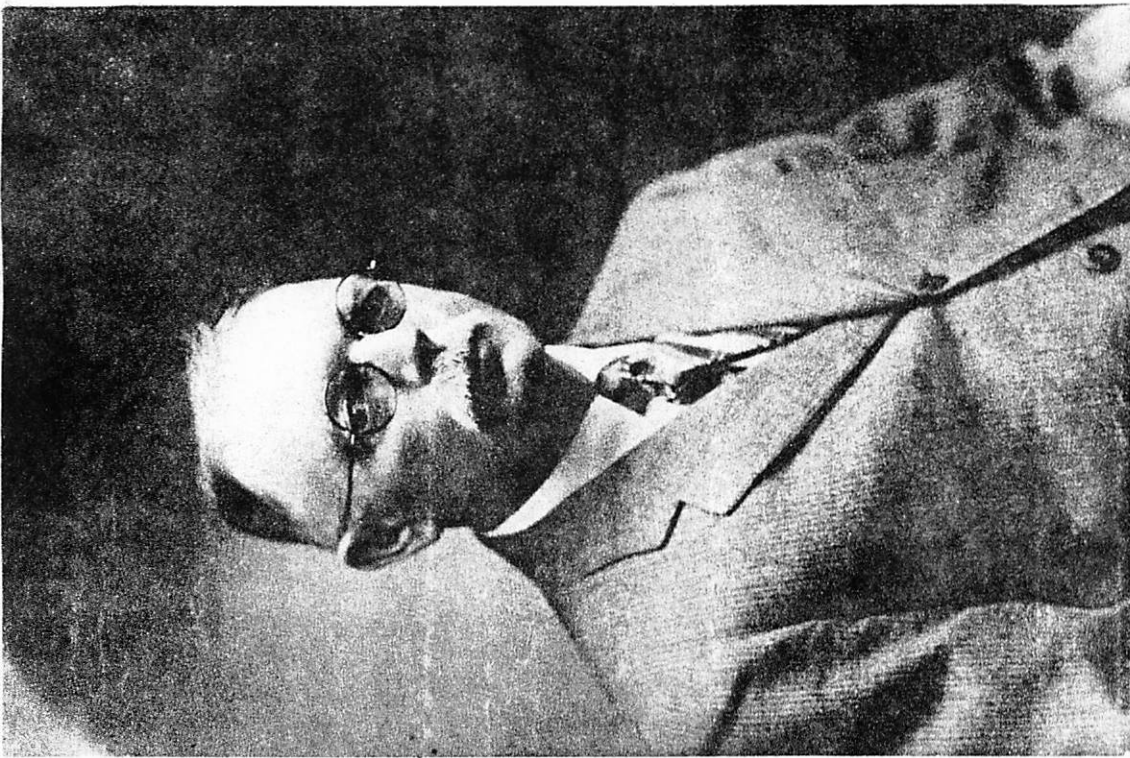
Address: 125 Northland Ave.



EV. LUTH. CH. OF ASCENSION
(LOOSE #2, NOT IN A PK.)



#34
p. 469



Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Boehre



Great Grandma Ihu Boehre
Grandma's Leijold's Mother

Emma Topp Boehre

#35
p. 470



ELLENORA HENRIETTA BAEHRE LEUPOLD...

#36
p.471



#37
p.472

5. Hymn

Now thank we all our God,
With hearts and hands and voices,
Who wondrous things has done,
In Whom His world rejoices,
Who from our mother's arms
Hath blessed us on our way
With countless gifts of love,
And still is ours to-day.

O may this bounteous God
Thru all our life be near us,
With ever joyful hearts
And blessed peace to cheer us,
And keep us in His grace,
And guide us when perplexed,
And free us from all ills
In this world and the next.

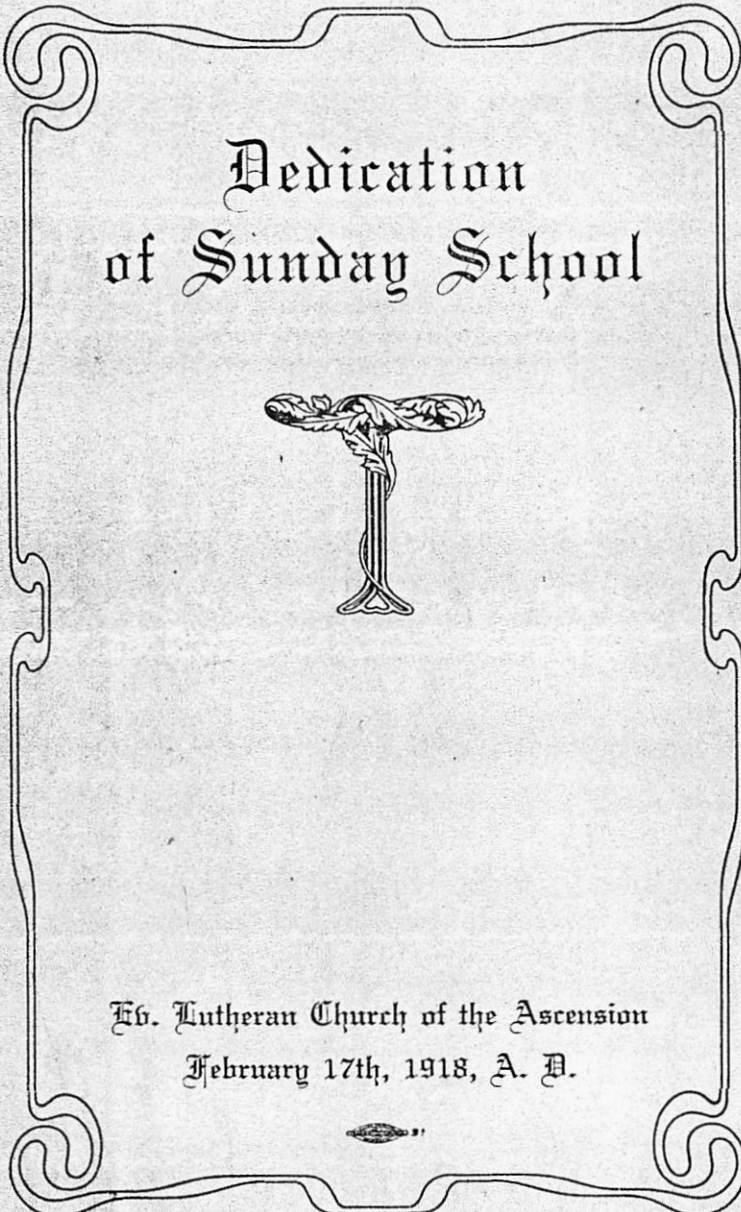
All praise and thanks to God,
The father, now be given,
The Son, and Him who reigns
With them in highest heaven,
The one eternal God,
Whom earth and heaven adore,
For thus it was, is now,
And shall be evermore!

6. Benediction

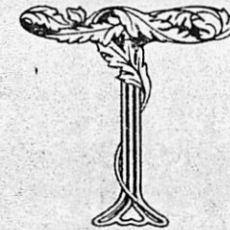
7. Doxology: Praise God from whom all blessings flow.

Church Council Building Committee


O. Peterson, Treasurer	C. Mohr,
E. Menge, Secretary	E. Norman,
C. Vandre, Fin. Secretary	C. Hayes,
Rev. H. C. Leupold, President	



Dedication of Sunday School



Ev. Lutheran Church of the Ascension
February 17th, 1918, A. D.



ORDER OF SERVICE

I. Service in the Church Building.

1. Opening Hymn.

Built on Christ, the firm foundation,
Christ, the chosen corner-stone,
Holy Zion keeps her station,
Sure and strong in Him alone;
By His moveless strength sustained,
In His glorious life contained.

City that the Lord doth cherish,
Dear and precious in His sight,
From thy street shall never perish
Joy and gladness, love and light.
Ever there the blessed sing
Glory to the Triune King.

Enter, Lord, this temple builded
For thy Holy dwelling place!
By the glory be it gilded,
Radiant make it by thy grace;
Ever thru the open door,
Boundless benedictions pour.

2. Short Address

3. Prayer

4. Hymn.

Here too all, their need confessing,
Who Thy mercy shall entreat,
Grant a rich, enduring blessing,
Blessing full, and mercy sweet.
Fit them for eternal rest,
Gather them among the blest.

Glory, honor, praise, and merit,
Ever in the highest be,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,
Rendered duly unto Thee,
God Triune, forevermore,
Thee let heaven and earth adore!

II. Opening Ceremony.

a.) Prayer

b.) Unlocking of Door

c.) Dedication

III. Service in Sunday School.

1. Hymn

Open now Thy gates of beauth,
Zion, let me enter there,
Where my soul in joyful duty
Waits for Him who answers prayer,
Oh, how blessed is this place,
Filled with solace, light, and grace.

Here Thy praise is gladly chanted,
Here Thy seed is duly sown:
Let my Soul, where it is planted,
Bring forth precious sheaves alone,
So that all I hear may be
Fruitful unto life in me.

Thou my faith increase and quicken,
Let me keep Thy gifts divine;
Howso'er temptations thicken,
May the word still o'er me shine,
As my pole-star thru my life,
As my confort in my strife.

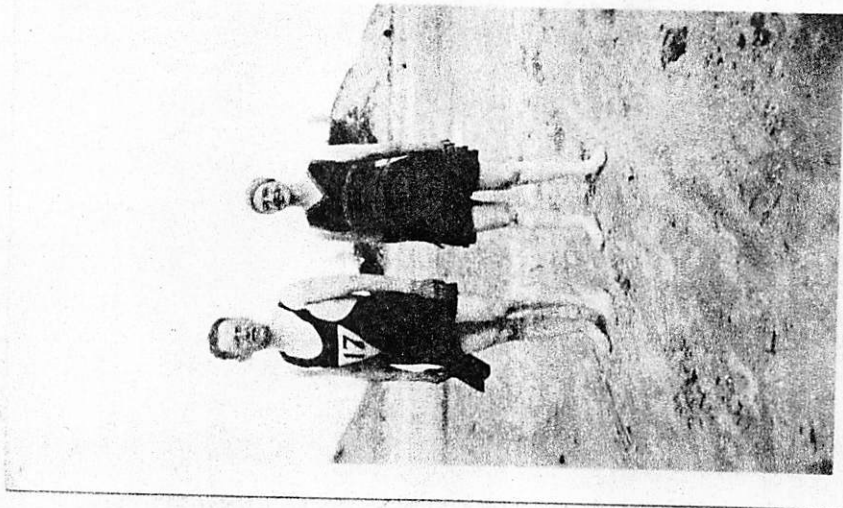
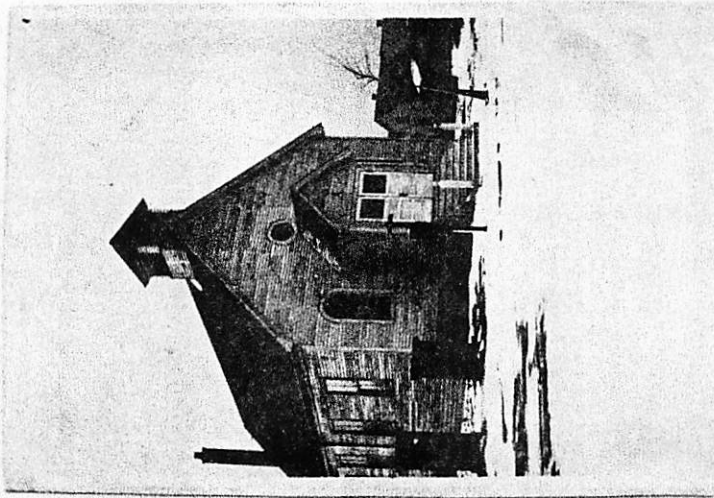
Speak, O God, and I will hear Thee,
Let Thy will be done indeed;
May I undisturbed draw near Thee,
While Thou dost Thy people feed,
Here of life the fountain flows,
Here is balm for all our woes.

2. Address

Rev. J. N. Grabau, of the Old Lutheran Church.

3. Hymn by the Sunday School

4. Prayer



AT BEACH

("FACES & PLACES" PK.)

LOOSE #1

#39
P. 475

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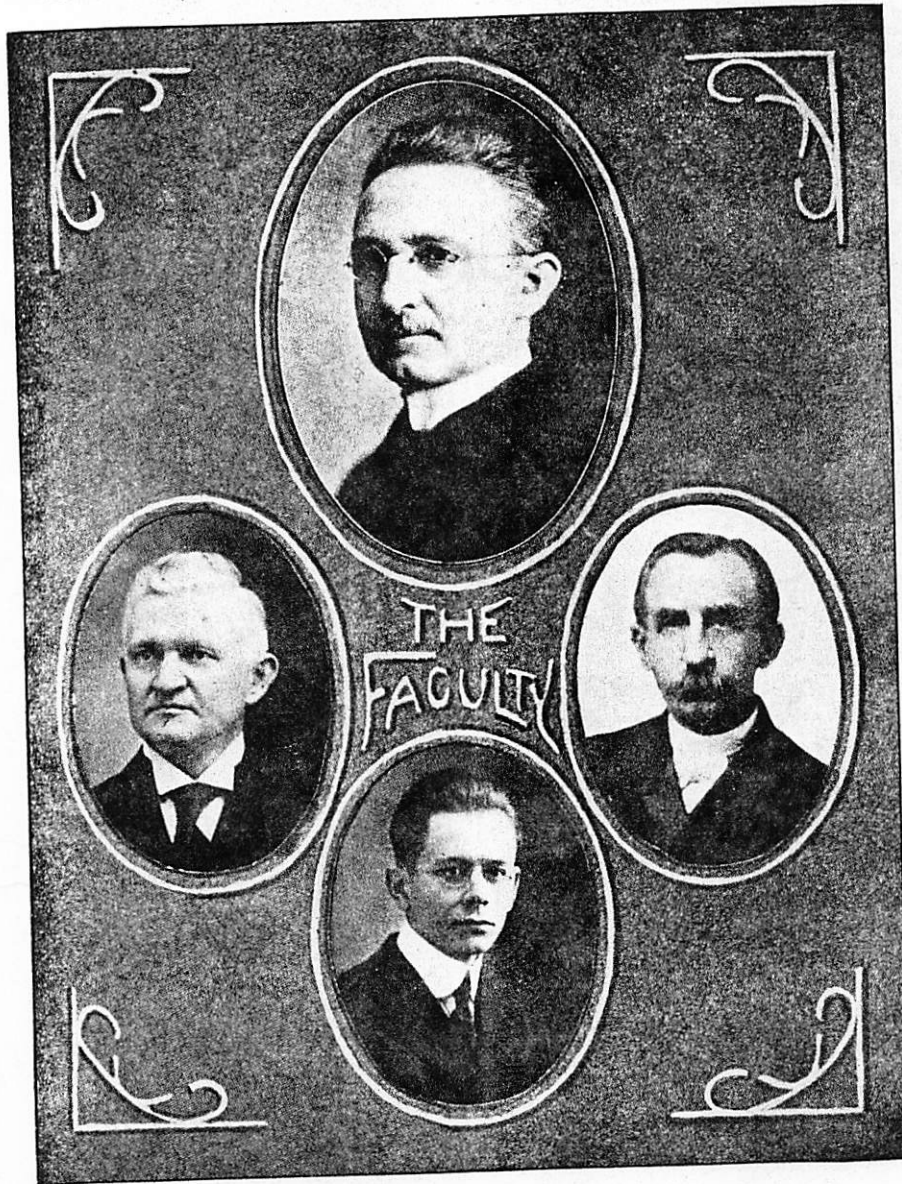
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PROF. RUD. GRABAU

