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Biblical Hermeneutics in the Early Missouri Synod

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BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS IN THE EARLY MISSOURI SYNOD

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Systematic Theology
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

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By
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May 2008

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PREFACE

This thesis derives from a larger study that includes a discussion of LCMS history in general; the centrality of the doctrine of justification in biblical hermeneutics; salvation in Christ as independent, *a priori* truth; changes in the twentieth-century LCMS that redefine the nineteenth-century terms; and the interrelation of Luther's unique causality, Western theism, Pietism, and modern scientific causality in Lutheran hermeneutics.

That work deals systematically with the context of the material contained here. It is also about three times the size of this thesis. It remains a part of an even larger body of research gathered over a decade that includes hermeneutical developments in American Lutheranism within the past fifty years. It involves the the clash of worldviews in the Missouri Synod from 1950 to the present. Yet it is clear that such research stands outside the scope of an STM thesis.

This thesis comprises a two-chapter selection from the greater corpus, with some modification. One will see that the Missouri Synod did not make effective use of some of the finer philosophical distinctions in works of Luther, Gerhard, and others. That helped lead to a general Protestant defense of *sola scriptura* instead of a specifically Lutheran one. One can observe in seventeenth-century writings that different Protestant assert the Scripture principle with varying approaches. Sometimes a mixing of approaches can occur. Yet the inferences guiding such approaches have different things to say about epistemology, sacramentology, and the "locatedness" of God's Word, making *sola scriptura* a broader constellation than one might think. Perhaps Lutherans need better to understand Luther's approach

One could cite hundreds of texts if that included every reference to biblical interpretation in sermons, devotions, and so forth. A structured approach with well-defined criteria is necessary for a clear presentation. Therefore we limit the evidence to documents that established an

intellectual context, official church proceedings (*Verhandlungen*), and publications that specifically engage biblical or general hermeneutics

Even though the investigation itself limits the number of texts, I do not wish to convey that this approximates the limits of the field of study. In fact, this work only begins to mine the resources that one might use I seek to lay out the philosophical and theological landscape, perhaps like an anthropologist might grid the site of a dig, and to produce a map that will indicate why discussions take on certain forms.

A note regarding typesetting: In this thesis the use of boldface reflects the German typesetting convention of *Sperrdruck*. Texts in German do reflect that convention by increasing letter space to give emphasis. Yet some of the texts cited also use boldface *Fraktur* in the manner that English might use italic, with which it is so rendered. Since the alteration of stress in a typeface does alter semantic content, these conventions have been adopted in order to generate the most faithful translations of the original texts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

General Works Cited

Abbreviation	Nomenclature
AC	Augsburg Confession
AE	*Luther's Works*. Eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann. 55 vols. Philadelphia and St. Louis: Fortress Press and Concordia Publishing House, 1955–1986.
Ap / Apology	Apology of the Augsburg Confession
BAGD	Bauer, et al. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2nd ed. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1979.
BDAG	Bauer, Walter, Frederick W. Danker, et al. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: Chicago UP, 2000.
BLP	H. Sasse. Briefe an lutherischen Pastoren
BSLK	*Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*. 12th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.
CPH	Druckerei der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag Concordia Publishing House
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CTQ	*Concordia Theological Quarterly*
FC	Formula of Concord
KuA	C. F. W. Walther. *Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt*. 3rd ed. Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1875.
LCMS	die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten the [German] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod
LCUSA	Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.
LuW	*Lehre und Wehre*
RGG²	Gunkel, Hermann, et al., eds. *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. 2nd ed. 6 vols. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927–1932.

Abbreviation	Nomenclature
RGG[3]	Galling, Kurt et al., eds. *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. 3rd ed. 8 vols. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1957–1965.
SA	Smalcald Articles
SD	Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Ed. G. Kittel. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Ed. Balz, Krause. Müller, et al. 26 vols. New York: W. de Gruyter, 1976–.
ULCA	United Lutheran Church in America (1917–1962)
W[1]	*D. Martin Luthers sowol in Deutscher als Lateinischer Sprache verfertigte und aus der letztern in die erstere übersetzte Sämmtliche Schriften*. Ed. Johann G. Walch. 24 vols. Halle: Gebauer, 1740–1753.
W[2]	*Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*. Ed. Albrecht F. Hoppe. 23 vols. St. Louis: Concordia, 1880–1910.
WA	*D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 65 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883–.
WELS	Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

Note: Since 2000 a number of index and *Archiv* volumes, as well as reprint volumes, have come into production for the WA. One therefore cannot easily enumerate it at being just 65 volumes printed between 1883 and 1993.

Abbreviations not found in the tables provided herein should be consulted against Patrick H. Alexander, et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999); *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed. (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2003); and Ernst Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon nebst Index Rerum*, 8 vols. (St. Louis: Success Printing Company, 1907–1917). Variance in capitalization and orthography reflects extant usage.

Convention Proceedings

Abbreviation	Nomenclature
Allg.	Proceedings of the general synod or delegate-synod of the LCMS, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten*
Atl.	Proceedings of the Atlantic District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Atlantischen Distrikts*
Cal.-Nev.	Proceedings of the California-Nevada District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des California- und Nevada-Districts*
Cal.-Ore.	Proceedings of the California-Oregon District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des California- und Oregon-Districts*
Canada	Proceedings of the Canada District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Canada-Districts*
Illinois	Proceedings of the Illinois District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Illinois-Districts*
Iowa	Proceedings of the Iowa District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Iowa-Districts*
Minn.-Dak.	Proceedings of the Minnesota-Dakota District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts*
Mittl.	Proceedings of the Central District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Mittleren Districts*
Nord-Ills.	Proceedings of the Northern Illinois District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Nord-Illinois-Distrikts*
Nördlich	Proceedings of the Northern District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Nördlichen Districts*
Östlich	Proceedings of the Eastern District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Östlichen Districts*
Ore.-Wash.	Proceedings of the Oregon-Washington District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Oregon- und Washington-Districts*
Südlich	Proceedings of the Southern District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Südlichen Districts*
Texas	Proceedings of the Texas District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Texas Distrikts*
Westlich	Proceedings of theWestern District, generally conforming to *Synodal-Bericht [Verhandlungen] des Westlichen Districts*

Abbreviation	Nomenclature
SynKonf.	Proceedings of the Synodical Conference, generally conforming to *Verhandlungen der . . . Versammlung der evangelisch-lutherischen Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika*

Synodalberichte prior to 1905 generally use the "old" orthography that makes greater use of *c* instead of *k*. The titles tend to shift between *Verhandlungen der Xten Jahresversammlung des N. Districts* and *Xter Synodal-bericht des N. Districts*. Consider both variations to be equivalent.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Erstwhile General Synod president J. A. Singmaster spoke of his church *a posteriori* as a human history that involved God, while Franz Pieper spoke of the Synodical Conference *a priori* as God's reality that graciously involves people.[1] Issues of God, causality, and epistemology lattice throughout this work and affect how we understand history. The history of Missouri Synod hermeneutics has much to do with the labors of C. F. W. "Ferdinand" Walther and Ottomar Fürbringer. Yet the background of the story extends from the NT to Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo Regius, who died as the Vandals were coming to bring an end to the civilization that he knew. It meanders through Thomas of Aquino, whose descriptions of various finite mental capacities would find voice also in Luther. It traverses the thoughts of theologians like Peter Lombard, the encyclopedias of the thirteenth century, William of Ockham, John of Goch, John ofWessel, Gabriel Biel, and Martin Luther.[2]

Luther picks up on the "anti-philosophical philosophy" that he got from Ockham and others and he expresses it in his *Disputation Concerning Man*, in the *Dialectica*, in the similitude of the visible church to the stalls of the *Marktplatz* and descriptions of economic activity in the

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[1] Lutheran Publication Society, *The Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the General Bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, 4th ed. (n. p., 1914), 36–68; 127–174.

[2] Carl Ullmann, *Reformers Before the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1855), 1:29–51.

LC, and in many exegetical and homiletical references. Those latter references would remain the only popularly surviving elements of Luther's thought on causality in the Lutheran tradition.[3]

An important point to observe is that Luther does not merely see extrapolated or deduced "laws" of logic and physics. He rather sees them as part of the narrative context in Scripture. In an applied sense, that context becomes the delimiting epistemological mantle granted it by the uncreated, incorporeal *substantia* that is God.[4] This helps account for the double obscurity and double clarity of Scripture mentioned in *De servo arbitrio*.[5] It also coincides with discussions of divine transcendence over against the immanent epistemology of modernism and Luther's hidden and revealed God.[6] We see further evidence of this in the LC, SA, and elsewhere.[7]

The humanism of Melanchthon and the pressing need to be able to speak with the Roman communion, nascent Calvinism, and other Reformed left their mark after Luther's death.[8] The limitation of humanly understood causality that was a hallmark of Luther's thought found one of its last expressions in the *Clavis* of Matthias Flacius Illyricus.[9] From the crushing defeat of

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[3] See WA 60:143–162; W2 14:742–763; *BSLK* 616–619; and Martin Luther, *Geist aus Luthers Schriften*, ed. F. W. Lomler et al., 4 vols. (Darmstadt: Karl Wilhelm Leske, 1828–1831), 1:767–774.

[4] WA 60:44–45; Lewis Spitz clearly refers to the limits on reason found in the *Disputation Concerning Man* in AE 34:133. The most salient points limiting causality from a human standpoint are in AE 34:137–139.

[5] Bernhard Lohse, *Luthers Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995), 183.

[6] See also William C. Placher, *The Domestication of Transcendence: How Modern Thinking about God Went Wrong* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 37–51. Compare Walter von Loewenich, *Luthers Theologia Crucis*, 5th ed. (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1967), 26–52 and Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 183–197.

[7] See *BSLK* 616–622; 801f. Luther is willing to apply the epistemological dysfunction of human causality in *Von den letzten Worten Davids* (WA 54:28–29) and in his introduction to the SA (*BSLK* 407–414).

[8] Robert D. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism*, vol. 1 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 77–173; Martin Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), 30, 34, 59; Michael Walther, *Harmonia Totius Scripturae Sive Brevis et Plana Conciliatio Locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti Apparenter sibi contradicentium* (Strassburg: Eberhard Zetzner, 1626), 8–9; Jaroslav Pelikan, "Natural Theology in David Hollaz," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 18, no. 4 (1947): 256; and A. C. Ahlen, "The Seventeenth Century Dogmaticians as Philosophers," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 30, no. 3 (1959): 165–166.

[9] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Clavis scripturae sacrae: seu de sermone sacrarum literarum* (Leipzig: Johannis Justi Erythropili, 1695), 2:84.

Aegidius Hunnius by the Jesuit Adam Tanner at the Colloquy of Regensburg in 1601 to the pages of Carl Gottlob Hofmann's work at the *Dämmerung* of Lutheran orthodoxy, Lutherans began to rely on the assumptions of Western theism and classical grammar in ways that Luther had left behind; it was as if quantum theory were being set aside in favor of Newtonian mechanics. Indeed, that analogy may be more apt than we think, given Newton's debt to the Lutheran Johannes Kepler.[10]

Later Lutherans would adapt to current forms of meaning in discourse when the understanding of causality collapsed from the four-cause model of the Middle Ages to a one-cause model.[11] Francis Bacon, Galileo Galilei, and Thomas Hobbes dominate the first moves to exclude the formal and final causes from empirical study, to take the material cause for granted, and to define the new role of the efficient cause as a necessary cause (*causa sine qua non*). In the case of later writers in the orthodox period, their causality starts to describe a set of necessary and sufficient conditions with respect to the interpreter while maintaining the doctrine of God. Causal models or causal matrices, so-called because they produce delimited sets of ideas or inferences, affect theology by putting mankind, not God, at the apex. The one-cause model, the backbone of the modern scientific method, depends on the viewpoint and competence of the observer. Shaftesbury's common sense or *sensus communis* served as a philosophical vehicle to

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[10] Martin I. Klauber, "The Drive Toward Protestant Union in Early Eighteenth-Century Geneva: Jean-Alphonse Turrettini on the 'Fundamental Articles' of the Faith," *Church History* 61, no. 3 (1992): 334; *RGG*³ 3:490–91; Kenneth Appold, *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2004), 230; and Bengt Hägglund, "Pre-Kantian Hermeneutics in Lutheran Orthodoxy," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2006): 318–322.

[11] Mario Bunge, *Causality and Modern Science* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979); Gerard Casey, *Natural Reason* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984); William John Hausmann, *Science and the Bible in Lutheran Theology: From Luther to the Missouri Synod* (Washington: University Press of America, 1978); W. Stanley Jevons, *The Principles of Science* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958); William Kneale and Martha Kneale, *The Development of Logic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); and John L. Pollock, *Nomic Probability and the Foundations of Induction* (New York: Oxford UP, 1990).

aid human consensus in empirical observation. That carried over from English Empiricism to

German Pietism as the concept of the *heart* via people like Johann J. Rambach.[12]

Rambach's theology and his ethics was based on supranaturalism, where the human

intellect, aided by the Holy Spirit, formed the nexus between man and God, between natural and

supernatural.[13] For him, as with all modern causal matrices, truth lies in actuality, in praxis.[14] We

shall observe in this thesis a strong connection between Rambach and the Missouri Synod via

Ferdinand Walther. Note that "conservative" Walther and "liberal" J. C. K. von Hofmann can

find common ground in Rambach. Walther, as we shall see, is an *Übergangstheologe*, a

theologian repristinating the transition point from Lutheran orthodoxy to supranaturalist Pietism.

Walther's method was straightforward and quite clever: Take people used to the pietist milieu.

Bring them to this transition point. Convince them to move back over this point, modifying the

language, so that they could wind up at the point of late Lutheran orthodoxy.

Walther had the cleverness but not the material resources to fully enact his plan. Of over

three thousand works in the Concordia College library in 1874, less than thirty specifically were

on philosophy.[15] Masters at proving their opponents wrong, Missouri Synod theologians had a far

greater difficulty in showing their own position from a philosophical standpoint. It remains,

therefore, no mystery that, from about 1920 to 1950, the Missouri Synod embraced modern

causality and made the transition to Rationalism. Modern causality points to *immanentalia*, not

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[12] See BLP 60: Hermann Sasse, "Gedanken am Vorabend des Reformationsjubiläums von 1967," *Lutherische Blätter* 19, no. 89 (1966): 77–79; Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum, 2003), 27–30, 307.

[13] Johann Jakob Rambach, *Christliche Sitten-Lehre* (Leipzig: Schopp, 1738), 2–48.

[14] Johann Jakob Rambach, *Institutiones hermeneuticae sacrae: variis observationibus copiosissimisque exemplis biblicis illustratae / cum praefatione Joannis Francisci Buddei*, 4th ed. (Jena: Hartung, 1732), 1–13.

[15] *Katalog der Theologischen Bibliothek des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Concordia Collegiums zu St. Louis* (Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1874), 76–77.

transcendentalia. As the character Forrest Gump might put it, "Gospel is as Gospel does." This move would underlie everything from the 1945 "Statement" of the Forty-Four to the "Walkout" of 1974. Truth would change from static fact to dynamic effect.[16]

We now move to the specific situation of the Missouri Synod in the nineteenth century. They will not always use terms in the same manner as today's LCMS. The importance of the material lies in its being translated into English for the first time. The reader will gain a healthy respect for the strengths of "Old Missouri" and also an understanding of its weaknesses. Lutheranism is not an "easy" sort of theology, either with regard to innovation or repristination. Yet the capacity of the early Missouri Synod to remain "on message" in what was already a markedly pluralistic society in the United States cannot be ignored. The two foci that emerge are the doctrines of justification and Scripture, both of which are essential for salvation.

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[16] Armand Boehme, "The Smokescreen Vocabulary," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1977): 29–40.

CHAPTER 2

BRIDGE: 1847–1880

This chapter focuses on how Ferdinand Walther built a "bridge" from his era to the volatile

nexus between late Lutheran orthodoxy and supranaturalist Pietism. Walther's easy knowledge

of the orthodox period dwarfs that of many LCMS pastors today. He is looking to test the

possibilities, not to engage in unionism. That was never part of the program, as the evolution of

the Election Controversy covered in the next chapter indicates. In this chapter we also look at the

foundation of LCMS hermeneutics that would remain in force until about 1945.

2.1   Nascent Missouri

The next two subsections give insight into the development of the early Missouri Synod

and how biblical hermeneutics played a significant role from the beginning as expressed in the

constitution and other documents. The Saxons and Löhe *Nothilfer* had markedly different

backgrounds, yet they came together in a common biblical and confessional bond over against

the conventional wisdom of their time.

2.1.1   Historical Beginnings

Unlike some of his peers, Augustus Graebner observed that Friedrich Wyneken was the

first Missouri Synod father in the United States.[1] Christoph Barnbrock noted that the Löhe men

were already considering a synod in light of negative experiences with extant American

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[1] August L. Graebner, *Kurzgefaßte Geschichte der Missouri-Synode* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893), 3–6.

Lutherans like the Ohio Synod.[2] With a certain hesitation that would arise periodically in the proceedings of the earlier synods held annually by the LCMS, Walther and the Saxons joined the Löhe *Nothilfer*.

Historic Lutheranism was not represented by many churches in Germany and America, although the Henkels, for example, were surely working to that end.[3] Hutter's *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum* ceased to be a standard text in Saxony shortly before Walther's birth.[4] How does one form a Lutheran synod when the Lutherans that one should know lie at least a century in the dust? Herman Sasse noted that every confessional Lutheran church today stems from the *Erweckung* that followed Claus Harms' clarion call, his Ninety-Five Theses of 1817.[5]

Rationalism may have dominated, yet the Kingdom of Saxony did not engage in Prussian-style unionism because, in part, the election of Friedrich August I to the Polish throne in 1697 had caused him and his heirs to become Roman Catholic.[6] More direct pressure would come in the 1860s.[7] Walther claimed religious persecution via the new *Agende*.[8] The Saxons admitted their faults in becoming the followers of Martin Stephan, Sr., whose doctrine was "hardly ever

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[2] Christoph Barnbrock, "Composing a Constitution in Context: Analytical Observations on the First Draft of the Missouri Synod's Constitution (1846)," *Concordia Journal* 27, no. 1 (2001): 48.

[3] See Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology* (New York: The Century Co., 1927); Lewis W. Spitz, "The Lutheran Church in America 1619–1857," in *Moving Frontiers*, ed. Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 23–35.

[4] Leonard Hutter, *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961), iv–v.

[5] Sasse, "Gedanken am Vorabend des Reformationsjubiläums von 1967," 81–82.

[6] Johann F. Köstering and C. F. W. Walther, *Auswanderung der sächsischen Lutheraner im Jahre 1838* (St. Louis: August Wiebusch und Sohn, 1866), 2–3.

[7] Werner Klän and Manfred Roensch, *Quellen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung selbständiger evangelisch-lutherischer Kirchen in Deutschland*, vol. 299, Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987), 221ff.

[8] Köstering and Walther, *Auswanderung*, 3–6.

Lutheran," as Ferdinand Walther and Ernst Moritz Bürger recount.[9] The murky details of the

emigration and the sexual allegations swirling about Stephan are well documented.[10]

Ferdinand Walther guided many back to Lutheranism.[11] The Saxons put turmoil in the past

when they joined the Löhe communities to form a new synod in 1847. The Fort Wayne

conference took the lead as interpreters of the constitution.[12] The Saxons, however, had other

ideas and we see them both yielding on some issues and winning important concessions that

would help limit the power of the centralized synod.[13] The Saxon position would be strengthened

in the 1854 revision of the constitution.[14]

Some Lutherans in the nineteenth century, drawing largely from the works of the later

Lutheran Orthodox period, strove against post-Kantian convention by affirming the immutability

of divine truth, the certainty of divine order and the plan of salvation in Christ Jesus. This found

three foci particularly in the Missouri Synod: Divine Inspiration, Holy Scripture and Word of

God (see Appendix C). A characteristic among "Old Lutherans" was the search for, explication

of and dedication to absolute truth, for which one might die. The Missouri Synod reaction to

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[9] Köstering and Walther, *Auswanderung,* 8; Ernst Moritz Bürger, *Sendschreiben an die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche zunächst in Wisconsin, Missouri, Preußen und Sachsen* (Leipzig: Kößling'sche Buchhandlung, 1846).

[10] Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 178ff., 390ff.

[11] August R. Suelflow, "Beginnings of 'Missouri, Ohio, and Other States'," in *Moving Frontiers,* ed. Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 134–135, 139–141.

[12] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Die Verfassung der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, eine Einleitung und erläuterende Bemerkungen,* St. Louis 1846 (henceforth cited as 1846 Verfassung), 3–4.

[13] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Erster Synodalbericht der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten vom Jahre 1847* (St. Louis: Arthur Olshausen, 1847) (henceforth cited as 1847 Allg.), 6–8.

[14] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Die Neue Verfassung oder Constitution der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1854) (henceforth cited as 1854 Verfassung).

prevailing beliefs was to view the Bible as an expression of universal grammar actualized in

Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek (see, for example, Section 2.4.2).

2.1.2 Constitutional Basis

Missouri Synod doctrine has an official record. It has produced many articles on its own

position and those of others. We now look at the unfolding of that story. The following two

citations occur in the explanatory footnotes corresponding to Chapter 1, §2 of the constitution:[15]

> Separatists (schismatics) or those who exclude themselves are those who indeed
> primarily separate themselves not from true doctrine, but rather from the external
> fellowship of the church because hypocrites are also mixed into it. . . .[16]

> Sectarians, on the other hand, or heretics are those who separate themselves from true
> doctrine and in this or that article bring out, promulgate or stubbornly cling to and
> defend anti-scriptural, thus, false doctrine. . . .[17]

On the authority of the synod in doctrinal matters, we have Chapter III, §8 that excludes

matters of doctrine and conscience from any vote except unanimous ratification or confession:

> Matters of doctrine and conscience are decided solely by the Word of God; all other
> decisions occur according to simple majority vote. Should a tie occur, the decision
> shall fall to the President.[18]

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[15] C. F. W. Walther, "Synodalverfassung," *Der Lutheraner* 3, no. 1–2 (1846): 2; 1846 Verfassung, 4.

[16] *Separatisten (Schismatiker) oder sich Absondernde sind solche, die zwar zuerst sich nicht von der Lehre, sondern nur von der äußeren Gemeinschaft der Kirche trennen, weil dieser auch Heuchler beigemischt sind; gleich als vermöchte die Kirche diese Maulschriften, zumal wo ihr Heuchelglaube nicht in offenbaren Sünden ausbricht, von sich abzusondern. Vielmehr hat sie sich dann nach Matth. 13,29.30. und nach dem Verfahren des Herrn mit dem Judas zu richten. Denn nur offenkundige und halsstarrige Sünder hat sie endlich, nachdem alle Grade der Bestrafung nach Matth. 18,15-17. sich als fruchtlos erwiesen, von sich auszustoßen.*

[17] *Sectirer dagegen oder Ketzer (Häretiker) sind solche, die sich von der reinen Lehre trennen und in diesem oder jenem Artikel schftwidrige, also falsche Lehre aufbringen, verbreiten oder doch derselben anhängen und halsstarrig vertheidigen. Diese soll die Kirche, nachdem sie einmal und abermal vergebens ermahnt sind, meiden und von sich thun, Tit. 3,10., Röm. 16,17., ja nach Gal. 1,8.9. sie verfluchen, nicht etwa unbedingt, ihrer Person nach, als könnten sie nicht wiederum zur Büße kommen, sondern als Träger der seelmörderischen Irrlehre. — Häufig geschieht es übrigens, daß aus Separatisten endlich Sectirer werden.*

[18] *§8. Sachen der Lehre und des Gewissens werden allein durch Gottes Wort entschieden, alle andere Entscheidungen geschehen nach Stimmenmehrheit; bei Gleichheit der Stimmen entscheidet der Präses.* Walther, "Synodalverfassung," 3; 1846 Verfassung, 6.

The process of looking at the clear passages of Scripture, interpreting those passages according to their literal sense, and then applying that sense to other passages and to biblical interpretation presumes a prior, independent truth. Walther intended both clergy and laity to be an active part of seeking and confessing that truth. Failure in reaching unanimity could and did result in the rupture of fellowship.

Doctrinal matters included the teaching of false doctrine (sectarian behavior) and a life or administration that was conducted in a manner contrary to the word of God and evangelical praxis (separatist behavior). Such matters were resolved strictly according to Matthew 18, in which the synodical president would call for the repentance of the erring party multiple times, then the congregation and fellow pastors would also do the same, and finally the assembled synod would make a last attempt at reconciliation (Chapter V §7). This would cover not only instances of attitude and behavior, but also theological positions, use of doctrinally false materials, and so on. Walther and the others do make a qualified, evangelical provision for the pastor to make discerning use of materials that might be questionable.[19]

The 1854 constitution retained the basic ideas from the 1847 constitution and adapted them to the added structure of district-synods.[20] Similar to the excerpts given from the 1847

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[19] §7. *Die Synode fordert von dem Präses Bericht von den Ergebnissen seiner nach Instruction im vergangenen Jahre gemachten Besuchsreise, um Lehre, Leben und Amtsführung der Prediger und Schullehrer zu beaufsichtigen. (S. unten Cap. VI. A. §5.) Sollte hierbei der Fall eintreten, daß der Präses einen Prediger bei der Synode anzeigte, welcher selbst nach mehrmaliger Ermahnung des Präses, der betreffenden Gemeinde und des Ministerii in falscher Lehre oder ärgerlichem Wandel beharrte, so macht die Synode in ihrer Gesammtheit den letzten Versuch, den Angezeigten von dem Irrthum seines Weges zu bekehren. Hört der also Bestrafte nun auch die Synode nicht, so wird er von derselben ausgeschlossen, und die Gemeinde dessen hat an ihm Christi Befehl Matth. 18,17. „Höret er die Gemeinde nicht, so halte ihn als einen Heiden und Zöllner,“ auszuführen. Auch hat der Präses über den kirchlichen Zustand der besuchten Gemeinden Bericht zu erstatten, unter Anderen, ob er in denselben Gemeinde– oder Kirchen–Ordnungen, Bücher für Kirche und Schule, u. dergl. vorgefunden habe, deren Inhalt mit dem Bekenntniß der reinen Lehre im Widerspruch steht. Es ist dem Präses während seines Aufenthalts unter den besuchten Gemeinden gestattet, durch den Vorstand der letzteren eine Gemeindeversammlung zu berufen.* Walther, "Synodalverfassung," 4; 1846 Verfassung, 6–7.

[20] 1854 Verfassung 4ff.

constitution, the Synodical Conference also separated the confession of doctrine from worldly issues in its first convention as it dealt with the issue of *entscheidende Gewalt* in §4 of its constitution.[21] The conference also made an observation that allowed for an orthodox Lutheran church to be in fellowship even if it did not extend the weight of *Kirchenrecht* to the entire Book of Concord.[22] One thus arrives at a principle of non-contradiction, or perhaps more accurately, a principle that binds the whole work as a matter of conscience, even if only part of the Book of Concord forms the official church-legal basis.

The 1882 Synodical Conference minutes, as well as those from the LCMS in 1872 and the Synodical Conference in 1877, suggest that unchallenged doctrinal theses of a component organ can stand as the position for the respective larger bodies.[23] Walther himself suggested that a *de facto* synodical position results from district-synods approving doctrinal theses, yet there must also be a *de jure* process of reaching a position at the general delegate-synod. So what authority do such theses have? Since the 1854 division of the LCMS into districts that can adopt their own doctrinal theses, the answer to that has depended on the case at hand. No clear procedure has existed from 1854 to the present in the Missouri Synod whereby one determines the weight,

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[21] Evangelisch-Lutherische Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika, *Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-Amerika zu Milwaukee, Wisconsin* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1872) (henceforth cited as 1872 SynKonf), 73.

[22] 1872 SynKonf 13.

[23] Evangelisch-Lutherische Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika, *Verhandlungen der neunten Versammlung der evangelisch-lutherischen Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika zu Chicago, Illinois* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1882) (henceforth cited as 1882 SynKonf), 6ff.; Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Fünfzehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten vom Jahre 1872* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1872) (henceforth cited as 1872 Allg.), 90ff.; Evangelisch-Lutherische Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika, *Verhandlungen der sechsten Versammlung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-Amerika zu Fort Wayne, Indiana* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1877) (henceforth cited as 1877 SynKonf), 39.

validity, context, or durative power of doctrinal resolutions.[24] Apart from gross violations of morality or of fundamental doctrines, prosecution of doctrinal charges in the Missouri Synod has remained casuistic for most of its history.

The Synodical Conference, much like the LCMS, did not "file" biblical interpretation under the general heading of *Hermeneutik*.[25] The same can be said for the *LuW* index of 1884 published with the index of doctrinal resolutions from 1847 to 1881, as well as the *Thesen* of 1894, each with their own system of classification.[26] Some classify according to what may be mentioned; others classify according to main topic. Some group theses from consecutive sessions of the district-synods while other divide them. Ludwig Fürbringer writes that talk of "hermeneutics" was not prominent in the LCMS; three people that commonly engaged the subject were Georg Stöckhardt, Albrecht Hoppe, and Fürbringer himself, largely because Stöckhardt supervised W^2, Hoppe edited it, and Fürbringer was the protegé of Stöckhardt.[27] Furthermore, all three had either direct or secondary connections with F. A. Philippi and Franz

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[24] This became apparent to me when I was a member of the team working on the Doctrinal Resolution Project of the LCMS, the fruit of which has been published on CD-ROM by Concordia Historical Institute. One can see differences between the approaches in Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Thesen für die Lehrverhandlungen der Missouri-Synode und der Synodalconferenz bis zum Jahre 1893* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894) (henceforth cited as 1894 Thesen) and A. Heerboth, *Inhaltsangabe zu den Synodalberichten der Missourisynode und der Synodalkonferenz* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1915). The Doctrinal Resolution Project took the most neutral of courses by restricting itself to those resolutions of the general synods of the LCMS that pertained specifically to matters of doctrine and conscience.

[25] See Heerboth, *Inhaltsangabe*. For *Analogie des Glaubens* we see Nördlich, 22 and 23. *Glaubensartikel* yields Nördlich, 22. *Gottes Wort, Kraft* shows Westlich, 31. Under *Inspiration* we have Iowa, 10; Östlich, 32 and 33; Nord-Ills., 1; and SynKonf., 11. *Religion, Wahrheit der christl.* has Westlich, 11. *Heilige Schrift* has references to *Inspiration, Vernunft,* and *Widersprüche,* showing SynKonf., 11, 19; Cal.-Ore., 2; Iowa, 9; Minn.-Dak., 1; Nördlich, 11, 13, 20; Östlich, 1, 4; Ore.-Wash., 8. *Schrift, Bibellesen* has Illinois, 10, 11; Nördlich, 20. *Schrift, Quelle der Lehre* shows Texas, 4. *Schrift, Auslegung* gives Nördlich, 13. With *Schriftlehre und Schriftwort* we have Allg., 19. *Vernunft* gives Atl., 2; and Westlich, 40. Finally, *Widersprüche, scheinbar, in der Schrift* yields SynKonf., 19; and Westlich, 11, 21.

[26] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Register zu „Lehre und Wehre" Jahrgang I– XXVIII und über die Synodal-Berichte vom Jahre 1847 bis zum Jahre 1881* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1884) (henceforth cited as 1884 Register).

[27] Ludwig E. Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), 107–108; *(continued next page)*

Delitzsch.[28] They therefore drew on some of the most conservative lines of Lutheran exegesis in Germany.[29] This presentation is an attempt to sort out and make sense of such data. There remains certainly some room for discussion.