Professor of Dogmatic and Exegetical Theology

REV. J. N. GRABAU

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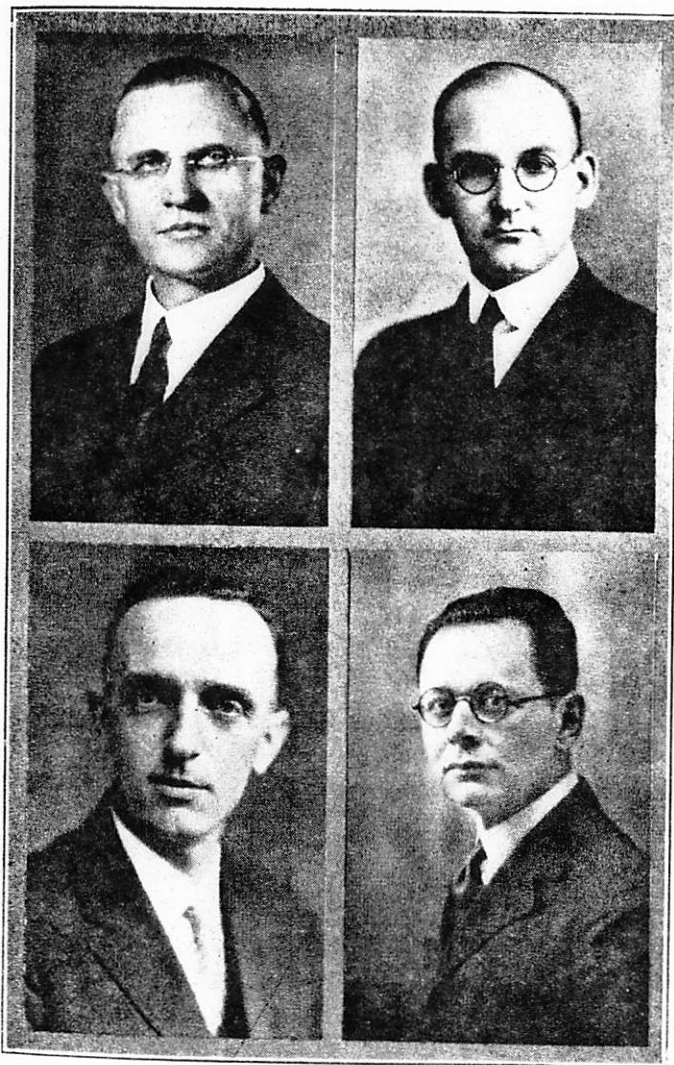


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PROF. HERB...



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H. L.

AT TIME OF 1935 CAP. U.
DDC. OF DIV. AWARD

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Faculty



Mr. Leupold



Mr. Liefeld



Mr. Doermann



Mr. Meuser



Mr. Ludwig



Mr. Schneider



Mr. Becker



Mr. Hals



Mr. Brand



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MR. BAILEY



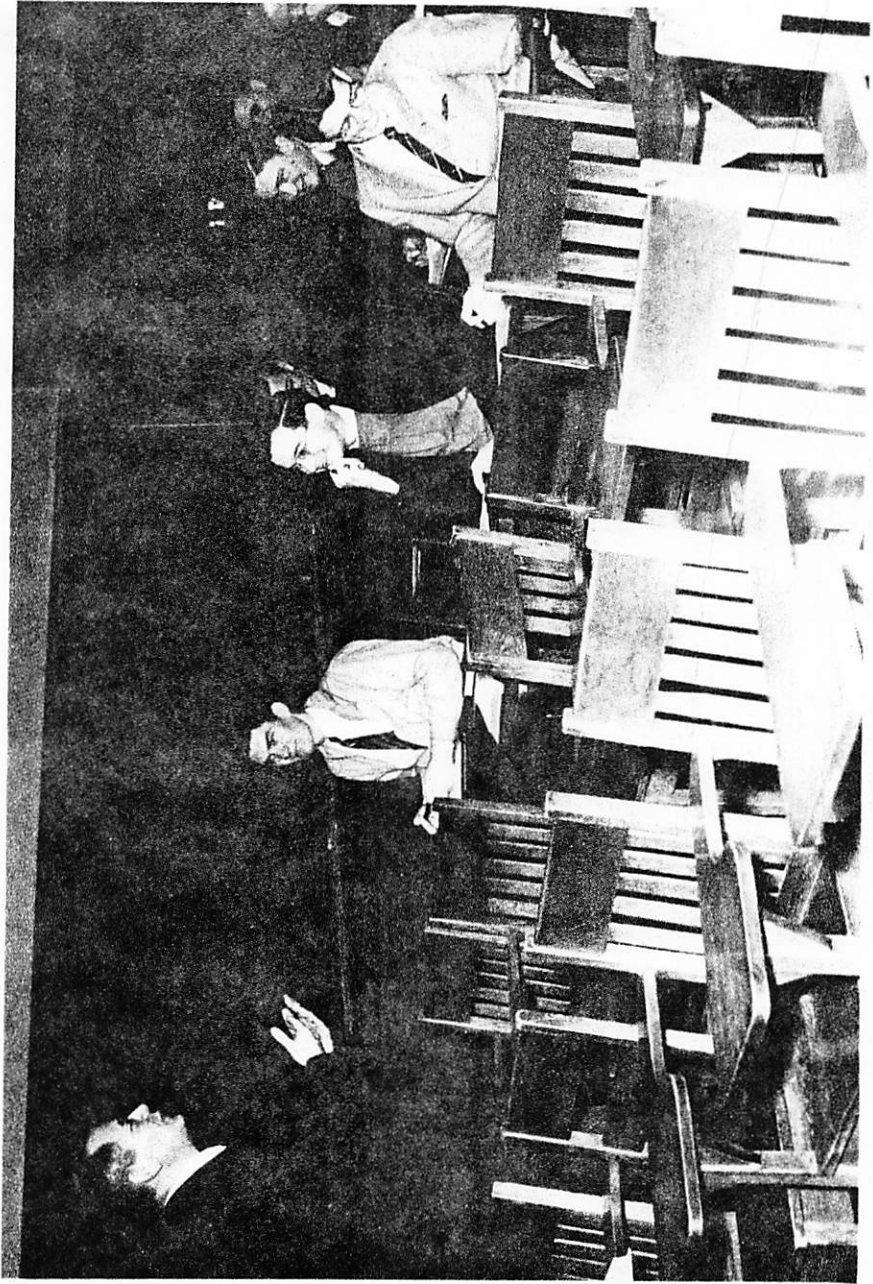
MR. SCHNEIDER



MR. BECKER



MR. HALS



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The Lutheran Standard

Volume 6 • Number 2

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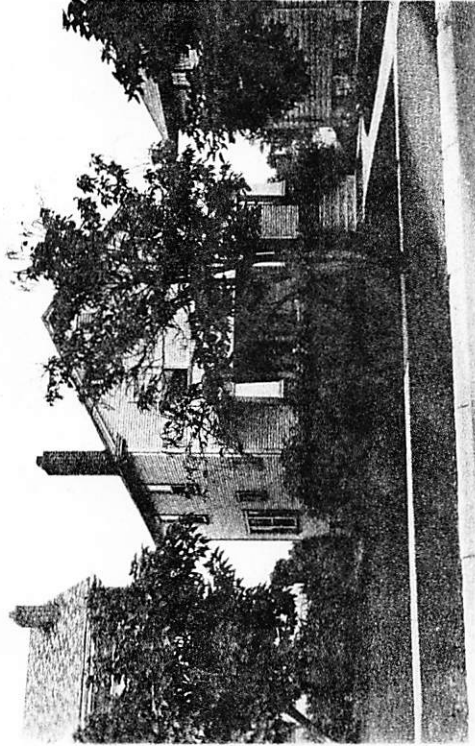
Dr. H. C. Leupold

Genesis: Basic Guidance

*"The first chapters of the Scriptures
are and forever will remain
basic guidance for the people of
God. We have a sure prophetic word."*

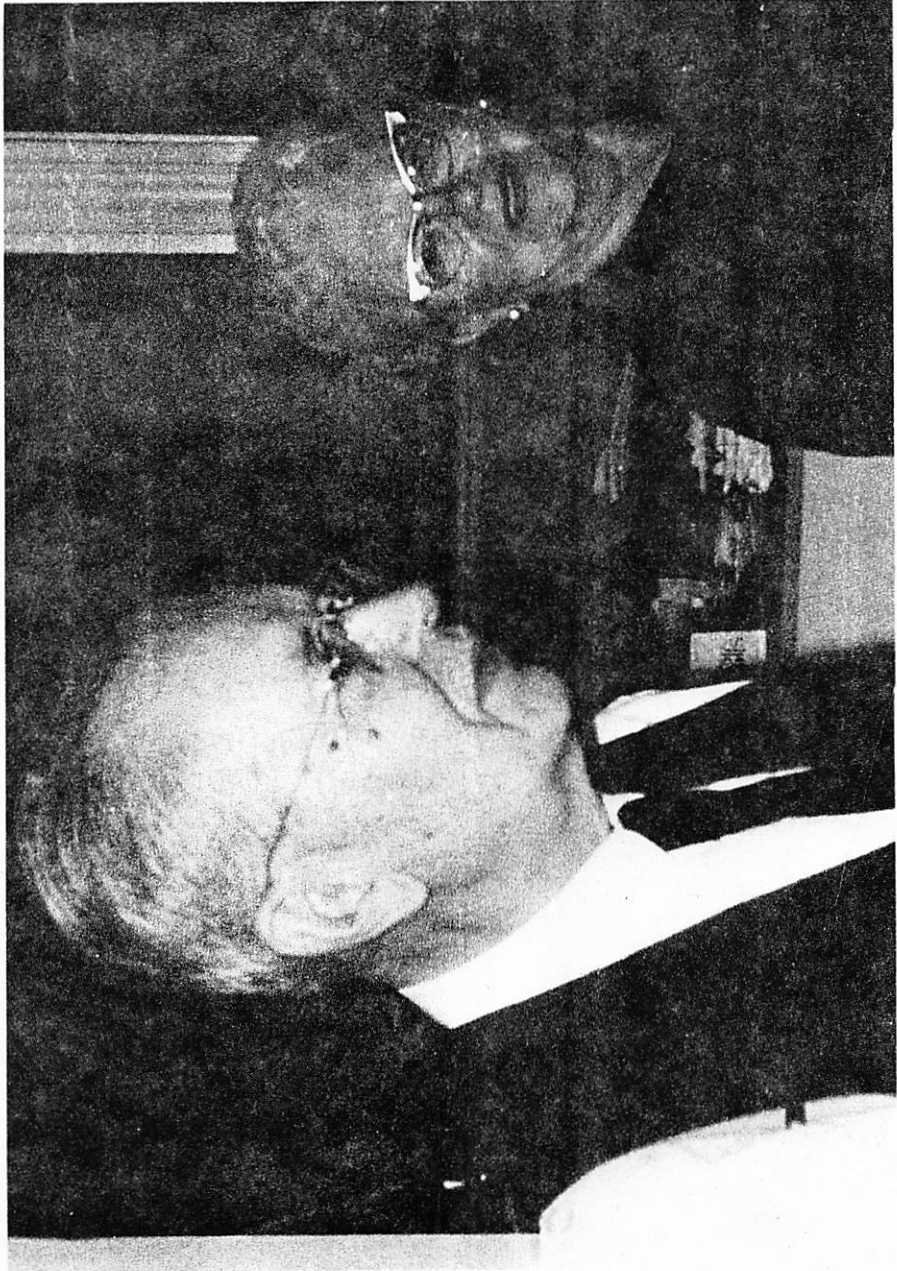
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Leupold - 750 Roosevelt Ave.

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Academic Information

INTRODUCTION

The Seminary's program of studies is a well-rounded training to meet the demands of the ministry. To achieve this, students take a group of basic courses in four divisions: Old Testament, New Testament, Historical Theology, and Practical Theology. In all these courses, the student is free to elect his own courses.

In general, courses are conducted by the faculty. There are, however, courses that are taught in the laboratory, including such areas as preaching, and hospital clinical training. In all cases, there are early scheduled examinations, and in many cases a wide range of assigned out-of-class readings is required.

INTERNSHIP

Every student is required to spend a year of his training on the auspices and supervision of the Seminary. The internship comes between the middleman and the pastor and must remove any incompletes on his record before the end of the internship.

The interns are assigned by the President of the Seminary on the student's ability, interest, and needs in various areas. Most of the interns serve as assistants to pastors who are placed in charge of congregations under the supervision of the pastors.

Interns serve throughout the church, from the West coast to California to the East coast. Every effort is made to place the interests and abilities of the students to the best advantage. They will serve. The length of time spent on internships varies from six months to two years. Interns receive their housing, a salary sufficient to meet their needs, and a car allowance where a car is required.

In addition to parish internships, students may serve as institutional chaplains, assisted campus preachers, and in other mission areas.



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BY H. C. LEUBOLD

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At the Manger

BY H. C. LEUPOLD

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10



The Boy Jesus

BY H. C. LEUPOLD

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Fernruf: 847401

8. Sept. 1955
N/R

Herrn
Professor Dr. Leupold
7505 Roosevelt Ave.
C o l u m b u s 9, Ohio (USA)

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor!

Wir denken noch sehr gern an die Lutherische Theologentagung im Evangelischen Johannesstift in Berlin und die dabei von Ihnen den Brüdern aus der Ostzone geleisteten Dienste zurück.

Wir freuen uns, Ihnen durch unser Sendschriften-Hilfswerk die von Ihnen gewünschten Bücher:

Schlatter, Kennen wir Jesus
" Hilfe in Bibelnot
Leiturgia, Band I

zusenden lassen zu können. Sie sollen Ihnen gleichzeitig als eine kleine Erinnerung an die Berliner Tagung dienen.

Wir hoffen, dass Sie auch in Tutzing eine recht gute Tagung hatten und empfehlen uns Ihnen mit herzlichem brüderlichen Grüßen im Namen des Lutherischen Kirchenamts.

Ihr
sehr ergebener
Dr. Neumann
(Dr. Neumann)

Feb. 13: 7-9

Sem. Chapel 1/28/65

- Intro:
1. "Achieving Certainty" defunct - not dogmatism (I'm right; you're wrong!)
 2. But in the spirit of: "Heaven & earth shall pass away, my word..."
 3. Particularly: "It is well that the heart be totally blessed..."

Theme: Achieving Certainty

I. "By following your leader" "Remember your leaders, those who spoke to you the word of God; consider the outcome of their life, and imitate their faith."

II. By knowing what is the essence of the faith

"Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today and forever."

III. By being established in the faith by God's grace.

A. Uncertainty is a sorry lot

1. For the theological student it involves being unable to speak with assurance.
2. in what you say carries not conviction - hollow words.
3. It means being deeply infected with the spirit of our age.
4. " " having no reliable norm of truth.
- My heart aches for such.

B. Certainty is a blessed thing

1. It means to have escaped from the quick sands of doubts, - from the swamps of indecision and perplexity
2. It means being able to say with conviction: "I know whom I have believed"
- in a note of wholesome triumph.
3. It means being able to deliver your message with conviction

C. Certainty involves more than knowledge.

1. Frequently this order is reversed
- men hold knowledge is a positive thing, ^{certainty} faith is dubious.
2. Knowledge is such or not to make light of -
- But it has its limitations
3. The imponderables, the spiritual realities cannot be caught hold of by knowledge
- demonstrated to the point of Q.E.D.
4. Faith is of a higher order: it grasps the deep things of God
- It is a special capacity wrought in man by the spirit of God.
- It far outruns knowledge.

D. Certainty is achieved by grace

1. Achieving it involves a greater or lesser degree of struggle
- No two alike.
2. If it is achieved by grace it is an undeserved gift
- This should not induce a lackadaisical attitude.
3. Doubts must be fought down.
- They stem largely from the devil ("Yes, that's God said...")
- They may be sincere.
- But a man may be very sincere but dead wrong.
4. This involves earnest struggle
5. It should also involve intentional exposure to the truth of God's word
- to the full impact of a wholesome theology
- the word of God can melt the ice of doubt from the heart
- cherishing doubts taking pride in them, thinking oneself superior because of them in smugly folly.

Concl. God grant you the victory over doubt and a heart "established by grace"

APPENDIX I

LUTHER LEAGUE SERVICE BOOK AND HYMNAL ARTICLE¹

The New Service Book and Hymnal

1. A Leaguer may read Col. 3:16-17; another leaguer may read Ps. 95:1-7a.
2. A Leaguer may read the following basic statement about the Service Book and Hymnal:

About a dozen years ago efforts were made by several (sic) to produce a common Lutheran Hymnal for America. At the same time all Lutheran bodies were invited to participate. Most of them did. The Liturgy was also revised at the same time. Eight Lutheran Church bodies participated. Now at last the Service Book and Hymnal is available for use.

a) THE HYMNAL

1. Why have a new Hymnal?

Perhaps on the average ever since the time of the Reformation every 25 or 50 years the various branches of the Church have produced a new hymnal. The A.L.C. Hymnal appeared in 1930. The last Common Service Book in 1919, etc.

2. Is this necessary?

Yes. The Church changes; her needs change; certain points of criticism of the existing hymnal are found to be correct; good new hymns are discovered. Progress in producing hymnals is very proper.

3. Is the Lutheran Church in America different from others?

Yes, in certain respects. When immigrants came to our shores and

began to use English as their language, they found that there were not many hymns available that they could use. So they could not just take over what they had brought from the old country. They have ever since had more than average difficulty with hymnals.

4. Could the old hymns not have been translated?

Hymns are one of the most difficult things to translate. Besides, a poor translation can kill a good hymn. More is needed than producing something that rhymes. Exact translations may be very poor poetry.

5. What is the most familiar of Lutheran hymns?

"A Mighty Fortress is our God."

(Let the first verse be read or sung.)

6. What did our church do to offset the lack of Lutheran hymns?

She began translating what the people loved best. She began examining the hymnody of other English speaking church bodies. She found that there were many good things that came from other circles.

7. Does this involve the danger of losing some of the good things in our own Lutheran heritage?

In some cases it does, unless we be very careful. But at least 60 of the chorales of the Lutheran Church will be available in the new SBH in good translation.

8. How shall we evaluate non-Lutheran hymns?

Many are extremely good, like those of Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley. Some are mediocre. Some are cheap and worthless.

(Let the group sing a good hymn of Watts, like _____)

9. What guaranty have we that the SBH has met the problem successfully?

The Joint Hymnal Committee consisted of about 15 competent men, among the best available in the Lutheran church of our country. All of these were conscious of their responsibility and watched with extreme care that nothing less than the very best should find a place in the new book. These men were the conscience of the Church and understood their responsibility very well.

10. What other classes of hymns are to be found in the Hymnal?

Many of the hymns from the early and mediaeval church, originally Greek and Latin, have also been added.

11. What good reason can you give for retaining these too?

They help us to understand that the Church of Jesus Christ is the same through the ages. At the same time, since they too were written by men who had the Holy Spirit, they often have a undying value, which makes them as precious in our day as they were in days of old.

(Here let a verse be read or sung of "Jerusalem the Golden".)

12. Is there any advantage in becoming familiar with the best hymns of other churches?

Definitely. To know their hymns helps us to catch their spirit and draws us closer to them. It helps us to appreciate how they too have been guided by the Spirit of the Lord, and so a wholesome feeling of unity is developed, without our losing a sense of the distinct gifts that our own church has.

(Let the hymn be read: "O where are kings and empires now"
by Cox)

13. What is the particular value, if any, of having a common
Lutheran Hymnal?

It helps to draw Lutherans together. It helps men as they move from place to place to feel more at home at once in the new church to which they come. It may even be the biggest factor in promoting true Lutheran unity throughout our country.

14. Did the men who provided this book have any other goals
in mind as they did their work?

They certainly did. One of these, was that they hoped to produce for the Lutheran Church of America a book of standard devotional material that could be used by the people in their homes as well as in public worship.

15. What are some of these helpful materials?

There is a whole section of Prayers and Collects. Also some Collects are specially designed for use before and after Holy Communion. Also many helpful selections of Scriptures are for various uses in the course of a man's life. Especially designed for dark and trying times such as sickness and adversity, when men instinctively look for appropriate Scriptures.

16. Could the Hymnal part of the book be put to any further
use?

It could be used much more in the home. A hymn might be read at home every day of the week. In this way the hymnal would grow in popularity and we would also sing with better understanding and

interest. By becoming more familiar with it, men would grow to love it more.

17. What are these new things in the book called Suffrages?

They are brief orders of service that may be read responsively or otherwise at home as a fixed pattern of worship.

18. Do not fixed worship patterns tend to become mechanical?

No more than any other patterns of worship. Everyone who worships must continually be on the guard lest he fails to think what he is saying and doing. Many find that a pattern long used becomes very helpful.

(Here the Order of Morning Suffrages may be read by one designated for the purpose).

19. Why does the book have so many indexes?

These indexes represent a tremendous amount of study and work and can be very helpful for pastors, students and laymen, if, for example, they want to identify the writer of a hymn, or want to find a hymn for a specific occasion, or if they desire to find hymns suited for particular purposes.

(If the new SBH is already in the hands of the congregation the Suffrages may be read responsively with a Leaguer serving as liturgist. He need not stand before the alter).

20. Why are selected Psalms printed in the Book?

Psalms have been found to be very useful for responsive reading in public Services of any sort. They are a major part of Matins and Vespers, and are used in many orders, such as Burial of the Dead, Order for Marriage, Order for Public Confession and the like.

21. Why are certain Psalms omitted?

Some psalms or parts of psalms are not suitable for use in public worship in our day. This involves no criticism of the Book of Psalms as such; it merely considers our present needs. Some Psalms for example are far too long to be used at the present time.

b) THE SERVICE BOOK

1. Why are the various Orders printed in the book, such as the Order for Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Matrimony, and the like?

The chief reason for this is that the Congregation may participate more effectually. Or again, the people may re-read for themselves at any time what their Baptism really means, or what they did when they took their marriage vows, or just how much was involved in their Confirmation. They may also get a lot of comfort out of the Burial Service with its many comforting Scriptures. Rehearsals for Weddings may be planned in harmony with the directives given in the Order for Marriage.

2. Can you discover any other value in having these Orders printed in the Book as such?

It certainly can help in getting men to participate in the public services that are here outlined. Besides, people who cannot hear too well can still follow effectively through a given Order with much profit to themselves.

3. Why are the Lessons, Epistles and Gospels, not printed out in the Service Book?

The chief reason is that the RSV came out after our work had been begun and there was such a sharp division of opinion as to which of

the two versions should be used that it would have been very unfair to many if only one version had been printed. Besides, printing both versions would have made a large book so much larger that it hardly seemed to be the wise thing to do. The Lectionaries that contain the Lessons will enable men to find out definitely whether the RSV is here to stay. If that is established then the RSV text of the lessons may be printed in future editions of the Service Book.

c) THE SERVICES

1. Which are the Services?

By this name we refer to the Service, or the Communion, and the Matins and Vespers.

2. Has the Service been radically changed?

No. There have been a few additions. Some parts have been reworded. In a number of instances, the music has been changed.

3. Is this not going to confuse the congregation?

No more than in previous cases when new hymnals and new Services were introduced. The same fears were expressed then as now. After the revised Service was actually in use people grew to love it and soon became quite familiar with it.

4. In what area were the greatest changes made?

In the area of the musical setting of The Service.

5. Why were so many changes made?

Partly because the old settings had been criticized quite a bit. Partly because men with good musical taste felt the time had come to change more to a type of music that appealed to our American people.

6. What has been done to meet the wide differences in matters musical?

Three different musical settings of the Service are available. The Anglican is the first and will be used more commonly. The Continental is the second and will appeal to certain groups, perhaps especially to those of Swedish background. The third, is the most ancient and is called the Gregorian, or Plain Song, setting. It will not be printed in the SBH but will be available in pamphlet form for those who wish to use it. It is not likely that there will be many choosing this setting.

7. Why are there so many alternate musical forms provided like two Kyries, two settings for the Gloria in Excelsis, etc.?

That is also for the purpose of satisfying those who have a different taste in the matter of what is the better music. Some of these alternates will be the old form with which we have long been familiar. Others will be what some will call a more appealing musical form. Eight church bodies cooperated in making this revision and naturally they had different backgrounds and traditions and therefore could not always arrive at the same conclusion.

8. Why does the new Kyrie happen to be so much longer?

It was taken from the old Greek order and happens to include quite a few proper and helpful prayers that may very appropriately be made at the beginning of worship.

9. Has it any other advantage over the form of Kyrie previously used?

Yes, from one point of view. Many people objected to the old

threefold (or Sixfold) Kyrie because they felt it was a plea for forgiveness of sins coming almost immediately after the Absolution. That they felt was an unnecessary duplication. No one can interpret the new longer Kyrie in that way.

10. Why was the old one retained?

In matters of worship some people are very reluctant to change even the smallest item. If some therefore felt like retaining the old it was felt that it could well be printed as an alternate.

11. Why give a new musical setting for the Gloria in

Excelsis?

This setting is not new for those who twenty-five years ago used the old Joint Synod of Ohio Hymnal. This is the setting found in that hymnal and many others. To many people it seems a bit more singable.²

¹See p. 159, footnote 122.

²Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4. L46.13-14.

APPENDIX II

LEUPOLD'S ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF PROFESSOR WALTER E. BUSZIN¹

Dr. Leupold copied each of Buszin's questions in order and supplied the answer beneath:

1. Is the commission which publishes your service books and hymnal under obligation to the publication house of your church?

No, I might sum it up this way. The relation between the Joint Commission and the publishing house is one of free and voluntary cooperation. We produce the text. The publishing houses see to it that it is printed and produced.

2. If not, who publishes your service books and hymnal?

The managers of the several publishing houses meet as a group; they determine how to proceed; they receive our material; they agree to publish it on terms which have been previously reached between them and us . . .

3. What are the specific responsibilities and functions of your Commission? I believe you are part of a joint-commission which acts independently; is this correct?

We were free to determine what was to be done, having as general directive the request of our own church (or, you might say) of all the cooperating churches to explore the possibility of producing a common hymnal and a common liturgy.

Step for step as material was produced, our results were laid before the cooperating churches for approval at their respective conventions. They always expressed approval and authorized bringing the work to a final conclusion. Step for step we indicated what the next stage of our procedure would be.

4. To which higher body or group is the commission which prepares your service books and hymnal accountable?

To the cooperating churches, listed Service Book and Hymnal, p. iv.

5. Does your commission prepare also educational and promotional literature material which relates itself to the corporate worship practices of your church, to your service book and hymnal?

The material which we prepared is related not so much to "the corporate worship practices of [our] church" except in so far as rubrical directions are demanded for The Service and for the

Occasional Services. In addition, for the Service Book and Hymnal two handbooks (official titles have not yet been finalized) are to be prepared, one on the hymns the other on the Service and the Orders. These are not in the category of promotional material but are rather to be classed as helpful studies or commentaries.

6. If not, by whom is this done?

The Commission (Hymnal and Liturgy) has proposed to the churches that this be done and the churches have authorized it. Then the Commission appointed its subcommittees, who made the necessary studies and submitted the material to the Commission for final approval. The last project completed to date is the Occasional Services. Next come the Text Edition and the Handbooks.

7. What special words of advice would you care to pass on to us?

I believe most of the men on our Commission would agree in saying: Preserve the relative independence of the Commission on Worship, Liturgics, and Hymnology. There must be cooperation, but within a synodical body the relation is bound to be different than in a joint venture such as ours was. Pecuniary interest could at times influence procedure more than is wholesome. Financial advantage could sometimes be the determining factor, for publishers think in terms of profits.²

¹See p. 160, footnote 124.

²L43.27. Letter "L, 1a, 1b, 1c." Leupold Archives Box #4, Folder #16.

APPENDIX III

LEUPOLD'S LETTER TO REV. CHARLES CARROLL OF THE
NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL, NEW YORK CITY¹

Dear Pastor Carroll:

August 30, 1955

Let me submit a brief report of my trip to Europe July 29 - August 29, and of its value and impressions as far as I am concerned.

Everything went smoothly as scheduled. Your advice as to preparations to be made was helpful and complete in every detail. The planning of the trip from New York and back to New York by Dr. Vajta was most satisfactory. Dr. Vajta's personal supervision of every little detail as he accompanied us throughout the tour from London and back to the point of embarkation was more than gracious. So much for the physical aspects of the trip.