2.2　Reading List

Before we consider Walther's reading list we need to address how and when students used books. Unlike the course-driven book lists of today, the seminaries had no official bookstores. The content of course lectures often served as effective textbooks. The publishing arm of the student association of Concordia College, the Concordia Seminar Mimeograph Printing Company (MIMPERCO), printed lecture notes in bound volumes. Comparatively few of these volumes appear to have survived. One volume of Franz Pieper's lectures has become the one most commonly seen in a number of collections.[30] A number of lectures from the early LCMS, including those of Pieper on the Church mentioned here, have been transcribed and are available on the web site of the evangelisch-lutherische Immanuelgemeinde in Steeden, Germany, a member congregation of the Evangelisch-Lutherische Freikirche.[31] An example from this volume appears subsequently as Figure 2.1.

Ludwig E. Fürbringer, *Persons and Events* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 208.

[28] Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 103–104; Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 206.

[29] Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume 1* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale UP, 1972), 218ff.

[30] *Vorträge über die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche die wahre sichtbare Kirche Gottes auf Erden, im Anschluss an das Referat, „Die ev.-luth. Kirche", u.s.w.* parts I and II (St. Louis: MIMPERCO, 1890–1891) and *Festrede gehalten bei der Feier des Geburtstags Dr. M. Luthers im ev.-luth. Concordia Seminar zu St. Louis, Mo. den 10. November 1891* (St. Louis: MIMPERCO, 1891).

[31] http://www.immanuel-gemeinde-steeden.de/doctrina2/index.html

Typesetting conventions in this chapter and the next will diverge from the standard English in order to reflect German typesetting conventions of *Sperrdruck* and boldface *Fraktur*, here represented by, respectively, **boldface** and *italic* type.

Figure 2.1. Lecture by Franz Pieper.

Figure 2.2. Logo of MIMPERCO.
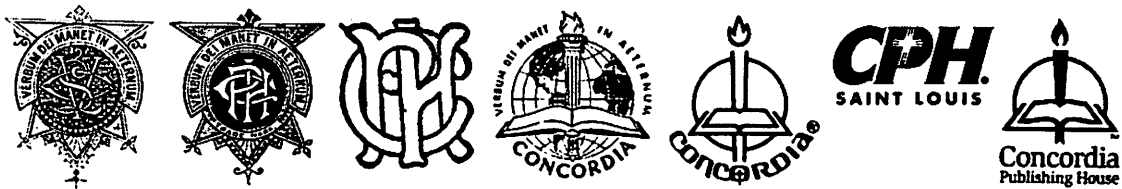
Figure 2.3. The various logotypes used by CPH.

MIMPERCO created a logo that was an intertwined CMP (see Figure 2.2). They derived

this from the intertwined CSV (*Concordia Synodal-Verlag*) used by the synodical press since the

latter 1870s (see Figure 2.3). The synodical press was organized on 11 September 1869,

remaining a legal entity of Concordia College until its incorporation as Concordia Publishing

House in the latter half of 1890. From 1878 to 1883, the press began to use the DBA of

Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag.

CPH would also print lectures. Items *als Manuskript gedruckt* include Ludwig Fürbringer's

Theologische Hermeneutik: Leitfaden für Vorlesungen and *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.*

Under the imprint of Concordia Publishing House Print we have Fürbringer's *Liturgik: Leitfaden*

für Vorlesungen and his *Theological Hermeneutics: An Outline for the Classroom.* After the

1920s CPH ceased this activity, which reverted to the seminary print shops.

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Getting textbooks was not a requirement because low-cost materials were available to meet the limited financial capacity of the students. One therefore cannot draw a direct inference from the "recommendation list" to books in use. The book list does, however, reflect what the students were encouraged to obtain. They would try to get the recommended books either while at seminary or later. They often arranged auctions (*Versteigerungen*) where they would bid for volumes obtained from German antiquary dealers. William Dallmann and W. H. T. Dau ran something of a cottage industry book distributorship.[32] Pastors would seek to buy these books for both edification and one's career advancement.

Having the proper theological books was important. Walther desired pastors to know what books they should have available to them. He therefore prepared an article, "*Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek*," starting in the February 1855 issue of *LuW* that would continue serially through 1858. Well over 100 pages in length, it is one of the largest resources produced in the Missouri Synod that is dedicated to the reading of many books. Only the pages from 1855 are cited here. Walther proceeds from the essential to the elective in three classes (A–C), in which each class is divided into six subjects (I–VI). He thereby shows his acumen as a theologian and as a knowledgeable, practical pastor. We list here only the essentials that are pertinent to this study. Some details have been added for the sake of clarity.

Class A includes: "**Works that really should never be absent from the Lutheran theological pastor's library.**"[33] Subject I covers **works about the whole of theology**:

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[32] C. F. William Dallmann, *My Life* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1945), 25–26.

[33] *A. Erste Classe d. i. Werke, welche billig in keiner lutherisch-theologischen Pfarrers-Bibliothek fehlen sollten.* C. F. W. Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," *Lehre und Wehre* 1–4 (1855–1858): 59.

1. **Luther's works**, W[1], the first Walch edition.[34] Preferred in this order: Walch (Halle), Erlangen, Leipzig, Altenburg, Jena, Eisleben, and Wittenberg.

So dear did Walther hold Luther's works that he set up the ratio: A Lutheran library is to Luther's works as a Christian library is to the Bible.[35] Students often came to the seminaries rather illiterate in Luther's writings and began their Luther studies there.[36]

2. Variously named **theological encyclopedias** and **resources on methodology**:[37]

- Joh. Franz Budde: *Isagoge historico-theologica ad theologiam universam singulasque ejus partes*. Lipsiae, 1727.[38]

- Walch: *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften*. Jena, 1737. This can serve as a replacement for the Isagoge of Budde.

- Johann Gerhard: *Methodus studii theologici*. Jenae, 1617. This authoritative advanced methodology is used after one has worked with a number of introductory texts.[39]

Walther lists and reviews resources, giving a history when possible or when he wants to go into greater detail. He dwells longest on the works of Johann Gerhard. Yet Walther saw value in Budde's work as a means to understand theology across the change from an "older time" to a "newer time."[40] Walther knew that Pietism dominated those that were not rationalists. In order to engage this Pietism, Walther looked to a point of *Übergangstheologie*. He wanted to connect late

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[34] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 62–64.

[35] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 59.

[36] Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 185–86.

[37] *Die eigentlich so genannten t h e o l o g i s c h e n   E n c y c l o p ä d i e n und M e t h o d o l o g i e n.* Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 129.

[38] *RGG*[2] speaks of Johann Franz Budde as a transitional theologian in whom one may observe ties to both Lutheran orthodoxy and Pietism (1:1310–11). *RGG*[3] strengthens this position to suggest that Budde crafted a reforming movement in Lutheran orthodoxy that contained transitions to Pietism and the Enlightenment (1:1469).

[39] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 131.

[40] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 129.

Lutheran orthodoxy to modern worldviews. This explains how the formative role of the *Gymnasien* worked: The pupils were so drilled with content and method that they would arrive at the "correct position" from a spectrum of outcomes. That was meant to aid one in engaging modern America in order to "make the old new again." Yet the stress exerted by the Election Controversy and the encroachment of other philosophies would undermine this original approach (see Section 3.1). Walther nevertheless should be given high marks for such a creative approach. Should any part of that change, however, the hermeneutical and theological results would be unpredictable. That helps explain how the LCMS repeated the earlier *Übergang* to rationalism, this time in the 1920s with the Brux case and others.

Walther takes the German approach to general exegetical nomenclature. Exegesis involves textual criticism, grammar, and establishing the text; it is the "lower" part of the method. Hermeneutics is the activity where one explicates and interprets the text, while application follows. In American usage it is not uncommon to encounter the meanings of "exegesis" and "hermeneutics" reversed. "Exegesis" can also be used in a wider sense to encompass exegesis proper, hermeneutics, and application. For A.II, the exegetical disciplines, Walther lists:

1. Salomon Glassius: *Philologia Sacra*, ed. Buddeus. Francoforti et Lipsiae, 1717.[41]

2. **Lexica** concerning biblical philology:

   - Christian Stock: *Clavis linguae sanctae Veteris Testamenti*. Jenae, 1717.[42]

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[41] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 131–132. Walther's praise for this work remains unsurpassed; he sees it as an essential key to understanding Scripture in the areas of textual criticism, grammar, rhetoric, and logic.

[42] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 132. Walther suggests adding to that the research of Gesenius. Stock's role in the LCMS was considerable; his *Homiletisches Real-Lexikon* served the synod as well as churches in Saxony from 1867 to around 1907.

- Christian Stock: *Clavis linguae sanctae Novi Testamenti*. Jenae, 1725.[43]

- Georg Pasor's Manuale N. T.[44]

3. **Isagogics**:

- Johann Gottlob Carpzov: *Critica Sacra Veteris Testamenti*. Lipsiae, 1728.[45]

- Carpzov: *Introductio ad libros canonicos Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti omnes*. Lipsiae, 1721.[46]

- Johann Albrecht Bengel: *He Kaine Diatheke. Novum Testamentum graecum. . .* Tubingae, 1734.[47]

- Heinrich E. F. Guericke: *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. Leipzig, 1843.[48]

- Johann Gerhard: *Exegesis sive uberior explicatio.*[49]

4. **Biblical hermeneutics**:

- August Pfeiffer: *Thesaurus hermeneuticus*. Lübeck, 1704.[50]

5. The **application** of biblical interpretation:

- *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk.*[51]

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[43] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 135. It deals compendiously with the works of Flacius, Hunnius, Balduin, Gerhard, Glassius, Erasmus Schmidt, Sebastian Schmidt, Calov, Vitringa, and others relating to NT philology.

[44] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 136.

[45] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 136.

[46] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 137.

[47] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 137. Preferred for textual criticism.

[48] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 138. Walther recommends this highly, noting where one must be careful in seeing the concessions that Guericke makes to rationalism.

[49] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 138. This appears as Loci I–IV in the Preuss and Dinda editions, while it is separate in the Frankfurt/Hamburg and Cotta editions. The Jena edition lacks the *Exegesis* altogether. It forms the basis for many early LCMS exegetical positions.

[50] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 138. Here is where Walther gets his hermeneutical approach. He lists a few of Pfeiffer's canons as absolutely necessary for Lutheran hermeneutics. See also Section 2.4.1.

- Matthias Flacius: *Glossa compendaria M. Mattiae Flacii Illyrici Albonensis in Novum Testaentum.* Basileae, 1587.[52]

- Martin Chemnitz and Polycarp Leyser: *Harmonia Evangelicae. . . .*[53]

- Johann Gerhard's continuation of the above work: *Harmoniae quattuor Evangelistarum. . . .* Genevae, 1645.[54]

- Otto Nicolai's translation of the above Gerhard work: *Harmonie der vier Evangelisten. . . .* Marburg, 1764.[55]

6. **Pauline letters:**

- Friedrich Balduin: *Commentarius in omnes epistolas beati apostoli Pauli.* Francoforti ad Moenum, 1710.[56]

- Johann Olearius: *Balduinianorum in omnes Pauli epistolas commentariorum index generalis.* Francof., 1710.[57]

It is not the task of this work to reproduce Walther's thought on dogmatics, homiletics, and so forth. Here at least we have the essentials of Lutheran exegetical theology, as Walther saw it. Walther took four years to finish his Class A "essentials" and then never finished the article.

Walther also has a positive word regarding Winer, who was a rationalist, yet an excellent lexicographer that appreciated Hebrew and Koine Greek as living idioms.[58] It was not *verboten* to use rationalist sources in the German era LCMS, as we shall also see with Reinhold Pieper. One was taught how to observe and avoid rationalism, culling the good from the bad. Walther entirely

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[51] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 202. See also Section 3.4.4.

[52] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 205. Here Walther states that the condemnation of a theologian's doctrinal error does not result in the total condemnation of a theologian and all of his works. Walther makes tangential reference to Flacius' *Clavis*, yet he appears not to use it himself.

[53] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 208.

[54] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 208.

[55] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 209.

[56] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 294.

[57] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 295.

[58] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 133.

rejected the use of rationalist methods, whether Platonic, Aristotelian, post-Kantian or otherwise. He knew quite well how presuppositions and systems worked.[59]

If Walther's methods made extensive use of argumentation *via negativa* against philosophical systems, then how would students learn to form positive statements in a world of altered causal matrices? By the end of his life, Walther's basic approach was from apologetics and polemics, a point that he also taught his later students.[60]

That is precisely the devil that would plague the Missouri Synod after Walther's death. People wanted to be more than nay-sayers, yet they were not educated in German universities as were many first-generation LCMS pastors. Neither were their mentors particularly inclined to let them be so. As the LCMS began to integrate historical-critical thought into its midst, either by will or by negligence, it is only then that the leading voices in Missouri started avoiding German higher-critical sources in favor of Anglo-American conservative Protestant sources.

Some brief observations can suffice here concerning the development of these reading lists. First, the LCMS still retains many of the works that Walther considered to be a *vade mecum* of the pastor. Second, few of these works have been translated into English for the common LCMS pastor. That could fuel a study about whether any American Lutheran body remains substantially connected with historic Lutheranism. Walther shows himself to be competent and in his element when discussing the history of persons and events in Lutheran orthodoxy. Can many in the LCMS say the same today? Of course, this should not be over-generalized.

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[59] See, for example, one of several critiques against J. C. K. von Hofmann, such as C. F. W. Walther, "Wie verkehrt es sei, die christliche Glaubenslehre als ein System der Speculation darzustellen," *Lehre und Wehre* 6, no. 2 (1860).

[60] Dallmann, *My Life*, 23–24.

The necessity of repristinating late Lutheran orthodoxy, wherein causal models were somewhat in flux, caused Walther to find a method for the gymnasial system that would give a definite trajectory for the curricula under his oversight. He was aware that Koine Greek and Hebrew were living idioms, yet for all of Walther's railing against Melanchthon,[61] Walther and others adopted Melanchthon's preference for a classical *Graecum*. Flacius, on the other hand, deliberately portrayed the many Hebraisms in Koine Greek.[62] Richard Solberg notes the stultifying effects of this classical grind on students.[63] What might such a presentation do for those going to other universities having a more creative appreciation for literature and more "liberal" hermeneutics? Might we see here a tension with "American" thought that would build up over time and become the progenitor of later antagonism?

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[61] Compare, for example, the earlier series of Law and Gospel lectures with the later series: C. F. W. Walther, *Gesetz und Evangelium* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893); C. F. W. Walther, *Die Rechte Unterscheidung von Gesetz und Evangelium: 39 Abendvorträge* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901).

[62] Oliver Olson, in personal notes generously provided to this author, cites Johannes Irmscher, "Der Streit um das Bibelgriechisch," *Acta Antiqua Academica Scientarum Hungaricae* 7 (1959). The English language counterpart to Olson's *ThWNT* citation is *TDNT* 10:613ff.: "Pre-History of the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament." See also Flacius Illyricus, *Clavis scripturae sacrae*, II 1-2.

[63] Richard W. Solberg, *Lutheran Higher Education in North America* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1985), 149.

Table 2.1 (years 1847–1878):

Year	Der Lutheraner (9/46 to 8/47, etc.)	Lehre und Wehre	Schulblatt	Magazin für ev.-luth. Homiletik	General MO Synod	General Delegate Synod (LCMS)	Central, Western, Eastern	Northern	Illinois	Northwestern
1847	3				1					
1848	4				2					
1849	5				3					
1850	6				4					
1851	7				5					
1852	8				6					
1853	9				7					
1854	10				8		1	1		
1855	11	1								
1856	12	2			9		2	2		
1857	13	3								
1858	14	4					4			
1859	15	5					5	5		
1860	16	6			10		7	7		
1861	17	7			11		8	8		
1862	18	8			12					
1863	19	9								
1864	20	10			13					
1865	21	11					11	11		
1866	22	12	1				12			
1867	23	13	2				13	13		
1868	24	14	3		14		14	14		
1869	25	15	4							
1870	26	16	5				15	16		
1871	27	17	6				16	17		
1872	28	18	7		15					
1873	29	19	8				17	19		
1874	30	20	9			1 (16)	18	20	1	
1875	31	21	10				19	21	2	1
1876	32	22	11				20	22	3	2
1877	33	23	12	1			21	23		3
1878	34	24	13	2		2 (17)				

Table 2.1 (years 1879–1910):

Year	Der Lutheraner (9/46 to 8/47, etc.)	Lehre und Wehre	Schulblatt	Magazin für ev.-luth. Homiletik	Theological Quarterly	Homiletic Magazine	General Delegate Synod (LCMS)	Central, Western, Eastern	Northern	Michigan	Illinois	Northwestern	Canada, Iowa	Southern, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota-Dakota	CA-OR / CA-NV	Kansas
1879	35	25	14	3			3 (18)	22	24		4	4				
1880	36	26	15	4				23	25		5	5	1			
1881	37	27	16	5							6					
1882	38	28	17	6			4 (19)	24		26	7		2			
1883	39	29	18	7				25		27	8		3	1		
1884	40	30	19	8				26			9			2		
1885	41	31	20	9			5 (20)	27		28	10		4			
1886	42	32	21	10				28		29	11		5	3		
1887	43	33	22	11				29		30	12		6	4		
1888	44	34	23	12			6 (21)			31	13				1	1
1889	45	35	24	13				30		32	15		7	5		
1890	46	36	25	14				31		33	16		8	6	2	2
1891	47	37	26	15			7 (22)	32			17		9	7	3	3
1892	48	38	27	16						34						
1893	49	39	28	17				33		35	18		10	8	4	4
1894	50	40	29	18			8 (23)	34		36			11	9	5	5
1895	51	41	30	19						37						
1896	52	42	31	20				35		38	19		12	10	6	6
1897	53	43	32	21	1		9 (24)	36			20		13	11	7	7
1898	54	44	33	22	2			37		39			14	12	8	8
1899	55	45	34	23	3					40						
1900	56	46	35	24	4		10 (25)	38			21		15	13	9	9
1901	57	47	36	25	5			39		41			16	14	10	10
1902	58	48	37	26	6											
1903	59	49	38	27	7	1	11 (26)	40		42	23		17	15	11	11
1904	60	50	39	28	8	2				43			18	16	12	12
1905	61	51	40	29	9											
1906	62	52	41	30	10	4		41					19	17	13	13
1907	63	53	42	31	11	5		42		44			20	18	14	14
1908	64	54	43	32	12	6										
1909	65	55	44	33	13	7	12 (27)				24		21	19	15	15
1910	66	56	45	34	14	8		43		45	25		22	20	16	16

Table 2.1. Modified table from Eckhardt's *Reallexikon*.

2.3   Doctrinal Proceedings

The researcher that desires to avoid confusion at this point should keep in mind Ernst

Eckhardt's table of publications for the German-era LCMS. It is presented here with some

additions and modifications to make it more intelligible for today's reader. See Table 2.1.

References to *Der Lutheraner* under Eckhardt's system assign the year numbers to volumes

according to the year in which the final issue falls. *Der Lutheraner* first appeared on 1 September

1844 and ran through to the next year, keeping that pattern of starting a new volume in

September for some time. It eventually recalibrated to producing a volume per calendar year. By

enumerating the volumes by their last issue one avoids skipping a year. It also means that, for

example, volume 3 (1847) includes the autumn of 1846.

The Northern District was the main venue for hermeneutics in the LCMS from 1865 to

1880. That was due largely to Ottomar Fürbringer.[64] Tables A.1, A.3, A.4, A.5, and A.6 comprise

about eighty percent of the synod's early output on hermeneutics.

What follows is not a page-by-page summary of the proceedings. Such a work would span

hundreds of pages because the proceedings span hundreds of pages. In this chapter and in the

next, the sections on doctrinal proceedings will contain mostly commentary and observations.

The analysis focuses on the larger picture of where the LCMS got its ideas and what it did with

them. The theses themselves are translated in Appendix A. The commentary is no substitute for

reading the theses and the *Lehrverhandlungen*. The translations provided should offer help

toward a more thorough study. The commentary can show additionally how meanings might

have more than one level, or how events and trends might alter meanings.

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[64] Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 10.

2.3.1 The Divine Inspiration of Holy Scripture

One of the first sets of theses on biblical interpretation in the LCMS concerns divine inspiration (see Table A.1). Pastor F. A. Ahner appears in LCMS history with the writing of these theses and the marriage of his daughter Concordia to Johann Konrad Graebner, brother of Augustus Lorenz and Carl Friedrich.

Ahner tries to restate some of Walther's "*Theologische Axiome*" (see Appendix B) in the manner of Scripture proof. One of the difficulties in working with Ahner's theses is that his statements of support or clarification themselves appear to need support. For example, Thesis 1 states: "The setting down of the holy Word of God in writing began at the time of Moses. Prior to this time it was passed down orally." He claims that any writings that may have existed up to that time or that may have been appended at other times simply are not canonical, and he makes brief mention of Paul in support, giving no Bible reference. He does not mention works like the Book of the Wars of the LORD (Num. 21:14), nor does he consider citations like Enoch 1:9 in the canonical books (Jude 14–16). He does not explain how God's people could have the Gospel or be sure of the promises. Indeed, without further clarification, for example, Ahner's thesis can help feed into higher-critical speculation about Jethro and the cult of Yahweh.[65]

For Thesis 2 he describes the need of the Church for Scripture based on the shortness of human life (Ps. 90:10), the growth of the human race, protection of true doctrine and mitigation of error, and the general weakness of mankind, especially in memory. He also considers the NT

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[65] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der elften Jahresversammlung des Nördlichen Districts* (St. Louis: August Wiebusch und Sohn, 1865) (henceforth cited as 1865 Nördlich), 52; R. F. Johnston, "Jethro," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. George A. Buttrick et al., vol. 2 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962).

to be considerably more encompassing than the OT; the latter he describes as Law while the former he denotes as Gospel.[66]

Ahner's theses contain little support beyond the few Scripture passages that he adduces. These passages sometimes only connect to his theses via his arguments. Ahner wants to defend the conduit of truth from God to the Bible to the reader or hearer. It is probably not worth discussing how some of his theses tend to echo Plato's *Cratylus* because Ahner may not have been fully aware of his own received learning.[67] We proceed no further in examining Ahner; he was a faithful pastor who wanted to do the right thing.

Yet Ahner's desire to create a defense around the God-Scripture-Christian conduit has a history and his theses are illustrative of that. Lutheran orthodoxy had to defend itself against the onslaught of the Jesuits. Aegidius Hunnius, for example, helped determine the way in which Lutheran orthodoxy defended Scripture when he lost the 1601 debate to Adam Tanner at Regensburg. The earnest nature of the Thirty Years War caused Lutherans to prize the truth for which their blood was spilling. Lutherans stressed not only God's act of opening true causality in Scripture but also a superiority of grammar and knowledge in Scripture over against other sources. This is the background and the implicit source for Ahner's theses.

The LCMS had a strong consciousness of μαρτυρία to the point of sacrifice. One of the first books that the LCMS published was *Die Märtyrer der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*.[68] Ahner expressed the deep conviction felt by many that left everything behind to live a hard

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[66] 1865 Nördlich, 52–53.

[67] Plato, "Cratylus," in *The Dialogues of Plato*, ed. B. Jowett, 11th ed., vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1937), 179ff.

[68] These accounts were edited by C. J. Hermann Fick, who also wrote of a willingness to be martyred in *Der Lutheraner*. See Hermann Fick, *Die Märtyrer der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (St. Louis: Niedner, 1854–1856).

frontier life, face death, and hold fast to a truth that remained unsullied and worth dying for. That

has NT parallels (2 Cor. 4:7–18).

2.3.2 The Truth of the Christian Religion

These are the first included set of doctrinal theses by a president of a district-synod, Johann

F. Bünger of the Western District. Other district presidents in this study are mentioned in Section

A.1. The theses in this section appear in Table A.2. Do doctrinal theses coming from a sitting

district president have more weight? The answer during the respective president's tenure is quite

likely "yes," while the passage of time seems to turn the answer into a "maybe."

Bünger proceeds directly from the content of Luther's LC II, §66.[69] He engages Göthe,

Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Antoninus, and others in showing that natural religion is not

true. He demonstrates that heathen religions are not true, touching on Plutarch, dealing with

Mohammedanism, and then engaging the Jewish religion.[70] In his second theses he observes that

the truth of Christianity depends on the belief that the OT and NT are God's revelation. He calls

the Roman Church "heathenism, Jewry, and rationalism" because it rests on human, not divine

sources for its religion. This name-calling rankles in modern ears and serves no current example.

He then proceeds to explain what it means to have the Bible as the only source for true religion.

He touches on the Words of Institution, separating Lutheran from Reformed. He touches on

passages concerning Baptism to defend against the "lie" of Methodism.[71]

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[69] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der elften Jahresversammlung des Westlichen Districts* (St. Louis: August Wiebusch und Sohn, 1865) (henceforth cited as 1865 Westlich), 11.

[70] 1865 Westlich, 11-22.

[71] 1865 Westlich, 22.

While the theses themselves appear to deal primarily with hermeneutics, Bünger deals

primarily with polemics. He repeatedly invokes classical studies to make a number of points.[72]

He engages literary studies when considering the authenticity of Holy Scripture. This does raise

some helpful points, one of them being that the Bible does not wither and die under literary

scrutiny. One must go to considerable lengths in trying to discredit it. Bünger covers the

miraculous agreement among so many manuscripts and versions, and he touches on many issues

that are good to know if one is in a debate concerning Scriptural authenticity.[73] He shows how

the Scripture principle does play a fundamental role in Lutheran polemics.

Yet for all his barbs aimed at the papists, he himself uses the history of the Church at least

as much as Scripture passages to argue on behalf of biblical authenticity.[74] From whence might

he get that sort of approach? One sees it with the Anglican divine John Cosin.[75] One can also find

it in a volume on the authenticity of Scripture originally by Swiss separatist pastor François S. R.

Louis Gaussen (1790–1863).[76]

Adding to arguments from history, the *Magazin für evangelisch-lutherische Homiletik* was

the main source in the LCMS concerning the internal witness of the Holy Spirit, which then

appears in later *Lehrverhandlungen*.[77] A greater need to "feel" the truth of Scripture later

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[72] 1865 Westlich, 25ff.

[73] 1865 Westlich, 32ff.

[74] 1865 Westlich, 28ff.

[75] John Cosin, *A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture* (London: Robert Pawlett, 1672).

[76] François S. R. Louis Gaussen, *Die Aechtheit der Heiligen Schriften vom Standepunkt der Geschichte und des Glaubens*, trans. Johann E. Groß (Hamburg: Oucken, 1870).

[77] Ernst Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon nebst Index Rerum*, 8 vols. (St. Louis: Success Printing Company, 1907–1917), 7:^{d}456ff. A note on this work: Seven volumes share its alphanumeric page numbering (1– 1000, ^{b}1–^{b}999, 2000, ^{c}1–^{c}999, 3000, ^{d}1–^{d}523). Bewildering as that may be, one adds the *Schule* volume that technically is an *Auszug* of the sixth volume (S–V) but has its own pagination (1–352) and its own organization that differs significantly from the rest of the work. It was published one year prior to the sixth volume.

emerged in the LCMS; see also Section 3.3.12. The discussion about this witness does not appear to correlate with earlier Lutheran positions. Robert Preus notes that it is through Scripture that the *internum Spiritus Sancti testimonium* operates, as the Lutheran orthodox dogmaticians teach.[78] The *Magazin* and related materials, however, appear to draw nearer to Calvin in locating this testimony in the Christian, a voice created by the Holy Spirit that convinces the believer, a voice that is the Word of God (Scripture) made alive in the heart of the believer.[79] This expression of the Spirit's testimony arose primarily in the literature of the LCMS. Preus cites Haaglund in showing that, for Gerhard, the internum referred to Scripture, whereas for Hollaz, it referred to a human subjectivity.[80] This again shows that the LCMS was repristinating as much to Übergangstheologie as to Lutheran orthodoxy. Preus clearly shows the path leading away from Luther toward Schleiermacher.[81]

Whether or not Bünger got his material from a seventeenth-century source like Cosin and Hollaz or a nineteenth-century source like Gaussen, his approach contained pan-Protestant similarities that would resonate also with the *testimonium internum* and the role of feeling in religion. As the Missouri Synod moved into the twentieth century, its theologians drew closer to men like J. H. Brookes, A. T. Pierson, R. A. Torrey, and J. G. Machen.[82]

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[78] Robert D. Preus, *The Inspiration of Scripture* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957), 108.

[79] John Calvin, *The Institutions of the Christian Religion*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Nicklin, 1816), 1:89ff.

[80] Preus, *The Inspiration of Scripture*, 109.

[81] Preus, *The Inspiration of Scripture*, 110–118.

[82] See Arthur T. Pierson, *In Christ Jesus* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1898); A. L. Graebner in the *Kirchlich-Zeitgeschichtliches* segment of *LuW* 33 no. 12 (1887) 363; Milton L. Rudnick, *Fundamentalism and the Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), 29, 67ff., 75ff. Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 221; and Paul E. Kretzmann, *The Foundations Must Stand* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1936), 100ff.

2.3.3 Fundamentals of Lutheran Hermeneutics

These theses (see Table A.3) have no indicated author. We know that Ottomar Fürbringer was considered an expert in hermeneutics, yet he used the Leipzig edition for working with Luther while the author here primarily used the Erlangen edition.[83] The Northern District not only heard and discussed these doctrinal theses, but they were also ratified or adopted by the assembly (*angenommen*).[84] Such ratification was not always the case.

We must therefore consider these *Lehrverhandlungen* according to the constitutional basis of the Northern District and the general LCMS. No objection was raised and other theses from district-synods, the general LCMS, and the Synodical Conference draw on the points made here, establishing at least a *de facto*, and likely a *de jure* authority. Such authority brings us to an interesting point: For all the reports and citations made in New Orleans Resolution 3-09, the set of constitutionally relevant doctrinal theses from 1867 were never cited.[85]

In this section we consider those theses that have supporting information taken from sources pertaining to the Lutheran tradition of interpretation. Not all theses have such support. Theses 1–3 have little support. Thesis 4 refers to Paul's use of Gen. 22:18 in Gal. 3:16 as an instance where his example stems from a well-known, general rule of grammar:

> Thus we must be able to show in individual cases that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles themselves operated according to such fundamental rules in the interpretation of Scripture. Even when such rules are known already from the light of nature, yet we do not stand upon the light of nature, but upon that of the Holy Spirit.[86]

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[83] Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 10; Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 196.

[84] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der dreizehnten Jahresversammlung des Nördlichen Districts* (St. Louis: August Wiebusch und Sohn, 1867) (henceforth cited as 1867 Nördlich), 7.

[85] The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, *Convention Proceedings* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973), 133–139.

[86] *So müssen wir in den einzelnen Fällen nachweisen können, daß die Propheten, Christus und die Apostel (continued next page)*

When we speak of grammar, human reason can enter as a hidden topic. Methodist scholar

Milton S. Terry believed grammar to be a sort of individualistic, logical freedom from

authority.[87] He influenced both Ludwig Fürbringer and Martin Franzmann.[88] In Section 2.4.1 and

Appendix B we observe how Lutherans were able to critique the Reformed fusion of the clear

with the reasonable. One cannot merely assert "historical-grammatical" and assume that it has an

unambiguous meaning. The Missouri Synod needed to define their hermeneutical framework

carefully. We shall see that this did not always happen.

These 1867 theses assumed rules derived from Scripture and described in *Philologia Sacra*.

One of the first German grammars used in the Missouri Synod was Johann C. W. Lindemann's

Deutsche Grammatik, wherein we see influence from *Philologia Sacra* and the like. Lindemann

was a grammatical conservative, preferring pre-nineteenth century German orthography.[89] He

reflects certain opinions found in older lexica.[90] Lindemann believed that one should derive

pedagogical examples from Bible stories.[91] His material on German being in the Japhetic family

of languages points to seventeenth-century sources as well as the assumption of Scripture as a

history text.[92] In order to understand biblical hermeneutics in the early Missouri Synod as

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selbst nach solchen Grundsätzen in Auslegung der Schrift gehandelt haben. Wenn man aber auch solche Grundsätze aus dem Licht der Natur bekannt sind, so stehen wir dann aber nicht auf dem Licht der Natur, sondern auf dem des Heiligen Geistes. 1867 Nördlich, 8–9.