My overall impression of the various theological conferences held is to the effect that the LWF is doing a surprisingly effective work in bringing about cooperation and mutual understanding among Lutherans. Continental theologians and churchmen are being appreciated and understood much better by the Americans in particular, and Americans are obviously contributing of that particular gift which God has bestowed on them. Each group clearly sees this and admits it. At the same time the world-wide ramifications of Lutheranism are beginning to become clearer to all and mutual help and understanding is obviously on the increase.

The personal contact with the many fine men whom we met at conferences was a valuable experience. Men of the finest calibre were encountered and we could not but feel that the incumbents of pastorates in Lutheran churches were a splendid group of consecrated pastors. The clergymen of the East Zone roused our deepest sympathy and admiration. We sought to comfort and encourage them but got more personally out of our contact with these men than we were able to give.

The sessions of the Theological Commission and the Liturgical Commission were extremely helpful, especially by their thoroughness and depth. I might here express criticism of the irrelevance of much of German theological thinking to every-day living, but this lies outside the range of my report.

On the other hand, I could not help but note how sound confessional Lutheranism is plainly gaining ground in the Lutheran churches everywhere. The indifference to confessions, which had been bred by the union churches is being overcome. Not the least factor in bringing this about is the contact on the one hand between Lutherans who take their book of Concord seriously and, on the other, Lutherans who need a little encouragement in this direction, contact promoted largely by the LWF in these conferences.

It is true, I cut the last week of the proposed trip off my schedule with Dr. Vajta's consent. I was worn a bit thin [Note: Dr. Leupold had marked his 63rd birthday a little over a month before, on July 23, 1955] by the preparations to be made for the trip in comparatively short time, and grew quite uneasy during the first weeks because I had not been able to organize my seminary work adequately for the coming semester. I felt I owed such preparation to my calling as professor of the Seminary, and so Dr. Vajta arranged for me to fly back after the Tutzing Conference. With this arrangement I arrived in a more relaxed frame of mind and was able to get much more profit out of the conferences I did attend.

My reason for not accepting your further kind offer to share in the conference with Lutherans on church music, September 21 to 27th (I believe it was) ties up with the explanation offered above. I well recognize that you were offering me a rare opportunity. But with seminary work stepped up as it is, I would have lost the three initial weeks in all my courses, with no prospect of a competent instructor available at such short notice. I know my seminary would have disapproved.

One last important observation. The team that collaborated at the various theological conferences, without previous consultation of the individuals involved, displayed a singular unanimity at every conference, as though every paragraph had been carefully revised by the entire group. Such a unified approach, quite unplanned, but indicative of a deep spiritual unity, impressed the groups we met with rather deeply, -- and us too.

Once again, my hearty thanks for all you did to make the trip profitable and agreeable! With every good wish for God's blessing on your labors, I remain, [end of handwritten letter].

[Dr. Leupold]²

¹See p. 169, footnote 148.

²L46.7-8; Leupold Archives, Box #7, Folder #4.

APPENDIX IV

LEUPOLD LECTURE I OUTLINE¹

No attempt (Lecture-I) to make practical applications. They will make themselves.

A People Claimed by God

1. A more biblical form of statement, "a people chosen by God."

-God insisting on his rights vs. his free offers of grace.

2. Thoughts latent in the verb "choose" (רָחַץ - oklego).

a) the freedom of him that chooses - choice depends on his preference.

-No one may question his right to make a free choice.

-No merit involved on the part of the one chosen.

-Free grace is the motivating factor.

-Not the potential of the ones chosen (Abraham, Israel, Jeremiah).

-If it had been considered it might have been a deterrent.

b) the impatience of the one chosen.

c) a purpose is involved.

-God desires to achieve something through the ones chosen.

-He makes known his broad purpose: "In these all the families . . . be blessed".

-this purpose the ones chosen should keep in mind.

d) No partiality is displayed in following through on this choice.

-Amos 3:2 "You only have I known . . ."

-sometimes God's choice is spoken of in a more limited sense.

e) God's choice should not be interpreted as predestination:
involving salvation of the chosen.

-rather involving: chosen to be used for a certain purpose.

-cf. Mal.1:2-3, "Jacob have I loved but Esau have I hated."

f) No nation has taken Israel's place.

-Some few because of prosperity feel this is a favored nation.

-It is the church, from many nations, who has moved into
Israel's place.

3. This choice lays upon those chosen the obligation of accepting
the responsibility involved.

-i.e., Faith accepts the grace (cf. Jacob at Jabbok) involved
and the responsibility (Gabe-Aufgabe).

4. It pleased God to confirm his choice by a covenant (berith).

-The Noah covenant not involved here.

-But the Abraham, Isaac and Jacob covenant.

-Enlarged to consciously include all Israel - at Mt. Sinai.

-Reactivated under Joshua-Samuel (ch. 7), Josiah-Ezra (Neh
9:38).

-the inadequacy of this relation admitted by Jer. 31:31ff.

-to be replaced by a new covenant.

5. In the N.T. it is both covenant and testament - diatheke.

-It receives very little attention in our N.T. day.

-the "testament" idea to an extent, not the "covenant" idea.

6. The covenant in general.

-It emanated from God - two unequal partners.

-It must be accepted by those to whom it is offered and be ratified.

-The following generation is treated as though they had been personally involved in the making of it.

-All is done to guarantee the interests of the lesser partner.

7. The advantages of the lesser partner described by the names given.

-the usual word "קָהָל" - (emphasis: they gather together - centripetal).

-next in order "קָהָל יְהוָה" - (the gathered group) acting concertedly (BOB).

-almost a definition - Ex 19:5-6.

"my own possession among all peoples".

"a kingdom of priests".

"a holy nation".

vs. Communism's ideal - (a dedicated nation)

fanatical dedication.

8. In the N.T. some modifications occur.

-12 apostles for 12 patriarchs.

-evangelistic approach - (Mt. 28).

-a formal break with Israel occurs (fall of Jerusalem), she enjoys special rank no longer.

-Peter spells out what N.T. chosen people are (Is. 43:21, "a people whom I formed for myself that they might declare my praise").

-no special land - no king.

-no prescribed form of worship and sacrifices.

-no special prophets - for many "prophesy".

-no Ark.

9. There is a definite eschatological outlook.

-God will carry his work through to completion - in his people.

-"He who hath begun a good work . . ." in the individual ("the seal" Is. 9).

-the world-wide scope of God's plans is obvious - e.g., in terms of Is. 60.

All limitations will be overcome.²

¹See p. 174, footnote 164.

²Leupold Archives, Box #1, Folder #1. L40.2, Item #3.

APPENDIX V

LEUPOLD LECTURE II OUTLINE¹

A People Claimed by God

- I. All so-called practical issues come to the fore now.
- This can be done the more effectively on the broad platform that we have built.
 - No attempt to present a full treatment of the subject, or a complete doctrine of the church, nor a complete word study.
 - Still true that the full evaluation of the doctrine of the church lies in the future.
 - As the full truth concerning justification came in Reformation days.
- II. General Observations.
- offered at random to stimulate thinking.
 - a) Etymology alone does not disclose the full truth.
 - so the ek of ekklesia is never evaluated.
 - Danger of overdoing, "In Germany we live in an epoch of lexicons" (Noth).
 - b) The local congregation is the church.
 - the whole expressed itself in its parts.
 - c) The church according to the unique structure of Acts is the creation of the Holy Spirit.
 - a truth very apparent to most of us.
 - yet to present day thinking Acts may be meaningless.

- d) Christians are the church is better than: Christians are in the church.
- e) Some vital issues concerning the church and her work are not touched by the New Testament.
- Parish education as the Church's work.
 - Not overlooking: "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition . . ."
- f) The institutional aspect of the church (Minneapolis headquarters) is continually in danger of becoming too important, or is too much ignored.

III. Various names for the People of God.

- a) Expresssions that run parallel to the word "church".
- ekklesia, 100 times.
 - oikos pneumatikos, I P 2:5, "spiritual house".
 - laos theou, I P 2:10, "God's people".
 - e peritome, Pp 3:3, "(true) circumcision".
 - Israel, Rm 9:6, "Israel".
 - Israel tou theou, Gl 6:16, "Israel of God".
 - Israel kata pneuma, I C 10:18, "Israel after the Spirit".
 - sperma Abraam, Gl 3:29, "Abraham's offspring".
 - dodeka oulai, Jm 1:1, "twelve tribes (of the dispersion)".
 - perepidemoi diasporas, I P 1:1, "exiles of the dispersion".
- b) Descriptive terms that have also been used.
- oi agioi, (the saints).
 - oi adelphoi, (the brethren).
 - oi pistoi, (the faithful).

- n adelphotes, (the brotherhood).
- oi mathetoi, (the disciples).
- oi ptochoi, (the poor).
- to mikron poimnion, (thou little flock).
- sunagoge, (synagogue), Jm 2:2, cf. 5:14.

c) Commonly accepted views built on this terminology.

- The doctrine of the church is rooted in the N.T. concept of the Messiah -- a Savior without a church is an impossible concept.
- Unique difference: ekklesia in classical Greek disappears when the meeting is adjourned. Not so the church.
- Men with the mind of Christ mutually attract one another -- congregate and welds them together.
- The doctrine of the church does not appear in Acts and Romans, but certainly in Ephesians and Colossians.
- the church is a "sacred mystery".

IV. Practical Problems that Clamor for solution.

- a) Continual danger for the church to stress holiness at the expense of catholicity and vice versa.
- b) It will have to be granted that some issues confronting the church in our day have not been fully settled by the N.T., as a narrow Biblicism believes (instruction of the youth of the church: church polity; relation of the church to the state, etc.).
- c) Must theology be antagonistic to the church, always correcting and belittling? She dare not belittle the

vessel in which the treasure of the Gospel is contained and offered to men. More uniquely a European problem.

- d) The manner in which the church prays for the church, should be re-examined theologically. In many instances she does not pray at all for the church. Value of the Litany!
- e) A sympathetic attitude toward translations of the Bible should prevail in the church. Their need is quite well exemplified by Luther's attitude.
- f) The confessional position is not only to be important to pastor, but the laity should be well informed. With the mobility of the population of our land, relocation does not suggest merely affiliating with the nearest Protestant church.
- g) The relative independence of congregations (congregational church government) dare not lead to ignoring the organized church and her guidance. Just because we observe some bureaucratic tendencies is no cause for separation. Unwholesome trends must be watched and combatted.
- h) There is too much ecclesiastical legislation. Witness the bulk of Convention Minutes that appear. Yet that is not to be regarded as a convenient excuse for separation.
- i) There is a tendency in the church to have "strong men" take the reins in hand and increase the power of the heads of departments, even as such is the case in federal and state government.

- j) The sources of the church's income must be carefully evaluated. Some have too much. Some hardly any at all
(?) Dare the church manage a chain store to support a church college? Christian Brothers wine industry supports many schools.²

¹See p. 174, footnote 165.

²Leupold Archives, Box #5, Folder #2. L44.3, #2.

APPENDIX VI

LEUPOLD LECTURE II TEXT¹

"A People Claimed by God"
a New Testament Approach

I. From this point on all the practical issues that could have claimed attention begin to come to fore more prominently. We may treat them more effectively now that we have built a broad platform of Old Testament truth.

We must also remind you that we shall not attempt a complete coverage of all aspects of the subject. First the subject is too broad for that and the materials available are too rich. We are offering primarily that which had special appeal to us and which seemed most helpful to an audience like this. One way of doing this assignment might be to follow with a full word-study. Such studies are gaining in popularity in seminary class-room work, and students are becoming somewhat more adept in the making of such studies. but sometimes such efforts smack of learning but may yet be somewhat dry and unfruitful.

I must also remind you of a claim that you may have come across repeatedly, the claim that the full experience and understanding of the doctrine of the church is something that still lies in the future. By that claim we mean, just as certain areas of truth were explored and developed with a certain thoroughness and finality for the Church in a given age in the past, so shall it be with this doctrine. In the days of St. Augustine the doctrine of grace was lived through and understood as never before. The

findings of that day and age will hardly be superseded on this subject. In the days of Reformation it was the blessed doctrine of justification by faith which it pleased God to allow to be unfolded in all its implications as the Scriptures had clearly set them forth in apostolic days. So it may well be that the doctrine of the Church will come into its own in these last evil days. At least the attention given to this subject points in this direction.

II. Let me first set down certain more general observations that are pertinent to the subject in hand. These are offered to set our minds athinking along a number of lines.

A. We spoke of word-studies a moment ago - etymological studies. It should be noted that the etymology of a given word does not always cover adequately the use of that word. You may be correct as to the etymology of a term and still fail to catch its full truth. So it is with the term for church, 'ekklesia. It originally meant the assembling of people for a public meeting where they were to be informed and then were to act. Ekklesia means the calling out of the people. It is compounded of 'ek and kaleo. Yet in New Testament usage the full force of the preposition 'ek is not utilized to any extent, except indirectly ("He hath called us out of darkness into his marvelous light"). But this is done casually and never followed through to its full implications. There are many other things out of which, or away from which, we are called. I was rather struck by the remark of a present-day German theologian who said: "In Germany we live in an epoch of lexicons" (Noth). Word studies are being overdone a bit.

B. A further helpful observation is this that the local congregation is the church. It is so spoken of the N.T. quite commonly. It is not so much a part of the church as actually the church itself, functioning in a given locality. The idea of the corporate oneness so strongly governs the thinking of the apostles.

C. Another point that you may often have reflected upon is this that according to the unique structure of the Book of Acts, the Church, in an usual sense of the word is the work of the Holy Spirit. The first event recorded in the book is the Outpouring of the Spirit. Having been poured out, this Spirit begins his work and the Church is the result. This is quite apparent to most of us. Strangely, it may happen, as I discovered some years ago, that modern man may read the book of Acts with a feeling of complete perplexity not knowing what it is really trying to say.

D. Here is another useful approach. It is more correct to say that Christians are the Church than to claim they are in the church. The first form of statement shows how deeply ingrained in the very being is the life and existence of its members. They are not in it by applying for membership and being voted in and so they make contact. They are welded and born into the living structure by a creative act of God.

E. I was rather startled to discover that there are some phases of the church and her work which are not even touched on by the New Testament writers. This is true, for example, in the area of parish education. By this statement I would not belittle that most important discipline. I am also well aware of the fact that

parents are expressly admonished to bring up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." But my point is, the New Testament does not say what the church as church should follow as her express and deliberate method. A similar failure to give specific direction lies in the area of church polity or government. Which system of church government should be followed by all? You find no explicit answer in the epistles or gospels.

F. In the New Testament there is indication that the institutional character of the church is beginning to take on shape and form to a certain extent. There is church government; pastors are appointed to certain field and accept the appointment; discipline is being exercised by the church, etc. The organized church is entitled to look for its beginnings to the apostolic age. But is it not true that this organizational aspect of the work and life of the church does not receive any particular emphasis? It is treated rather casually. But might it not be even intentional that there be merely a casual treatment? The peculiar thing about the personal attitude of the individual to the organized church always seems to be wavering between two extremes: either we make too much of the organized church or we make too little. We are either too enthusiastic about what Minneapolis does or too hostile to its Program and pronouncements. Neither extreme is wholesome. We may have a little more to say on the subject later.

III.

A. Let us move on into the area of Various Names and Titles for the People of God. This means word-studies. First of all there

is quite a group of names that are used synonymously for the church. They are all meaningful. If in this area I find at least nine synonyms that, in itself, is already an abundant indication how many-sided and rich the being and life of the church is. To this then must be added figurative, descriptive terms that disclose further aspects of the character of the church. And yet such a study reveals that very few descriptive adjectives are used in referring to the church. Such standard adjectives as "one holy, catholic, and apostolic" come into use in the post-apostolic period. Still all the synonyms employed add up to this: "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O Sion, city of the living God."

We may make a beginning with the term that Peter uses (2:5 of the first epistle): You are "a spiritual House ('oikos pneumatikos). Think in terms of a beautiful impressive structure. None like it anywhere else in this world! For this house is made of living stones, and its builder and maker is God. If certain cathedrals have a breath-taking beauty, surely God's Sion has as much. Since the Spirit Of God imparts whatever merits the church has, the house will deserves to be called "spiritual." We may paraphrase the Old Testament statement of the Psalm (48:12) and invite one another to inspect this unique structure, to go round about her, mark well her beauty and strength and be uplifted by what you see. For after all the chief purpose of this house consists in this that here God dwells in the midst of his people, a concept that the Old Testament embodied in the record that tells how a cloud

filled the Tabernacle and later the Solomon Temple, a cloud that symbolized the indwelling of the Lord God of Israel.

We are not repeating those titles from the Old Testament that we have already examined, like "God's people" (I Peter 2:10).

Among the lesser terms used, descriptive of the church, Paul rather uniquely employs the designation: You are the (true) "circumcision." We have perhaps never used this term in describing the church, and for obvious reasons. But for the mind trained to Jewish, Old Testament thinking the point was obviously, What the rite of circumcision signified, namely purification of the heart, that is achieved nowhere as successfully as in Christ's church.

"For not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel." In Rom.9:6 Paul uses the name "Israel," to describe the true people of God. True believers may now claim that title more so than the members of God's ancient people after the flesh. That was the name given to the new Jacob after his Jabbok-experience. As "Peter" reminded the apostle of the new man that he was in Christ Jesus, so "Israel" reminded Jacob of the higher level that he had attained after the memorable wrestling with the angel. That name became a reminder to the nation of the higher aspirations that should continually infuse their minds and hearts. A concrete thought is found here, not a vague ideal. As Jacob rose from his knees a new man, clinging tenaciously to God, so do God's people at all times.

A few variations of this term appears when Paul uses certain modifiers. That a high level of thinking alone can catch

what the term implies appears from this that Paul calls the church "the Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16). Israel lost right and title to this honorable designation. The church took her place and bears the new designation with honor and humility. To this may be added, as embodying the same thought the designation of the old Israel as "Israel after the flesh," implying that we of the New Testament are "Israel after the Spirit." (I Cor. 10:18)

A distinct Old Testament flavor lies in that other name, (found Galatians 3:29) "Abraham's offspring." Descent after the flesh counts for little. The believer is the true child of Abraham and at the same time heir of the promise.

We find James addressing the ones to whom he is writing as "the twelve tribes in the dispersion" (1:1). True, he may be writing largely to Jewish Christians, for congregations were preponderantly Jewish in their beginnings. But if the twelve tribes once constituted the true people of God, a people in whom the Lord had an unusual interest, that interest is now transferred to those who are in Christ Jesus and in him constitute a new people of God. But in a sense, the destiny of dispersion is upon them because God's ancient people were scattered under the judgment of God, a destiny which they may perhaps never escape.

All these terms are suggestive in their own way, reflecting some one important aspect of the life of the saved community. Each of them could be used as a kind of proper name.

B. Now there are certain other names and titles that are more in the category of common names, or descriptive titles that are

to be found in the Scriptures. They dwell upon some special quality that Christ's church should or does manifest. These are all as important as the name already listed.

There is first of all the name that we regret to see used so little, but the infrequent use is due to a misunderstanding of what the name really implies - the name "saints" (hagioi). They are the ones whom God has set apart as his own peculiar possession. They have also set themselves apart in conscious dedication to the purposes that their Father has in mind for them. Purpose and attitude rather than achievement are prominent in this title. They are the "dedicated ones," who, of course, are not without some measure of sanctification. A review of these names makes one's blood run faster with the thrill of high and noble destiny.

Then there is the very noble term "brethren" (adelphoi). The sense of having roots in a family. The indication that Christ is the elder brother. That our relationship only takes on meaning as we all become related to him. there is the added fact that this is the truest and deepest relationship that can be achieved on earth. The fatherhood of God stands behind it and the motherhood of the church, if I may venture to say so. Almost the noblest title that you can bestow upon another is that of "brother" in Christ. We shall not attempt to unfold the fulness of rich association any further.

Then there is the fine name of "the faithful" (pistoi). The emphasis is on loyalty, on having been tested and found true, of holding fast to the Lord Jesus through thick and thin. Some

opposition on the part of the world has been encountered. It has been met successfully. How high a premium is set on this virtue appears from the fact that to them that hold their fidelity to Christ there is promised "the crown of life" (Rev. 2:10).

Some of the elements that go into the next term have already been discussed. Christians constitute the "brotherhood." We shall not explore the implications of this term any further.

Then there is the good expressive term "disciple" (mathetes). Two ideas are embodied in this term, which Jesus frequently used for his followers and the evangelists likewise. First is the thought that such are followers, always going along in the company of the Lord. For that reason it is a designation that aptly describes every true believer's attitude, so that Jesus could very properly say that the objective of his church is "to make disciples of all nations." The second aspect of the term, which accords more with the root meaning, manthano is that such men always remain "learners." They have so much that they must still acquire. They have learned the lessons taught by the Master-Teacher so imperfectly. In humbleness of mind they sit at Jesus feet, an attitude which is even described as "the better part." No one, not even the most brilliantly gifted of those who belong to Jesus has ever yet outgrown this aspect of discipleship. This could lead over very aptly to the next term.

The followers of Jesus Christ were very correctly designated by him, when he began the Sermon on the Mount, as the "poor," or the "poor in spirit." What have they that they have not

received? All was given to them as a free gift of grace. They live continually on the riches of grace. They never have anything that they can offer as involving any intrinsic merit on their part. That they are ready to admit every day: I cannot by my own reason or strength even believe in Jesus Christ my Lord or come to him. Yet, by a strange paradox no man is richer than they. For Jesus, though he was rich, yet he became poor that they through his poverty might be made rich.

Then there is a descriptive name used but once but so very meaningful for all times, "thou little flock" (poimnion). A whole array of thoughts is suggested by this name. Christ is the shepherd. The flock needs him for its very existence. At times the number of the true followers is surprisingly small. Yet it is the Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom. "Fear" should for this reason never get the better of them, for "dying, behold they live."

You may never have noticed that even the term "synagogue" is used (Jas. 2:2). Its use is covered over by the fact that the translation at this point says "assembly." Later in James the term "church" appears (Jas. 5:14), clearly indicating that both terms can be used interchangeably. Since James wrote mainly to Jewish Christians, it can be readily understood that the regular assembly of the faithful had on the Old Testament level usually been referred to as a gathering together, (1.2) synagoge.

All three terms could have been explored much more fully. Let this brief indication of their implication suffice for the present.

But I notice that I have inadvertently neglected one of the most important of all of the descriptive terms that the New Testament uses - the church is "the body of Christ." Immediately Paul's very suggestive treatment of the subject in I Cor. 12 comes to mind, stressing how the various members of the body function as a complete organism, each having its place, none being unimportant, importance being often in inverse ratio to the seeming unimportance. This subject could lend itself to exhaustive treatment. We refrain from unfolding this now. We rather draw attention only to a unique fact that illustrates the inadequacy of figurative language when it comes to the matter of exact definition. On the one hand it is said with perfect propriety that the church is the body of Christ. We just explored some of the possibilities involved. But it is also claimed with obvious propriety that Christ is the head of the body. If I now ask the question how can he be both the body and the head, I am asking an improper question. For I am treating figurative statements as though they were carefully fashioned definitions. Both statements are true.

C. In closing this aspect of the case let me present to you a number of conclusions that are based on the study of these rich and colorful terms, conclusions which are accepted quite commonly on every hand and which may enrich our thinking or stimulate more reflection on the subject.

When the question is raised what was it that induced men to give more careful thought to the whole doctrine of church, what

started this line of investigation? It is commonly assumed that the starting point may well have been the concept of the Messiah, the Christ, a very basic concept in the thinking of the early church, even as it still is. For a Messiah without a following of true men is unthinkable, as impossible as a Savior without the body of the saved. So you are already on the subject of the church.

Here let me make a casual observation that does not bear too directly on the case but throws quite a bit of light backward on what we have covered. If in the Greek world the body of people called together for a certain purpose was called ecclesia, that ecclesia was just that, as long as they stayed together in one place. When the meeting was over the assemble dispersed and the ecclesia was no more. It simply has no continuing existence. It is a thing for the moment. However the Christian congregation comes together from true inner compulsion. What the New Testament calls the church, or ecclesia, exists just as much when it is assembled as when it is dispersed. This may serve as a unique illustration how terms are enriched and endowed with new meaning in the sacred Scriptures.

Here is another thought that may prove helpful. Men with the mind of Christ have so much in common and the mind of Christ is so strong a unifying force that such persons are mutually attracted to one another. They are bound to congregate. If all be well with them, they cannot neglect to assemble together regularly and consistently. They must praise. They must pray. They must use the divinely appointed means of grace. Christ has welded them into a

unity and that unity expresses itself outwardly in the sacred assembly.

In illustration of the fact that not all writers always treat all of divine truth when they write, it may at least serve a purpose to point out that the doctrine of church is not developed in Romans and Galatians, but does get comprehensive treatment in Ephesians and Colossians.

Let me conclude this line of casual observations of things currently in the forefront of thinking on the subject by again reminding you, as you have often been reminded, that in the last analysis the church has so many aspects that are far above our understanding that she deserves to be called a "mystery" (Eph.5:32), a thought which is beautifully captured in one of our well-known collects: "O God of unchangeable power and eternal light, look favorably upon thy whole Church, that wonderful and sacred mystery . . ."

IV. Let me finally come to the point of Practical Problems that Clamor for Solution in connection with the doctrine of the church. I do not consider this to be the climax of these lectures, for a subject does not then first become important when it deals with current problems. But the half dozen or so of issues that are being raised are such that should provoke to earnest thought and prayer in this connection. The issues that I present are offered more or less at random.

A. The first is a point of inner tension in the very truth about the church itself. There is continual danger in holding

fast to the obvious truth that the church is "holy" and that she is "catholic" that we stress the one at the expense of the other. When we lay heavy emphasis on the holiness of the church and try to do those things that foster holiness we are apt to lose sight of her catholicity. If we stress that she is catholic, it may well be that we let down the bars in an attempt to promote the catholic outlook, and the result is minimal emphasis on true holiness. I have no solution to suggest other than that we have here two poles that hold one another in wholesome check.

B. It will have to be admitted that there are some important issues confronting the church that have not been fully treated, if at all, by the writings of the New Testament, and we might just as well admit that such is the case. Some men have acted on the assumption that the Bible has the answer, where the fact of the matter is that the church has to resort to earnest study, faithful prayer, and to her enlightened judgment in an effort to solve these problems as they currently arise. I mention the following as being typical areas on which we have no specific words of guidance as to exactly how the church should meet these issues. Exactly what the church is to do as church about the instruction of the youth by the church is one such area. Or what form of church government should prevail in a given age? - the whole subject of church polity - is another. Then there is the ever difficult problem how should the church be related to the state. Perhaps it is even very good that some of these matters were not spelled out because time and circumstances may differ so very much as the ages roll on.

C. Here is another problem that is occasionally encountered: Must theology often take a stance of opposition over against the church, correcting her and warning her, that means of course open opposition to the church as established in a given time and place? Some even claim that that is one of the functions of theology. I believe you will agree that where such a problem might arise more acutely on the European scene, at least in our day in our own church there is a spirit of wholesome cooperation that has made any such clash unnecessary. Some one has remarked that there should not normally be any opposition against the vessel in which for us the treasure of the gospel is contained and safeguarded. The church is such a vessel. To take such an attitude of cooperation should in no wise lead to a restraint upon true academic freedom.

D. Here is a challenging matter: The manner in which the church prays for the church requires a careful evaluation and should receive far more attention than it does. The problem really is not how she prays but whether prayer is made at all in certain circles in the prayer of the church. May I make free to remind you in this connection what a beautiful model of prayer for the church by the church is offered in the Litany beginning with the words: "And to rule and govern thy holy Christian Church . . ." Imagine what a horrible oversight it is when the church believes so little in the efficacy of prayer that she no longer even prays for her own needs.

E. An area where the church can be of great help to her membership is the area of translations of the Scriptures as they

proliferate in our day. The church should speak up and give guidance. On the one hand, in the spirit of Luther, she should never tire of making the translations into the language of the day more and more to the point. Luther kept revising his version down to the end. But on the other hand, when such translations begin to abound to the point where the layman no longer knows which to use, then the church has the difficult task of providing guidance. What have we now? To mention a few - there is Goodspeed, Weymouth, the 20th Century translation, the American translation, the RSV, the NEB, Ronald Knox, Phillips. To keep referring to them indiscriminately so that when basic passages are quoted the same form of words is hardly heard twice, there is a definite disservice being done to the layman. He is not fortified in his knowledge of key passages so that he can quote them assurance. He no longer knows what form of words to employ. Some discretion on the part of the church is highly imperative on this point.

F. In the matter of the confessions of the church there surely is a major caution to be observed. The confessions are important to the pastor and to the layman. The pastor should know them and accept them from the heart because of their valuable guidance. But what of the layman who increasingly in our day is moved about by his work from place to place from church to church, often finding it impossible to find a church of the denomination to which he belongs? Is it right to let such persons shift from church to church on the assumption that one confession is without a doubt as good as another, and on the further assumption that it does not

matter too much whether he has any convictions in the matter, the still further assumption being that the confessions deal with mere trifles anyhow? Here is a problem demanding some conscientious thinking.