[87] Milton S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics* (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1890), 46–49.

[88] Martin H. Franzmann, "Essays in Hermeneutics," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 19, no. 8–10 (1948): 595; Ludwig E. Fürbringer, *Theological Hermeneutics: An Outline for the Classroom* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1924), 25.

[89] J. C. W. Lindemann, *Deutsche Grammatik für Seminare, höhere Bürgerschulen und Oberklassen gehobener Gemeindeschulen* (St. Louis: August Wiebusch und Sohn, 1868), iv.

[90] See, for example, Immanuel J. G. Scheller, *Deutsch-lateinisches Lexicon oder Woerterbuch zur Übung in der lateinischen Sprache in zwey Baenden* (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1805), 1:621.

[91] J. C. W. Lindemann, *Amerikanisch-Lutherische Schul-Praxis*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1888), 22.

[92] Lindemann, *Deutsche Grammatik*, 1.

expressed by Lindemann and Walther (Section 2.4.1), we have to understand the presuppositions of seventeenth-century grammar.

Talk of sense and signification engages more than just basic grammar. It also connects with the philosophy of language.[93] For the Missouri Synod, this binding means that an unstated philosophical sub-current was created when synodical materials moved from seventeenth-century sources to nineteenth-century sources. Significant changes occurred between Port-Royal and Schlegel.[94] Circa 1893 August Crull produced a grammar that used sources including Koch (probably Christian Friedrich), Heyse (father and son), Willmanns, Bauer-Duden, Buchmann, and Lyon. This grammar was decidedly pro-German by Crull's own statement.[95] Not only did Crull change the approach to grammar, he also put everything in German for those that already knew German. We also know that Crull preferred High German and would suppress with stinging ridicule any Low German in his classes.[96] That could be something of a Reibungspunkt in Old Missouri. Franz Pieper, for example, spoke with a strong Low German influence; Stöckhardt spoke a broad Saxon dialect; and Ludwig Fürbringer was used to the distinctiveness of Upper Franconian and the Bairic dialect. This could raise "regional tension" when disputes

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[93] Compare William G. Lycan, "Philosophy of Language," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Robert Audi, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge UP, 1999); Kirsten Malmkjær, "Philosophy of Language," in *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær (New York: Routledge, 1991); Kirsten Malmkjær, "Traditional Grammar," in *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær (New York: Routledge, 1991).

[94] See Jacques Bourquin, "Port-Royal Grammar," in *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær (New York: Routledge, 1991) and Kirsten Malmkjær, "Historical Linguistics," in *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær (New York: Routledge, 1991).

[95] August Crull, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Sprache für höhere Schulen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1905), v.

[96] Dallmann, *My Life*, 14.

arose.[97] High German, therefore, was a common ground of communication and identity that Crull quite forcefully imparted to his students.

We should also note that Crull supported the inclusion of English hymns for the English synodical hymnal, not just German hymns translated into English, asWalther originally wanted.[98] Crull's support of English for the English and German for the German may resonate with the broader context of *Plessy v. Ferguson* and "separate but equal" may have been broader than race issues. Such issues were problematic for a broad range of American Lutherans.[99]

In contrast to Crull, Lindemann had German, Latin, and English equivalents scattered throughout his grammar. It would seem that the German era of the LCMS started out being multiculturally sensitive, then Germanophile, then multicultural by necessity, as Otto Hattstädt's *Deutsche Grammatik* makes plain. By 1925 a more bilingual approach had become a necessity and Crull was superseded.[100] We do not see the LCMS pick up the excellent works of A. C. D. Vilmar in Germanic studies, like his *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, even though Vilmar remains recognized as a pedagogue *par excellence*. Hattstädt does write a *Handbuch der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, a most useful book with texts from Old High German to the modern period. Crull produces a brief text on figures of speech based on nineteenth-century sources.[101] Changes in grammatical approaches occurred in the German period with only tangential discussions regarding the relation of grammar to language and philosophy.

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[97] Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 152–153.

[98] Dallmann, *My Life*, 51.

[99] See Jeff G. Johnson, *Black Christians: The Untold Lutheran Story* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991).

[100] Otto Hattstädt, *Deutsche Grammatik für amerikanische höhere Schulen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1925), iii–iv.

[101] August Crull, *Die Figuren und Tropen: Nach den Lehrbüchern von Koch, Hoffmann, Groß und anderen zusammengestellt* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1891).

Thesis 5 is derived from SA III, §8. With Thesis 6, wherein the sense of the Holy Spirit

guides and chooses the self-interpretation of Scripture, we come not only to citations from

Luther and the Book of Concord but also Brenz, Lutheran orthodox authors like Kromayer and

Gerhard, and pietists like Rambach.[102] Significant differences can occur among these authors.

Those differences with respect to the Scripture principle seem to have been lost by the German-

era LCMS. That helps explain why both George H. Gerberding and J. Gresham Machen could

find allies in the Missouri Synod in the twentieth century.[103]

The fact that this loss or confusion was unintentional, however, remains important. These

1867 theses mean to say the right thing according to the inheritance from Lutheran orthodoxy.

They should be so interpreted, with an understanding that repristinarian movements usually

integrate negatively the thought of their adversaries. Moreover, the courtesy one ought afford

God also reflects the courtesy that one affords Scripture and those desiring to speak from

Scripture. We will all die. With the three year old Ferdinand Walther we ought to be ready to put

our hope in the Living One and extend to him total deference:

> *Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit,*
> *Das ist mein Schmuck und Ehrenkleid,*
> *Damit will ich vor Gott bestehn*
> *Wenn ich zum Himmel werd eingehn.*[104]

We will read about justification and salvation respective to biblical hermeneutics in Section

3.3.1. If the formulation in 1867 means to give a proper rule, we should find out how that might

work best in the light of critical thinking, not undermine it.

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[102] 1867 Nördlich, 10–11.

[103] George H. Gerberding, *Problems and Possibilities* (Columbia, South Carolina: Lutheran Board of Publication, 1914), 163; and Kretzmann, *The Foundations Must Stand.*

[104] Martin Günther, *Dr. C. F. W. Walther: Lebensbild* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1890), 4.

A possible way of approach comes with Thesis 7 regarding the ministerial nature of proper interpreters. Here there is a discussion of the Pope as Antichrist. There is, however, a history within the Roman Church that predates Luther regarding the bringing together of the "man of lawlessness" passage (2 Thess. 2:1–12) and those of Antichrist (1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 1:7).[105] Such a history bears similarity to issues like the "two swords" doctrine developed under Pope Gelasius I because the monophysite Emperor Zeno was allowing Arian Goths (Theodoric and Odoacer) to ransack Italy in order to eliminate Western rivals.[106] One way to look at the issue is to see an encroaching papacy, which does have its exponents in Leo I and Gregory I as well as Gelasius. Equally valid is the view that strong popes tended to exist when emperors were troublesome, weak, or absent, suggesting a holdover from the post-Constantinian establishment. One looks for motives in great men, while the other looks at events that force men to be great. The "two swords" doctrine changed from a liberating to an oppressive, even warlike force under Innocent III and Julius II. Yet a weak pope could be a dead pope if the Medicis or others willed it. Corruption fueled reformist voices until Luther sparked something unprecedented. Yet the Lutherans then embraced *Territorialismus, cujus regio, ejus religio*. How could that have delayed nation building, promoted political instability, and helped sow the seeds of war?

Structure is needed, yet structure is corruptible. Structure affects *ratio* and thereby *interpretatio*. The structure and authority of the papacy becomes the bone in the throat of any ecumenical discussion where scriptural authority must be considered. On the other hand, the author of these theses makes the statement "The Lutheran Church has confessed that the Pope in

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[105] See Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Columbia UP, 2000).

[106] Immanuel Geiss, Gabriele Intemann, and Michael Sommer, *Geschichte griffbereit*, 6 vols. (Gütersloh: Wissen.de Verlag, 2002), 1:92–93; 4:208; Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 1:187.

Rome is the Antichrist. Whoever does not believe this is no Lutheran."[107] That appears to exculpate the Lutherans, as if scriptural authority were an alternate for papal authority, yet serving the same function. Luther, however, mitigates that with his use of hidden and revealed God, hidden and visible Church. A Lutheran must remain self-critical and critical of the Church when holding to Scripture. The triumphal approach will not work. One can engage Roman Catholics by raising the issue of scriptural authority and acknowledging that all human institutions can err. In reality, the papacy has little worldly motivation to seek anything other than its own authority; it effectively anoints itself as Antichrist.[108]

Thesis 8, that the Church and individual Christians must be certain of Scriptural truth or else, as Luther puts it, become the "devil's whore," depends almost entirely on Luther citations.[109] For however much the LCMS might want to repristinate orthodoxy, the attendant causality is not adduced for certitude. Luther citations are adduced. This provokes the question of whether the pietist or supranaturalist model of mind may have had easier access to Luther's language as the causality of orthodoxy met continued attack.

Luther dominates the next several theses until we come to Thesis 14.[110] With the analogy of faith we get citations from the Formula of Concord, Gerhard, Johann Musäus, August Pfeiffer, and Johann Baier.[111] Many of these citations come from orthodox authors, suggesting this point to be both grammatical and theological. From these citations we learn that the analogy of faith is the means whereby the Lutheran laity still have their claim as the royal priesthood. In *Vom*

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[107] 1867 Nördlich, 12, my translation.

[108] See Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Riddle of Roman Catholicism* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1959).

[109] 1867 Nördlich, 13–17.

[110] 1867 Nördlich, 17–20.

[111] 1867 Nördlich, 20–24.

Mißbrauch der Messe Luther connects the clarity of Scripture with the royal priesthood in order

to combat papal claims of authority.[112] In addition, Luther says, "The Scriptures, which know

nothing of the present-day mass, cannot deceive us, but our own reason and custom can easily

deceive."[113]

Gerhard uses the analogy to argue for the existence of passages that are *sedes doctrinae* so

that laity can still have access to Scripture that may at times be difficult (the citation claims §531

of the *Exegesis* but fact-checking suggests §532). Whereas Luther used the hidden and revealed

God to admit or deny *Folgerungen*, Musäus makes it clear that the analogy of faith has taken up

this work.[114] That is important because it shows what confrontation with the Jesuits

accomplished. Lutheran orthodoxy became a foil for the Catholic Reformation. Lutherans and

Roman Catholics used the same underlying causality because that was everywhere in science,

law, philosophy, and so on, and it allowed for efficient dialog. We should view the analogy of

faith as a then-contemporary attempt to preserve what Luther taught and present it to a world that

had no common framework in which to express Luther's insights.

Theses 15 and 16 contain much of Luther, that one ought follow the *sedes doctrinae*;

Quenstedt merely echoes Luther here. Moreover, we see texts adduced like: *That These Words,*

"This Is My Body &c." *Still Stand Fast*, in addition to *De servo arbitrio*.[115] Here we can observe

two things. First, the clarity of Scripture transitions into the clarity of the *sedes doctrinae*. That is

how "old Missouri" answers any voices from Lutheran orthodoxy that might bring up the

difficulty of Scripture. Second, some kind of awareness concerning Luther's sacramental

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[112] WA 8:414, 485; AE 36:137.

[113] AE 36:148.

[114] Calov, *Historia syncretisma*, 1028 in 1867 Nördlich, 21.

[115] 1867 Nördlich, 24–29.

writings in defending the interpretation of Scripture still exists in these theses. As Kenneth

Wieting has indicated, sacramental use in the LCMS waned until it reached a nadir around 1930,

differing little from other American Protestants.[116] If understanding Scripture is bound to

exegesis relating to the Lord's Supper and that becomes infrequent in the life of the Church, how

might that alter Lutheran exegesis?

For Thesis 18 we have a direct reference to Luther, who cites St. Hilary of Poitiers

regarding the Trinity in *Von den Conciliis und Kirchen*: "Whoever wants to understand a speech

must understand why or from what cause it is said."[117] Gerhard's *Exegesis* and Pfeiffer's

Thesaurus hermeneuticus agree. As we continue through Theses 19–29, Luther, Gerhard,

Pfeiffer, Baier, and C. G. Hofmann remain the main sources, with Luther figuring most

prominently. Walther's reading list from the latter 1850s was codified here. The LCMS meant to

draw its hermeneutics from Lutheran Orthodoxy and present it via a channel that holds modern

and premodern ideas in tension in order to bring about an orthodox renewal.

2.3.4 Daily Study of Scripture

The theses were sent to *Der Lutheraner* for publication.[118] The first thesis lays stress on the

Scripture principle, takes some hard shots at the papists, touches on the canon, berates those that

attack Scripture, deals with the way some have used Luther's position on James to condone later

criticism, and ends by stressing inspiration.[119] Thesis 2 draws on Luther, Quenstedt (*Theologia*

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[116] Kenneth W. Wieting, *The Blessings of Weekly Communion* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006), 144ff.

[117] 1867 Nördlich, 30, my translation.

[118] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der zwanzigsten Jahresversammlung des Nördlichen Districts* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1874) (henceforth cited as 1874 Nördlich), 18.

[119] 1874 Nördlich, 18–25.

didactico-polemica), and Gerhard's *Exegesis*.[120] Subsequent theses draw on Luther, while all use Scripture as their basis.[121] The 1894 *Thesen* volume contains an improved edition that is used in Table A.4 to avoid confusion. These theses serve mostly as admonition and guide.

2.3.5 The Analogy of Faith

Here we deal with the theses from 1876 and 1877 by J. A. Hügli in Tables A.5 and A.6. Hügli served 1872–1875 as district president, his successor and predecessor being Ottomar Fürbringer. Hügli engaged first the doctrine of articles of faith and second that of the analogy of faith. His position stands in contrast with Rome and Zwingli that follow Cicero's *De divinatione* and *De officiis*, using Scripture as an unclear, oracular utterance to be interpreted either by the magisterium or by those having the gifts of wisdom and discretion.[122] Rome achieves a "lower" doctrine of Scripture via the role of the magisterium and its character respective to the means of grace, while Zwingli, in general disagreement with Rome, nevertheless arrives there via his understanding of instrumental causality, potential, and actualization. Both rely on Hellenistic writers for their positions. Calvin's position on knowing God is closer to Luther than to either Rome or Zwingli. Only Luther puts the epistemological discontinuity with us (see Chapter 1).

Hügli's theses do not simply bear on Scripture-as-group-belief but they put Scripture in the highest place to receive and understand revelation. This remained a consistent position in the Missouri Synod for about fifty years: The Bible talks about history, truth, events, and so forth in a clear manner that makes all other lights of knowledge look dark. It and nothing else is the

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[120] 1874 Nördlich, 25–30.

[121] 1874 Nördlich, 30ff.

[122] See also Ulrich Zwingli, "Reproduction from Memory of a Sermon on the Providence of God, Dedicated to His Highness, Philip of Hesse," in *On Providence and Other Essays*, ed. Samuel M. Jackson and William J. Hincke (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 1999), 134–138, 172, 189–207.

foundation. It was the center of daily *Hausgottesdienste*, devotional services in the homes conducted before the house-altar. So important were such services that the Missouri Synod saw their disappearance as a sign that would mark its own fall into heterodoxy.[123]

Today we would hardly expect a visit from the pastor to inspect what kind of books and other materials we use at home, or whether we teach Christian music at home, or whether we hold daily services at home. In the 1870s, however, things were different. The activity of the theological faculties, publishing house, pastors, congregations, schools, and parents was a continuum, perhaps more so because neither phonograph, nor radio, nor many other modern distractions existed. Communication was a communal, interpersonal real presence, not a lonely virtual reality of chat rooms and text messages.

The analogy of faith helped to knit all this together and guide pastors and laity into what they should believe. The Northern District ratified the theses of 1876 and 1877 as they had those of 1867, suggesting that they have substantial binding authority in the LCMS.[124]

Hügli begins in 1876 specifically with a preventative measure against using any differentiation among articles of faith to conclude that Scripture may also be subdivided into divine and human, necessary and unnecessary.[125] Such a move, according to Hügli, results in damnation because God's inability to lie (*lügen*) binds his whole counsel into one truth. The Bible is all or nothing. His main proof texts are 2 Tim. 3:16; Matt. 5:19; Rev. 22:19; and Eph. 2:20, with support from John 10:35; Deut. 4:2; Eph. 2:20; James 2:10; and Matt. 5:18, 19. It is

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[123] 1872 Allg., 44.

[124] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Zweiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Nördlichen Districts* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1876) (henceforth cited as 1876 Nördlich), 15; Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der dreiundzwanzigsten Jahresversammlung des Nördlichen Districts* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1877) (henceforth cited as 1877 Nördlich), 14.

[125] 1876 Nördlich, 15–17.

interesting to read his quite forceful defense of the unity of Scripture from Scripture alone; that pattern finds an echo in the defense of Scripture by J. A. O. Preus, II.[126] In defending something so fundamental as Scripture, only the Word of God serves as self-verifying witness.

Thesis 2 illustrates with various Scripture passages and Lutheran orthodox theologians that the articles of faith are prescribed by God for our salvation and interweave with each other and Scripture to form an organic whole. The stress on the Gospel is clear enough (1 Cor. 15:1–4). The interconnection is handled mostly by citing Rom. 12:7. Yet the specific unpacking occurs in citations of Hollaz (*Examen theologicum acroamaticum*, Prolegomena II.9.14 44); Quenstedt (*Theologia didactico-polemica* P.1 fol. 549); Johann Fecht and Rollius (*Syllog. controvers.* 40, 43).[127] Hollaz gives the definition of an article of faith, while his teacher Quenstedt tells how the articles are connected. The other two seem to offer little more than repetition. One questions why Hügli did not pick a main text like the *Diaskepsis Theologica* of Nicolaus Hunnius and structure supporting texts with reference to it. Hunnius seems to take a very similar approach to Hügli.[128]

Thesis 3 rejects claims that doctrine emerges from "movements" in the Church. Hügli aims it directly at the Iowa Synod.[129] He calls their position a "Protestant papacy," makes a tangential reference to the SA, cites Augustine; Acts 15:10, 11; Acts 26:22; 1 Cor. 1:5–7; Johannes Musäus (*Tractatus de ecclesia* II, 370f.); J. Adam Scherzer (*Systema theologiae*, 8); Luther on John 7:40

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[126] Jacob A. O. Preus, *It Is Written*, Contemporary Theology Series (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971).

[127] 1876 Nördlich, 17–20. The volume by Rollius may have become obscure.

[128] Nicolaus Hunnius, *Diaskepsis Theologica*, trans. Richard J. Dinda and Elmer Hohle (Malone, Texas: Repristination Press, 1999), 7.

[129] 1876 Nördlich, 20.

and from his *Propositiones adversus totam synagogam Satanae et universas portas inferorum*, translated in W1 19:1190–94; and Baier (*Compendium* III cap. 13 §31.i.).[130]

The Baier citation remains especially interesting because it concerns how the church agrees on a point of doctrine, a part of *De ecclesia* dealing with the *ecclesia synthetica et repraesentiva*. We see considerable movement away from Luther in, for example, *Vom Mißbrauch der Messe*, where he collocated the royal priesthood and Scripture in a causal matrix with Scripture as *causa formalis* and the priesthood as *causa materialis* because all other causality is deficient.[131] Later Lutherans take a different route via consensus under *De ecclesia*, showing similarities with Anglican thought (see Chapter 1). A likely reason for this move is the demand for corroboration in post-Cartesian philosophy. Baier was born three years before Descartes died. Another reason is that effective criticism was being leveled against Rome by Anglican divines like John Cosin based on Trent's departure from what the Church had long taught.

Other frameworks displaced the formative material in Luther's approach. Here is a thesis that does touch *de effectu* on the Church, yet its more rightful place is with the prolegomena and what one allows for causality and contingency. Late Lutheran orthodoxy represents a time of transition; for example, David Hollaz's son and grandson, David II and III, went in a pietistic direction in the manner of Herrnhut.[132] Given the role of *fromme Glaubensgesellschaften* in Schleiermacher and the role of Church-as-community in modern sources, what we see with Baier and those like him is an epistemological shift that intends to defend against changing causality, yet itself becomes entangled in pietistic models.[133]

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[130] 1876 Nördlich, 20–23.

[131] WA 8:414, 485; AE 36:137.

[132] *RGG*³ 3:433–34.

[133] Compare Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher, *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums zum Behuf* (continued next page)

With Thesis 4 we finally get to Nicolaus Hunnius and the *Diaskepsis*.[134] This point finds

support in 1 Cor. 3:10–15; Hunnius §13; and an oblique reference to the Apology. Hunnius

further developed an approach already emerging from the time of his father, assuredly out of

pastoral concern. Yet for the definition of the fundamentals (Thesis 5) we go to Quenstedt's

Theologia didactico-polemica P.1 cap.5 s.1 fol. 350. In some ways this approach is reminiscent

of Schmid's *Dogmatik* where he arranges the sources without respect to historical developments

and possible changes in meaning.[135] Doctrine itself is not the result of various *Bewegungen*, yet

such movements have at least elicited a response from those intending to state and apply true

doctrine, and that has generated changes in context. When such changes go unobserved or when

information and context are lost, one's terms become ill-defined.

Here we should also note that God has miraculously preserved his Church in spite of

possible human failures. Hügli intended to speak as Scripture speaks. The pastors and laity that

heard and ratified these theses intended the same. They were unified in their hermeneutical

approach and clear on rejecting various pitfalls that could impede the Gospel, whose truth

includes and pervades all Scripture.

When Thesis 6 deals with differentiation among the fundamental articles, it emphasizes

their substance and unity, citing Scripture, Quenstedt, the Athanasian Creed, and the Apology.[136]

A similar approach shows in Thesis 7, citing Aegidius Hunnius from the 1601 Regensburg

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einleitender Vorlesungen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993), 1, 9, 13.

[134] 1876 Nördlich, 24.

[135] Heinrich Schmid, *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 7th ed. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1893).

[136] 1876 Nördlich, 26–30.

Colloquium and Baier in addition to Scripture, Luther, Hülsemann, and the FC.[137] Regarding

non-fundamentals in Thesis 8, Hügli cites Quenstedt, Hülsemann, and Aegidius Hunnius.[138]

Here we might compare Theodore Graebner's work on non-fundamentals. His conclusion

that affects the fellowship issues circa 1938 is: "That orthodoxy is concerned only with the

fundamental articles."[139] Graebner's approach is to define non-fundamentals as all those areas

where freedom may be granted, then locate the fundamentals as a smaller subset. He retrojects

this onto Luther.[140] He does not seem to realize that the Northern District had rejected at least one

case of such argumentation concerning Luther on James.[141] Graebner fails to respond to a number

of issues beyond his *Freiheitsprinzip*. He takes a historical approach that differs from Hügli's

more dogmatic and exegetical approach. Graebner cites many of the same authors that Hügli

does, yet comes to far different conclusions. Graebner does not cite Hügli at all, even though he

cites Walther on the same context regarding the Iowa Synod.[142] So we see how the move from a

dogmatic to a historical approach in the LCMS fellowship debates from 1935 onward could have

exegetical repercussions. Werner Elert is clear that a purely historicist approach has a strongly

negative effect on the possibility of enduring truth.[143] Graebner's use of Friedrich Max Müller's

philology and his historical approach helped make historical-critical methods more plausible in

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[137] 1876 Nördlich, 30–36.

[138] 1876 Nördlich, 37–39.

[139] Theodore Graebner, *The Historic Lutheran Position in Non-Fundamentals* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), 26.

[140] Graebner, *The Historic Lutheran Position in Non-Fundamentals*, 4.

[141] 1874 Nördlich, 24.

[142] Graebner, *The Historic Lutheran Position in Non-Fundamentals*, 23–24.

[143] See Werner Elert, *Die Kirche und ihre Dogmengeschichte* (Munich: Evangelischer Pressenverband für Bayern in München, 1950).

the LCMS.[144] At the same time, Graebner also championed the positions of the LCMS fathers. His work remains always a study in contrast.

Without Luther's causality on the one hand or the *analogia fidei* on the other to suggest the limits where human reasoning "ought to stop," the only other alternative is the post-Kantian aesthetic principle where each generation makes the confessions, the analogy of faith, and Scripture very much its own.[145] Does religion amount to more than a metaphysical investigation into the human condition? If Hügli is right, for which Sasse offers good reasons, then the general modern approach leads to a religion unknown to the apostles.[146]

Hügli's first thesis on the analogy of faith in 1877 (see Table A.6) begins by asserting a divine imprimatur for the use of "analogy" in Rom. 12:6b: εἴτε προφητείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως. Of course, this is a *hapax legomenon* describing something like *ratio* or *similitudo* or *harmonia*. What one does with the word is another matter. Hügli goes right to Aristotle and Cicero.[147] To what degree may one make such an appeal? Here we see the etymological, grammatical approach of "old Missouri" leave its mark on the argumentation.

Gerhard Kittel's assertion that this cannot point to the *fides quae creditur* due to the close parallelism in vv.3–6 actually has the same root issues that Hügli's does.[148] Kittel assumes the metric to be a proportion of *individuum* to *fides*, the determinant lying in the degree to which an

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[144] Theodore Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1925), 39, 79.

[145] Compare the differing statements in Frederick E. Mayer, *The Religious Bodies of America*, 1st ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954), 3; and Frederick E. Mayer and Arthur C. Piepkorn, *The Religious Bodies of America*, 4th ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), 3.

[146] Sasse speaks of the "Trost des Glaubensartikels" in BLP 3: Hermann Sasse, "Zum Problem des Verhältnisses zwischen lutherischer und reformierter Kirche," Mimeograph copy, Jan. 1949.

[147] 1877 Nördlich, 15.

[148] Gerhad Kittel, "ἀναλογία," TDNT 1:347–348.

actor may operate. That is very much what Rom. 12:3 would appear to say to a modern. The problem is that Paul's model of an individual intelligence is not modern and neither are the mysteries and the hierarchical orders that he describes in, for example, Eph. 2–6. That material may have been "spelled out" for the churches that Paul never principally visited.[149] Paul's contact with Rome existed via Aquila and Priscilla since the Claudian expulsion of the Jews in AD 51, as Suetonius (*Claud.* 25.4) with Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44) and Luke (Acts 18:2) corroborate. His theme of reception and passing, his apostolic references, the way of love, references to a moral sort of behavior, an appropriate sort of worship, various proto-creeds and other material in undisputed Pauline sources suggests the deliberate consciousness of a body of knowledge "out there" that was something from which even an apostle dare not turn (Gal. 1:6–10). Paul remains conscious of degrees not by creating levels of truth but by correlating hierarchy, roles, freedom of action and so forth in a loving way that gives all people at all levels some role, yet from the greater that receive more, more shall be required.

Even when one reads the Roman or Hellenistic histories, one sees a different attitude than that of today regarding the cosmic powers, great people, the plebs, other strata in society, and slaves.[150] The notion of a social contract, of a granting of immediate natural rights through the franchise to a medial, governmental agent, was unknown. Kittel's assumptions of personhood, praxis of faith, and related ideas remain similar to Frederick Danker's definition of μαρτυρία as, "confirmation or attestation on the basis of personal knowledge or belief" in opposition to over a century of lexicography that focuses on external factuality or ontology apart from the

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[149] Martin H. Franzmann, *The Word of the Lord Grows* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), 130.

[150] See John G. Nordling, *Philemon*, Concordia Commentary (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2004).

epistemological debate.[151] Possible manipulation of context involving ancient terms must be examined for modern retrojections.

If Hügli's etymological approach is problematic, so is the presupposition of autonomy that is held by many moderns. Since Jesus taught a *corpus doctrinae* from the Torah, Prophets, and Writings regarding himself (Matt. 28:18–20; Luke 24:25–27, 44–49), we ought not quickly jump to extrabiblical sources either in the ancient or in the modern way. Hügli moves from Aristotle and Cicero to a reference from J. J. Rambach, likely his *Institutiones Hermeneuticae*, but translated without reference by Hügli. Given the different role assigned to truth (*praxis*) in Rambach than in his predecessors, Hügli also helps repristinate to a time of transition-theology and shows the mixed pietistic-confessional heritage of "old Missouri."[152]

Regarding the specific definition of "analogy of faith," Hügli reads Rom. 12:6 and other texts in light of a series of commentators and documents. He uses Calov's *Biblia Illustrata* and Jakob Weller on Romans.[153] He cites the German of Ap XXVII §60: "People with learning and understanding know quite well that one ought interpret and introduce all examples **according to the rules**, that is, according to clear Scripture, and not against either the rules or Scripture."[154] Hügli finds similar agreement among such various sources as Chemnitz's *Loci Theologici*,

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[151] Compare the headwords μαρτυρία, μάρτυς, and μάρτυρος in BAGD 493; BDAG 618; H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H. Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie, 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1082; Georg Autenrieth, *A Homeric Dictionary*, trans. Robert B. Keep (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1887), 201; E. E. Seiler, *Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden*, ed. C. Cappelle, 8th ed. (Leipzig: Hahn'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1878), 404; Edward Robinson, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850), 444; S. Ch. Schirlitz and Th. Eger, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testamente*, 5th ed. (Gießen: Verlag von Emil Roth, 1893), 257; Adolf Kaegi, G. E. Benseler, and K. Schenkl, *Benselers Griechisch-deutsches Schulwörterbuch*, 13th ed. (Berlin: Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1911), 574.

[152] 1877 Nördlich, 15–17.

[153] 1877 Nördlich, 17–18.

[154] 1877 Nördlich, 18, my translation; cf. *BSLK* 394..

Spener's Romans commentary, and Luther.[155] It remains interesting to see such a unified position on these clear passages among otherwise differing Lutherans.

The third thesis directs one to find prescriptive words of the Holy Spirit. It engages passages containing sacramental theology, specifically references to the Lord's Supper. One important example is Zwingli's "iron wall," John 6:63.[156] Here again we see the importance of sacramentality to proper exegesis. Most of this thesis consists of support in biblical texts where Jesus demonstrates a true versus a false interpretation. The orthodox authors cited are Gerhard's *Exegesis* §212 and Quenstedt's *Theologia didactico-polemica.*

In support of Thesis IV, that the Small Catechism summarizes the entire analogy of faith, Hügli cites Luther's *Hauspostille*, First Sunday after Trinity; Melanchthon (*Opp. Tom.* VI, fol. 401); Glassius (*Philologia sacra* 2:498); Conrad Dietrich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*; FC SD *Summarischer Begriff* §6; Andreä (tangential); Luther's introduction to the SC; and Polycarp Leyser (tangential).[157] That Luther considered the SC to be a *Laienbiblia*, a "lay Bible," should lend weight to the fact that God speaks quite clearly and unambiguously about matters of salvation. Knowing and believing the Bible through the SC is knowing the way to heaven.

For Thesis V, that all interpretation ought to conform to the analogy of faith, the first author cited is Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticae sacrae* (I, 324). Hügli deals with the impact of different cosmologies here, noting some Copernican objections raised against Scripture. His method here is to look at specific Bible verses and point out the errors of Baptists, Methodists, Rationalists, and so on. He makes a few citations of Luther, then Budde's

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[155] 1877 Nördlich, 18–22.

[156] 1877 Nördlich, 23–24.

[157] *BSLK* 836; 1877 Nördlich, 29–38.

introduction to Glassius' *Philologia Sacra*.[158] Much is made of specific errors, while little commentary is given to general presuppositions and method. Such presuppositions appear to have become obscure during the century since the death of orthodox churchman Valentin Ernst Löscher (1673–1749). The orthodox authors have become more a sacred memory than examples of a readily applicable epistemological framework. Conforming to an analogy requires more than casuistry; this, along with the paucity of philosophical sources at Concordia College previously mentioned, helps indicate a possible "blind spot" in the theology of "old Missouri."

Thesis VI, that all interpretations contrary to the analogy of faith are false, is dispatched quickly with a reference to Pfeiffer (*Antichiliasmus*, 138f.). Theses VII and VIII exist, however, in order to make Thesis VI something more than mechanical. In some ways, here is where Luther's causality, two kingdoms doctrine, and two kinds of righteousness get retained. Thesis VII asserts that conformity with the analogy of faith does not produce the direct conclusion of correct exegesis. Here Luther is the main source. Here humans are allowed to make honest mistakes. Here the Church fathers are commended for their work, yet their interpretations are ruled as non-normative. The Luther citations are from the second lecture series on the Psalms and *Ein Widerruf vom Fegefeuer* (W[1] 4:267f.; 18:1067).[159] We see again Gerhard's *Exegesis* (§531) and Budde's introduction to Glassius' *Philologia Sacra*. Thesis VIII stands on Glassius (*Philologia Sacra* 499).[160]

It all boils down to this: "A preacher must not only interpret, but he also must prove that his interpretation is the proper one."[161] There cannot merely be a "burden of proof" as in a legal

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[158] 1877 Nördlich, 38–47.

[159] 1877 Nördlich, 49.

[160] 1877 Nördlich, 48–53.

[161] *Ein Prediger muß nicht blos recht auslegen, sondern auch nachweisen können, daß seine Auslegung die*
(continued next page)

process because that shifts back and forth from the beginning of a trial to its end. There must

rather be a controlling legal authority. That *judex* remains the Holy Spirit through Scripture.

2.4   Significant Books and Articles

We cannot cover all possible articles on hermeneutics at this point. There exist articles in

LuW and elsewhere, such as those given in Tables C.1, C.2, and C.3. What has been presented

and what will be presented subsequently concerns core issues on hermeneutics or deviations

from the same that establish a general approach in the Missouri Synod.

2.4.1   Walther's Use of Pfeiffer

One of the earliest examples of hermeneutical rules in the LCMS comes from Walther's

use of August Pfeiffer's *Thesaurus hermeneuticus*.[162] Comparing these with the adopted doctrinal

resolutions discussed above (see Tables A.3, A.5, and A.6), we see a substantial agreement. One

can easily consider Pfeiffer's *Thesaurus hermeneuticus* with Glassius' *Philologia Sacra* as the

hermeneutical basis for "old Missouri." My translation of the canons of interpretation that

Walther recounts follows:

1. "The literal or grammatical sense (*sensus literalis*) is not always and in all passages the sense of the letters (*sensus literae*)." (See Gen. 49:14; Luke 13:32; Isa. 11:6–8; Matt. 5:29, 30.)[163]

2. "One may not depart from the literal sense, especially with respect to the *substantialia*, where an article of faith has its proper sedes."[164]

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rechte sei. 1877 Nördlich, 51.

[162] Walther, "Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek," 138–140.

[163] German uses *vergleichen* for *see* as much as *compare*. English uses Latin *vide, confer,* and *videlicet*.

[164] The *substantialia* are those words pertaining to the (philosophically defined) essence or nature, usually nouns and adjectives.

3. "One should depart from the literal sense where an unquestioned, clear parallelism supports the figural interpretation."[165] (Compare Luke 11:20 with Matt. 12:28.)

4. "One should depart from the literal sense where the analogy of faith supports the figural sense." (Compare 2 Sam. 24:1 with Ps. 5:5.)

5. "One should depart from the literal sense where the nature of the matter makes the figural explanation necessary." (See 1 Cor. 3:13.)

6. "Every passage of Holy Scripture permits the literal sense, [that is,] the sense from the Holy Spirit primarily intended by the words is always the literal sense, although the words may be taken in their intrinsic [literal] sense or their extrinsic [figural] sense."

7. "Every passage has but one literal sense." (The phrase "Take and eat" does not mean oral eating with regard to the bread, yet believing with regard to the Body of Christ!)

8. "Only the literal sense is capable of supporting a proof."

9. "The mystical sense of Holy Scripture is either the literal sense (primarily and intrinsically intended from the words themselves by the Holy Spirit) or none at all."

12. "The allegorical sense is not capable of supporting a proof, unless it is apparent that the Holy Spirit himself has revealed that." (According to 2 Pet. 1:20; compare Deut. 25:4 with 1 Cor. 9:9. To this belongs the papal interpretation of Gen. 1:16, according to which the sun is supposed to mean the papal regiment and the moon the wordily regiment!)

19. "The embellishments of a parable are indeed to be differentiated from that which belongs to the essential content of the same."

22. "In the interpretation of Holy Scripture it is not sufficient to show what the sense of a passage might be, but what the sense undoubtedly is."

23. "In the explanation of every Scripture passage one must refer back to the original text."

28. "The chief meaning of a word does not depend on the witness of a lexicographer or a Church Father, but from its own use in Scripture."

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[165] The original term for figural was *tropisch*, derived from *tropus*.

42. "All interpretation of Scripture must stand in harmony with grammar."

58. "In the prophets, the form for indicating the past tense is often substituted for the form indicating the future tense in order to show how certain the matter is." (Isa. 53:4, 6)

66. "Affirmative propositions (*Sätze*) should sometimes only indicate the negation of the opposite." (Luke 14:26)

125. "The curses of the holy are not wishes for some fate that ought to be imitated; they are rather proleptic prophetic utterances."

130. "The highest and ultimate goal of all Holy Scripture is Christ, whom the interpreter must always have in sight."

156. "Predicates are to be explained according to the qualities of their subjects, and vice versa."

It may be easier to see here what is happening than perhaps in some of the doctrinal resolutions. One sees *literal sense* taken in several ways. It forms the basis for all senses, yet one may "depart" from it and so on. The *sensus literalis* is being used to describe something at several levels in the hierarchy of a complex model in the way that people did before Descartes, a way that still retains some components in modern examples of classification.[166] We shall see more of this in Section 2.4.3. Texts from Lutheran orthodoxy are detailed and connected with art, medicine, law, politics, hermetic literature, and much in the seventeenth century. They reflect complex problem domains and generate complex models. They should not be cast off as outmoded and simple. One could argue that post-Kantian models used in religious studies are better candidates for that label. God wants to talk about everlasting life with him while Kant and others forbid any real knowledge about the metaphysical beyond metaphor.[167]

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[166] Grady Booch, *Object Oriented Design with Applications* (New York: Benjamin / Cummings Publishing Company, 1991), 10–11, 16, 134ff.

[167] A theological example at hand is the reinterpretation of eschatology in Jürgen Moltmann, *Theologie der Hoffnung* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1965).

Compare, for example, the "church as gathering of thinking people with a thinking God" models among American Lutherans of the middle twentieth century.[168] God amidst his community does not describe an individual among individuals, for the community itself is an interplay of hierarchies, systems, and other arrangements. One cannot boil Christianity down to "they shall know we are Christians by our love." One cannot merely extrapolate on the things that one can predicate of the individual. As reflective of complex arrangements, texts from the era of Lutheran orthodoxy may have greater merit in their capacity to map to a problem domain than some modern paradigms, even in the case of biblical hermeneutics.

2.4.2 Walther's *Pastorale*

Ferdinand Walther echoes Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* in his discussion of the baptismal formula in Matthew 28. The letters themselves as phonemes or syllables are not inspired in the manner of a magical formula, so that we must always baptize in Greek or Aramaic, but rather the words are inspired in their relationship as signs to things. One therefore may say βαπτίζειν or *taufen* and still mean *to baptize* by applying water and the name of the Triune God with the will to administer Christian baptism according to Christ's mandate.[169]

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[168] Consult Karl H. Hertz, *Everyman a Priest* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960); Herbert T. Neve, "The Theology of the Next Step," in *The Maturing of American Lutheranism*, ed. Herbert T. Neve and Benjamin A. Johnson (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1968); Abdel Ross Wentz, "The Long-Range Logic of Reformation Thought," in *The Maturing of American Lutheranism*, ed. Herbert T. Neve and Benjamin A. Johnson (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1968); Department of Religion, Luther College, *Theological Perspectives: A Discussion of Contemporary Issues in Lutheran Theology* (Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, n.d.).

[169] *Es ist daher zu bemerken, daß in der Taufe diese gebräuchlichen Worte: „Ich taufe dich im Namen des Vaters, und des Sohnes, und des Heiligen Geistes", allerdings beizubehalten seien, und daß niemandem zugelassen sei, daß er diese Worte nach seiner Willkür und muthwillig ändere und in der Taufe sich nach seinem Gutdünken anderer Worte bediene. Denn es liegen sehr wichtige Ursachen vor, deren Aufzählung hier überflüssig ist, warum der Gebrauch dieser Worte sorgfältig beizubehalten sei. Und doch muß man diesen Gebrauch auch recht verstehen. Denn Christus hat den Grund seiner Taufe nicht auf gewisse bestimmte Buchstaben, Sylben oder Redeweisen gestellt, noch uns an gewisse Worte gebunden. Denn er hat nicht eine magische Handlung eingesetzt, die an eine bestimmte Form der Worte und Geberden (ritus) gebunden ist; sondern er hat himmlische Sacramente eingesetzt, welche auf seinem Sinn und Willen, der uns durch diese oder jene Wort bezeichnet ist, stehen. Denn als Christus den Befehl gab, alle Heiden zu taufen, redete er mit seinen Jüngern hebräisch oder syrisch. Wie nun? Wäre die Taufe an*

According to Walther, an attack on the baptismal words or an attempt to obscure them would violate the Pentecost principle of spreading divine words in the tongues of every nation. A defense of verbal inspiration takes also defends Christian mission and a certain thought-ordering that corresponds to a known configuration of words across many languages.

Walther's position brings in some ambiguities because Walther did not engage the philosophical details of philology in his day.[170] It remains unclear whether Walther draws on Aristotelian and Platonic concepts of grammar or whether he employs ideas from the Port-Royal grammar; this passage does not resolve such issues.[171] Linguistic studies in the latter nineteenth century would make Walther's position more problematic by providing a context that would require further disambiguation.[172] The idea of grammar being an historically conditioned development of a basic linguistic faculty in all people could fit in markedly different models. We see perhaps that one must look at additional factors beyond seventeenth-century hermeneutics in order to resolve a number of issues.

2.4.3 Walther's "*Theologische Axiome*"

From 1861 through 1864, Ferdinand Walther produced an elementary dogmatics of sorts in *LuW* called "*Theologische Axiome.*" It consisted of collected citations from Luther and Lutheran

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gewisse Buchstaben und Sylben gebunden, so wäre es offenbar nur erlaubt, in hebräischer oder syrischer Sprache zu taufen. Doch damit hat es gute Wege. Wie Christus sein Evangelium am Pfingsttage in allen Sprachen der Völker bekannt gemacht hat, so will er auch, daß seine Sacramente in denjenigen Sprache ertheilt werden, welche von den Zuhörern und von denen, die die Sacramente empfangen, verstanden werden können und in welchen der Sinn des Evangeliums recht erkannt wird. C. F. W. Walther, *Amerikanisch-lutherische Pastoraltheologie*, 5th ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906), 111–112.

[170] Oxford professor J. R. R. Tolkien called much of early comparative philology "bogus." See J. R. R. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," in *Poems and Stories* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 130–131.

[171] See also Bourquin, "Port-Royal Grammar."

[172] Consider F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1866); F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1867); F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887).

orthodoxy, primarily Johann Gerhard. The 1860s would see more of these projects, such as the use of the Church Fathers in Lutheran orthodox authors. The Missouri Synod produced series after series of articles in order to get its pastors to know basic content from Lutheran orthodoxy.

Walther begins with a total of eighty-five theses on theology in general, Scripture, and the interpretation of Scripture. He then continues with the other loci, culling hundreds of short axiomata from various authors. The content of the first three headings is found in Appendix B. We have already seen many of them either in doctrinal resolutions or in other sources.

$$
sensus\ literalis \begin{cases} sensus\ literalis \begin{cases} sensus\ tropicus\ e\ parallelismo\ clarior \\ sensus\ tropicus\ ex\ analogia\ fidei \\ sensus\ tropicus\ ex\ evidentia\ rei \end{cases} \\ sensus\ literae \end{cases}
$$

Figure 2.4. Literal sense in Gerhard's *Loci*.

$$
sensus\ mysticus \begin{cases} sensus\ literalis \begin{cases} sensus\ allegoricus \\ sensus\ typicus \\ sensus\ parabolicus \end{cases} \\ (invalid\ sense) \end{cases}
$$

Figure 2.5. Mystical sense in Gerhard's *Loci*.

The statements culled by Walther from Gerhard actually constitute a "grammar" of sorts. Indeed, grammar is the underlying prerequisite.[173] One sees similar diagrams in Chemnitz, Flacius, and elsewhere. For example, when we look at the literal sense, the general categories to

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[173] All of the axiomata covered in this thesis come from *LuW* 7. C. F. W. Walther, "Theologische Axiome," *Lehre und Wehre* 7–10 (1861–1864): 10.

which it resolves, and the allowances made for "departure" we get a tree structure that looks something like Figure 2.4. Such a diagram bears a degree of similarity to specifications for programming languages. The expression *sensus literalis* can resolve to the sense of the letters or certain valid figural senses that eventually resolve to the literal sense. Such a grammar can be quite powerful and flexible, yet one must ensure that the ambiguities are resolved at some point. Another instance of figuration is the mystical sense (sensus mysticus) whose three components resolve either to the literal sense or to a failed interpretation as we see in Figure 2.5.

The concept of the mystical sense, seen in Lutheran authors from Flacius to Rambach, comes to the LCMS via Walther from the following from Appendix B:

> 21   Gerhard: Sensus mysticus, id est, allegoricus, typicus vel
>   parabolicus, vel literalis est, vel nullus.
>   Walther: Der (angebliche) mystische Sinn (das ist, der allegorische,
>   typische, oder parabolische) ist entweder der buchstäblische oder ist
>   gar kein Sinn der Schriftworte.
>   The mystical sense, that is, allegorical, typological, and parabolic,
>   either is the literal sense or none at all.

> 22   Gerhard: Sensus allegoricus, typicus et parabolicus non est
>   argumentativus, nisi innatus sive abipso Spirutu S. revelatus.
>   Walther: Der allegorische, typische und parabolische Sinn ist nicht
>   beweiskräftig, es sei denn,daß der heilige Geist selbst ihn offenbart
>   hat.
>   The allegorical, typological, and parabolic senses cannot support
>   proof unless it is natural or specifically revealed by the Holy Spirit
>   himself.[174]

Here is an instance where Walther's translation of Gerhard is something more than a direct translation or amplified version. Walther's use of the qualifier *angeblich*, meaning "so-called" shows that he wants to qualify and delimit Gerhard's understanding of the *sensus mysticus*.

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[174] Walther, "Theologische Axiome," 10.

Collectively, the Lutheran Church has always been more ready to admit senses that engage the contemplative life of the Church than, for example, some among the Reformed. Indeed, one can see parallels in Walther's playing down of the *sensus mysticus* with Calvin's playing down of those times when it pleased God to appear in visual signs.[175] Walther also drops Gerhard's criterion whereby the *sensus mysticus* can belong to the *evidentia rei* of the literal sense.[176] Walther's interpretation gets picked up in Thesis 22 of the 1867 doctrinal proceedings of the Northern District, thereby becoming LCMS *publica doctrina* (see Table A.3).

This is not the only place where Walther alters his interpretation of Gerhard; he also does it when speaking of the ministry. Walther takes Gerhard's question of whether one ought to re-ordain heretics and uses it as grist for his mill regarding ordination as an adiaphoron.[177] Walther maintains that *Ordination mit Handauflegung* means the sum and substance of ordination.[178] That, however, is a nineteenth-century interpretation; Walther takes Gerhard out of context, as Gerhard's content from paragraphs 156 through 159 indicates.[179] Gerhard sees "ordination" as the entire process that Walther calls separately the election, vocation, prayer, and imposition of hands. For Gerhard, the imposition of hands may not be absolutely necessary, since Jesus breathed on his disciples, yet the *process* is no adiaphoron.

It is clear that, as Lutheran orthodoxy reacted dynamically to its world and as Pietism embraced some emerging philosophical changes during its rise, so Walther reacts dynamically to

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[175] Calvin, *The Institutions of the Christian Religion*, 1:119ff.

[176] Walther, "Theologische Axiome," 10.

[177] Compare Gerhard, *Loc. de min. eccles.* XXIV.III.XII *De ordinatione* §.156 Johann Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, ed. Johann Friedrich Cotta, 22 vols. (Tübingen: Georg Cotta, 1762–1787), 12:160– 161 and C. F. W. Walther, *KuA* 305.

[178] *KuA* 289.

[179] Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, 12:160–164.

the American experience and draws even on sources outside Lutheranism if he sees no basic

conflict. At the same time, for example, one must question whether various nineteenth-century

assumptions regarding a body politic could emerge with the election of ruling elders.[180] In that

context Carl C. Schmidt, who also served on the *Präsidium* of the LCMS, reinterpreted the

stewardship of doctrine in the Church (Walther's use of *Inhaberin*) with a Church having an

unqualified ownership (Schmidt's use of *Eigenthümerin*).[181]

The kind of information used to resolve Gerhard's constructs suggests that one operates

with knowledge of both parts and whole; it assumes the unity of Scripture. For example, in

looking at Isa. 7:14, the subject virgin comes into conflict with its predicate shall conceive and

bear a son. Therefore the *sensus literae* will not suffice. One can opt for the clearer parallels:

Matt. 1:22–23; Luke 1:31–32. One can opt for the collection of verses from Gen. 3:15 onward

that inductively assert the analogy of faith. One can also look at the coordinate statement that the

child will be God with us; the verb "to call" would not have a figural dimension because God

concretizes the verse and it becomes a *sedes doctrinae*.[182] By various means one reaches the

sensus literalis. The definition of a *typus* refers to an extant nature that need not be prone to

historical contingency and whose members are defined by the concretizing *antitypus*. Yet this

passage is assuredly no typology because of the particularity of the parallels, the composition of

the *evidentia rei*, and the *analogia fidei*. It is clearly a rectilinear prophecy of Christ.

Modern methods look at the Isaiah text and see an immediate contradiction with the virgin.

Assuming that they respect the text and do not dismiss the whole matter, they use a process that

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[180] Albert B. Collver, "Lay Elders—A Brief Overview of their Origin in the Missouri Synod: Implications for Elders Today," *Concordia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006).

[181] Compare *KuA* 29ff. and Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Dreiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Mittleren Districts* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1880).

tries to determine extant material that is known by Ahaz or the community. Historical contingency assumes that neither Scripture nor the future could be known as it is now. It assumes that the exilic references would force the composition into the future based on the analogy of history. The virgin and her son therefore must be non-literal figures of speech or special terms. Yet that whole approach forgets the primary agency of the LORD!

When one uses scientific causality, one makes a large number of epistemological assumptions and proceeds to find answers based on that confirmation bias. In this environment, *typus* equals *metaphor*, so the old understanding of typology gets replaced with a higher-critical model. One dare not include God, for he would violate the rule of parsimony and be the *Deus ex machina* lurking behind all the inductions. That is why discussions about Luther's causality and the analogy of faith remain important. The scientific method does not prove post-Cartesian causality and post-Laplacian nomic probability; it merely confesses them in secular faith.

Gerhard's model does not mechanically flatten out Scripture. The three alternatives to the *sensus literae*, giving a total of four apparent senses, a "Lutheran *quadriga*" of sorts, all deal with the ways in which one can simplify complex nuances of *figura* and *res* to a clear, well-mapped domain, the *analogia fidei* mapping the *sensus literae*. We compare that with the medieval *quadriga*:

> *Littera gesta docet / quod credas allegorica /*
> *Moralis quid agas / quo tendis anagogica.*[183]

> Of history the letter teaches; regarding faith, allegorical,
> About our path the moral preaches; the path above, anagogical.

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[182] See also Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, 29–36.

[183] The editor used both commas and virgules, a reduplication of punctuation corrected here. Karlfried Froehlich, "Johannes Trimethius on the Fourfold Sense of Scripture: The *Tractatus de Inuestigatione Sacrae Scripturae* (1486)," in *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation*, ed. Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 42.

Luther's discussion of this in the Galatians lectures makes a striking parallel with the multilevel structure of the *sensus literalis*, namely, making complex subjects simple. That itself has a progenitor in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*.[184] Apart from Luther's use of allegorical interpretation throughout his life, we have this definition of *sensus literalis* wherein the mapping of tropes onto a clearer, simpler domain happens in a more predictable manner than via the papal patchwork (*traditio pontificiarum assumentum*). Yet with theses like *sensus literae non est semper literalis* we can be sure that the mapping of all Scripture to a clear domain does not mean the literalistic flattening-out of Scripture.

Comparable to the manner in which the medieval approach tied Scripture to the life of the Church by admitting a multiplex sense for every passage of Scripture, the Lutherans tied the life of the Church to Scripture by mapping a multiplex sense to a literal analogy for every passage of Scripture. The inversion supports *sola scriptura*, yet a careful reading will show that the inversion has not eradicated figural or mystical senses. By Rambach's time, however, we have this idea of a mapping from the natural to the supernatural through the dyad of human intellect and Holy Spirit. By the time we get to F. A. Ahner in 1865, we see a greater need for the writers of Scripture to correspond to the natural world, a need that would continue to find expression in the LCMS. Yet a post-Cartesian grammatical mapping tends to reduce proof to secular epistemology and make God an "exception" at best.

We have seen tension in "old Missouri" between grammars from the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Much of the content in the axiomata reflects a world of thought that stands in philosophical opposition to that of Kant and Schleiermacher. Walther really did intend pastors to get in touch with the older world, when possible. Neither the context, nor the *Gymnasien*, nor

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[184] Froehlich, "Trimethius," 42–43.

the seminaries in the LCMS had significant resources for doing that. The danger is that the terms become either a list of absolutized "rules to follow," or a license to go afield looking for new frameworks without understanding the criteria.

2.5 Summary

The Missouri Synod was mainly a rural, frontier church, yet its pastors had a level of education that could rival some of the best in America. Its people were immigrants, hard working, and not the most affluent, yet it produced more reprints *per capita* from the Lutheran orthodox period than did many Reformed denominations from their periods of orthodoxy. By 1880 Concordia College had in its library over four thousand volumes, many to rival the best universities in the field of seventeenth century theology.

The Missouri Synod had a plan and a mission to revive Lutheran orthodoxy in a new land. A foundational element of that plan was to confess the absolute meaning and preexistence of God and his endurance to all ages. If there is one reality to govern them all, that reality is God and we exist insofar as God has created, redeemed, and sanctified us. We are negotiable; God is not. Based on that and other principles, this rural church would enter its next great epoch, 1880–1912, and print what is likely the largest single German-language work ever produced in the United States, the Saint Louis edition of Luther's Works. Walther and others knew that Pietism was widespread and that merely reproducing the terminology of orthodoxy as if it were "Missouri Synod code language" would accomplish little. The fathers of "old Missouri" found a point around 1700 that included both modern terms and the older language of orthodoxy. They began to build a bridge between the two.

"Old Missouri" needed a near-miraculous level of energy for the storm that would soon break, the *Gnadenwahlstreit*, where its bridge between Pietism and orthodoxy would be put

under great stress. This bridge colored the terms according to which authors were cited. If Rambach, one might come closer to American Lutheranism. If Gerhard, then more distant. This approach brought many terms and shades of meaning together. It did little to distinguish subtle differences and could be prone to selecting one point among several as the sole valid one.

Radical differences existed between the Missouri Synod and those groups that would later form the ULCA. The Ohio Synod adopted English and drifted toward modernism, while the Wisconsin Synod under Bading drifted toward confessional Lutheranism in spite of Missourian criticism. What role did the interplay of unstated presuppositions have in the process of merger and division? In contrast, however well or poorly they did it, the LCMS and Walther set the compass toward orthodoxy via transitional Pietism. They and their colleagues in the Synodical Conference resisted Rationalist thought with unparalleled clarity. Many of their documents have spoken English for the first time in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

FORTRESS: 1880–1912

In this time the LCMS circled the wagons. Its anti-Catholicism, anti-modernism, anti-Methodism and anti-unionism waxed. This was when Ferdinand Walther, not without good reason, accused the St. Louis mass media and labor unions of being a socialist front, politically isolating the LCMS for decades.[1] Frequency of celebrating the Lord's Supper began to decline. Contact with conservative Protestants increased. Four men would take up the hermeneutical mantle for the LCMS: Franz Pieper, Georg Stöckhardt, Ludwig Fürbringer, and Albrecht F. Hoppe. Hoppe edited the Saint Louis edition of Luther's works. The other three served at Concordia College. Due to space limitations we will not consider the breadth of Stöckhardt's commentaries, which are commended to the reader.

3.1   Setting: Intuitu Fidei

The *intuitu fidei* language tries to steer between determinism and freedom without stumbling over theodicy. Walther therefore ties Lutheran orthodox citations related to conversion and election to the absolute and ordinate will and power of God.[2] We must look to the manner in which the predestinarian controversy engages causality and impacts the means of grace.

Terms related to *intuitu fidei* have a longer history than that of Erik Pontoppidan. Yet Sverdrup's reworking of Pontoppidan's *Wahrheit zur Gottesfurcht* frames the issue. We see the basis of the issue arise from Holy Baptism, where the argument employs an implied, if not an

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[1] C. F. W. Walther, *Communismus und Socialismus* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1886), 4.

[2] Johann Baier, *Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, ed. C. F. W. Walther, 3 vols. (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1879), 2:37–45.

express causality behind either remaining in one's baptismal covenant or falling away from it.[3] The Law itself, expressed in terms of the universal Fall, is couched in the qualifier of whether we can "perfectly keep it," as opposed to whether we can keep it at all, thus potentially attenuating the doctrine of total human depravity and suggesting works-righteousness.[4] One adds to this the statements regarding a godly life as proof of knowing that we love God.[5] The epistemological basis is held to be John 14:21, yet one can parry that with, for example, 1 John 4:19. Saying that new obedience arises after conversion is one thing; predicating on its epistemological value is another. That appears to feed into the Gospel as an invitation to Christ, an invitation to believe and accept grace.[6] One therewith stands at the threshold of decision theology.

Behind all this is the pietistic truth-in-praxis that conflicts with Luther's two kinds of righteousness. We see the causality of truth in God translate to truth in our actions. We observe synergism because of modifications to the doctrines of sin, grace, Gospel, and faith. Some of this relates to the Scandinavian tradition's position on the FC, specifically the first three articles. Yet while that tradition did not admit the entire Book of Concord as *Kirchenrecht*, neither did it simply reject it.[7]

The discussion itself does not arise from a quarrel between Germans and Scandinavians. The roots of the terms exist in the Middle Ages, related to epistemology, determinism, and free agency. We encounter the *intuitu fidei* language in the act of the soul's contemplation as taken from Augustine's *Confessiones* and his *De doctrina christiana*. It appears as a pregnant term in

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[3] H. U. Sverdrup, *Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism Based on Dr. Erick Pontoppidan*, trans. E. G. Lund (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1900), 109–111.

[4] Sverdrup, *Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism*, 25.

[5] Sverdrup, *Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism*, 30.

[6] Sverdrup, *Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism*, 74.

medieval encyclopedias, here shown by a translation from the *Libellus apologeticus* by Vincent of Beauvais:

> Often my mind, raising itself a little from the dregs of worldly thoughts and afflictions, and climbing as well as it can to the lookout-posts of reason, surveys at a single go, as if from a high place, the greatness of the whole world, which contains infinite places filled with various types of creatures. It also sees the age of the whole world, from the beginning until now, in a single look, and there it comprehends, as if in a line, all times, containing the changes of things during the sequence of generations. Then by the intuition of faith, it rises somehow to think of the greatness, beauty, and perpetuity of the Creator Himself [*et inde saltem intuitu fidei ad cogitandum utcumque creatoris magnitudinem, pulchritudinem atque perpetuitatem ascendit*].[8]

Already in the Sentences of Peter Lombard we have the idea of faith that dissolves the bonds of sin, freeing us from Satan.[9] This existed in the larger process of developing theories of Christ's atonement for sin.[10] The meaning among Lutherans differs from medieval sources. The terms speak about God's viewing of faith as an effect of the means of grace. That meaning arose during the controversy regarding conversion and predestination between Samuel Huber and Aegidius Hunnius.[11] It gets used by many orthodox Lutherans, including Gerhard (*Loc. de electione*, §161).

The language takes on additional meanings with Pontoppidan and other pietists, where truth in praxis focuses on conduct. This moves into a new phase from the latter nineteenth

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[7] 1872 SynKonf, 13.

[8] Johannes B. Voorbij, "Purpose and Audience: Perspectives on the Thirteenth-Century Encyclopedias of Alexander Neckam, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Thomas of Cantimpré, and Vincent of Beauvais," in *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy*, ed. Steven Harvey, Proceedings of the Bar-Ilan University Conference, (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 35–36.

[9] *Sent.* iii, *dist.* 19, A.: *Si ergo recte fidei intuitu in illum respiemus. . . a vinculus diaboli solvimur id est a peccatis.*

[10] John Henry Blunt, *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties, and Schools of Religious Thought* (London: Rivingtons, 1874), 532.

[11] 11Robert Kolb, *Bound Choice, Election, and Wittenberg Theological Method: From Martin Luther to the Formula of Concord* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 265–266.

century onward. The LCMS had successfully advanced its position in the 1880s as being *Schriftlehre*, scriptural doctrine over against human innovation. The Iowa Synod needed to respond, and it did so in part through Georg J. Fritschel. After making a number of word studies and examining a number of Bible passages, Fritschel gets to the dogmatic treatment.[12] He clearly sees the sacraments as a cooperative act, citing Mark 16:16 on Baptism. He is not speaking of predestination as much as soteriology, and he is clearly a synergist.[13] Walther quipped that the nineteenth-century version of the terms caused Hunnius and others to turn in their graves.[14]

Fritschel's paradigm focuses on the *causa finalis*, of which there are two results: fidelity and infidelity. Sverdrup shares that position regarding Baptism. Fritschel specifically notes the dualistic representatives of this causality: God and the devil. He describes God and the devil taking those separated by the angels on the Last Day and perceives this doctrine as fundamental, defining who may or may not be a Lutheran.[15] Fritschel's major error is interpreting the Bible as opening the Christian to the will of the hidden God.[16] John himself refutes this by defining Scripture as the revelation of the things necessary for salvation, not of everything hidden about God (John 20:30–31). That clearly shows Fritschel's fallacy of composition from *Heilsgewißheit* to the otherwise hidden will of God. Since his exegetical studies are shot through with this fallacy, his entire argument falls apart.

Walther sees that the newer use of *intuitu fidei* points to ethical conduct amidst post-Kantian thought, yet he does not explore systematically the meaning of this. He cites Gerhard,

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[12] Georg J. Fritschel, *Die Schriftlehre von der Gnadenwahl* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1906), 111.

[13] Lutherans outside the LCMS also observed this synergism. See Dallmann, *My Life*, 101–102.

[14] Walther, *Unterscheidung v. Gesetz u. Evangelium*, 260.

[15] Fritschel, *Die Schriftlehre von der Gnadenwahl*, 112.

[16] Fritschel, *Die Schriftlehre von der Gnadenwahl*, 113–114.

Adam Osiander, Heerbrand, Calov and the like to assert faith as a *causa instrumentalis*. Yet he does not explain how such causality ought to work in the post-Kantian context. Both sides fail to engage some very important issues and their arguments degenerate into mutual acrimony.