G. A different difficulty grows out of the position of our church that in church government the court of last appeals is the local congregation. It is virtually autonomous, self-governing. But in conflict with this approach is the well-known fact that the authority and power of the organized church body is growing. It is not a matter calling for continual watchfulness that we do not idly stand by while the authority of the organized church grows stronger, and we do and say nothing. Yet, on the other hand, can we uphold indiscriminate opposition against the Church? Or shall we lamely sign off on our responsibility? These questions may not have become very acute in our circles but they do demand attention.

H. Then in the next place is it not true that there is altogether too much ecclesiastical legislation? Witness the bulkiness of a copy of the Minutes of the convention of the Church. On endless subjects the church is called upon to make a pronouncement, to make a ruling. It all amounts to legislation. How many pages of these Minutes are dead letters? Yet the passing of the motions was clearly a case of following the suggestion: "There ought to be a law." So we make a law and feel we are effectively doing the Lord's work. What looks like businesslike procedure is substituted largely for the more important work of the church. Let us not be misunderstood, we are well aware of the fact

that many of these regulations are quite important, even sometimes imperative. But to have them bulk as large as they do is a mark of growing bureaucracy. Have you not often felt that to be the case?

I. There seems also to be a tendency to let the so-called "strong men" the gifted church leaders, take the reins of church government in hand and increase the power and influence of their own departments. Sometimes they are praised for their aggressiveness, sometimes they are criticized for their assumption of power that is not rightly theirs. Problems in this category could get to be rather acute and manifold.

J. It has also been suggested that there are cases where the sources of the church's income should be scrutinized more carefully. Here are two typical instances. Is it above reproach to have a college derive a large amount of her income from a well-managed chainstore? Is it entirely proper to have a brotherhood in a certain denomination manage a vineyard and manufacture and sell wine so that the profits thereof might be used to finance schools and colleges? Or are we coming to the point where the end hallows the means?

In these various issues that I have raised, I have gone beyond the level of observations that have come under my own scrutiny. To tell the truth, a very prominent reference work, whose identity I shall not disclose, gave me the major leads on this head. The exact formulation of the problem is largely my own and it adapts the case in hand to conditions as we meet with them in TALC.

Yet it cannot be denied that these problems are tied up with that which is a greatest concern to us: We are a people chosen by God. We claim it gladly and humbly and we aim to live worthy of our calling, showing forth the praises of him who has called us out of darkness into his marvelous light.

¹See p. 174, footnote 165.

APPENDIX VII

SERMONS AND LECTURES

1. "Achieving Certainty"¹

Heb.13:7-9

Sem. chapel, 1-28-65

Intro.:

- a) "Achieving certainty" defined; not dogmatism (I'm right, you're wrong!).
- b) But in the spirit of: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word . . ."
- c) Particularly: "It is well that the heart be established . . ."

Theme:

"Achieving Certainty."

I. "By following your leaders."

"Remember your leaders, those who spoke to you the word of God; consider the outcome of their life, and imitate their faith."

II. By knowing what is the essence of the faith.

"Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today & forever."

III. By being established in the faith by God's grace.

a) Uncertainty is a sorry lot.

1. For the theological student it involves being unable to speak with assurance.
2. If what you say carries no conviction, hollow words.
3. It means being deeply infected with the spirit of our age.

4. It means having no reliable norm of truth.

-My heart aches for such.

b) Certainty is a blessed thing.

1. It means to have escaped from the quick sands of
doubt.

-from the waves of indecision and perplexity.

2. It means being able to say with conviction: "I know
whom I have believed."

3. It means being able to deliver your message with
conviction.

c) Certainty involves more than knowledge.

1. Frequently this order is reversed.

-men hold knowledge is a positive thing,
faith/certainty is dubious.

2. knowledge as such is not to be made light of.

-but it has its limitations.

3. The imponderables, the spiritual realities, cannot be
caught hold of by knowledge.

-demonstrated to the point of QED.

4. Faith is of a higher order; it grasps the deep things
of God.

-It is a special capacity wrought in man by the
spirit of God.

-It far outruns knowledge.

d) Certainty is achieved by grace.

1. Achieving it involves a greater or lesser degree of struggle.
-no two alike.
2. If it is achieved by grace, it is an undeserved gift.
-this should not induce a lackadaisical attitude.
3. Doubts must be fought down.
-they stem largely from the devil ("Yea, hath God said . . .").
-they may be sincere.
-but a man may be very sincere but dead wrong.
4. This involves earnest prayer.
5. It should also involve intentional exposure to the truth of God's word.
-to the full impact of a wholesome theology.
-the word of God can melt the ice of doubt from the heart.
-cherishing doubts, taking pride in them, thinking oneself superior because of them is snobbish folly.

Concl.:

God grant you the victory over doubt and a heart
"established by grace."

¹See p. 89, footnote 286.

2. "The Strange Negatives of the Resurrection"¹

Mt. 28:5-8

Canton, (Ohio?) 1958

Intro.:

"This is the day which the Lord hath made . . ."

The ancient belief: at Easter sunrise you see angels in the sun.

We can do more: We can meet with the Risen Christ, who walks the earth wherever his Gospel is preached.

The Strange Negatives of the Resurrection:

1. The message opens on a negative: "Be not afraid!"
2. The resurrection was not first preached by men.
3. The message is negative: "He is not here!"
4. No man saw Jesus arise.
5. The resurrection was not the end of his work but the real beginning.

I. The message opens on a negative: "Be not afraid!"

- a) Cruel fear had marked man's faith from Adam on.
 - especially fear of death as death.
 - and the vague fear of damnation thereafter.
- b) Here was an effective negative.
 - It cancelled fear.
 - Timid disciples became world conquerors.
 - Peter before the Council.

II. The resurrection was not first preached by men.

- a) Witnesses behind the scene who knew whereof they spoke.

- b) A high standard had to be set.
 - not exuberant statements that bewildered.
 - plain hard facts that convinced.
- c) All true preachers have imitated the angels.

III. The message is negative: "He is not here!"

- a) What the positive would have meant: "He is here."
 - two had grappled, one had been pinned down.
 - he was already beginning to decompose.
 - mankind's lot would have been hopeless.
 - no man could break the death-barrier.
- b) What the positive meant.
 - In his own power he had taken up his life again.
 - Without help from angels; they cannot redeem.
 - Without help from man; men had blocked the way, tried, killed, buried, set a watch, sealed the stone.
 - The Son of Man has such powers of life that he raised up himself; he was truly dead; he truly arose.
 - A great and mighty wonder.
 - Thank God, no man had a hand in it.

IV. No man saw Jesus arise.

- a) Man is not permitted to look into God's workshop.
 - No man witnessed creation; no man saw the redemption.
 - Some events are too great for our weakness to behold.
 - The mysteries of life and of death are beyond our comprehension.

b) The result is not doubtful.

-When the stone is rolled back, the empty tomb tells a story.

-Jesus meeting the women, & Mary, & the disciples, & the 500.

-summa: they saw the Risen One.

V. The resurrection was not the end of his work.a) In one sense it was:

-without this triumph all the rest would have collapsed: teaching, healing prediction, promises.

-rightly: here is the keystone of the arch of Christian truth.

b) In another sense, now his work really begins.

-a platform has been built, a base for operations.

-"Go quickly tell his disciples . . . He is going before you to Galilee."

-There a Great Commission: "Go make disciples."

-Now the victory march of the Gospel really begins.

¹See p. 89, footnote 286.

3. "Why I Am a Lutheran"¹1. My own answer.

- a) Not by birth, for by birth we are sinners: Baptism.
- b) But I did come from a Lutheran home.
- c) I was instructed in the home and under the auspices of the church in the Lutheran faith.
 - I loved what I heard & I accepted it.
 - My church gave me solid instruction, far more solid than most other children received.
- d) I vowed faithfulness to the church that I knew.
 - in confirmation.
- e) I received additional instruction from the church in the faith.
 - I was able to understand and defend my faith more fully.
 - The more I became convinced of its correctness.
- f) Objections:
 - Correctness isn't everything.
 - *But still: "Hold fast the form of sound words.
 - If you had been raised in a Presbyterian home, you might swear by the Presbyterian faith.
 - *So I might.
 - *Still each man has the duty to investigate for himself at every opportunity.
 - *Most men are inclined to stay what they were from youth up.

g) Questions:

-What attracts you to the Lutheran Church now?

*The soundness of her doctrine; it agrees with the word, more so than do other groups.

*She puts the word above reason.

*She puts the word above the authority of the church.

-Can men of another faith be saved?

*Most certainly.

*Here the medicine may be purer, the food more wholesome.

-May not a church which officially has poorer doctrine personally convey more truth?

*That may happen.

*A clue to follow is Rm. 14:5, "Let every man be fully convinced in his own mind."

Should we isolate ourselves from other Christians?

*By no means.

*Our faith should be freely discussed.

*We all may learn from one another.

2. The answer of the girl who married a Lutheran seminarian.

- a) He claimed advantages for his faith: it is Biblical.
- b) He instructed me.
- c) He saw that I got further instruction.
- d) This form of the faith convinced me of its soundly Biblical character.

3. Other answers possible. (perhaps uncalled for here.)

a) The meaningless answer of the non-church-goer.

-Lutherans are all churchgoers.

b) The hide-bound answer of the traditionalist.

-The word says: "Test all things: Hold fast that which is good."

Concl.: Faith is a conviction worked by the Holy Spirit.

-more than opinions.

-more than suppositions.

-always based on clear Scripture.

¹See p. 18, footnote 55.

4. "Why We Worship As We Do"¹

(Sem. chapel, see Concl.)

Intro.

-Normal Christians are irresistibly drawn to public worship.

-The saints perfected in heaven worship God.

-If we as institution sought to eliminate worship we would cause a storm of protest.

-We want to help those who desire to worship to enrich their worship.

-We want to help the weak to grow strong.

1. We are a liturgical church.

-Liturgy has become dear to us and meaningful.

-The use of forms may be very helpful.

2. We have a rich heritage.

-The best of the past centuries has been amassed.

3. This wealth of helpful material is reflected by the contents of the Service Book.

-What men have found helpful thru the ages is assembled here.

4. We try to acquaint you with this material.

-We try to help you worship by the use of it.

-Worship patterns, Prayers, Holy Days, Lectionaries, Hymns.

5. We do not resort to a rigid pattern.

-Occasional free prayers, if well prepared, may be used.

-Choice of lessons, etc., is not mandatory.

6. Explanation.

- a) Worship patterns: 4 to be used, Service, Matins, Sufferages, Litany.
- b) Prayers: a rich assortment, frequent use of the Collect for Day.
- c) Holy Days, some showing what the Gospel meant to them.
- d) Lectionaries assemble in good order the most helpful.

7. Our liturgical position on advanced liturgical practices.

- a) The salvation of the church does not lie in liturgical procedures.
- b) Liturgical forms are embellishment.
- c) Liturgy lies in the area of esthetics.
- d) Unwise insistence upon the use of certain forms by extremists has caused an amazing amount of unrest and disturbance.
- e) We may venture to have a chanted service.
- f) We are hostile to richer forms only where they are overstressed.

8. We have much to learn in the proper use of the liturgy and of the hymns.

-Our chapel services are calculated to help us.

Concl.

Every day that does not see this chapel filled to capacity is an indictment of our seminary.

¹See p. 150, footnote 103.

5. "Evangelism in Our Day"¹

(Present-day Crusades for Christ)

(Lecture)

1. An overall estimate of Billy Graham and his work.
 - a) Commendable points.
 - Gospel message, Bible-based.
 - Christ centered.
 - Warm, popular appeal.
 - Courageous and forthright.
 - In understandable language.
 - World-wide contacts and wholesome influence.
 - b) Omissions and shortcomings.
 - "Where the Gospel is rightly preached and the sacraments . . ." Augsburg Confession.
 - Occasional minor misquotations.
2. Some of the objections raised against earlier revivals irrelevant.
 - Billy Sunday vs. Billy Graham.
 - High pressure emotionalism gone.
 - Disparaging of churches and ministers, no more!
3. Is Billy Grahams work evangelism?
 - Statistics not available on how many new converts are won (?).
 - His audiences are largely Christian people who want inspiration.

4. Does coming forward in answer to the invitation equal conversion?
- a) a notable difference from apostolic times: then equaled Baptism.
 - b) a number of possibilities.
 - a fresh start, a reaffirmation.
 - an awakening, after drifting along.
 - a mass movement psychologically explainable.
 - a deeply moving religious experience.

for some an answer to: are you ready to stand up for Christ?
5. Is Billy Graham's work revivalism?
- Revivalism is an unacceptable word.
 - a "crusade."
 - Taking the field in a holy cause for Christ.
 - One defect not wholly overcome, the follow-thru.
 - Attempt is made to refer men to the churches.
6. The Lutheran Church: How does she operate?
- a) Does she believe in conversion?
 - Even in daily conversion and repentance.
 - b) Does she believe in revivals?
 - "Daily come forth and arise, a new man . . ."
7. The way of salvation in the Lutheran Church.
- a) Baptism lays the foundation.
 - b) Instruction basically explains baptism: you are now God's child.

- c) All-sided instruction reveals the total picture.
 - d) The need of continual faithful use of the word is always stressed.
 - e) At no time does a normal Christian totally fall from Christ.
-He daily rises when he falls.
 - f) Since this goes on from youth it is solid building.
 - g) At confirmation opportunity is given to come to a conscious stand for Christ.
 - h) Regular preaching and hearing meet the daily needs.
8. Could something be learned by our church from these crusades?
-The need of being in the clear on what your church stands for.
-Prayer for the church and the pastor that he may be able to wake the ones who have fallen or are falling asleep.
9. To condense the whole cure of the ills of the church into one intense effort?
- a) That mode of procedure is the exception.
-Pentecost.
 - b) Quiet growth is the rule.
-Parable of the sower and the seed (Matt.13).
-Parable of the Mustard Seed (Matt.13).
-Parable of the Yeast and the Dough (Matt.13).
 - c) God is not so much in the forced pattern of procedure, cf. I Kings 19.

¹See p. 70, footnote 230.

6. "German Theology"¹

[After 1955, LWF ?]

1. The nature of the contacts made.
 - with 4 representative groups.
 - from different areas.
 - a preponderance from the East Zone.
2. Incidental observations.
 - saying grace at mealtimes in customary prayers.
 - rather common acquaintance with English language.
 - startling things, like spiritualism in Iceland.
3. The impact of Lutheran World Federation is felt.
 - a) It is an organization that is making its influence felt.
 - All African Conference.
 - coordinating and promoting work in Britain.
 - bringing Americans, Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, etc., together to learn from one another.
 - b) It promotes ecumenical studies.
 - c) It promotes contact with the World Council of Churches.
 - d) It has effective leadership in Geneva Office, Vilmos Vajta.
4. General impression of Lutheran pastors.
 - scholarly men.
 - have sat at the feet of noted men: Deismann, Barth, Peter Brunner, Schlatter.
 - they work thoroughly on theological problems: procedure in committee and "plenum."