Perhaps Fritschel would have thought differently, had he known about Luther's reservations concerning final causes (see Chapter 1). That lacuna helped problematize his approach of etymology and linguistic history to ἐκλεκτός and the FC.[17] Had Fritschel studied more of atonement theory from Irenaeus to Augustine, he might not have thought his causality to be without question.[18] Here we see a problem using etymology in exegesis: with it, one can sidestep the fact that terms have a history, possibly creating a grab-bag approach to Scripture.

The specific setting of the Election Controversy brings in two separate points from Lutheran orthodoxy, namely, the operation of God in conversion and the doctrine of election.[19] It is yet another round in the ancient battle between determinism and freedom. Here Luther's causality is helpful because it does a better job at delimiting human knowledge. One cannot predicate on conduct in Luther's model because one is limited to formal and material causes (see Chapter 1). In such a model, one must flee to the means of grace alone where God is revealed as the source for any certainty. There exists a righteousness *coram Deo* and a righteousness *coram mundo*. We do not know, but God does.[20]

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[17] Fritschel, *Die Schriftlehre von der Gnadenwahl*, 41–45.

[18] See, for example, Douglas W. Johnson, *The Great Jesus Debates* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2005).

[19] Baier, *Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, 3:220–230, 531ff., 567.

[20] Placher, *The Domestication of Transcendence: How Modern Thinking about God Went Wrong*, 51.

Does Lutheran orthodoxy call for a return to Aristotelian causality that Luther might not allow? Robert Preus has suggested this possibility.[21] Yet Preus, with good reason, also rejects this as a cause for the rise of Rationalism.[22] In fact, at Calov's time the unity of Scripture arose from the *Spiritus Sancti sententia*, while by the turn of the twentieth century, LCMS theologians were looking ever more to the convincing effect of Scripture, a trend that would continue at least into the 1930s.[23] The analogy of faith is put under considerable pressure because its means of preserving boundaries and mitigating issues of theodicy intersect the causality that describes God's operation in conversion and in the means of grace. Careless language can bring instrumental causality to a point of contradiction by the injection of dualism. That is why Robert Preus's call for the study of original sources in the context of their thought-world is so important.

Instrumental causality describes how the efficient cause generates the work of formal cause on material cause. It is related to the term *motus* and is a means of escaping the Hellenistic dual eternity of matter and Prime Mover.[24] Modern causality either pulls instrumentality into the *causa sine qua non* or it demotes the same to an attendant cause. Thus, sacramentality in the modern sense focuses on effects; Holy Communion becomes interpersonal relations. One can talk about predestination, yet the real topic is the actualization of the Kingdom of God in people. With the ancient four-cause model one does not limit or reduce other possible causes; neither is the intuitive act part of a bias in which epistemology begins with the individual. In medieval and modern settings the terms themselves might appear to be identical, yet they are not. In fact, we

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[21] Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism*, 130.

[22] Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism*, 20–21.

[23] See Section 3.3.12; Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism*, 223–224; Kretzmann, *The Foundations Must Stand*, 3.

[24] P. Diamandopoulos, "Arche," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards, vol. 1 (New York: MacMillan, 1967), 145; Richard A. Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms* (Grand Rapids: Baker *(continued next page)*

know that older, Aristotelian language was retained after the rise of post-Cartesian causality in the realms of aesthetics and literature.[25] That suggests an inherent ambiguity when, in some areas, modern causality meets metaphor. It also suggests the sterility of modern causality.

While the controversy with Huber encouraged the departure from Luther's causality that was emerging among Melanchthon's students, both Gnesio-Lutheran and Philippist, modern causality provides the backdrop for the nineteenth-century controversy. A careful reading of Walther's references to German theologians indicates this, although Walther himself did not follow up on the issue. Modern causality contains a subtle implication, namely, that the means of grace only work for those for whom the outcome of their operation is intended because they must either work based on a chain of necessary efficient causes or not at all. This reductionist causality works backward from effect to "cause" in a manner that suggests either determinism or a relative truth contingent upon the unknown.[26] Lutheran orthodoxy, Reformed orthodoxy, and Tridentine Catholicism before *Divino afflante Spiritu* all reject such causality. Perhaps that is a viable point from whence to consider ecumenical dialog.

A problem with traditional causality exists in the doctrine of *ecclesia stricte et late dicta*, which says that there is no theological basis for knowing in any given person how the instrumentality has resulted.[27] Ultimately, a "cause" must work or not in both ancient and modern frameworks. This suggests that, at some point, one must depart from human causality and rely on the *ubi et quando visum est Deo* of AC V. One must rediscover the insights of Luther.

Book House, 1985), 196–197.

[25] Samuel Johnson, *Samuel Johnson's Dictionary: Selections from the 1755 Work that Defined the English Language*, ed. Jack Lynch (Delray Beach, Florida: Levenger Press, 2002), 348–350.

[26] John W. Klotz, *Genes, Genesis and Evolution* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), 3ff.

[27] Schmid, *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 427ff.

When we follow those that locate truth in praxis, we lose the ability to see the Scriptures as a means to salvation. We also lose the analogy of faith and the clear passages because the truth only lies in effect. The Missouri Synod was looking at the total loss of Scripture. Its bridge from Pietism to orthodoxy was about to fall. The result was an all-out war of words. From C. H. R. Lange's *St. Louis Theological Monthly*, one of the first English-language periodicals in the Missouri Synod, to Zorn's *Bekehrung und Gnadenwahl*, to Walther's *Gnadenwahlslehrstreit, Die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl in Frage und Antwort, Beleuchtung des Stellhorn'schen Tractats*, and others, to Pieper's *Zur Einigung der amerikanisch-lutherischen Kirche in der Lehre von der Bekehrung und Gnadenwahl*, hundreds of pages were devoted to this issue because the Scripture principle and the analogy of faith would stand or fall with it.

3.2   Reading List

In 1900, Reinhold Pieper in his *Wegweiser durch die theologischen Disciplinen* updated the list of books one needs to have and read. Pieper lists eight encyclopedias, dropping Budde but still including Walch and adding Hagenbach, Harleß (Harless), Jöcher, Lilienthal, Rechenberg, Winer, and Zöckler. He recommends Hagenbach, *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der theol. Wissenschaften*; and Walch, *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften*.[28] For Luther editions, he lists those of Erlangen, St. Louis, Halle, and Leipzig, recommending the first three.[29] Pieper's approach to any kind of name authority is generally a lack thereof. In some cases I have modified his text to be clearer and have corrected errors. Yet I have also tried to preserve the original character of Pieper's text.

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[28] Reinhold Pieper,*Wegweiser durch die theologischen Disciplinen und deren Literatur* (Milwaukee: Germania Publishing Co., 1900), 2.

[29] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 3.

Reinhold Pieper pulls no punches when he characterizes modern exegesis as basically Jewish in character; his point is reading Scripture without faith and a view to its unity, yet his expression rankles and should be worded otherwise.[30] His introduction to exegetical theology contains an etymological approach to the terms and the subject.[31] His list of Bible translations and source texts is largely an amplification of Walther's.[32] The reader will find Pieper's recommendations in the original work indicated by asterisks. Here Pieper's recommendations are given in boldface. The texts that Walther and Pieper both cite are not listed here; only Pieper's changes from Walther are listed. Pieper's comments on isagogics are quite helpful because they mention a difference between the historical introduction that was the *critica sacra* and the historical methods of modernity. Pieper also has a word of advice for preachers:

> It would be the greatest folly if [the pastor] would desire in a sermon to deal critically with a biblical writing or just a portion of it. He would thereby raise a cloud of suspicion over Holy Scripture for his hearers and thus wreak immeasurable harm.[33]

Pieper includes texts listed by Walther, yet he removes Gerhard's treatment from the list. Thus we see that Walther's tendency to consider various dogmatics also as exegetical works had waned by Pieper's time. In addition to Walther's list in Section 2.2, from which Pieper recommends Carpzov and Guericke, we have:

- Francke, A. H.: *Kurzer Auszug aus der Einleitung zur Lesung der Heiligen Schrift*. Halle, 1729.

- Fürst, Jul.: *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments nach den Ueberlieferungen in Talmud und Midrasch*. Leipzig 1868.

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[30] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 5.

[31] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 4–5.

[32] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 6–9.

[33] *Es wäre die größesste Thorheit, wenn er in Predigten irgend eine biblische Schrift, oder nur einen Theil derselben, kritisch behandeln wollte. Er würde dadurch seinen Zuhörern die Heilige Schrift nur verdächtig machen und unermeßlich Schaden anrichten.* Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 10.

- Gieseler, Joh. Carl Ludw.: *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien*. Leipzig, 1818.

- Haevernik, H. A. Chr.: *Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Erlangen, 1836.

- Hagemann, Joh. Geo.: Report concerning the best translations of Holy Scripture in other languages, with that a list of first and best editions. Quedlinburg, 1747.

- Hengstenberg, E. W.: *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Berlin, 1838/39.

- Hengstenberg, E. W.: *Die Bücher Mosis und Aegypten*. Berlin, 1841.

- **Hesedam, Carl: *Der Römerbrief geurtheilt und geviertheilt. Eine kritische Untersuchung*. Erlangen und Leipzig, 1891.**

- **Keil, Carl Fried.: *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Schriften des A. T*. Frankfurt und Erlangen, 1853.**

- Kurz, J. H.: *Beiträge zur Vertheidigung und Begründung der Einheit des Pentateuchs*. Königsberg, 1844.

- Olshausen, Her.: *Nachweis der Echtheit sämmtlicher Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. Hamburg, 1832.

- **Pfeiffer, Aug.: *Critica sacra*. Dresden et Lipsiae, 1721.**

- Schott, H.: *Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzung*. Leipzig, 1835.

- Tischendorf, Const. v.:*Testamentum novum graece. Editio septima minor*. Lipsiae, 1859.

- Wucherer, J. F.: *Das Wort der Wahrheit*. Nördlingen, 1848.[34]

Pieper takes Walther's categories and further divides them. He allows the use of authors

that employ modern historical methods or theological systems, reminding the reader to use such

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[34] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 10–12.

works with care, yet appreciate them for the information that they impart.[35] That approach would

diminish by the early 1920s.[36]

For biblical philology Pieper recommends, in addition to Christian Stock's *Claves* and the

Philologia sacra of Glassius mentioned by Walther:

- Buxtorf, J.: *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum.* Basilea, 1710.

- **Cremer, H: *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität.* Gotha, 1886.**

- Gesenius, Wilh.: *Hebräische Grammatik, umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch.* 24. Aufl. Leipzig, 1885.

- Gesenius, Wilh.: *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* 8. Aufl. Leipzig, 1878.

- **Flacius, M.: *Clavis Scripturae sacrae.* Jenae 1674.**

- Nägelsbach, K. W. E.: *Hebräische Grammatik.* Leipzig, 1862.

- Matthiä, Aug.: *Ausführliche griechiche Grammatik.* 3. Aufl. 1835.

- Smith, William: *A Dictionary of the Bible Comprising its Antiquities Geography and Natural History.* Hartford, 1893.

- **Wahl, Christ. Abrah.: *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologicae.* Ed. tertia. Lipsiae, 1843.**

- **Winer, Geo. Bened.: *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms.* 4. Aufl. Leipzig, 1836.**

- Winer, Geo. Bened.: *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum in Vet. Test. libros.* Lipsiae, 1828.[37]

One of the more intriguing points on this list is Pieper's evaluation of Flacius:

"An excellent work."[38] That certainly differs from Walther, and it shows that the

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[35] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 11, 22, 31.

[36] Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 53.

[37] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 13–14.

German-era Missouri Synod did not merely hang on Walther's every opinion.

Perhaps some of the most important books for understanding the history of the

Missouri Synod and its doctrinal positions are textbooks on hermeneutics. Pieper

also informs us that Walther relied heavily on Pfeiffer's *Thesaurus hermeneuticus* in

his classes.[39] In addition to Pfeiffer, we have listed here:

- Baumgarten, S. J.: *Unterricht zur Auslegung der heiligen Schrift*. Halle, 1759.

- Ernesti, J. A.: *Institutio interpretis novi testamenti*. Lipsiae, 1792.

- Ernesti, J. A.: *Elements of Interpretation*. Trans. Moses Stuart. Andover, 1827.

- Franz, Wolfgang: *Tractatus theologicus de interpretatione sacrarum scripturarum*. Wittebergae, 1668.

- **Hofmann, Carl Gottlob: *Institutiones theologicae exegeticae*. Wittebergae, 1754.**

- Olshausen, H.: *Ein Wort über tieferen Schriftsinn*. Königberg, 1824.

- Rambach, J. J.: *Institutiones Hermeneuticae sacrae*. Jenae 1723.

- **Rambach, J. J.: *Erläuterungen über seine eigene Institutiones Hermeneuticae sacrae*, Hg.: Neubauer. Gießen, 1738.**

- **Seidel, Chr. T.: *Anweisungen zur Erklärung der heiligen Schrift*. Halle u. Helmstedt, 1759.**

- **Stock, Chr.: *Interpres Graecus Novi Test*. Ed. quinta. Cellis, 1757.[40]**

Carl G. Hofmann's *Institutiones*, August Pfeiffer's *Thesaurus*, and Johann J. Rambach's

Institutiones were the hermeneutics texts used by those in the LCMS without direct access to

Glassius. In Pieper's volume Hofmann is misspelled Hoffmann, as are several other names. With

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[38] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 14.

[39] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 16.

[40] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 16.

Walther's lectures one received much of Pfeiffer, while the Missouri Synod reprinted Hofmann. Pieper specifically notes that Rambach's *Erläuterungen* is the best work besides that of Pfeiffer.[41] Notes from Rambach, however, can also be found on volumes of Hofmann annotated by students.

For biblical archeology we see:

- ***Calwer Bibellexikon*. Calw u. Stuttgart, 1885.**

- Dasov, Th.: *Antiquitates Hebraicae*. Hafnia [Copenhagen] et Lipsiae 1742.

- Delitzsch, F.: *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum*. Grimma, 1838.

- Hengstenberg, E. W.: *Die Opfer der heiligen Schrift. Die Juden und die christliche Kirche*. 2. Aufl. 1859.

- **Josephus, Flavius: *Sämmtliche Werke*. Tübingen, 1735. Repr. Stuttgart, 1856.**

- **Lundius, Joh.: *Jüdische Heiligthümer*. Hamburg, 1738.**

- Mel, Conrad: *Antiquarius Sacer*. Francoforti, 1719.

- Raumer, Carl v.: *Palästina*. 2. Aufl. Leipzig, 1838.

- Schmidt, Joh. Jac.: *Biblischer Mathematicus*. Züllichau, 1736.

- Schmidt, Joh. Jac.: *Biblischer Physicus*. Leipzig, 1731.

- Trusen, J. P.: *Die Sitten, Gebräuche und Krankheiten der alten Hebräer*. 2. Aufl. Breslau, 1853.

- **Winer, Geo. Bened.: Biblis*ches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Studierende, Kandidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger*. 3. Aufl. Leipzig, 1837.[42]**

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[41] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 16.

[42] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 17–18.

Under the heading of Bible histories we find one of the first Missouri Synod authors listed: Georg Stöckhardt. Here is one of the few times in the German era where Stöckhardt's name gets spelled with an "oe." The list of works follows:

- Buddaeus, Franz. *Historia ecclesiae Vet. Test.* Halle, 1715.

- Buddaeus, Franz. *Ecclesia apostolica.* Halle, 1729.

- Hengstenberg, E. W. *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem alten Bunde.* Berlin 1869/71.

- Dannhauer, Joh. Con.: *Christosophia.* Argentoratum [Straßburg], 1638.

- Krohmaier, Joh. Andr. *Quaestiones illustres de Christo.* Erfurt, 1703.

- Meisner, Balth.: *Christologia sacra.* Wittebergae, 1673.

- Menken, Gottfried: *Blicke in das Leben des Apostels Paulus und der ersten Christengemeinden.* Bremen, 1828.

- **Menken, Gottfried: *Der Prophet Elias.* Burg b. M., 1880.**

- Neander, Aug.: *Das Leben Jesu Christi in seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange und seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* 6. Aufl. Gotha, 1862.

- Neander, Aug.: *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel.* Gotha, 1862.

- **Rambach, J. J.: *Christus in Mose, oder Betrachtungen über die vornehmsten Weissagungen und Vorbilder in den fünf Büchern Mosis auf Christum.* Frankfurt u. Leipzig, 1736.**

- Reinhard, Franz Volker: *Versuch über den Plan, welchen der Stifter der christlichen Religion zum Besten der Menschen entwurf.* Wittenberg, 1781.

- **Roos, Mag. Fried.: *Fußtapfen des Glaubens Abrahams in der Geschichte der Patriarchen und Propheten des Alten Testaments.* Tübingen, 1770/71.**

- Roos, Mag. Fried.: *Lehre und Lebensgeschichte Jesu Christi des Sohnes Gottes nach den 4 Evangelisten.* Tübingen 1776/77.

- **Stoeckhardt: *Biblische Geschichte des A.T.* St. Louis, 1897.**

- Stoeckhardt: *Biblische Geschichte des N.T.* St. Louis, 1898.[43]

Biblical dogmatics gives us:

- **Baier, J. G.:** *Analysis et vindicatio illustrium scripturae s. dictorum.* **Altorf, 1716.**

- Beck, J. Th.: *Einleitung in das System der christlichen Lehre.* Stuttgart, 1870.

- Beck, J. Th.: *Leitfaden der christlichen Glaubenslehre für Kirche, Schule und Haus.* Stuttgart, 1869.

- Beck, J. Th.: *Die christliche Liebeslehre. Fortsetzung des „Leitfaden der christlichen Glaubenslehre".* Stuttgart, 1874.

- Burg, J. F. *Begriff der göttlichen geoffenbarten Glaubenswahrheiten.* Breslau, 1750.

- Hengstenberg, E. W.: *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten.* Berlin 1829/35.

- Höfling, J. W.: *Das Sacrament der Taufe.* Erlangen, 1846.

- Hofmann, J. C. K.: *Der Schriftbeweis.* Nördlingen, 1852/55.

- **Luetkens, Franz Jul.:** *Collegium Biblicum, secundum Locos Theol. adornatum.* **Copenhagen, 1737.**

- Melanchthon, Philipp: *Corpus doctrinae christianae.* Francoforti, 1560.

- Rudelbach, A. G.: *Die Sacramentsworte oder die wesentliche Stücke der Taufe und des Abendmahls.* Leipzig, 1837.

- **Schmid, Sebastian:** *Collegium Biblicum prius, in quo Dicta Scripturae v e t e r i s Testa. sexaginta sex juxta Seriem Loc. Communium Theologicorum disposita, dilucido explicantur.* **Ed. tertia. Argentoratum [Straßburg], 1689.**

- **Schmid, Sebastian:** *Collegium Biblicum posterius, in quo Dicta Scripturae n o v i Testa. sexaginta sex juxta Seriem Loc. Communium Theologicorum disposita, dilucido explicantur.* **Ed. tertia. Argentoratum [Straßburg], 1689.**

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[43] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 19–20.

- **Wigand, Joh. et Judex, M.:** *Syntagma, seu Corpus Doctrinae veri et omnipotentis Dei, ex V e t e r i T e s t a m e n t o tantum, methodica ratione, singulari studio, fide et dilligentia collectum, dispositum et concinnatum.* **Basilea, 1585.**

- **Wigand, Joh. et Judex, M.:** *Syntagma, seu Corpus Doctrinae veri et omnipotentis Dei, ex N o v o T e s t a m e n t o tantum, methodica ratione, singulari studio, fide et dilligentia collectum, dispositum et concinnatum.* **Basilea, 1585.**[44]

The remainder of the *Wegweiser*, such as the long list of commentaries, is commended to the reader. With this work, one sees some interesting changes, like a discerning eye for finding what good can be found in Continental authors from even the mediating theology of Schleiermacher (Neander). At the same time, the majority of Lutheran orthodox works used by Walther are still there, in addition to some that Walther did not use.

All this would change by around 1920. Theodore Graebner would provide direction for reading for this new generation. His list would be much shorter, more practical, and mostly English. It would step further away from anything that the Missouri Synod had seen to date. We provide here those titles related to Bible study.

Graebner has two objectives for reading: knowledge (teaching) and power (enabling).[45] Keeping that in mind, we turn to Bibles. He recommends two German editions from CPH. He also recommends *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk* and *Die Altenburger Bibel.*[46] Graebner lists some fifteen English translations, many from CPH and Oxford University Press. He has little use for the more recent, nonstandard translations.[47] Of German concordances he recommends the ponderous Lankisch (1677) and the *Bremer Handkonkordanz.* In English he recommends those

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[44] Pieper, *Wegweiser*, 21–23.. Pieper misspells Wigand's name and gets Judex's first name incorrect.

[45] Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 27.

[46] Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 47–48.

[47] Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 48–51.

of Young, Strong, and Cruden. There is also Nave's *Topical Bible* and Davis's *Dictionary of the Bible*.[48] He recommends The Expositor's Greek Testament, while he is noncommittal on whatever Hebrew Testament one might use. For commentaries he recommends the English Keil-Delitzsch and the English Meyer (*Critical and Exegetical Handbooks*) as better than the original German, having been purged of some historical-critical matter by the translators. Of the single-volume commentaries he recommends Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown. He also lists the works of Stöckhardt and various others.[49] Graebner then points to the St. Louis edition of Luther's Works, Walther's *Rechte Unterscheidung von Gesetz und Evangelium* as the best of his works and Pieper's *Christliche Dogmatik*.[50] Graebner then recommends titles in other areas.

3.3   Doctrinal Proceedings

The doctrinal proceedings considered in this section do not show the total related output, such as J. H. Schröder's theses on the proper use of the means of grace.[51] Although theses or essays typified by those of Schröder do contain some hermeneutical content, they are more praxis-oriented and follow the general trend after 1880, namely, they cite much of the Bible and Luther, but much less of the Lutheran orthodox authors. We are looking to find more formal expressions that indicate how the LCMS received its tradition and passed it on.

Starting around 1890 we begin to see a new format for doctrinal proceedings, the convention essay. Theses become section headings in essays, as the intermediate form of Schröder's mentioned above shows, and then they cease after around 1914. Topics include more

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[48] Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 51–52.

[49] Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 52–55.

[50] Graebner, *The Pastor as Student and Literary Worker*, 55–57.

[51] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Elfter Synodal-Bericht des California- und Nevada-Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903) (henceforth cited as 1903 Cal.-Nev.).

practical and historical theology, whereas formerly exegetical and dogmatic theology had dominated. In the beginning of this period the thesis style is still dominant and the output is phenomenal. The LCMS enters its most productive era regarding hermeneutics. Where the first period laid a foundation, now we see the edifice of classical "old Missouri" theology.

3.3.1 On the Perfection and Clarity of Scripture

Adding a bit of provenance to these proceedings (see Table A.7) is that one of the official recorders was Friedrich Pfotenhauer, future president of the LCMS.[52] Franz Pieper's introductory remarks are pivotal: Spiritual matters are things that "we ourselves do not understand;" they go "far above human wisdom and ability." The conduit that allows us access to these things is "**Holy Scripture**," without which we would have no capacity in spiritual matters. Scripture forms the basis for the pastor's spiritual office and it does so by presenting "**clear and perspicuous language.**"[53]

Pieper makes easy work of issues that were difficult for F. A. Ahner. Already in his first thesis Pieper deals with the word of God before the writing of Scripture began and after it had started. His focus is this: God never stopped speaking in order to effect human salvation even when people sinned and themselves were corrupted.[54] He shows how Scripture supports that God gave "**his thoughts in his words**" via the special act of inspiration that surpasses normal Christian enlightenment. On that rests the possibility that the Holy Spirit speaks through Scripture; otherwise the Spirit's words would depend on the authors' capacity to grasp them.[55]

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[52] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Erster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1882) (henceforth cited as 1882 Minn.-Dak.), 15.

[53] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 16.

[54] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 16.

[55] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 17.

Pieper continues in Thesis I to summarize much of the extant position in the LCMS by citing

Scripture for support. He gives locations in AC and Ap that stand on the assumption of divine

inspiration, as well as Luther's exegesis of John 17:18 (Erlangen edition 50:241f.).[56] Pieper notes

well that the purpose of Holy Scripture is the salvation of mankind and the fact of God's Word

does not exist in some abstraction of truth but rather in the context of that purpose.[57]

In his second thesis, Pieper explains the perfection of Scripture as having everything

necessary to fulfill the goal of bringing people to eternal salvation.[58] One of the first things

Pieper does is to cite John 21:21 and other passages to reject the idea that Scripture is a

revelation of those things generally hidden by God, in sharp contrast to Fritschel's position.[59]

Pieper draws his arguments from those of Caspari in *Geistliches und Weltliches*.[60] He also finds

support in Gerhard's *Loci* and in Luther, mainly in the exegetical lectures.

Thesis Three stands entirely on Scripture passages. When Pieper criticizes the opponents of

the perfection of Scripture in Thesis Four, he generally attempts to cite them or at least give a

sketch of their positions.[61] Pieper adduces citations from Augustine to Gerhard supporting that

everything necessary to know for salvation is stated in Scripture plainly, not figuratively (Thesis

Five).[62]

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[56] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 17–18.

[57] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 21–22.

[58] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 23ff..

[59] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 22–24.

[60] See, for example, Karl H. Caspari, *Geistliches und Weltliches zu einer volkstümlichen Auslegung des kleinen Katechismus Luthers in Kirche, Schule und Haus* (Erlangen: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1894).

[61] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 30–38.

[62] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 39–44.

Pieper engages the determination of clear and obscure passages among those Protestants

claiming a Scripture principle in the sixth thesis. He boils down the Reformed approach to the

idea that one might exchange the perspicuity of Scripture for the reasonableness of Scripture. His

major example is the *verba Domini*, which Lutherans point to as clear and Reformed as unclear.

Others include the doctrines of the person of Christ and justification. Pieper turns to Quenstedt's

differentiation between *Begrifflichkeit der Dinge*, conceptuality of the things, and *Deutlichkeit*

der Worte, perspicuity of the words.[63] Pieper additionally could have cited Hollaz.[64] That a

grammatical difference can exist between the *signum* and the usual conceptuality of the *res*

indicates something very important. Luther talked about limitations on causality with respect to

observability. Although Lutheran orthodoxy does not preserve some of the specific aspects of

Luther's causality, it is here that it preserves the concept of limitation on the "normal" use of

grammar as it relates to classification and observation. From Quenstedt's *Theologia didactico-*

polemica we have:

> One differentiates between the **conceptuality of the things** that are revealed in
> Scripture and the **perspicuity of the words** with which the revealed things are
> expressed; this does not involve the former, but only the latter. We accept, namely,
> that in Holy Scripture many secrets are exhibited that remain otherwise hidden to the
> world: Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:26; that are manifestly great: 1 Tim. 3:16; and those that go
> far above and beyond human ken, human understanding, nature, and every sort of
> conceptualization, which are unsearchable on the part of the capacity for human
> knowledge, at least in this life. Yet we deny that these secrets are presented in
> Scripture via obscure **speech** and ambiguous **words**. "What is heavenly, secret, and
> hidden to us is revealed and entirely clear, in that it is revealed through Scripture,"

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[63] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 45–54. Pieper's manner of citation gives only the barest of references and usually does not indicate the work from whence they derive. Here we see citations from the *Theologia didactico-polemica sive systema theologiae*: I,169–85.

[64] *Examen Theologiae Acromaticae* I,167 in Jaroslav Pelikan, "The Origins of the Object-Subject Antithesis in Lutheran Dogmatics," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 21, no. 2 (1950): 256.

says Rivetus. "Therefore God uses the medium of Scripture, with which, by means of this interpreter, we may know what we do not know from nature," says Hülsemann.[65]

This citation is quite weighty. First, in looking here and considering Fritschel's position, one can see how an unqualified use of this discussion can suggest that Scripture reveals the will of the hidden God. Yet Luther's hidden God has no epistemological connection with the matter revealed by God. Here is the radical nature of Luther's hidden and revealed God: assumptions based on what we think we know have no sure basis in reality as God sees it. Even though Lutheran orthodoxy tries to preserve Luther's position by the unusual discontinuity between *signum* and *res*, it nevertheless falls back on Western theism. The Missouri Synod inherits this. Pieper goes on to cite Chemnitz's *De duabus naturis in Christo* and other sources and marries his argument to Luther's double clarity and double obscurity of Scripture from *De servo arbitrio*.[66]

Pieper cites Luther regarding the bondage of the will, yet Luther points to a clarity granted by studying the words and a clarity only granted by the Holy Spirit. A vital missing piece of the puzzle in Pieper's argument is that Luther realizes how grammar itself can mislead in problems of worldly causality, so that one type of clarity, the external, only yields the basic *alphabetum* or *Verstand*, the ken that makes it possible to engage a problem domain. The results of such a mapping, however, will not yield fruit without the clarity given by the Spirit.

Luther uses grammar to show the meaning of the text, enlighten one regarding the finer points of agreement, figures of speech, and similar subjects, as well as to give a logical basis for showing that the text disagrees with some encroaching claim.[67] Luther is consistent in his

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[65] (I,169, my translation); see 1882 Minn.-Dak., 47.

[66] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 48–49; W^1 18:2070ff..

[67] AE 33:25, 71, 162; 40:168, 316.

requirement of grammar in school curricula.[68] He does not, however, use grammar as some kind of formal principle. He does not advance from a set of propositions established in systematic harmony through grammar and logic. He starts from the confession of Christ.[69] Grammar serves to defend the Christological and Eucharistic doctrines by setting limits of interpretation in Luther's 1528 *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*.[70] A similar corrective and limiting theme is struck in *Against Latomus*.[71] We see a continued expression of the points given above in the 1540 *Disputatio de divinitate et humanitate Christi*.[72] From Luther's perspective, the depravity of man begets the mendacity of man in both worldly and spiritual matters. Since human causality and therefore human grammar is faulty, the internal and external clarity require the Spirit's work in order to synchronize them. Gerhard is aware that the grammatical understanding precedes the theological, yet he does not mechanize the transition from the former to the latter (see Appendix B). Gerhard must also assume that τὸ ῥητόν has an independent reality apart from the reader's interaction. Yet little discussion of either the philosophical terms or the philosophical method arises. It is likely this ambiguity among all parties that helps cause the Election Controversy.

Pieper's seventh thesis contains citations from opponents of Scripture's clarity and support from Scripture, Luther, and various orthodox Lutherans on behalf of its clarity and sufficiency to achieve its goal.[73] Thesis Eight draws on Chemnitz, Gerhard, and Quenstedt to defend the clarity

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[68] AE 45:376; 46:252; 50:230–233.

[69] AE 40:167; 54:249.

[70] AE 37:171–189, 243, 255, 258ff.

[71] AE 32:186, 247.

[72] WA 39/2:92–121. Two English translations exist. The first is Mitchell Tolpingrud, "Luther's Disputation Concerning the Divinity and the Humanity of Christ," *Lutheran Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1996): 151–178. The second by Christopher Brown is at http://www.projectwittenberg.org and will be used in the forthcoming volumes of the AE.

[73] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 54–58.

of Scripture in light of the special charisma or gift of interpretation, such as Apollos had.[74]

Theses Nine and Ten deal with the manner and matter of those that falsely interpret it or find

some other guiding principle.[75] Here we get something of Luther's causality with a reference to

general human blindness, drawing on Luther's homiletics and other works.[76]

3.3.2 Scriptural Doctrine

The propositions (*Sätze*) in Table A.8 prove to be important for a number of reasons. First,

they provide the historical background for Pieper's discussion of modern hermeneutics in

Christliche Dogmatik. Second, they provide a clear reason why Pieper, in his German works,

would not use the Erlangen School terminology of formal and material principles of theology.

Third, they illustrate just how far *Christian Dogmatics* goes from Pieper's original position.[77]

Fourth, they form the backdrop for Fritschel's writings against the position of the Missouri

Synod. Fifth, they show just how far the Missouri Synod was removed from other American

Lutherans following contemporary Continental theologians.

Pieper states that many Lutherans claim to follow the Lutheran tradition of sola scriptura,

yet they effectively deny their own claims by incorporating elements or methods that oppose this

principle.[78] He is working with the same purpose as Walther in Section 3.3.3, namely, to defend

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[74] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 59–65.

[75] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 65–71.

[76] 1882 Minn.-Dak., 71–75.

[77] 78To find extensive modification and redefinition between the German and English texts compare Franz A. O. Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 3 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917–1924), 1:24–25, 29, 524; 2:464; 3:444 and Franz A. O. Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, ed. Theodore Engelder, Fred E. Mayer, Lorenz F. Blankenbuehler, and John T. Mueller (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950–1953), 1:23–25, 28, 428; 2:387; 3:381.

[78] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Neunzehnter Synodal-Bericht der allgemeinen Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten versammelt als vierte Delegaten-Synode zu St. Louis, Missouri im Jahre 1884* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1884) (henceforth cited as 1884 Allg.), 162.

the Missouri Synod's use of theologians that take doctrines from specific Bible passages based on their clear wording, and to reject the newer theology that calls itself biblical, yet rejects the orthodox doctrine of inspiration and the analogia fidei in favor of doctrine from "the totality of Scripture."[79] Critiques of the Erlangen theologians that developed such new approaches had been published for years in the LCMS, most notably against J. C. K. von Hofmann. Pieper saw the Election Controversy as yet another instance of encroaching rationalism through an appeal to the totality of Scripture.[80]

Pieper adduces two lengthy citations from Luther and comes to the point of how the words of Scripture affect *Folgerungen*, that is, inference and conclusion. He points to Matt. 28:19, "*Darum gehet hin und lehret alle Völker und taufet sie im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes!*" Pieper argues that *sie* refers to *alle Völker* and that children are included therein based not on specific wording in Scripture, but on the natural use of language that includes children among "all peoples." That natural use construes a valid *Vernunftfolgerung* because it contradicts none of the other predicates in Matt. 28:19.[81] Solutions to apparent contradictions would appear in several of Pieper's writings. For example, he shows that the statements "man is mortal" and "man is immortal" do not contradict by differentiating between body and soul.[82] William Dallmann remembers him preaching a sermon on, "The Gospel: 1. A deep mystery. 2. A clear revelation," suggesting a *modus operandi* of juxtaposing opposites.[83]

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[79] 1884 Allg., 163–164.

[80] 1884 Allg., 164–167.

[81] 1884 Allg., 169. One might add that the denial of infant baptism comes about by limiting "all peoples" and adding layer upon layer of argumentation that is, by definition, alien to the institution of Christ.\

[82] 1884 Allg., 170.

[83] Dallmann, *My Life*, 73.

Pieper cites Gerhard and adduces some interesting examples from Luther in discussing the limitations of human reason; were they published today they could make an excellent Bible study on the topic of what we can know and how our assumptions work.[84] He then engages the Erlangen theologians on the matter of theology as *Wissenschaft*, as a science like the other sciences, and he rejects them. He cites and contends with Christian Luthardt and J. C. K. von Hofmann, using as a source the 1875 article in *LuW*, "*Was ist es um den Fortschritt der modernen lutherischen Theologie in der Lehre?*"[85] With the remainder of the *Protokoll* he goes point by point through his second *Satz* and uses Dannhauer, Gerhard, and others to engage various problems among those known in "old Missouri" as "the modern 'orthodox-wannabe' theologians" (*die modernen orthodox sein wollenden Theologen*).[86]

3.3.3   Patristics as Reprehensible?

The title for Table A.9 sets the tone: "How Reprehensible It Is to Base Matters of Faith on the Writings of the Fathers and to Desire to Bind Consciences to the Doctrinal Decisions of the Same." Ferdinand Walther was on the offensive, as William Dallmann reports, "at the height of his power."[87] Ferdinand Walther was aging, yet showed little sign of fatigue until the final sickness in the last year of his life, starting about a year after his wife's death, from mid-August 1886 to 5:30 PM, 7 May 1887.[88]

An example from Walther's Lutherstunden adds more concerning his tone in his final years: " 'God fill you with hatred of the Pope!' So, my friends, Luther called out to his friends at

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[84] 1884 Allg., 171–178.

[85] 1884 Allg., 178–179.

[86] 1884 Allg., 180–189; see also Table C.1.

[87] Dallmann, *My Life*, 23.

[88] Günther, *Dr. C. F. W. Walther: Lebensbild*, 152, 197ff.

Schmalkalden; and so I say to you, 'God fill you with hatred of the Pope!' "[89] In addition,

Dallmann remembers: "We have no power but the power of the Word, but we have the power of

the Word!"[90]

> Referring to the Election Controversy, [Walther] said of F. A. Schmidt, "That miserable man dared contradict us." And there seemed to be a trace of bitterness in the voice trembling with emotion.

> After fifty-eight years there is still ringing in my ears the sentence of mingled modesty and conviction: "In the expression we may have erred, but with the teaching we defy the world!"[91]

The Missouri Synod was accused of Calvinism; Walther's response is to level the counter-

charge of Papism. The perlocutionary force is evident: Stop the opponents dumbfounded and

shut them down. Walther only got the bare theses in *Der Lutheraner*; the follow-up material was

not printed in 1884 and appears to have been put on hold.[92] Walther and Augustus Graebner

prepared their theses at the same time, yet the latter could not attend the 1884 conference.

Walther delivered his theses and they were warmly and thankfully received.[93]

Walther begins with a preliminary thesis: "**The surviving writings, as well as the so-**

called Church Fathers as godly teachers of our church, are treasures for which we may not

thank God enough."[94] The manner in which Walther engages this is quite interesting because he

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[89] Dallmann, *My Life*, 23.

[90] Dallmann, *My Life*, 30.

[91] Dallmann, *My Life*, 30–31.

[92] C. F. W. Walther, "Wie verwerflich es sei, Sachen des Glaubens aus den Schriften der Väter begründen und die Gewissen an die Lehrentscheidungen derselben binden zu wollen," *Der Lutheraner* 40, no. 17 (1884): 133.

[93] Evangelisch-Lutherische Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika, *Verhandlungen der zehnten Versammlung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-Amerika zu Cleveland, Ohio* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1884) (henceforth cited as 1884 SynKonf), 5.

[94] Die hinterlassenen Schriften, sowohl der sogenannten Kirchenväter, als der frommen Lehrer unserer Kirche, sind Schätze, für die wir Gott nicht genug danken können. 1884 SynKonf, 6.

follows Calov in collocating the gift of prophecy with the proper interpretation of Scripture as drawn from 1 Thess. 5 and so goes from St. Paul to Luther and sees Luther as a crusading prophet of his time working under divine authority. He also adduces various Scripture passages, Gerhard, SA, FC, and Luther.[95] He is not opposed to the fathers altogether, yet he is more wary in using them because he and the Missouri Synod were accused of basing their doctrine on the orthodox fathers instead of Scripture. The general citation of Lutheran orthodox fathers begins to decline in this period.

Walther states right away that the issues swirling about the use of *intuitu fidei* underlie his theses.[96] His main thrust is against the 1881 Ohio Synod document *"Unsere Stellung in der Lehre von der Gnadenwahl."*[97] Walther spends some time refuting this document.[98] He then supports his theses in much the same manner as he did in *KuA*, namely, with Scripture citations, material from the Lutheran Symbols, then Luther, then the dogmaticians.[99]

The citations of Scripture take considerable space, whereas citations from the Lutheran Symbols include mostly the FC. Walther cites less from the Lutheran dogmaticians than in some of his earlier works. He also spends some time engaging F. A. Schmidt and other opponents. Walther accuses his opponents of Papism because they have succumbed to rationalism and "common sense;" Walther here uses verbatim the English term.[100] The "common sense" or sensus communis of Shaftesbury was imported into Rambach.[101] If Walther is opposed to

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[95] 1884 SynKonf, 6–19.

[96] 1884 SynKonf, 19.

[97] 1884 SynKonf, 21.

[98] 1884 SynKonf, 21–27.

[99] 1884 SynKonf, 28–75.

[100] 1884 SynKonf, 40.

[101] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 27–30, 307.

"common sense," why did he tolerate the use of Rambach in the Missouri Synod? After

Walther's death, the idea of feeling or experiencing Scripture increased.[102] We shall see examples

of that in upcoming sections. Walther is not immune from his own criticism, therefore this shows

how close to home the controversy hit. His logic here contains a fallacy of induction, the fallacy

of the undistributed middle: All papists are rationalists; our opponents are rationalists; therefore

our opponents are papists.[103] Walther is letting emotion get the better of him.

We also see that Walther has become more critical of Luther's writings before 1523,

considering them to be still in a formative stage, whereas the later writings are clearer in

condemning falsehood.[104] This clashes with Walther's preference for earlier Luther in his

younger days, such as one sees in *KuA*, yet it appears consistent with the higher view of the

ministry practiced by Walther in the latter years of his life as the *Oberpfarrer* of the St. Louis

Gesamtgemeinde.[105] Walther proceeds with a number of Luther citations supporting Scripture

over against those claiming patristics, beginning with *Vom Mißbrauch der Messe*, yet he leaves

one who has read the original documents questioning why these particular snippets should be

taken and not others.[106] Walther's remaining arguments draw on Quenstedt, Chemnitz, and

Luther. For all the admiration that Walther has for Luther and Gerhard, he appears to treat their

documents like databases with discrete entries rather than documents with their own structure,

integrity, and context. Earlier in his life, Walther had a greater awareness and use of contextual

integration (see Section 2.2). It is likely that this change in approach resulted from age and stress.

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[102] Dallmann, *My Life*, 84–85.

[103] 1884 SynKonf, 40.

[104] 1884 SynKonf, 44.

[105] August R. Suelflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 64–66.

Walther's arguments defending Thesis II first engage the Tridentine council and then point out similarities between Papism and his opponents.[107] Walther then cites liberally from Augustine, with Cyprian added, to support the position that the papacy and its doctrines was not the condition of the early Church.[108] Thesis III is a parting shot against his opponents.[109]

3.3.4 The Divinity of Holy Scripture

Table A.10 presents the 1886 theses on the divinity of Scripture that Augustus Graebner was unable to deliver in 1884. Not only his theses, but also his entire presentation should be republished. Graebner takes so many to task, such as von Hofmann; even Balduin in a certain sense; and the theologians of Dorpat (Tartu, Estonia), of whose like mind he targets Theodosius Harnack, Kahnis, R. F. Grau, Thomasius, Luthardt, Delitzsch, Kurtz, Philippi, and Volck.[110]

Graebner uses clear citations from Scripture upon which he bases clear arguments to refute his opponents. These opponents use historical-critical approaches, attempt to define Scripture as a synergy between God and man, and embrace the general course of Continental scholarship. Space does not allow a thorough explanation of all the theological schools and the developments that Graebner engages, except to say that this LCMS pastor and professor had a superior gift for interpreting doctrine based on Scripture.[111] He offers many Scripture proofs to show that a

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[106] 1884 SynKonf, 44–48.

[107] 1884 SynKonf, 59–64.

[108] 1884 SynKonf, 64–72.

[109] 1884 SynKonf, 73–75.

[110] Evangelisch-Lutherische Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika, *Verhandlungen der elften Versammlung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-Amerika zu Detroit, Michigan* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1886) (henceforth cited as 1886 SynKonf.), 6–40.

[111] David Lotz reports that Augustus Graebner effectively was a polymath in David W. Lotz, "The Sense of Church History in Representative Missouri Synod Theology," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 42, no. 9 (1970): 599. Nevertheless, he disagrees with Graebner in a manner similar to those favoring von Ranke over Macaulay; see A. G. Dickens, "Introduction," in Thomas B. Macaulay, *History of England* (London: Heron Books, 1967), vii.

Christian theologian must become totally submissive to God via Scripture and forfeit worldly wisdom in order to avoid losing the Gospel and salvation.

Graebner's Thesis I is his opportunity to show that Continental scholarship leads away from the foundation of Christian faith, which he does better than any other LCMS author, save perhaps Gößwein.[112] For Thesis II Graebner offers considerable proof for the divinity of Scripture from Scripture itself.[113] The same is the case with extensive scriptural proof for Thesis III and its sub-parts.[114] The Synodical Conference unanimously ratified these theses, meaning that they may have the force of *Kirchenrecht* in the Missouri Synod.[115]

3.3.5 Proper Use of Scripture

With the doctrinal theses in Table A.11 District President J. M. Bühler shows the "average" pastor's approach. He begins in a quasi-etymological way by taking concepts and breaking them down: nature, goal, use, *kennen* versus *erkennen*, and so forth.[116] His first thesis deals with so many cases in which people misuse the Bible because they understand it to have a different nature and purpose than do Christians.[117] In his second thesis, Bühler covers the insufficiency of human reason, the working of the Holy Spirit, the necessity of testing the Scriptures, and some personal experiences related thereto.[118] Facility with classical authors is evident; this shows the gymnasial training of "old Missouri." Yet as Graebner's theses are thoroughly attuned to

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[112] G. Gößwein, "Die Angriffe der modernen Theologen auf Gottes Wort," *Lehre und Wehre* 42–43 (1896–97): 42ff.

[113] 1886 SynKonf., 40–46.

[114] 1886 SynKonf., 47–71.

[115] 1886 SynKonf., 71.

[116] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, Zweiter Synodal-Bericht des California- und Oregon-Districts (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1889) (henceforth cited as 1889 Cal.-Ore.), 9ff.

[117] 1889 Cal.-Ore., 9–12.

academic trends, so Bühler takes a popular approach. As he makes his way through the remaining theses, he offers surprisingly little in the way of direct citations, yet he has a delightful conversational style.

An interesting point occurs in his fifth thesis, where his "personal use" of Scripture might at first suggest some sort of experiential component. He is actually using this point to differentiate between historical and saving faith, noting that Scripture does not work *ex opere operato*.[119] Bühler constructs the Church from individual believers to larger structures in his final two theses.[120] He finds Walther's *Rechte Gestalt* to be his basis here; it is interesting that he takes this approach instead of using Walther's theses on the Church from *KuA*.[121]

These theses best indicate where the thinking of the typical LCMS pastor was at. He was the product of a system that drew on both orthodox and pietistic roots and produced a literate, sound, convincing thinker. Bühler's theses offer an alternative to stereotypical characterizations of Missouri Synod writers during this period.

3.3.6 Scripture on Scripture

As represented in Table A.12, F. W. V. Busse, an 1888 graduate of Concordia College, presented a reworked version of Walther's evening lectures on inspiration from his 1885–86 *Lutherstunden*. Although it is clear that Busse reinterpreted his notes from Walther for his presentations in 1891 and 1892, nevertheless, the material remains quite similar. Since doctrinal proceedings at least in theory have precedence over what goes on in the classroom, we shall not devote space to an additional study of Walther's lectures.

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[118] 1889 Cal.-Ore., 12–31.

[119] 1889 Cal.-Ore., 39–42.

[120] 1889 Cal.-Ore., 42–48.

We have seen how Walther, in his twilight years, began to extract citations from various sources without necessarily integrating their contexts. Here follows another example of that, albeit one with continuing echoes among Evangelicals.[122] Walther adduces a short citation from Johann Georg Hamann on 19 Feb. 1886 to support God's providence in preserving Scripture to sufficiently know and defend the truth:

> Johann Georg Hamann says: "If the Heavenly Father says that no sparrow shall fall from its shelter apart from His will, so also no book would be lost which is necessary to us for knowledge or defense of truth." So also John Gerhard says of some enthusiastic writings of Irenaeus: "They perished by God's grace."[123]

Hamann's exchanges with Kant in Königsberg helped create the *Sturm und Drang*, of which Hamann was the father, and its split with the *Aufklärung*. That would lead to Romanticism.[124] Walther does not specifically endorse Hamann, but Busse does:

> In the previous [eighteenth] century, however, after Pietism held the true doctrine in contempt and Rationalism opened the way, the last doctrine of inspiration was supplanted by the latter. That was a sorrowful time. Only one important man of that era held fast to the doctrine of inspiration and confessed it before the entire world, namely, Hamann, Johann Georg Hamann, called the "Magus of the North," born 1730 in Königsberg and died 1788 in Münster."[125]

Whatever Hamann was, it was not the standard-bearer for orthodox Lutheranism. Hamann's critique of reason and his assertion of the superrationality of faith found its way to Hegel, Schlegel, Herder, and Kierkegaard.[126] His causality differs from that of Luther.[127]

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[121] 1889 Cal.-Ore., 45.

[122] Ellen Myers, "Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788), Preacher of Christ in the Wilderness of the Enlightenment," *CSSHS Quarterly Journal* 7, no. 3 (1985): 19.

[123] 124C. F. W. Walther, *The Question of Inspiration*, trans. Thomas Manteufel, Walther Round Table Papers (St. Louis: Concordia Historical Institute, 2005–2007), URL: http://chi.lcms.org/waltherrt/wrt-inspiration.htm.

[124] Frederick C. Beiser, *The Fate of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1987), 16–19.

[125] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Neunter Synodal-Bericht des Iowa-Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1891) (henceforth cited as 1891 Iowa), 11, my translation.

[126] Beiser, *The Fate of Reason*, 16–19.

Hamann's critique of the naturalism of science blurs the natural and supernatural. He describes the actions of God through every person's actions when making a critique of the Enlightenment's human autonomy. Hamann disputes the self-knowledge of the Enlightenment with a search for knowledge of being in nature, history, and society as one seeks to know God and to know oneself. Hamann limits reason with revelation, and that can also include personal visions. All this grew into a critique of reason that was just as influential as that of Kant.[128]

Here we see the drawbacks of the Waltherian method played out in his students. Although Walther may have used a citation of Hamann in a qualified sense, his student Busse took a more unqualified approach. This comes from taking supporting citations based on etymology and related content. Walther has done that with Gerhard and Luther, and he does it with Hamann. In 1897 the Canada District tried to undermine the Erlangen School terms by "spinning" them.[129] By 1914, however, that nuance had been lost and the terms were seen as usable for describing Scripture as a norm.[130] Thus we discern some roots of change in the LCMS.

Busse proceeds by giving a short list of the errors among modern German theologians, lamenting that they are perceived as today's pillars of the Lutheran Church:

1.   They hold Scripture to be the Book of Books only in a limited sense, namely, for the best, most influential book.

2.   They maintain that Scripture is not God's Book, God's Word, rather, a human book wherein God's Word is contained.

3.   They place the oral word over the Word of Scripture.

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[127] Beiser, *The Fate of Reason*, 21.

[128] Beiser, *The Fate of Reason*, 20–22.

[129] See Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht des Canada-Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1897), 11, 14.

[130] Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon nebst Index Rerum*, 6:ᶜ646.

4. They make a distinction among the various books of Scripture, in that they establish various grades or levels of their worth and inspiration.

5. They declare that Scripture is only a document (*Urkunde*) of revelation, but not God's revelation to us itself.

6. They maintain that Scripture is not infallible (*untrüglich*), but that it is full of errors, of which it must be purged (*gereinigt*).

7. They establish the authors of Scripture as the personal authors (*Verfasser*) of Scripture, who, moved by external circumstances, wrote from their own will and from their own rational deliberation, whereby indeed they were illuminated by the Holy Spirit. According to their teaching, Holy Scripture has thus come about in the same manner that a believing preacher writes a sermon yet today.

8. They deny that the Holy Spirit gave the holy authors what and how they should speak, that they only could have written what the Holy Spirit first instructed them to do.[131]

Busse makes note of the staunch Lutherans in the Saxon Free Church and those yet in the territorial churches. He follows Walther in mentioning the piety of Dorpat theologians Johann Christoph Wilhelm Volck (misspelled *Volk* in several LCMS documents) and Heinrich Ferdinand Mühlau that hides their true intent to undermine Scripture. He then proceeds with his reworking of Walther.[132] Under Thesis I.1, Busse takes a position against various statements of von Hofmann, Luthardt, Volck, and Mühlau regarding the source of theology, error in Scripture, and derivation from the totality of Scripture. He touches on the extra problems created when these men are not simply rationalists, but they "believe" and are held to be great men of faith.[133] Unlike Walther, however, he does not specifically refer to them as being tools of the devil. He also adduces more passages from Scripture than did Walther. That does not mean Walther did

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[131] 1891 Iowa, 11, my translation.

[132] 1891 Iowa, 12.

[133] 1891 Iowa, 13–15.

not cite Scripture or only sparsely; quite the contrary! Yet Busse goes further in showing how many passages one can cite from Scripture on its behalf.[134]

Thesis I.2 affords Busse the opportunity to criticize Kahnis as the latter claims the untenability of the orthodox doctrine of inspiration based on the existence of the letter to Philemon on page 666 of his *Dogmatik*.[135] Busse replies with John 7:17 and a discussion of how it is God leading the way, not human expectations.[136] He follows Walther in covering Thesis I.2, again adding extra material.[137]

Like Walther, Busse observes that the Qur'an also contains the Word of God, yet in its totality it is an "infamous book of lies," a reworking of Walther's "book . . . that comes from hell," that the modern theologians use in comparing how much this or that text might contain the Word of God.[138] Modern authors have noted how this scholarly bias has not abated.[139]

Thesis I.3.a occasions a number of Scriptural proofs and a description of theses put forward by Propst Kier at a theological conference held by General-Superintendents Kaftan and Ruperti on 7–8 July 1891 in Schleswig-Holstein.[140] One of the conclusions of these theses is that faith comes not from Scripture, but from the act of preaching, which Busse terms the total blindness of

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[134] 1891 Iowa, 16–22.

[135] 1891 Iowa, 22.

[136] 1891 Iowa, 22–23.

[137] 1891 Iowa, 22–29.

[138] 1891 Iowa, 27; Walther, *The Question of Inspiration*.

[139] Thomas Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), xii, 213ff. describes how the West has reinterpreted the Crusades through Romanticism and Marxism, while Islam rediscovered the Crusades around 1899 as an anti-Western talking point after centuries of suppression based on Ottoman-Kurdish tension. Serge Trifkovic, *The Sword of the Prophet* (Boston: Regina Orthodox Press, 2002), 11ff. describes the bias in modern thinking that has denied the Bible its historical authenticity while granting such authenticity to the Qur'an, based mainly on ideological grounds.

[140] 1891 Iowa, 29–38.

modern theologians.[141] This position of Kier that Busse attacks emerges anew via F. E. Mayer citing H. E. Echternach as translated by J. T. Mueller.[142]

Busse supplies biblical texts for Thesis I.4.[143] After giving more Scripture proofs for I.5 he engages Luthardt on the issue of revelation, whom he suggests will be damned on the Last Day.[144] Thesis I.6 allows Busse to refute Volck and Mühlau.[145] The remainder of Thesis I consists primarily of Bible proofs.[146]

We see an interesting difference betweenWalther/Busse and Reinhold Pieper here. Busse follows Walther's Lecture VIII (29 Jan. 1886) where the former accuses Cremer in his *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität* of finding an error in 2 Tim. 3:16 regarding θεόπνευστος by basing the meaning on Plutarch. Busse, condensing the longer material from Walther, finds support for the biblical text from pseudo-Phocylides, the Sybilline Oracles, the Peshitta, and the Vulgate.[147] Pieper recommends the book (see Section 3.2).

In 1892 Busse continues with Theses II through V. His presentation for the two years takes about 109 pages. Busse generally followsWalther in covering Thesis II, yet he adds more sources and carries the material through the Middle Ages.[148] The same can be said for Thesis III on

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[141] 1891 Iowa, 36.

[142] Compare Mayer, *The Religious Bodies of America*, 147 and Mayer and Piepkorn, *The Religious Bodies of America*, 146.

[143] 1891 Iowa, 38–40.

[144] 1891 Iowa, 43.

[145] 1891 Iowa, 44–45.

[146] 1891 Iowa, 45–64.

[147] 1891 Iowa, 54–55.

[148] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Zehnter Synodal-Bericht des Iowa-Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892) (henceforth cited as 1892 Iowa), 16–46.

Luther; it is a listing of citations.[149] Theses IV and V are covered quickly, the former being about

three pages of citations from the Lutheran Symbols and the latter being a summary.[150]

3.3.7 Lutheran *is* Scriptural: Kähler

The 1892 doctrinal theses of the Central District (Table A.14) intend to pick up the theme

of Walther's presentation, "That only through the doctrine of the Lutheran Church is God alone

given all the glory is an incontrovertible proof that the doctrine of the same is alone the true

one," from the 1873 *Verhandlungen* of the Western District.[151] The *Referent* is Pastor E. W.

Kähler. The discussion relates again to Walther's theses, "that the Evangelical Lutheran Church

is the true visible Church of God on earth." Kähler touches on the generally negative views of

the LCMS held both in Germany and by its American foes. He makes the claim that the LCMS is

a true Lutheran synod contingent on its derivation of all doctrine from the Word of God. One

also sees a certain pride in being something of a mendicant order.[152]

The first thesis was unanimously ratified by the Central District and therefore should have

some standing under the constitution and bylaws of the LCMS. A third thesis was not covered in

the Lehrverhandlungen and it may have been spurious because it was left out of the 1894

compendium of Lehrsätze. Translated, it reads:

> That our Missouri Synod fully and completely employs (*ernst machen*) the Scripture
> principle, and therefore is a true evangelical-Lutheran communion is something that it
> proves especially from also the following doctrines falsified by putative Lutherans, to
> which it appeals from the clear word of Scripture:

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[149] 1892 Iowa, 46–62.

[150] 1892 Iowa, 62–69.

[151] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der einunddreißigsten Jahresversammlung des Mittleren Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892) (henceforth cited as 1892 Mittl.), 10.

[152] 1892 Mittl., 11–12.

1. From the verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture.
2. From justification and absolution.
3. From the election to grace.
4. From conversion.
5. From the Church.
6. From the ministry.
7. From true and false union.
8. From churchly praxis.
9. From the Antichrist.
10. From the hope of the Church.[153]

Kähler speaks about Holy Scripture as the sole source of Christian doctrine. He makes a

contrast with the knowledge held by the leaders of this world and that of Scripture, which is the

revelation of the hidden will of God that God so ordered before the world's foundation.[154] With

this formulation he comes rather close to Fritschel. His Scripture proofs, however, point to the

saving work of Christ that is preached.[155] He, like Walther citing Gerhard (see Appendix B),

refers to Luther's 1532 sermon about doctrine as a golden chain.[156]

He cites the *Sylloge selectiorum ex univ. theol. Controversatorium* of Johannes Fecht

(1636–1716) in his argument that the Reformed reject the indissoluble union of the two natures

in Christ, which therefore bears ill for their doctrine regarding the means of grace.[157] Kähler

points to the sufficiency of Scripture to prove itself to be the sole source (John 1:8; 1 Cor. 2:10–

13). He cites John 10:33–36 and Ps. 82:6 regarding the plurality of the persons in the Godhead

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[153] 1892 Mittl., 13.

[154] 1892 Mittl., 13.

[155] 1892 Mittl., 14.

[156] W² 9:450; 1892 Mittl., 15.

[157] 1892 Mittl., 16.

over against the Jews. He continues with Mark 12:24, 26; Exod. 3:6; and Luke 24:27.[158] He also follows the trend seen in *Geist aus Luthers Schriften* where Luther's homiletical and exegetical works displace his philosophical works as a body of argumentation.[159]

The analogy of faith, that is, the basis of doctrine in the clear passages of Scripture, is the litmus test against the advocacy of sectarian "views" among Methodists, Baptists, and other groups that spring up "like mushrooms."[160] Kähler continues with a number of Luther citations relating to various doctrines, including the *homoousion*, Trinity, and others.[161] Most of the Luther citations come from writings after 1528. They vary from homiletics to his lectures on John; from his *Great Confession* to *On the Councils and the Church*. It remains helpful to see so much evidence from Luther on behalf of Scripture, especially considering the problematic stereotype created by those who advocate his *Sachkritik* as a precursor to historicalcritical methods. Kähler also includes citations from Augustine, Quenstedt, and Wilhelm F. Besser's *Bibelstunden*. We see a focus not only on theory but also on praxis, and that for both pastors and laity.

The second thesis includes citations from Besser, Luther, the *summarischer Begriff* of the FC, Scripture, Pfeiffer, Gerhard, Calov, and a number of hymns. He cites the Council of Trent and Luther as contrary points, then Walther from *LuW*.[162] When Ferdinand Walther was alive, various articles from *LuW* had appeared in doctrinal proceedings where the focus was on the facts of the article, not the author. Here is a sign that the grieving process for Walther was past

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[158] 1892 Mittl., 17–20.

[159] 1892 Mittl., 20.

[160] 1892 Mittl., 23.

[161] 1892 Mittl., 24–39.

[162] 1892 Mittl., 39–54.

and now he could be name-cited in the same *Reihe* as the old dogmaticians. Walther had become

"canonized" by the community: *unser Walther*; *so Walther*; *Wa l t h e r sagt*; etc.

Kähler follows with a discussion of how the Lutheran fathers could err, citing Walther, Luther, and the Lutheran Symbols.[163] In fact, the argument suggests that a theology which does not primarily derive from Scripture and does not show that any fathers cited do the same is fundamentally a circular, papistic theology. Again we see how the Election Controversy changed the attitude of the LCMS on the Lutheran fathers; the frequency in which they are cited drops and the knowledge of their works, once so well known by Walther and others, fades. This is because Kähler, Walther, and others use the cudgel of anti-Romanism to bludgeon their *Gegner* in the Ohio Synod. The unintended effect would be increased contact between Missouri Synod clergy and conservative or fundamentalist Reformed. That is the problem when one's theology is primarily something ranged "against" others. The enemy of my enemy is not always my friend; *via negativa* arguments can produce similarities out of nothing.

Kähler launches against Volck, Mühlau, and Theodosius Harnack, speaking of coarse and fine rationalists. He delivers an extended citation from Quenstedt's *Theologia didactico-polemica* and concludes with a number of Luther citations.[164] The points that he makes regarding Scripture and Rationalism are good; the spirit or tone, however, is quite sharp, indicating the popular tenor of the LCMS at the time.

3.3.8   The Power and Efficacy of Scripture

The 1892 doctrinal proceedings of theWestern District cover the power and efficacy of Scripture (see Table A.13). The first thesis identifies the Word of God with Scripture, citing

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[163] 1892 Mittl., 54–60.

[164] 1892 Mittl., 60–67.

several passages and noting how important that is for sermon content.[165] The second contains

quite a number of Luther citations and covers the distinction between Law and Gospel, new

birth, new obedience, and the Church.[166] Scripture and Luther remain the mainstay for Thesis III,

with Quenstedt also cited.[167]

Thesis IV engages those seeing something other than Scripture as that which effects

change; they include Schwenkfeld, Osiander, Rathmann, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Presbyterians,

and Thomasius.[168] Scripture, Luther, and the Lutheran Symbols support the balance of the

arguments, showing the continuing trend away from citing the Lutheran orthodox fathers after

the Election Controversy.

3.3.9   Doctrine and Praxis

In the 1893 general convention essay by professor Franz Pieper we encounter the "position

on Holy Scripture" as the first section, wherein he engages modern theology.[169] He describes it as

Godless, wherein human beings essentially make of themselves their own lords. After taking at

least two pages to describe the evils of modern theology he summarizes the Missouri Synod

position in about a paragraph. Then we see Pieper show his acumen for going right to the heart

of the problems in higher criticism. Whereas "lower" or textual criticism takes considerable

work, the same cannot be said of the "higher" criticism:

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[165] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Einunddreißigster Synodal-Bericht des Westlichen Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892) (henceforth cited as 1892 Westlich), 12–16.