- they have a very open mind for things American.
- due to death of pastors, overworked men.
- oversize parishes.
- many have war experience behind them.

5. The men from the East Zone.

- predominant part . . . at Berlin.
- utter absence of publicity.
- their reaction personally, cautious, more relaxed.
- exposed to typical propaganda treatment; life made difficult for them and their families.
- standing their ground heroically.
- "crafty as serpents, harmless as doves."
- poorly dressed, inferior food, riding bicycles.

6. The excellent scholarship of theologians.

- Bishop Meiser, Dr. Kinder, Peter Brunner (Goettingen), Mohrenholz, Rengsdorf, Schulge, Kadelbach, Cambridge LXX man.
- other theologians: Prenter, Nygren.
- their preparations for LWF at Minneapolis ('56).
- they too are coming out of the seclusion and self-sufficiency.

*inquiring about American procedure.

7. Other Continental theologians and movements.

- the Barthian impact has largely spent itself.

*Barth no longer influences Lutheran thinking much.

- Bultmann is clearly evaluated.

*his concern about making theology relevant is understood.

*his demythologizing disturbs only few; its limitations are recognized.

8. Thorough-going work in the area of liturgics.

-the particular problem posed for the VELKD.

-a CSB (Common Service Book) was to be prepared for the 1st time.

-this necessitated thorough studies: confession, kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, creed, sermon, gen. prayer.

-work seldom done more thoroughly.

-net result strikingly like American Service Book and Hymnal.

9. Resurgence of Lutheran consciousness and confessionalism.

-deplored by Niemoeller.

-appreciated by almost all others.

-renewed study of confessions, cf. Schlink.

-taking confessional subscription seriously (state church influence has been reduced).

-especially the younger clergy (Strasbourg).

10. The congregation, St. Pierre, Strassbourg.

¹See p. 171, footnote 153.

7. "Protestantism vs. Roman Catholicism"¹

[After Vatican-II]

- I. Intro.
 - A. The new approach, John XXIII and Paul VI.
 - B. Its background: war experiences and prison camps.
 - 1. Renewed interest in the study of Scripture.
 - 2. Ecumenical movements in the air.
 - 3. Group meetings; Protestant and R.C. clergy; Bonhoeffer.
 - C. The Second Vatican Council allows Protestant observers, giving them almost preferential seating.
 - D. Areas of renewed investigation.
 - 1. Prime authority: Sacred Scripture vs. Tradition.
 - 2. Supreme authority of the Pope as visible head of the church.
 - 3. Liturgical reform, sacraments.
 - 4. The vexing problem of mixed marriages.
- II. The Mass of the Future (Hans Küng).
 - Some attitudes on the question on the part of R. Caths.
 - *"It has always been like that."
 - *"It has never been like that."
 - *"I don't think we would take to that sort of thing."
- III. The Mass thru the centuries (Mass equals Holy Communion).
 - A. Simple and flexible.
 - 1. celebrated in a house in the second century.

- a) dining hall, like the Upper Room of the First Supper.
 - b) now an assembly hall.
 - c) the leader, a bishop, dressed like any Roman citizen.
2. language, Greek.
 3. a thanksgiving, Eucharist with the Words of Institution inserted.
 4. congregation says "Amen."
 5. plain bread and wine are received by all present; also sometimes a full meal preceding.
 6. some early form: "the Lord be with you . . . Lift up your hearts . . . give thanks."
 7. read Thanksgiving (p. 20).
 8. simple sturcture, flexible.
 9. bread and wine; one celebration at one altar.
- B. Long and complicated.
1. place: a basilica, 5-6 century; wooden altar, priest facing people.
 2. everything grander, more solemn.
 - a) intercessions for living and dead.
 - b) martyr cult; each Mass in honor of some martyr.
 - c) all solemnized; genuflections, kissing, incense, candles.
 - d) Latin, an overwhelming mass of ceremonies.

C. Far away and silent; High Middle Ages; moved up north, France and Germany.

1. now many silent prayers.
2. gradual estrangement, due to Latin.
3. more ceremonial actions.
4. back turned to people.
5. the whole life of Christ is portrayed as a drama.
6. host replaced the bread.
7. sacrament adored rather than received.
8. also silent Masses, no communicants.

D. Rubrics and empty pews, after Council of Trent, 1570 (1542-64).

1. Mass of the rubrics; everything definitely regulated.
2. people no active part.
3. Mass often regarded as one of many devotions.
4. Sunday mass dwindle and more and more "Exodus" of the people; overcoming a 1000-year old gulf.

IV. Luther's Reform of the Mass.

- Words of Institution restored to prominence.
- all references to a man-made sacrifice deleted.
- prayer for dead removed.
- references to martyrs or saints deleted.
- everything simplified and shortened.
- Prayer of Thanksgiving dropped because it was difficult to reconstruct.
- cup restored to the laity.

V. Suggested Reforms.

-Eucharistic Prayer and Verba aloud and intelligibly.

-Service of the Word should present Biblical Lessons;

exposition, prayer and singing in which people can share; 6 years of prescribed lessons to cover the whole Bible.

-Use of the vernacular with active part participation of the people: less bowing and kissing; fewer genuflections; sparing use of incense.

-goal: active participation of all the faithful in the Mass.
or: "to do this in remembrance of me."

VI. Concl.: Our attitude on the whole question of this new approach.

-Everything that tends to a wholesome understanding to be commended.

-The Reformation heritage not to be dismissed casually.

-The sincerity of Rome is not to be questioned because of individuals.

-It cannot be a case of the return of estranged brethren to Mother Church.

-Nothing phenomenal can be achieved overnight.

-Justification by faith is the cardinal doctrine of our faith.

¹See p. 70, footnote 230.

8. "Twice Born Men"¹

A Man Must be Born Over Again"

John 3:1-14

Grace Church, June 9, 1963

One birth is not enough

- 1) The limitations of the First Birth "flesh"
 - It stays on the flesh level. lower nature level.
 - It leaves a man outside the Kingdom of God.
- 2) The second birth is a fundamental necessity (v. 3)
 - Without it no man can see God, be a child of God, be saved.
- 3) This second birth is primarily brought about by Baptism (v. 5)
 - this agrees with Matt. 28:19 "make disciples . . . baptizing."
 - Baptism is conversion, or brings about conversion.
 - Conversion is not to be limited to an adult experience which some have.
- 4) Clarifying a number of related matters
 - Can conversion take place in infancy?
 - Must awareness of conversion come in a startling experience?
 - Is Baptism an act of man or a work of God? (by means)
 - Dare "baptizing" be divorced from "teaching?" (Matt. 28)
 - Does the second birth come from the Word or from Baptism?
 - Can we fully comprehend these mysteries? (v. 8)
- 5) The Daily Use of the Sacraments

6) Only a twice-born Man can grasp the full truth of salvation

v. 13. the Incarnation

v. 14. Christ's sacrifice and victorious resurrection

Theme: 'A Man Must Be Born Over Again'

Text: John 3:1-41

Hymns = 265, 259, 260

¹See p. 71, footnote 233.

9. "Miracles Are Not All-Important"¹

Matt. 17:14-23

Ambridge, Aug. 30, 1959

Intro: 1. Occasionally men deplore the absence of miracles in the church

-They point to the Apostolic age

-They emphasize Mk. 16 - "cast out demons, new tongues, they will pick up serpents, if they drink any deadly thing . . . they will lay their hands on the sick. . ."

2. Esp. the lack is emphasized

-fresh efforts to be made to recapture signs and wonders

3. Practical demonstration:

-faith-healers are imported. . .

-special faith-healing churches are established

-television broadcasts - successes, not failures

Theme: Miracles are not all-important

I. They occasionally served a purpose in days of old

A. In the days of Moses

-plagues - Red Sea - manna - water - Sinai - cloud

-God's great love for His people demonstrated

B. In the days of Elijah and Elisha

-drought, rain, fire from heaven, resurrection, judgment

-God's power effectively shown forth

C. The Days of Jesus Christ

-"blind, lame, lepers, deaf, dead, poor have the Gospel preached"

-John 21:25 . . . "Were every one of them to be written, I suppose the world itself could not contain the books that would be written"

-Quite a few in the days of the apostles

II. They did not heal the unbelief of the nation

A. Examples from Moses' and Elijah's days

-golden calf - "hard-hearted and stiff-necked"

-"I only am left alone" - "I have for myself 7000"

B. A striking example here

-the crowd disputed with the disciples (can't be done)

-the father - "If thou couldst believe"

-"O faithless and perverse generation" - all Israel

-the disciples - "because of your unbelief"

III. They have done good and still can do good

A. Jesus performed many then and still does now occasionally

-they draw attention to the power and mercy of God

B. When they may be done God alone knows

-We would want many

-Man is always more interested in healing of the body than of the soul

C. Unbelief is still the major obstacle

-"Because of your unbelief"

-Mustard-seed faith could move mts. "Move hence to yonder place"

-It is not often that mountains need to be moved.

IV. Miracles are far less important than the saving works of Jesus

A. That explains the sudden change of subject with vs. 22

-Miracles grow fewer and fewer (raising of Lazarus - exception)

B. A new subject appears in the training of the disciples

-He announces His death and resurrection

-He keeps explaining till His death

-After Pentecost they understand and preach as He did

V. The Gospel of Christ's redemption is still effective

A. Though declared outmoded by the world

-the so-called substitutes for the pulpit and the Gospel: the editor's column, the lecturer's platform, the scientists lab., the schoolroom and education.

B. But the victorious march of the Gospel goes on

-in Russia

-in many lands where Christ is already known

-in foreign fields.

Concl.

The reborn sinner - clean and accepted by God - is still the greatest miracle of all.

¹See p. 165, footnote 142.

10. "A Man Must Be Born Again"¹

John 3:3-6

Intro Trinity Sunday - the new birth

- the relation of these two ideas
- the Triune God gives the new birth
- So important a work is the new birth

Theme: A Man "Must be born again."

"a man" here = "a person"

I. The truth established

A. He needs it - (the new birth)

1. The clear claim: "that which is born of the flesh is flesh"
 - "flesh" - that which is tainted
 - All human beings have this taint
 - The taint is serious enough to make a man to be barred from the kingdom of God.
 - "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God."
 - One birth is not enough
 - of the book "Twice-born Men."
2. In his natural state man cannot even see the Kingdom of God (v. 3)
 - Does not understand it, nor know that it exists
 - It is not real for him.
 - Like Nicodemus he cannot understand the issues involved

B. Only God can give the second birth

1. As little as I can bring myself into the world, just
so little . . .
2. . . . "Except . . . (water and) the Spirit"
3. The spirit stands for absolute divine power - work
like creation and redemption
4. He is always very ready to give the gift

C. Baptism is the Spirit's normal way of giving the new birth
(v. 5)

1. That can mean only Baptism - baptism a common well
known procedure at that time - John Baptist . . .
2. This approach makes the issue very clear-cut.
3. A good parallel
 - Naaman healed by the waters of Jordan -
 - He could have raised many curious questions
 - His servants showed much common sense
 - Naaman followed their advice and was cleansed
4. Baptism works much in the same way
 - a matter beyond our understanding
 - Nevertheless as effective as was Naaman's healing
 (II Kings 5)

II. The truth applied (in some of its aspects)

Are we born again?

-this practically = Are we baptized?

-at Baptism something happens . . .cf. Rom. 6.

-we may arrive at some clearness by breaking the problem down by several questions

A. Is the new birth something you can feel?

-Behind this lies the assumption: Only what you can feel is real

-Many real things are not felt:

-I do not feel when I grow in understanding

-I do not feel myself grow

-I do not remember a thing about how I was born

-Feeling is not a good enough test - thrills, shudder down the spine

-Divine truth is measured by God's word.

-Matt. 28 would cover it: He that believeth is baptized . . .

-feeling or no feeling

B. Does a Baptized Christian need Conversion?

-Baptism is conversion - Matt. 28 does not read . . . and is converted

-John 3:5 does not read: Except a man be converted . . .

-Baptism is not only a mode of saving children:

Matt. 28: "he that . . ."

C. For certainty in conversion learn to go back to your Baptism

-One analogy: Certain gifts may slumber in you from infancy

-when you begin to use them they develop

-Baptism is such a gift

-I may awake late to the value of it

-But there it stands like a rock of Gibraltar

-My feelings may fluctuate, sometimes I feel I'm saved, again not.

-Baptism is a deed of God which does not waver

-God commanded it

-Through it God saves

-What He did is available for me as long as I live.

Concl.1. When did you last thank God for your baptism?

-Some: Never

2. It is great enough to warrant our blessing God for it every day.

¹See p. 71, footnote 233.

11. "Bible Stories"¹

1. Their supreme value in teaching children
2. Their enduring interest for the grown-ups
3. Their emphasis on the God who acts

I.

1. Divine truth is extremely deep
2. That might seem to make it impossible to impart to children
3. Divine providence has provided for this need
4. In giving to the child a deep love for stories
5. In giving His revelation in historic acts
6. These are of unusual interest for children

-partly because of the miraculous element

-partly for their intrinsic action

7. Examples: (a) God cares for people

-Lot rescued from Sodom

-Israel delivered from Egypt

- b. God law is a solemn obligation

-the giving of the law on Sinai

-"To obey is better than sacrifice."

II. This enduring interest for grown-ups

1. We never outgrow the love for stories
2. The Bible stories are told exceptionally well
 - Prodigal Son
 - the Joseph Story
 - Abraham sacrificing Isaac - wood - knife, etc.

3. The deep wholesome values

-sin never glamorized

-Ruth and Naomi - "Whither thou goest," etc.

4. The value of entire biographies

Intro: 2 reasons for subject

a) par. school teacher

b) first experience as S.S. teacher

¹See p. 77, footnote 250.

12. "The Manifold Importance of the Resurrection
of Jesus Christ"¹

Acts 1:22 - Christians are witnesses to the Resurrection

Rom. 1:4 Designated Son of God in power . . . by His resurrection
from the dead

6:4 As Christ was raised up from the dead . . . so we also
might walk in newness of life

Phil. 3:10 That I may know Him and the power of His resurrection

Heb. 6:2

I Pet. 1:3 - born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of
Jesus Christ from the dead.

3:21

I Cor. 15:20f. The fact of the Resurrection

The Manifold importance of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ

It is

I. a clear designation of Jesus Christ as Son of God

II. the first of a long succession of resurrections

("first-fruits") 1 Cor. 15:20

III. the rock bottom of our entire faith

IV. a powerful incentive to godly living (Rom. 6:4)

I. A clear designation of Jesus Christ as Son of God

A. The thing characteristic of the sons of men is that they die

"Dust thou art, etc."