[166] 1892 Westlich, 16–35.

[167] 1892 Westlich, 43.

[168] 1892 Westlich, 46–58.

[169] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Zweiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, versammelt als siebente Delegatensynode Anno Domini 1893* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893) (henceforth cited as 1893 Allg.), 26–29.

Insofar as one views the individual books of Scripture in a certain "scientific" manner that can only be understood by the small circle of those knowledgeable in the subject, one desires to suss out when and from whom the individual books of Scripture are supposed to be written, even in the contrary view of that which Scripture says regarding itself.[170]

Pieper totally rejects higher criticism because the conclusions of source and form criticism maintain positions that speak contrary to the direct testimony of Christ concerning the Law (Moses), Prophets, and Writings. The rest of his discussion concerns itself with that.[171] Jacob A. O. Preus, another LCMS president, takes a similar position.[172] So many LCMS writers to this point have made this abundantly clear: We are not just talking about texts, rather we are talking about eternal lives. This has a deeply personal dimension in Walther's letters. He lost several children and his own children suffered their losses as well. Yet he confessed the miracle that God grants the bearing of life to women so that their hardships in time bear eternal fruit.[173]

3.3.10 Lutheran *is* Scriptural: Stöckhardt

The 1894 theses of Johann Georg Stöckhardt (Table A.15) continue in the series that shows how Lutheran teaching simply follows what Scripture teaches. It is noteworthy that Stöckhardt's introduction to the theses refers to them as a confession, and that, in conclusion, the Central District confesses them.[174] The clear witness of the Missouri Synod's Central District and a

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[170] *Indem man in einer gewissen „wissenschaftlichen", nur dem engen Kreis der Sachkundigen verständlichen Weise die einzelnen Bücher der Schrift ansieht, will man unter Absehung auch von dem, was die Schrift selbst über sich sagt, dahinterkommen, wann und von wem die einzelnen Bücher der Schrift geschrieben worden seien.* 1893 Allg., 29–30.

[171] 1893 Allg., 30.

[172] Preus, *It Is Written*, 73–74.

[173] Suelflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther*, 249–252. Losing elder relatives, a sister, and nearly both wife and child has emphasized this hope very poignantly for the present author.

[174] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der zweiunddreißigsten Jahresversammlung des Mittleren Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894) (henceforth cited as 1894 Mittl.), 10, 64.

member of its Saint Louis faculty show that the LCMS has tolerated groups within itself making confessions that conform with Scripture and the Book of Concord. Given that this confession was made by a district-synod, it therefore should have standing as LCMS *Kirchenrecht*.

Stöckhardt begins by remarking that the doctrines recently at issue are in such a state because people reject the truth of God's Word.[175] After mentioning in brief Kähler's presentation, Stöckhardt explains that, since the crypto-Calvinists of the sixteenth century, there have always been those claiming to be Lutheran, yet failing to embrace the full truth of God's Word.[176] In recent times, these people, including many rationalists, have formed a "Neo-Lutheranism," says Stöckhardt. Yet these Neo-Lutherans themselves considered the confessional movement begun with Claus Harms to be "Neo-Lutheran."[177] We thus have a "turf battle" for nomenclature that continues to the present. One should be aware of the context when using "Neo-Lutheran." Stöckhardt remains correct because his "Neo-Lutherans" draw on the neo-theology of Rationalism, Kant, Schleiermacher, and others.[178] For all its debt to Pietism, at least the confessional *Erweckung* retained the high view of Scripture from Lutheran orthodoxy.

Stöckhardt launches into several pages of Scripture proofs.[179] One in particular remains interesting. He takes 1 Tim. 3:16 and splits it up: "All Scripture" | "is given by God" in order to make a proof based on two points: a subject and its predicate. He sets an implicit "is" within "all Scripture" to say that everything in the Bible is Holy Writ and that all of it is "given by God."[180] This approach echoes that of the first and last paragraphs of *Quicunque Vult* that delimit

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[175] 1894 Mittl., 10.

[176] 1894 Mittl., 11–12.

[177] *TRE* 24:327–341.

[178] See Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume 1*, 218ff.

[179] 1894 Mittl., 14–22.

salvation to those having the catholic faith.[181] His critique of the newer theologians'

understanding of the nature (*Beschaffenheit*) of Scripture is the context for his proofs.[182] He

rejects their idea that Scripture is some kind of actualization-event that happened to the writers

and that happens to us. Stöckhardt sides with the ontic assertion of divine truth independent of

actualization in mankind, thus affirming Aristotelian causality over against post-Cartesian and

post-Kantian causality via Schleiermacher.[183] Yet teasing a grammatical construct apart in order

to make a logical proof evokes the question whether Scripture communicates via "normal"

human language or whether it needs special interpreters, as if it had "special" grammar or were

oracular in nature. Lutherans since the time of Luther and Lutheran orthodoxy have straddled

both sides of this issue. Luther clearly takes the position that Scripture needs no interpreter as

such because it is clear to all Christians. After Aegidius Hunnius and Matthias Flacius, Lutherans

maintained the analogy of faith on the one hand to preserve the clarity of Scripture, yet on the

other hand they also maintained Scripture's complexity and the need for an interpreter class, the

ministerium. Stöckhardt's approach remains largely agnostic of this historical situation.

Stöckhardt's second thesis becomes very important for issues of *Kirchenrecht* because he

gives a list of supporting citations from various district proceedings, conference papers, and

minutes of the general LCMS convened in synod.[184] One must therefore consider their binding

status under the constitution and bylaws of the LCMS. The remainder of Thesis Two consists of

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[180] 1894 Mittl., 16–18.

[181] *BSLK* 28, 30.

[182] 1894 Mittl., 18–22.

[183] See also Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, *The Hermeneutics Reader* (New York: Continuum, 2000), 8–12 and Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale UP, 1974), 18–50, 282–306.

[184] 1894 Mittl., 22–24.

Scripture proofs and citations from Luther.[185] In his third thesis, Stöckhardt deals with the

teaching of conversion. He touches on the FC and continues with Scripture proofs.[186] The same is

true for the final thesis.[187] Stöckhardt clearly intends to follow the hermeneutical principles from

Lutheran orthodoxy, as his handling of subjects and predicates shows. His method establishes the

"classic" Missouri Synod approach and remains indispensable for the student of foundational

LCMS hermeneutics.

3.3.11 Modern Errors

The 1894 and 1895 Eastern District essays by Timotheus Stiemke confront errors of the

modern theologians concerning inspiration, the person of Christ, and conversion.[188] Only the

portion from 1894 concerns this thesis because it is the portion on inspiration. Regarding

Timotheus Stiemke, he entered the ministry in 1874 and served congregations in Warda and

Houston, Texas and St. John in New Orleans, serving also as president of the Southern District

(1882–88) until his call to Immanuel in Baltimore, where he served until his death in 1908.

Stiemke shows that the topic of *Bekehrung*, conversion, became very closely bound with

the topic of *Gnadenwahl*, predestination.[189] A reading of Walther's edition of the Baier

Compendium shows the topics to be separate. The topic *De regeneratione et conversione* takes

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[185] 1894 Mittl., 24–36.

[186] 1894 Mittl., 36–53.

[187] 1894 Mittl., 53–64.

[188] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der zweiunddreißigsten Jahresversammlung des Östlichen Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894) (henceforth cited as 1894 Östlich), 19.

[189] 1894 Östlich, 19; Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Verhandlungen der dreiunddreißigsten Jahresversammlung des Östlichen Districts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895) (henceforth cited as 1895 Östlich), 54ff.

almost 63 pages while *De praedestinatione et reprobatione* takes almost 82.[190] In the Preuss

edition of Baier's *Compendium*, the totals are about 45 pages and 27 pages.[191] We observe a shift

in emphasis from conversion to predestination, from the Preuss reprint to the Walther annotated

reprint. Part of that shift was caused by nineteenth-century interpretations of *intuitu fidei* and

changes within biblical theology. The Continental theologians were driving the agenda and the

Missouri Synod theologians were in "respond and refute" mode.

Stiemke begins by introducing his three points (inspiration, the person of Christ, and

conversion/election) and by commenting about how intertwined they are and how necessary they

are for salvation.[192] His essay collects many of the points made in previous synods regarding

inspiration and puts them in statements set off by *Sperrdruck* in his flow or argumentation. He

begins by countering the attacks of Thomasius, Luthardt, Kahnis, Dieckhoff, and Volck against

the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture as being untenable, needing to be done away with as an

outmoded doctrine.[193] Stiemke cites Luthardt in a very revealing manner:

> **This process of dissolution** (namely, of the old Lutheran doctrine) **has not yet come
> to a conclusion and a common result. . . On the whole, believing theology** (that
> means the modern sort) **has yet to find a formula in which it is capable of
> expressing the theanthropic character of Holy Scripture.**[194]

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[190] Baier, *Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, 3:177–3:240; 3:531–3:613.

[191] Johann Baier, *Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, ed. Eduard Preuss (Berlin: Gustav Schlawitz, 1864), 400–445; 559–586. This is a one-volume work, whereas the Walther edition has many additional citations from Lutheran orthodox theologians. This is the only citation of the Preuss edition in this thesis.

[192] 1894 Östlich, 16–19.

[193] 1894 Östlich, 20–23.

[194] *Dieser Proceß der Auflösung (nämlich der alten lutherischen Lehre) ist noch nicht zu einem Abschluß und gemeinsamem Resultat gekommen...Im Ganzen sucht der gläubige Theologie (das heißt, die moderne) noch eine Formel zu finden, in welcher sie den gottmenschlichen Character der heiligen Schrift auszusprechen vermöge.* 1894 Östlich, 23.

Stiemke cites the second edition of Luthardt's *Dogmatik* showing that theologians were

discarding the orthodox position on Scripture for a modern position that had yet to gain

satisfactory formulation.[195] Thus, we see not *Wissenschaft* but rather simple confirmation bias.

The ninth revised edition reflects a newer position than that cited by Stiemke. Luthardt sees the

totality of Scripture as the answer to the problem of this formulation.[196] Stiemke's critique still

stands, namely, that Luthardt has gone hunting based on philosophical principles championed by

Ritschl.[197] Moreover, to knock down a doctrine merely based on the future hope of a solution—

what sort of "faith" is that? What sort of *Seelsorge* is that?

When Stiemke proceeds against Kahnis, Luthardt, Volck, and Harnack, he ends up

engaging a number of points that would emerge in concepts of Scripture in the mid-twentieth

century LCMS. That includes the totality of Scripture, Scripture as mere record of inspiration,

and inspiration as something that "moved" the otherwise independent, pious believer to write, a

synergistic divine-human nexus that also has its effect on the person and work of Christ needing

to be fallible and human like we are, beyond the classical definition of human body and rational

soul.[198] We see Stiemke combating the forerunners of Armand Boehme's "smokescreen

vocabulary," wherein one dodges the issue of what the Bible is to talk about its psychological

effects (see Chapter 1). Fifty years after Stiemke gave these essays, forty-four prominent

Missouri Synod figures were confessing like Luthardt and similar theologians.

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[195] Christoph E. Luthardt, Kompendium der Dogmatik, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Dörffling und Francke, 1866), 237, 239.

[196] Christoph E. Luthardt, Kompendium der Dogmatik, 9th ed. (Leipzig: Dörffling und Francke, 1893), 331–333.

[197] 1894 Östlich, 23–24.

[198] 1894 Östlich, 24–27.

Stiemke defends the Missouri Synod position against these modern theologians by discussing many Bible passages. He show that they do not hold the Bible to be the direct Word of God because of concepts like the "Christian self-consciousness."[199] He engages their position that Scripture is not free of error.[200] He parries their stance that Holy Scripture should not be considered the source of all doctrine.[201] He rebuts the position that only the totality of Scripture can be the norm of doctrine.[202] He also argues against their assertion that Scripture is no means of grace.[203] All this he does by citing clear passages of Scripture against these dogmaticians that are trying to claim the classical Lutheran position to be simply a result of *Dogmengeschichte*, of the evolution of dogma over time as a response to the philosophy of the time. Stiemke undoubtedly shows that this new theology fits that description. Stiemke's essays ought to be translated in full for the benefit of the Missouri Synod.

3.3.12 Bible Contradictions?

Eugen A. W. Krauß (Krauss) remains best known for his illustrated *Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, which was also translated into English. It included numerous illustrations, gray tip-in lithographs of very fine quality, and a number of color tip-ins that were reproductions of medieval Bibles, the Gutenberg Bible, a page from the SC, and an example from the Flugschriften.

Krauss's 1902 convention essay reflects some greater trends in the Synodical Conference. He argues that no contradictions exist in the Bible, yet from the first page onward he appears to

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[199] 1894 Östlich, 27–34.

[200] 1894 Östlich, 34–39.

[201] 1894 Östlich, 39–46.

[202] 1894 Östlich, 46–52.

[203] 1894 Östlich, 52–57.

stress the feeling of the heart together with the proof of Scripture. [204]One gets the idea that Krauss

may be influenced by the Romantic period; William Dallmann's reply was that he cannot

experience the genealogies and so on; there is truth that simply must stand for what it is. Krauss,

Bading of the WELS, and others did not receive such criticism favorably, although August

Pieper made his agreement with Dallmann known in private.[205] Dallmann was somewhat irritated

that such agreement was not also in public. Then again, Dallmann had publicly called A. T. F.

Hönecke a heretic and repeatedly challenged what he saw as a rather pronounced ethnocentrism

in the WELS.[206] Perhaps private agreement was the best for which he might hope. Dallmann

could be somewhat forceful in personality, especially when righting a perceived wrong. Yet he

was acquainted with at least three presidents of the US and he was listed in *Who's Who*.[207]

Krauss cites the work of pastor Henry Weseloh, as well as Origen and others, in defending

Scripture.[208] We shall consider Weseloh's body of work here in order to make that reference

intelligible. Starting with Lindemann's Schul-Praxis, we see the assertion that the narrative of

Scripture is a proper superset of the narrative of creation. Scripture, therefore, teaches not only

the faith and things supernatural; it also teaches about things worldly. Bible-stories thus become

the basis for much in the curriculum.[209]

Keeping with Lindemann's approach, Weseloh wrote three books: *Das Buch des Herrn*

und seine Feinde (1902), *Gottes Wort eine Gotteskraft* (1904), and *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der*

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[204] Evangelisch-Lutherische Synodal-Konferenz von Nord-Amerika, *Verhandlungen der neunzehnten Versammlung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synodalconferenz von Nord-Amerika zu Milwaukee, Wisconsin* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902) (henceforth cited as 1902 SynKonf.), 5.

[205] Dallmann, *My Life*, 84–85.

[206] Dallmann, *My Life*, 93–94.

[207] Dallmann, *My Life*, 98.

[208] 1902 SynKonf., 6–7.

Natur (1906).[210] Weseloh, pastor of Immanuel in Cleveland, Ohio, was a skilled apologist that

was able to use logic, observations from the book of nature, and other arguments to make his

point. His arguments from natural complexity, for example, bear similarities to present-day

intelligent design theory.[211] Krauss also taps into this line of apologetics, and it remains

interesting to see how he links observations from the natural sciences to the Christian belief of

the Bible having no contradictions.[212] He adduces Michael Walther's *Harmonia Biblica* in this

context.[213] Krauss uses this section to counter, among others, David Friedrich Strauß (Strauss).

He wants to make the point that the appeal to the natural sciences aids the Christian and proves

the Bible, not the atheist, to be true.

Krauss nevertheless looks to Scripture itself, and specifically the Gospel, as the ultimate

basis. As Christians we need not defend the Gospel, rather, we need to *confess* it.[214] He continues

by discussing several attributes of Scripture: truth, inspiration, and norm.[215] His discussion of

how the predicate of truth for the heathen differs from the predicate of truth for the Christian can

inform those that study Luther's LC II, §66 and other passages where Lutherans define truth.[216]

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[209] Lindemann, *Amerikanisch-Lutherische Schul-Praxis*, 22.

[210] A note regarding publication dates: CPH did not use the date of actual copyright but the date of printing on many of its books during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This problematizes finding out the authoritative publication data, especially for curricular and catechetical resources related to those described here. Checking with the Library of Congress and with CPH itself is recommended.

[211] One sees that practically from cover to cover in Henry Weseloh, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Natur* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906).

[212] 1902 SynKonf., 7–13.

[213] 1902 SynKonf., 12.

[214] 1902 SynKonf., 13–14.

[215] 1902 SynKonf., 14–22.

[216] Compare 1902 SynKonf., 14–15 and Edward Engelbrecht, *One True God* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2007).

Krauss proceeds to categorize various types of Bible reader and why the different types find contradictions. This is helpful because it really does show that a "contradiction" is not just something that leaps off the page but it is something that a person, with all of his or her baggage, brings to it.[217] One complication with that, however, is whether truth or non-contradiction is also "found." If that is true, we move quite quickly to the modernist God-in-us. Krauss does suggest, however, that the obscurity lies in us. He does not make the modern move. The remainder of the presentation deals with individual cases of apparent contradiction.[218]

3.3.13 The Inspiration of Scripture

Like Eugen Krauß, *Referent* E. Zapf draws on Henry Weseloh's *Das Buch des Herrn und seine Feinde*.[219] This should indicate how important this line of apologetics and the relation of natural science to Scripture had become. We should not be surprised, given the appearance of *The Fundamentals* from 1910–1915. This development should help explain the greater contacts of the LCMS with conservative Reformed Christians, as does Gerberding's influence help explain increased contact with mainline Christians. These theses were ratified by the Northern Illinois District and therefore should have standing under the LCMS constitution and bylaws.

Zapf's theses (see Table A.16) take the form of leading paragraphs in sections of an essay; we are seeing the move, already underway since about 1890, to the convention essay format. His introductory remarks mention the 1891 theses of the Iowa District.[220] The section for his first thesis cites various sources, including *Die Abendschule*, Quenstedt, the 1894 Central District

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[217] 1902 SynKonf., 22–29.

[218] 1902 SynKonf., 29–56.

[219] Deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, *Erster Synodal-Bericht des Nord-Illinois-Distrikts* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1909) (henceforth cited as 1909 Nord-Ills.), 10.

[220] 1909 Nord-Ills., 11.

Verhandlungen, and other LCMS sources.[221] Here we see another emerging pattern: the LCMS citing its own body of works. In its first fifty years it did little of that; yet after Walther became a *Stammler* of blessed memory we see an ever-increasing tendency for the synod to cite its own works, as one sees throughout the *Reallexikon* of Ernst Eckhardt.

Thesis Two consists almost entirely of Scripture proofs. Zapf sees Luke 24:24 as the key verse that unlocks all the other proofs because it contains the very words of Christ. He then proceeds forward from the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy, through the OT and then the NT.[222] He wraps up this thesis with Luther's lectures on Habakkuk from the Erlangen edition (42:56).[223] Zapf treats the modern objections to the Scripture principle under Thesis III, making reference to a good deal of secondary literature but engaging few direct citations or attributions, save when citing Walther or *Der Lutheraner* on behalf of Scripture.[224] One gets the idea that he is being Erbaulich, not Wissenschaftlich. The final two theses are also supported by Luther citations and quotes from Missouri Synod literature.[225] The theses generally appear to be a recapitulation of prior matter.

3.4 Significant Books and Articles

The following works are representative major milestones in this period. They do not, however, exhaust the possibilities of study. The reader is encouraged to look at Stöckhardt's commentaries and those of Carl Manthey-Zorn.

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[221] 1909 Nord-Ills., 12–17.

[222] 1909 Nord-Ills., 17–30.

[223] 1909 Nord-Ills., 31.

[224] 1909 Nord-Ills., 31–57.

[225] 1909 Nord-Ills., 57–58.

We briefly mention Albrecht F. Hoppe's "*Grundzüge*." Hoppe shows that the principle of

Christ and the Gospel at the center of Scripture cannot be divorced from Scripture, since the

Christian kerygma is present typologically in the OT and through Jesus Christ in the NT.[226]

Luther believes the five books of Moses to be the source or basis for the remainder of

Scripture.[227] The fact that Jesus alone is the proper lore master and the Holy Spirit speaks through

Scripture for him means that the Gospel principle holds Scripture together as a unity according to

its very words. Depart from Scripture and you depart from the Gospel.[228] The reason that

Hoppe's article is not covered further in this chapter, although its context and content make it

very pertinent, lies with Hoppe's style. It is difficult to determine where one statement ends and

another begins. A sentence in boldface *Fraktur* is then followed by a list of statements in normal-

weight *Fraktur*, then references to the Erlangen edition. Sometimes *Sperrdruck* and boldface are

mixed with normal weight type. This thesis is too brief to argue for an enumeration and analysis

of twenty-eight pages of such text.

3.4.1 Walther's 1886 *LuW* "Foreword"

Walther delivers several theses against the Dorpat theologians in the 1886 "Foreword" to

LuW. The article marks one of the last living opportunities that Walther had for treating issues of

hermeneutics. He begins by reviewing the public history of Wilhelm Volck's February 1884

presentation, "To What Extent Is the Bible's Inerrancy to Be Attributed?" and Ferdinand

Mühlau's presentation, "DoWe Possess the Original Text of Holy Scripture?"[229] Walther

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[226] Albrecht F. Hoppe, "Grundzüge der lutherischen Hermeneutik zusammengestellt aus Luthers Schriften," *Lehre und Wehre* 28, no. 2, 4 (1882): 57ff.

[227] Hoppe, "Grundzüge der lutherischen Hermeneutik zusammengestellt aus Luthers Schriften," 108ff.

[228] Hoppe, "Grundzüge der lutherischen Hermeneutik zusammengestellt aus Luthers Schriften," 148ff.

[229] C. F. W. Walther, "Vorwort," *Lehre und Wehre* 32, no. 1–3 (1886): 1.

continues by noting the errors in these presentations, the deafening silence of the other Lutheran

university faculties, and the agreement of Luthardt and Theodosius Harnack. He also notes the

protest not only of a few parish pastors, but of an entire synod of the Estonian territorial church

assembled on the Island of Ösel (Saaremaa), the content of which reads:

> I, for my person, submit herewith as a member of our territorial church and as a duly
> ordered minister of the same my Protest against the fact that our confessional
> theological faculty in Dorpat that is bound to the Symbols and the Bible in two of its
> members (without being so engendered on the part of the others) has publicly fallen
> away (*abgefallen*) from the Bible, teaches this refuse (*Abfall*) to the young
> theologians, and spreads this about in the parish.[230]

Walther continues by offering citations from these theologians, notably Luthardt, whom

Walther views as a real troublemaker in this affair, contraposing Luther and other citations

supporting the historic Lutheran doctrine.[231] He then gives theses from Luther's writings against

the Dorpat theologians. They are enumerated here:

I. The entirety of Holy Scripture is a work of the Holy Spirit.

II. There is a specific difference between a prophet in the proper sense and a worldly-wise, mediately enlightened teacher.

III. In Holy Scripture there stands nothing that is of incidental or no meaning (vergeblich).

IV. Holy Scripture is free of error.

V. Scripture nowhere contradicts itself.

VI. Upon every jot and tittle of Scripture there lies an infinite amount, and the entire Church is itself bound to that.

VII. God the Holy Spirit is himself the originator (Urheber) of Scripture's own proper (eigenthümlich), straightforward (einfaltig) presentation and also the description of the slightest thing situated therein.

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[230] Walther, "Vorwort,", 2, my translation.

[231] Walther, "Vorwort,", 3–12, 33–36.

VIII. Also where Scripture reports concerning sexual matters that are offensive according to natural feelings, even there the Holy Spirit is himself the reporter.

IX. Also in Scripture here and there the apparent lack of order that one finds has its basis in the wisdom of the Holy Spirit.

X. Also those things that Scripture has to say about natural history are said by the Holy Spirit himself.

XI. Also the chronological information within Holy Scripture is of divine origin.

XII. The interpretation of the Old Testament that Christ and the apostles give is the authentic interpretation of the Holy Spirit himself.

XIII. Also where one cannot understand Scripture, one must nevertheless view and handle it with holy awe (Scheu) and confess his ignorance.[232]

Walther plays no tricks and pulls no punches; his is a straightforward reportage from Luther's exegetical lectures. We cannot afford to delve into the details of each Luther citation here. We can, however, offer these theses, directly gleaned from Luther's writings, as an antidote to those that would make Luther a forerunner of historical-critical methods.

3.4.2 Interpretation in Action: Baptism

Matters that exist "according to the reality of things" (κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα) actually exist according to causal paradigms. This example deals with John's Baptism. Kromayer's *Theologia positivo polemica* I, 826ff. provides a definition for interpretation that includes not only explicit matters in the text but also descriptions of acts within the texts that have salvific importance.[233]

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[232] Walther, "Vorwort,", 36–43, 65–77, my translation.

[233] *Color obduci potest huic sententiae: . . . 2. Quod Johannes In nomine Patris, Filii et Sp. S. baptizasse nullibi legatur. Sed respondemus distinguendo inter id, quod in Scripturis extat* κατὰ τὸ γράμμα, *et quod extat* κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα. Baier, *Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, 3:437.

Reinhold Pieper discusses the issue in his commentary on the SC, one of the most complete works on the understanding and teaching of the SC in the LCMS. On the side against equating John's Baptism with that of Christ there is Bellarmine, the Council of Trent, and other Roman Catholic sources.[234] On the side of saying that John's Baptism did not differ in nature from that of Christ, although it is distinguished from it, Pieper cites Hengstenberg (*Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes* 1:221), Heubner (*Praktische Erklärung des NT* 1:26), Keil (*Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes* 133), Luther (*De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* W[1] 19:69f.), and Flacius (*Glossa compendaria* 139).[235] Reading the bulk of the argumentation, one sees the progression:

1. Water baptism was practiced by John, a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins (Mark 1:4).

2. The water baptism instituted by Christ in Matt. 28:19–20 also works forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation.

3. When God forgives sins, regardless of the mode (Christ's pronouncements, those of the apostles, Holy Absolution, Holy Baptism) the effect is the same.

4. One cannot argue a difference in nature from a lack of variance in effect.

5. Therefore, there is no essential difference between the two baptisms.

This argument is elegant in that it looks to see what is going on and how things work out. Since the effects are not contrary and since God is not contrary to himself, the counter-proposals put one in jeopardy of arguing against the simplicity and unity of God, the certainty of his will to save, and a number of other points that boil down to theodicy, prophecy, and soteriology.

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[234] Reinhold Pieper, *Der kleine Katechismus Luthers aus der Heiligen Schrift und Luthers Werken*, 3 vols. (Milwaukee: Germania Publishing Co., 1899), 3/1:16–17. Pieper's three volumes are further organized into parts, each part having its own pagination.

[235] Pieper, *Katechismus*, 3/1:17–18.

However elegant this may be, there may be another solution. We know that the disciples of John repeatedly interacted with those of Jesus, with some apparent crossover and with some reluctance (Matt. 9:14–17; 11:2–15; Mark 2:18–22; Luke 5:33–39; 7:18–30; John 1:19–42; 3:22–4:2). We also see a similar affinity with the two baptisms, where some baptized by John became Jesus' disciples and Christians, while others did not know of the Holy Spirit, yet were rebaptized by Paul and received it (Acts 19:1–7). This clearly shows that a hard stance for or against does not match the biblical witness, which includes not only forgiveness but also Trinitarian teaching, as Matt. 28:19–20 does. It is clear that a *baptizare-docere* was happening that later developed into the catechumenate of the ancient Church, a *docere-baptizare*. Yet this eventually developed into the catechetical office of sponsor or Godparent in the *baptizare et catechizare* model of the Middle Ages.[236]

Talking about the issue in a cause-effect manner brings problems to the table for both premodern and modern, Protestant and Catholic interpreters. We see that the Catholics and the Lutherans find different aspects of causality in order to generate alternative arrangements of the biblical evidence. When do we know that the evidence is shaping the causality, as opposed to the causality shaping the evidence? The books of the prophets and apostles, not those of Dionysius Thrax and Aristotle, are canonical. Those books tell a story that neither separates John's and Jesus' Baptisms as distinct substances, nor combines them as *una substantia*. John's baptism decreased, that the one instituted by Jesus might increase. The Bible leaves the issue more complicated, yet nevertheless clear on the Lord's will for the baptism and teaching to occur, that the one baptized be saved by the Triune God. Here is an excellent illustration of the problems of

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[236] Albrecht Peters, *Kommentar zu Luthers Katechismen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1991), 1:15–17.

human causality, whether premodern, modern, or postmodern. Human causality tends to become circular at some point when dealing with fundamental issues; it cannot escape first principles. Luther's genius lies in using a causal model that takes into account such inevitable circularity in human thought. At such points, Luther refers to the revealed God in Scripture and shows us that knowing what it says is enough.

3.4.3   Lutheran Dispensationalism?

In May 1881, professor C. H. Rudolph Lange of Concordia College published the St. Louis Theological Monthly, one of the first English periodicals in the synod, in response to attacks made in the Lutheran Standard, published in Columbus, Ohio and associated with the Ohio Synod.[237] The Missouri Synod received Lange's periodical in its 1881 convention and it ran for a brief period thereafter.

The lead-in article for the first issue is, "Shall we retain our Confessions?" Lange states that, in spite of persecution, ". . . let the Church be lighted and led by the Word of God proclaimed in her Confessions."[238] He was responding to Ohio Synod accusations that the Missouri Synod was promulgating Calvinism, drawing its theology from Church fathers instead of Scripture, and altering a number of fundamental doctrines. Lange asserts that, in taking a position on the confessions, the LCMS is confessing, "The doctrine . . . set forth in our Confessions as revealed in the Word of God."[239] Lange describes the Lutheran Symbols as that, ". . . through which the Church of the Reformation had sent forth the everlasting Gospel to be

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[237] Rudolph C. H. Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," *St. Louis Theological Monthly* 1, no. 1 (1881): 1–2.

[238] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 2.

[239] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 3.

preached unto them that dwell on the earth."[240] We must reflect here that Lange is giving the Lutheran Confessions biblical attributes such as everlasting, light and Gospel. How can he do this? Lange argues this point by a via negativa method, showing what cannot be the case when speaking of confessional authority and truth. He observes several false positions on doctrinal authority. One is the general disarray of American Lutheranism prior to the confessional revival.[241] Another is the attempt by the Buffalo Synod to put all authority in the hands of the clergy.[242] A third is the Iowa Synod's insistence that the confessions are only binding at those points in which there is agreement with the confessions by the church fathers.[243]

Lange describes the conflict with the Ohio Synod and with F. W. Stellhorn as one in which the doctrine of the church is characterized by the accretion of the teachings of its theologians.[244] He speaks of how Stellhorn and others cite Quenstedt against the Missouri Synod; he argues that the Lutheran Confessions trump Quenstedt.[245] He wryly states that those who advocate the use of the Church fathers most loudly are often those who are most ignorant of the works and content of those same fathers.[246] Lange gets to the point:

> The Church of the Reformation is founded neither on the fathers prior, nor on those subsequent to her establishment. She is founded on the Scriptures. The establishing on her foundation is fixed or embodied in her Confessions, which were brought about by special, providential acts of God. So far as a person joins in these Confessions, he is to be recognized as a voice in the Church. The consent of her teachers is not a voice of the Church, unless it be a consent in her Confessions. . . .We recognize the

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[240] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 4.

[241] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 3–4.

[242] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 5.

[243] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 5–6.

[244] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 6–8.

[245] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 9–11.