-death reigned from Adam to Christ

No escape from "The soul that sinneth it shall die."

-a few exceptions by the marvelous grace of God.

B. Only divine power can break through this sequence.

-"Designated Son of God with power by the resurrection"

-a finger points to Him. He is different.

-Only a difference that reaches to the God-level is vast enough

-a very different attitude on the part of disciples after Easter

II. The first of a long succession of resurrections

A. To Jesus Christ belongs the distinction of having broken the bonds of death first

-This will always be a great mystery

-But simple enough if we think of the Christ as the Life

-Death's amazement to see this one escape

B. Many more are to follow

-Adam and Christ each start a new order of mankind

-All are born from Adam - vs. the new-born are in the line of Christ (v. 22)

-many have seen that death's sting is gone

III. The rock bottom of our entire faith

The whole argument of I Cor. 15:12ff

A. The consequences if the resurrection were not true

-preaching (which had changed so many lives) vain

-faith (which had given a new hope and outlook) vain

- being a Christian (which had produced such astonishing results) a futile thing
- men would still be in their sins (where they had clearly gained a victory over sin)
- like telling a victim of a shipwreck after he had come to shore that he is still floating in the sea

B. "But now is Christ risen from the dead. . ." (vs. 20)

- this well-established fact cannot be questioned
- with it all other facts stand
- the whole structure of the Christian faith is the same durable material
 - granite upon granite
 - lasting to eternity as sure as God is true.

IV. A Powerful incentive to godly living

"As Christ was raised up by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." Rom. 6:4

A. This is more than an exhortation we should do better

- That a lesson that is continually being learned

B. There are deep things here that no mind can fully grasp

- things that reach down into the root and core of our living
- e.g. "We were buried with Him by baptism into death" v. 3.
- In some sense, if we believe, we have died in him
- In some very real sense we are able to rise from the life of sin

-we have risen with Christ

-New abilities have been implanted into persons who believe in Jesus

-The fact of the resurrection surges mightily in believers - making them to live new lives

Intro: 1. the facts of our most holy faith are rich beyond belief

2. For this reason many sides of these rich truths should be considered

3. A little attention bears some fruit in our life
-much attention may yield rich fruit

4. Let the echoes of Easter ring once more

-Let us summarize some of the great things that Easter means

Concl. Everything hinges on our being bound together with Christ by faith.

¹See p. 89, footnote 286.

13. "John Andrew Augustus Grabau (1804-1879)"¹

After Nov. 20, 1961

General Introduction

-a much revered man

-a much maligned man

Youth and education - born near Magdeburg - studied at Halle -

Christian training

Haus lehrer 4Caleto St. Andrew's in ErfurtClash with the ecclesiastical authorities on the Service Book.

King _____

The two imprisonments - serving congregations in the interimThe Diary

(incidents and illustrations)

the emigration with the Erfurt Congregation (Revival!) (1839) -

Prussians

-reluctantly granted

-severe restrictions imposed by the gov't

-warnings against adventuresome emigration

Circulars encouraging immigrants to settle in certain areasThe division - Buffalo - WisconsinThe nature of the early years - 1839-1866

-gratitude for this free land and what it offered

-recognition of certain shortcomings

-the rule of the majority in a congregation

-a religionless state

- the Hirtenbrief - its value; its misconstruction - rite vocatus
- the wholesome spirit of home mission
- the parochial school
- the antimasonic attitude
- the dedication of the church on the day of the death of the king of Prussia - Frederick William III
- establishing many congregations, N. Jersey, Canada, Toledo, Cincinnati, etc.
- founding of the Buffalo Synod 1845
- "privatam absolutionem"

Unusual documents

- a sermon preached at the Death of Abraham Lincoln
(Abner's assassination by Joab - text)
- 10 years of correspondence with an uncle in Germany
- The Diary of the Second Imprisonment
- Articles in Kirchliche Informatorium
- Articles in Wachende Kirche
- sermon outlines and summaries

The crisis of 1866

- about 3/4 of the congregations went with Mo. Synod
- charges raised against Grabau
 - hierarchical tendencies
 - over emphasis on excommunication
 - "Pabsttum in der Buffalo Synode."
- Bombardment of St. Louis vs Buffalo

- over the heads of the men of the Ohio Synod
- Toledo church had in its constitution an article that it would never belong to the Buffalo Synod
- the outcome of the crisis-
 - a three-way split - Buffalo-Missouri-von Rohr (4 pastors)
 - a quiet modification of extremes
 - pastoral authority not stressed so much by Buffalo
 - emphasis on God's election (crypto-Calvinism) tempered by Mo.

The visit to Germany (1853)

- Funds collected for seminary
- Some understanding reached with German theologians (Kliefoth - Ahlfeld-Delitzsch - Loehe)

Grabau's manifold activities

- Hymnal, Agenda, care of many congregations, endless polemics.

Valuable Principles for which he stood

- "ecclesia plantanda est"
- the congregation has judgment in understanding God's word
- majority rule should not be stressed too strongly
- the church should have a high ideal of holiness
- trained men of the laity should help in spiritual matters

¹See p. 30, footnote 96.

14. "Train Up A Child"¹

[After March, 1961]

Prov.22:6 "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it.

Intro: A possible approach - the cornerstone thought

-another possibility: Christian education

-a possible result of this second approach: two sermons on Christian education

-No harm if that be the case because of the importance of this subject especially in our day.

-when we speak of the Christian education of children, we are not ignoring Christian [Ed.] for young and old, though we make no further mention of it.

Theme: Train up a child

I. A word spoken to the church

A. It describes an eternally important work of the church

-How Jesus outlined it; make disciples by teaching and baptizing

-Therefore the activities that require major attention are preaching, teaching, administering sacraments.

-If that be faithfully done it will take care of the sick, watch over the well.

B. The work of teaching has unfortunately been crowded into the background

-By the necessity of the separation of church and state

-By the superior equipment and instruction of the public schools

-By the proportionate amount of time given to the church school

C. The church should be reminded of her better ideals

-Full time church schools and their curriculum

II. A Word spoken to Parents

A. Efficient schools can never completely replace the home influence

-God's Word lays this duty on the home: Thou shalt teach these words diligently unto thy children - sit - walk - lie down - rise up (Dt. 6:7).

-Objection: Teachers are highly trained; I am untrained.

B. A Minimum that all parents are capable of

-An evening devotion kept with unfailing regularity

-A Scripture - meditation - the Lords' Prayer - or others

-a rehearsal of S.S. memory verses and the Catechism

-a total of 10 minutes? When television gets hours

- C. This will almost inevitably lead to supplementary instruction
- Questions will arise about Christian duty
 - Parents will give the best answer they know
- D. Failure of parents to do this kind of work cuts the effectiveness of child training in half
- the teacher says: this is very important
 - the parents by his attitude says: It is not
 - the child's worst enemies are its parents

III. A Word Spoken to the children

- A. Your church training is the best part
- the case of the well-to-do man who has worldly goods as his chief goal
 - But "you cannot serve God and Mammon"
 - And: "What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?"
 - Here is a laying up of the better treasure
- B. Why the preaching and teaching of the church is so valuable
- Two groups pictured: Attentive hearers in the sanctuary carefully listening to the word.
 - by a class in S.S. or catechetical instruction paying close attention
 - Imagine the pastor disappearing and Christ taking his place
 - But that is what actually happens

-Jesus said (Luke 10:16) "He that heareth you,
heareth me", etc.

Concl: Happy are you if you can leave a good inheritance behind
for your children
Happier if you leave them the gift of good Christian
instruction

For Prov. 22:16

For that your children will thank you to their dying
breath

¹See p. 13, footnote 47.

15 "The Reformation Era"¹

[After April 27, 1955]

1. The evils that called for reform

- a) The church had lost the Evangelistic spirit
- b) Her great power had made her worldly.
- c) The clergy were very corrupt and ignorant ("reformatio in capite et membris")
- d) The light of the true Gospel was very dim.
- e) the Scripture was not the only source of doctrine

2. The providential factors clearly to be observed in the Reformation

- a) an indolent pope - Leo X
- b) a sober ruler in Saxony - Fred. the Wise
- c) an emperor whose hands were tied when he would have checked the Reformation
- d) supplementary agencies
 - the new learning
 - the printing press
 - Man's broadened horizon
- e) Luther's Reformation succeeded when other failed
 - Luther a scholar
 - Luther a man of deepest insight since days of apostles
 - Luther a man on the level of the people

3. Blessings of the Reformation

- a) the much clearer light of truth
- b) the Bible restored to its true dignity

- c) the Sacraments neither overestimated nor belittled
- d) freedom of conscience restored to Christians
- e) freedom of research made possible in all areas
- f) as affecting the Roman church
- g) education - the Lutheran view

Concl.

For our age, Luther a man around whom we rally as a leader

¹See p. 18, footnote 53.

APPENDIX VIII

LUTHER'S HERMENEUTICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS BEHIND DR. LEUPOLD'S

"ALLEGORICAL" UNDERSTANDING OF HOSEA 2:2-13¹

Luther's solution to the problem of the relationship between history, allegory and the literal meaning of the biblical text informs Dr. Leupold's hermeneutical approach to Hosea 2:2-13. In his mature work,² Luther grappled with this hermeneutical problem in his introductory comments before he actually began his exegesis on the first verse of Genesis:

We assert that Moses spoke in the literal sense, not allegorically or figuratively, i.e., that the world, with all its creatures, was created within six days, as the words read. If we do not comprehend the reason for this, let us remain pupils and leave the job of teacher to the Holy Spirit.³

Commenting on Genesis 2:8, when God planted the Garden of Eden and placed Adam there, Luther says that Moses is actually engaged in an historical account.⁴ Genesis 2:9 says God planted many trees in the Garden of Eden, including the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Luther says:

These, then, are all historical facts. This is something to which I carefully call attention, lest the unwary reader be led astray by the authority of the fathers, who give up the idea this is history and look for allegories.⁵

¹See p. 255, footnote 160.

²Genesis Commentary, written 1535-45.

³Martin Luther, Luther's Works (American Edition), vol. 1: Lectures on Genesis 1-5 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), p. 5.

⁴LW #1, p. 89.

⁵Ibid., p. 93.

Genesis 3:14 describes how God cursed the Serpent in Eden. After batting down the allegories put forward about Adam and Eve representing "higher and lower reason,"⁶ Luther says:

Let us, therefore, establish in the first place that the serpent is a real serpent, but one that has been entered and taken over by Satan, who is speaking through the serpent. . . . Thus I adhere simply to the historical and literal meaning, which is in harmony with the text. In accordance with this meaning, the serpent remains a serpent, but one dominated by Satan; the woman remains a woman; Adam remains Adam.⁷

Genesis 3:23-24 says that God drove Adam and Eve out of Eden and set the cherubim to guard the entrance with a flaming sword. Even Luther himself used alegory before the beginning of the Reformation in 1517. But after he began to adhere to the historical meaning of the text, he came to dislike allegories unless the text itself indicated them or the interpretations could be drawn from the New Testament. But he had a balanced view of allegory and did not reject it entirely.⁸

It is the historical sense alone which supplies the true and sound doctrine. After this has been treated and correctly understood, then one may also employ allegories as an adornment and flowers to embellish or illuminate the account.

Therefore let those who want to make use of allegories base them on the historical account itself. The historical account is like logic in that it teaches what is certainly true; the allegory, on the other hand, is like rhetoric in that it ought to illustrate the historical account, but has no value at all for giving proof.⁹

⁶Ibid., pp. 184-85.

⁷Ibid., p. 185.

⁸Ibid., p. 232-3.

⁹Ibid., p. 233.

But then Luther dedicates a 15-page excursus to the subject of allegory, the only excursus of any kind in the entire eight volumes of the Genesis lectures. He repeats his warnings about allegory, and then offers a "Theological allegory" of his own about the raven and the dove sent out by Noah from the Ark. The main theme of Luther's allegory is Justification. The black raven represents the Law and the white dove the Gospel, etc.¹⁰ Finally, he gives guidelines for making allegories:

I urge you with all possible earnestness to be careful, to pay attention to the historical account. But wherever you want to make use of allegories, do this: follow closely the analogy of faith, that is, adapt them to Christ, the church, faith, and the ministry of the Word.¹¹

Luther makes mention of the traditional hermeneutics of the medieval Catholic Church, sometimes called the "Four Wheels of Scripture." These were four possible meanings that allegedly any given text might have: 1. literal (historical). 2. figurative (a. allegorical [faith, what we believe], b. tropological [morals, what we do], c. anagogical [future, what we hope]). Luther never denied that every one of the last three (that is, "2a,2b,2c") is richly represented many different places in Scripture. But he forbade that this "Four Wheels" man-made philosophical structure be forced down upon every verse in Scripture. Rather he insisted that we must first concentrate on arriving at one sure and simple literal

¹⁰Martin Luther, Luther's Works (American Edition), vol. 2: Lectures on Genesis 6-14 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960), pp. 150, 158.

¹¹Ibid., p. 164.

sense.¹² Luther indicates this commenting on Genesis 15:7, when God announced to Abraham that he was the Lord who had brought him out of Ur and into posses Canaan:

I consider it not only dangerous and unprofitable for teaching to assign a number of senses to a Scripture passage; this practice also makes light of the authority of Scripture, whose meaning should always be one and the same. . . . You must always strive to arrive at one sure and simple meaning of an account.

. . . Even though the allegory is not inappropriate for teaching, its meaning is nevertheless weak and useless in a dispute. . . . We, however, should be concerned about the sure and true meaning. This cannot be any other than. . . the literal and historical meaning, the only one that should be retained and stressed.¹³

Genesis 32:31-2 says Jews do not eat the sinew of the thigh where Jacob's hip was put out of joint wrestling the angel. Luther says,

Paul in Gal. 4:22 adduces the example of Abraham, Hagar, and Sarah to adorn and illustrate the doctrine of justification by faith and the doctrine concerning the two testaments. When the allegory agrees with the doctrine . . . it is . . . adornment and . . . seasoning of doctrine.¹⁴

¹²Martin Luther, Luther's Works (American Edition), vol. 3: Lectures on Genesis 15-20 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), p. 27. Martin Luther, Lectures on Romans, trans. and ed. by Wilhelm Pauuck, vol. 15 in The Library of Christian Classics, eds. John Baillie, et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), p. xxvii- xxviii.

¹³LW #3, pp. 27-9.

¹⁴Martin Luther, Luther's Works (American Edition), vol 4: Lectures on Genesis 21-25 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 14-16.

Let these examples suffice to indicate that Luther remains firmly literal and historical in his exegesis and exposition of the text. But he leaves a place for allegory although he retains a clear distinction between a literal and allegorical interpretation of a text.

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