[246] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 11.

right, sustained by the Scriptures, of drawing inferences from our assertions, if they are presented as such, and not as assertions of our own.[247]

This point is the apex of his argument and the remainder of the article consists of concluding remarks. So, is Lange advocating a special dispensation for Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions? If one takes divine providence in the Reformed sense of ordinance and applies some of the foregoing theses incautiously, the answer could be "yes." Lange comes close to making the Book of Concord into a *norma normans*. We know that inspiration was a special, providential act and Lange appears to create a *Gleichstellung* here. He uses a theology of glory to conclude the positive from a list of negatives. It does not appear that the LCMS followed Lange here; we see no further mention of it in synodical literature. William Dallmann notes how Lange's lectures tended to be weak, drawn not from his own body of research but from Rawlinson's *Ancient Religions*.[248]

3.4.4 *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*

From 1880 (second edition) to 1902 (third edition), *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk* was reprinted in St. Louis and Leipzig by publisher Fr. Dette, who worked with the LCMS on other projects like Christian Löber's *Dogmatik*, various tracts, Fick's martyrology, and the *Postilla* of Tilemann Heßhus. This Bible and commentary was a reprint edition of the Nuremberg or Ernestine Bible that featured the collaborative work of the best theologians from Lutheran orthodoxy. Roughly quarto (large crown) in size and some four inches thick, it features a guide

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[247] Lange, "Shall we retain our Confessions?," 12.

[248] Dallmann, *My Life*, 24.

in the front matter that instructs one how to read the Bible. The following is a summary

paraphrase of its content. Ferdinand Walther wrote very highly of this Bible.[249]

The guide begins with the fact that reading the Bible is like having an audience with God,

the almighty King, or like receiving a letter from him concerning our salvation. In the same way

that we lend more than an ear to our good friend, so we should give full attention to the Lord and

observe the royal protocols. Scripture is from the Holy Spirit that used holy men as his tools

(Werkzeuge). They received what and how they should write.[250]

Scripture possesses majesty, excellence, perfection, and power, yet it also possesses clarity.

The secrets therein, hidden by our sin and ignorance, pertain to the Kingdom of Christ and our

salvation that are revealed to us. One approaches Scripture best as a simple child, needing no

cleverness or helps to understand some clever meaning but following Matt. 11:25. Continued

study will bring one to more advanced stages of learning.[251]

One realizes that the Bible is the Word of God not so much in the meek approach one takes

to it as much as at the beginning and the end of life, where we turn to simple prayers like those

we learned in prayer-books and trust that Word as much for the little ones coming into the world

and being baptized as for our own departure from it. One cannot simply know the content as one

knows subject matter; one must approach it in an open, childlike manner where God effects faith

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[249] See Walther's "Neue Vorrede" in Martin Luther et al., eds., *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk: Biblia, das ist die ganze Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments verdeutscht von Doctor Martin Luther und auf Herzog Ernst's Verordnung von etlichen reinen Theologen dem eigentlichen Wortverstand nach erklärt*, 3rd ed. (St. Louis and Leipzig: Fr. Dette, 1902), iii–vii.

[250] Luther, *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*, xxvi.

[251] Luther, *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*, xxvi.

in those that come to him as little children. Thus zeal for pure doctrine is awakened, as well as continued and unabated obedience.[252]

One should read Scripture in the context of sanctification, that is, daily penitence and forgiveness. Reading should be done in an orderly, thoughtful manner, also in the context of the Church and the work of the Preaching Office. One is commended to read the Bible aloud in a steady voice, becoming used to the rhythm of the text and therefore understanding the text better because of its natural vocal rhythm and the meaning that such rhythm imparts. One should carry a pocket-Bible or at least a New Testament to check, for example, that the pastor is preaching correctly by looking up the subject matter during the sermon. One should also have a larger Bible, either of octavo or quarto size, for home use as a reference work.[253]

Concerning the general understanding of Scripture, one must discern between literal expressions and figures of speech, e.g., Herod the fox. One should also note where, for example, Paul in Gal. 4:22ff. uses "allegory." This is to be understood as coming from the literal subject matter itself, yet there is a motion of secret to revelation, of type in the OT to antitype in the NT that points to Christ and his Church. This heading of "allegory" used by Paul also covers the allegorical meaning that pertains to types (*Vorbilder*) pointing to Christ and his Church, figures pertaining to the Christian life (*tropological*), and figures pertaining to eternal life (*anagogical*).[254] The literal sense is found everywhere in Scripture, albeit here clearer and there more obscure. The mystical sense is not found everywhere and it derives from the literal. One must test whether the Holy Spirit himself intentionally established the relation of type to

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[252] Luther, *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*, xxvi.

[253] Luther, *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*, xxvi–xxvii.

[254] Luther, *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*, xxvii–xxviii.

antitype; if it is a human observation then it fails. Since this involves considerable study to determine the application of clear passages and the proximity of themes like cross, altar, and so forth, it is best that one abide by the literal sense, comparing the OT and NT. In all things remain humble and follow where the words and footsteps of the Holy Spirit lead, straying not too far and using study materials so that one is not knocking about in the dark.[255] The remaining part of the guide continues as a specific primer dealing with various issues of interpretation, such as usage, genre, and so forth.[256]

3.4.5 Ludwig Fürbringer's Hermeneutics

Ludwig Fürbringer's two handbook-sized volumes were published for the organization of class notes. Although the Missouri Synod put considerable weight on hermeneutics, as it made the transition to English many of its former sources fell out of use. Fürbringer's handbooks indicate the beginning of a new era as much as the culmination of the "classic" period in the LCMS. The hermeneutics books used in the LCMS include C. G. Hofmann's *Institutiones Theologiae Exegeticae* and James Voelz's *What Does This Mean?*, with the possible addition of Bohlmann's *Principles of Biblical Interpretation in the Lutheran Confessions*. Could a synod that based its doctrine on the Word of God realistically maintain a homogeneous hermeneutic from 1876 to at least 1968 based merely on journal articles and course outlines?

Fürbringer's volumes were not meant to be exhaustive. Certainly his method and content builds on Pfeiffer because Fürbringer learned it from Walther himself. He includes much less

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[255] Luther, *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*, xxviii.

[256] Luther, *Das Weimarische Bibelwerk*, xxviii–xxxiii.

than his sources on determining tropes and senses.[257] His presentation could have been helped by including more from Walther, Crull, and others.

The German and English versions remain similar, yet their differences are intriguing. For example, the German edition defines biblical hermeneutics as a "doctrine" (*Lehre*) while the English calls it a "branch of theology."[258] We are left wanting a clear definition of theology. This sort of comparison continues to unfold as we compare, for example, the literature recommended by the two. The lists have been reordered to aid comparison. The German contains:

- "Grundsätze der lutherischen Kirche über Schriftauslegung" (Northern District, 1867) 7.

- "The Practice of Exegesis," *Theological Quarterly* 2 (1898) 22f.

- A. F. Hoppe, "Grundzüge der lutherischen Hermeneutik, zusammengestellt aus Luthers Schriften," *LuW* 28 (1882) 57f.

- Luther, *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*, W^2 19:968

- Luther, *Von den letzten Worten Davids*, W^2 3:1880

- C. F. W. Walther, *Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche die wahre sichtbare Kirche Gottes auf Erden* (St. Louis, 1867) 70f.

- M. Flacius, *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae* (1695).

- J. Gerhard, *Loci Theologici: De interpretatione Scripturae Sacrae*.

- G. H. Gilbert, *Interpretation of the Bible: A Short History* (New York, 1908).

- Heinrici, "Hermeneutik" in *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Hauck, 7:718.

- C. G. Hofmann, *Institutiones Theologiae Exegeticae* (St. Louis, 1876).

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[257] Ludwig E. Fürbringer, *Theologische Hermeneutik: Leitfaden für Vorlesungen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912), 10–14; Fürbringer, *Theological Hermeneutics: An Outline for the Classroom*, 9–13.

[258] Compare Fürbringer, *Theologische Hermeneutik: Leitfaden für Vorlesungen*, 3 and Fürbringer, *Theological Hermeneutics: An Outline for the Classroom*, 2.

- J. C. K. von Hofmann, *Biblische Hermeneutik* (Nördlingen, 1880).

- H. N. Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1841).

- A. Pfeiffer, *Thesaurus Hermeneuticus* (1704).

- F. Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Neue Testament* (Berlin, 1838).[259]

The English edition adds the following and removes Heinrici's article without explanation:

- "Schriftauslegung und Analogie des Glaubens," *LuW* 52 (1906) 481f.

- "Thesen über die Grundsätze lutherischer Schriftauslegung gegenüber den in heutiger Zeit hierin herrschenden Irrtümern und falschen Geistesrichtungen" (Saxon Free Church, 1886) 9f.

- "Vier Thesen über das Schriftprincip," *LuW* 13 (1867) 97.

- J. C. Dannhauer, *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1654).

- F. W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (London, 1886).

- S. Glassius, *Philologia Sacra* (1713).

- E. König, *Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments* (Bonn, 1916).

- J. J. Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticae Sacrae* (1732).

- J. J. Rambach, *Erläuterungen über seine eigenen Institutiones Hermeneuticae Sacrae* (1738).

- G. H. Schodde, *Outlines of Biblical Hermeneutics* (Columbus, Ohio, 1917).

- M. S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics* (New York, 1890).[260]

Ludwig Fürbringer is no false teacher. Indeed, he shows more knowledge on the subject

than perhaps the average pastor of today. What he does teach corresponds with much that was

covered in the nineteenth-century Missouri Synod. Yet his volumes beg more questions than they

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[259] Fürbringer, *Theologische Hermeneutik: Leitfaden für Vorlesungen*, 2.

[260] Fürbringer, *Theological Hermeneutics: An Outline for the Classroom*, 25.

answer. His references to the general laws of human language generate circular thinking.[261] We

have already seen that the approach to grammar in the Missouri Synod changed from Lindemann

to Crull to Hattstädt (see Section 2.3.3). By failing to define a source and context for the general

laws of human speech, Fürbringer allows one to read Terry and plug in his context, or to read

Schleiermacher and plug in his. Both sources are listed above. In this manner, these Leitfaden

helped contribute to the polarization of the LCMS.

Since we have already examined in this work a superset of the matter contained in

Fürbringer's hermeneutics, we shall leave in-depth comparison to the reader. Ludwig Fürbringer

surely meant well. In many ways, we must see him as shaped by his times. One can think of the

early Missouri Synod in terms of two forty-year "generations" or four twenty-year ones. In terms

of the latter, the immigrant generation of LCMS pastors (1840–60) was educated in Germany

and knew exactly what it was up against. The first American generation (1860–80) nevertheless

was an extension of the founding generation due to continued immigration and the Proseminar in

Steeden. The second American generation (1880–1900) and its successor (1900-20) got exactly

what their teachers wanted to give them, and precious little more. They lost context, and the lack

of detail accompanied by greater citation of intra-Missourian sources after 1900 more than

proves that. Matters would change after 1920, but it would not come to a rediscovery of Lutheran

orthodoxy. By 1950, the LCMS would look much like its erstwhile adversaries.[262]

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[261] Fürbringer, *Theologische Hermeneutik: Leitfaden für Vorlesungen*, 3–4; Fürbringer, *Theological Hermeneutics: An Outline for the Classroom*, 2–3.

[262] Consult Richard Baepler, *Flame of Faith, Lamp of Learning: A History of Valparaiso University* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001).

3.5   Summary

The period from 1880 to 1912 was the latter part of the most active sustained period of hermeneutical study in LCMS history. From 1865 to 1909, at least eighteen sets of Lehrverhandlungen spanning some 953 pages confessed the doctrine of Scripture in a manner that was meant to take the content of orthodox Lutheranism and make it applicable to the challenges of the latter nineteenth century and the early twentieth. Including the related journal articles and books easily brings the page count to over 2,000. From about 1912 to 1954, the pace slows, showing greater activity after 1935. From about 1954 to 1980 we see renewed output amidst new controversy. That includes an upswing of articles in CTM, especially after Robert Preus joins the St. Louis faculty. It includes other sources in the LCMS as well as LCUSA studies in the 1970s on hermeneutics and confessional documents.265 Yet this increased activity never matched the almost feverish level reached a century before that.

The Missouri Synod consolidated its doctrine on Scripture after 1880 and brought considerable refinement to it with respect to the issues of the day. It parried its opponents with serious arguments stating that its confession of eternal election, conversion, human ethical behavior, and enduring truth over against the equivocations of historical contingency stood nowhere else but on the firm ground of Scripture. It nevertheless began to distance itself from the seventeenth-century fathers that dominated its early period and it began to use Scripture, the Lutheran Symbols, and Luther, then springboard to the nineteenth century. By about the turn of the twentieth century, much of its teaching was in place and it started looking to its own works as a self-sufficient body of theology.

CHAPTER 4

AREAS FOR GROWTH

The early Missouri Synod did not start out to repristinate Lutheran orthodoxy in all its

detail. Aspects of church leadership apart from the state, lay elders, ordination, polity, and other

issues were consciously tailored for life in a country where one was not born into a geographical

parish or a religious Konfession and expected to stay there. When carefully examined, the fathers

of "old Missouri" were very creative, building a complex bridge from the Pietism and

enthusiasm of America to the thought and causality of an era of Lutheranism pronounced dead

by about 1730.[1] Was it dead? Growth from a handful of congregations to about a million

members by 1932 shows that this was at least partially untrue. The Gospel proclaimed from the

clear, inerrant words of Scripture motivates and maintains the survival and context of

Lutheranism. The Missouri Synod grew to rival other Lutheran bodies having greater laxity and

willingness to compromise.[2] Were lax approaches, doctrines, and hermeneutical presuppositions

superior, other bodies should have surpassed the LCMS by an order of magnitude. They did not.

Ultimate truth will not be found merely by repristinating Walther. Yet Walther and the

Missouri Synod can teach much about Lutheran orthodoxy and the truth it preserves. The content

of their assertions engages the following:

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[1] See BLP 60: Sasse, "Gedanken am Vorabend des Reformationsjubiläums von 1967."

[2] Voices in American Lutheranism, such as Dr. John G. Morris, have expressed grave concern about its
(continued next page)

1. There is a line of deliberate, unidirectional causality from God, through Scripture, to the Christian. The Bible is alive as God is alive. It is not inert, a medium or artifact waiting to be actualized by the reader or the hearer. Through Scripture, God calls his people to be his own and live under him and impels his people to show him forth in word and deed. This rules out any merit of works, predication on ethics, *fiat* of determinism, and natural, historical knowledge.

2. God imparted the words of Scripture to its authors in a special way that goes beyond the ways in which we usually decode grammar and associate grammatical constructions and abstractions of meaning with our inner "lexica" and experiences. Like the divine nature in Christ God pervaded human words, and like the human nature in Christ those words saw no corruption.

3. There exists an impassible gulf that separates Christianity as a revealed religion from natural religion, heathenism, and heresies like Judaism, Islam, and false communions claiming the Christian mantle. This gulf corresponds to the total dependence upon the true Gospel for any hope of salvation and true religion. A denial of such a gulf denies the doctrine of original sin and precludes the hope of salvation.

4. The Missouri Synod tried to use the canons of interpretation from Lutheran orthodoxy. The first such appearance was in Walther's summary from Pfeiffer in 1855. The second was in Walther's "*Theologische Axiome*" soon thereafter. The third was Ahner's theses. The fourth was in the 1867 doctrinal theses of the Northern District. Various recapitulations and listings exist thereafter. The basis remained generally clear and steady until around 1920.

5. One major issue that the Missouri Synod faced was dealing with those points where the causality connected with Word and Sacrament touched the life of the believer. On the one hand, theologians wanted to affirm that there was an act of testimony, of conviction, of change in the believer. On the other hand, they did not want the believer to predicate doctrine on the fact of that change but to look only to God's primary action. The LCMS needed to consider the dynamics and transitions from four-cause Aristotelian frameworks to unicausal, post-Cartesian and post-Kantian frameworks. Since philosophy was so glaringly absent from the education of many in the Missouri Synod and since some studies on related subjects have appeared only in the past two decades, one is hardly surprised to see that the LCMS never tackled the core philosophical tensions that engage the theological questions.

6. The Missouri Synod did not wish to "flatten out" the Bible as might some Protestant literalistic interpretations might. They showed themselves sensitive to genre, figures, nuances, and so forth. Yet they did not understand the relation of grammar to linguistic philosophy when shifting grammatical models. They tended to squelch opportunities for the mystical or figural interpretations of Scripture that many of their orthodox forebears would have allowed. This continued unease about

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perennial laxity. Dallmann, *My Life*, 67–68.

the meaning of tropes and the issue of what "proper" grammatical interpretation entails would encourage polarization in the future.

7. By preserving the analogy of faith, the LCMS preserved the rights of its laity to be literate in the Scriptures, to question and test the pastor's doctrine, to give a confident witness to the Gospel, to be certain of their salvation, and to be active members of the Royal Priesthood. Taking away the analogy of faith, attenuating the ability to apply *Vernunftfolgerungen* and so descending into Biblicism, and employing an ambiguous mixture of modern and ancient frameworks rob the laity of their faith and their priesthood to benefit the possible encroachment of clergy.

8. Every aspect of interpreting Scripture joins to the causality that God has given it, namely, the eternal salvation of his people, for which Scripture is perfect, sufficient, and clear.

9. Theological errors result when people arrogantly impose philosophical frameworks on Scripture and thereby separate themselves from God.

10. Citing the Fathers as coordinate with Scripture is reprehensible and leads to gross theological error. Citing the Fathers as a continual witness subject to Scripture is a great treasure and blessing.

11. Our faith, our eternal salvation, and our Christian identity all rest upon the fact that God and only God has given all Scripture. Since modern theologians use a common approach that cannot admit the orthodox belief regarding inspiration, their psychological tack, however "conservative," leads only toward damnation.

12. Christian sermons are powerful and effective only because God's Word in itself is powerful and effective, not because the preacher makes it so. Any contrary position robs the Word of both Spirit and power.

13. Without Scripture there can be no human knowledge that would contribute to our salvation. If Scripture engages our experiences, it does so on the Spirit's terms and not on ours. To misconstrue that by allowing any syncretism would be the nullification of the Scripture principle and the loss of salvation.

14. Scripture, like justification, predestination, conversion, rehabilitation, and eternal salvation, is given alone by God to us humans *sola gratia*. Asserting anything else or blending human effort therein creates a religion of the Law, not of the Gospel.

15. No position that questions the orthodox doctrines of scriptural inspiration, inerrancy, perfection, sufficiency, clarity, and so on, can in any wise be said to be evangelical or in harmony with the doctrine confessed during the first eighty years of the Missouri Synod.

One must look not only to the errors of modern causality related to Pietism, Romanticism, and recent methods, but also to the truth of Scripture that predates this world. Divine truth resides in the eternal heart of God, from whence the mission impulse also springs forth. Truth

must be more than instantiation and interpretation. It must be durative and inviolate, else we shall surely die. Hermann Sasse puts it well: When Schiller wrote his *Ode an die Kunst*, the French Revolution was spilling blood. Goethe predicted the fall of Roman Catholicism, yet what rose were unionist Protestants ever fractured among themselves, conscript armies, the Napoleonic Wars, the *Pax Britannica*, the consolidation of nations, the weakening of empires, and the Great War that Sasse beheld first-hand in bloody Paschendale.[3]

One observes books by atheists like Robert Pullman and Christopher Hitchens, books touting some level of "spirituality" by seeing a god within, and "self-help" religion that seeks change one's outlook or one's wealth. Yet the dying still cling to Hope that this world cannot give, leaving it with the certainty that only faith in Christ can grasp. "Old Missouri" may have had its problems, yet its uncompromising devotion to Christ as the center of divine Truth revealed by the Spirit in Scripture alone remains its hallmark on the American landscape.

At the same time, truth need not equate to threat, and neither is love of neighbor to be cast aside speedily. All Christians must have a safe venue in which to examine themselves and their tradition in the critical light of Scripture. We remember that it is not we, but God that is great: 1 Pet. 1:24–25, recalling Isa. 40:8, from whence Concordia Publishing House draws its Latin motto "*verbum . . . [Dei] manet in aeternum.*"

One cannot have the Gospel principle without Scripture, yet one cannot have the Scripture principle without the Gospel. May that Gospel continue to grow, and may the Lord use this work to aid unto that end.

<p align="center">*Ad majorem Dei gloriam!*</p>

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[3] Sasse, "Gedanken am Vorabend des Reformationsjubiläums von 1967," 79–81; Hermann Sasse, "Das Ende des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Lutherische Blätter* 19, no. 91 (1967): 61.

APPENDIX A

SELECTED DOCTRINAL PROCEEDINGS

A.1 Hints for Readers

- Only the *Lehrverhandlungen* in thesis format are given here. Therefore we do not see here the 1893 general convention essay by professor Franz Pieper, the 1894 and 1895 Eastern District essays by Timotheus Stiemke, and the 1902 general convention essay by professor Eugen A. W. Krauß.

- The references at the end of each German thesis point to the convention number of the district-synod or other organ from its inception, then to the page in the *Lehrverhandlungen* of that convention. See also Table 2.1.

- Sets of theses are listed in chronological order.

- Johann F. Bünger, Johann A. Hügli, and Jacob M. Bühler are the district presidents represented here, while Walther and Pieper are the general presidents so included. Timotheus Stiemke was a former DP.

- Historical sketches for many authors in this appendix can be located in the print volume of Lutheran Cyclopedia or the most current text in *Christian Cyclopedia* available at http://www.lcms.org.

- *Sperrdruck* is retained in the German.

- Nonstandard variations in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and so forth havebeen retained.

A.2   Chronological Listing

Table A.1: **Die Lehre von der göttlichen Eingebung der heiligen Schrift**
(F. A. Ahner, 1865 Northern District)

	German	**English**
1.	Die Verabfassung des heiligen Wortes Gottes hat zu den Zeiten Mosis seinen Anfang genommen. Vor dieser Zeit ist es von Mund zu Mund überliefert worden.(11,52)	The setting down of the holy Word of God in writing began at the time of Moses. Prior to this time it was passed down orally.
2.	Gott hat darum nach seiner unendlichen Güte sein Wort in Schrift gegeben, weil die Kirche von Mosis Zeiten an dasselbe in jedem Falle bedurfte. (11,52)	God had thus given his word in Scripture, according to his infinite mercy, because the church needed it in every case from Moses' time onward.
3.	Es hat aber Gott die heilige Schrift nicht unmittelbar gegeben, wie einst auf Sinai die heiligen zehn Gebote, sondern durch den Dienst von Menschen. (11,53)	God did not, however, impart Holy Scripture immediately, as he did once upon Sinai with the holy Ten Commandments, rather through the service of men.
4.	Jene Menschen waren die von Gott unmittelbar zur Verabfassung der heiligen Schrift erwählten und berufenen Propheten und Apostel. (11,54)	Those men were the prophets and apostles, immediately elected and called by God to the work of setting down Holy Scripture.
5.	Die Tüchtigkeit zu diesem ihnen befohlenen Werke haben die heiligen Schreiber durch göttliche Begabung empfangen.(11,54)	The ability to perform this work that was commanded of them is something that the holy authors received through the divine bestowal of gifts.
6.	Will man in der Lehre von der göttlichen Eingebung nicht irren, so muß vor allem bei den Worten fest geblieben werden: „A l l e S c h r i f t v o n G o t t e i n g e g e b e n". (11,54)	If one wish not to err in the doctrine of the divine bestowal [or inspiration], therefore one must above all hold fast to the words, "**All Scripture is given by God.**"
7.	Die göttliche Eingebung ist diejenige Handlung Gottes, insonderheit des Heiligen Geistes, nach welcher er die heiligen Schreiber zur Verabfassung seines Wortes in Schrift nicht nur getrieben, sondern auch übernatürlicher Weise mitgetheilt hat, w a s und w i e sie es aufschreiben sollten. (11,55)	Divine bestowal [or inspiration] is that particular activity of God, especially the Holy Spirit, according to which he not only impelled the holy authors to the setting down of his Word in Scripture, but also communicated to them in a supernatural manner **what** and **how** they should write it down.

8.	Da die heiligen Schreiber von Gott zur Aufzeichnung seines Wortes getrieben worden sind, so schließt dies auf der einen Seite alle vorhergehende Selbstbestimmung dazu und eigne Willkür aus, auf der anderen Seite aber wiederum auch einen gewissen ausdrücklichen Befehl, wie auch die Vorhaltung von mancherlei Gelegenheiten und reizenden Beweggründen zum Schreiben selbst, wodurch sie des göttlichen Willens gewißgemacht wurden, ein. (11,55)	Since the holy authors were impelled by God to write down his Word, this excludes on the one hand any prior selfdetermination in that regard as well as one's own arbitrary will, yet on the other hand it includes a certain clear command as well as the "charge" to engage in the activvity of writing itself arising from many opportunities and stimulating sources that move or "inspire," whereby they were made certain of the divine will.
9.	Weil den heiligen Schreibern eingegeben worden ist, w a s sie aufschreiben sollten, so müssen ihnen demnach nicht allein die Begriffe aller aufzuschreibenden Dinge, sondern auch die Begriffe der Worte selbst und alles dessen, wodurch dieselben ausgedrückt werden sollten, von Gott mitgetheilt werden sein. (11,56)	Since **what** they should write was imparted to the holy authors, therefore not only the concepts of everything that was to be written down, but also the terminology of the words themselves and everything pertaining to what would be expressed had been imparted by God.
10.	Dieses macht die heilige Schrift zur h e i l i g e n Schrift, daß sie aber aus Worten, Redensarten und Sätzen besteht, hat sie mit jeden andern Schrift gemein. (11,57)	This is what makes holy writing **Holy** Scripture; that is also consists of words, manner of expression, and sentences is something that it holds in common with every other writing.
11.	Da Gott den heiligen Schreibern die Begriffe aller aufzuschreibenden Dinge eingegeben hat, so folgt daraus, daß er ihnen auch die allein **richtigen und angemessenen** Begriffe mitgetheilt hat; wenn er ihnen auch das Wesen der Dinge selbst nicht offenbarte. (11,57)	Since God bestowed upon the holy authors the concepts of everything that would be written down, it follows, therefore, that he also imparted to them the solely *proper and appropriate* concepts, even if he did not reveal to them the nature of the things themselves.

12. Und da ferner **alles**, was in der heiligen Schrift geschrieben steht, von Gott **eingegeben** ist, so folgt daraus, daß den heiligen Schreibern nicht nur diejenige Dinge eingegeben worden sind, welche über ihren Verstand hinausgingen, sondern, daß ihnen auch von den Dingen eine **göttliche** Gewißheit mitgetheilt worden ist, welche sie nach ihrer Vernunft schon vorher wußten. (11,57)

Furthermore, since *everything* that stands written in Holy Scripture is *inspired* by God, it follows that the holy authors did not receive from God only those things that went beyond their ken; rather, they received a *divine* certainty regarding those things that they already knew according to their own reason.[1]

13. Obgleich das Aufzeichnen von Buchstaben und Silben eine natürliche Fertigkeit und Kunst ist, so darf doch nicht geleugnet werden, daß Gott zur rechten Ausübung dieser Kunst die heiligen Schreiber auf eine sondere Weise tüchtig gemacht hat. (11,58)

Although the writing of letters and syllables is a natural ability and art, yet it cannot be denied that God, in a special manner, made the holy authors proficient in the practice of this art.

14. Gott hat nach seiner Weisheit es für gut befunden, das Alte Testament nur in der hebräischen und einige wenige Theile in der chaldäischen, und das Neue Testament nur in der griechischen Sprache aufzeichnen zu lassen. (11,58)

God decreed it to be good, according to his wisdom, that the Old Testament only should be written in the Hebrew language and a few small parts in the Chaldaic, and the New Testament only in the Greek language.

15. Es haben aber die heiligen Schreiber in ihren Schriften durch göttliche Eingebung sich der jedesmal herrschenden Volkssprache bedient; daher denn im Neuen Testament solche Worte und Redensarten vorkommen, welche der hebräischen Sprache entlehnt sind. (11,58)

Yet the holy authors, via divine inspiration, availed themselves in their writings of the dominant speech of the people respective to their times; thus in the New Testament certain words and manners of speaking arise that are loaned from the Hebrew language.

16. Da die heiligen Schreiber, — was natürliche Geistes- und Gemüthsgaben, Temperament, Charakter und die eigenthümliche Art zu reden und zu schreiben betrifft, — unter einander verschieden waren: so hat sich dieser Unterschied nach Gottes Willen auch in ihrem Stil ausgeprägt.

Since the holy authors differed among one another according to gifts of the mind and those of one's disposition, their temperament, character, and their own manner of speaking and writing, therefore this difference, according to God's will, also finds expression in their style.

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[1] *Verstand* refers to one's *ken*, basic knowledge. *Vernunft* refers to the ability to apply that knowledge: *canny*, as opposed to something *uncanny* that defies understanding.

17.	Es ist daher die Redeweise der heiligen Schrift bald sanfter und milder, bald ernster und heftiger, bald weniger erhaben und geschmückt, bald wieder sehr erhaben und mit rednerischen und dichterischen Figuren geschmückt; bald ist sie reiner, — was den Gebrauch einer Sprache betrifft, — bald wiederum mit den Eigenthümlichkeiten anderer Sprachen vermischt.	Based on that, the manner of speaking is sometimes smoother and milder, sometimes more austere and harder; sometimes less noble and ornate, sometimes again very noble and ornamented with rhetorical and poetic figures. Sometimes it is purer with respect to the use of a language, sometimes it is the opposite, mixed with the specific characteristics of another language.
18.	Daraus folgt, daß die göttliche Eingebung auch darin bestanden habe, daß Gott die natürliche Beschaffenheit und besonderen Gaben der heiligen Schreiber nicht aufgehoben, sondern geheiligt habe.	From that, it follows that divine inspiration also consisted of the fact that God did not set aside the natural qualities and special gifts of the holy authors, rather, he sanctified them.
19.	Da das aufgeschriebene Wort Gottes die Wahrheit im höchsten Sinne sein soll, so kann es auch nur von solchen Schreibern aufgezeichnet sein, welche im Act des Schreibens keinerlei Gefahr des Irrthums ausgesetzt waren; daher sie denn also vom Heiligen Geist erfüllt waren, daß sie während des Schreibens weder irren, noch auch betrügen konnten oder wollten.	Since the written Word of God should be the truth in the highest sense, it can only be written down by such authors where, in the act of writing, any danger of error was suspended; thus they were accordingly filled with the Holy Spirit so that during the writing they neither had the ability to err or deceive, nor could they will such.
20.	Weil alles das, was in den vorhergehenden Sätzen über die göttliche Eingebung gesagt worden ist, nothwendig dazugehört und in derselben liegt: so kann demnach die göttliche Eingebung nicht also definiert werden, als ob sie eine bloße Assistenz oder eine besondere göttliche Regierung gewesen sei, um Irrthümern vorzubeugen. Ebenso muß auch der Irrthum abgewiesen worden, als ob nur das eingegeben worden sei, was Gott von sich und seinen Rathschlüssen offenbare.	Because everything that has been said in the foregoing theses[2] concerning divine inspiration belongs necessarily to it and subsists in it, therefore accordingly divine inspiration cannot be defined as if it were a mere assistance or a special divine governance to prevent errors. Similarly one must reject the error that the only inspired content was that which God revealed concerning himself and his councils.

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[2] *Sätzen* is equivalent to *propositiones* or theses.

| 21. | Wenn in den vorhergehenden Sätzen von der heiligen Schrift geredet wird, so werden mit jedem Namen nur die canonischen Bücher des Alten und NeuenTestaments bezeichnet: weil die dem Alten Testament angehängten apocryphischen Bücher zwar auch heilige Schriften sind, insofern deren Endzweck ein heiliger ist: dieselben aber nicht von Gott eingegeben, sondern durch menschlichen Fleiß entstanden und von menschlicher Schwachheit nicht frei sind. | When in the foregoing theses one speaks of Holy Scripture, one thus refers by their respective names to only the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. Although the apocryphal books appended to the Old Testament are also holy writings insofar as their goal is a holy one, yet they are not inspired by God, but have come about through human diligence and are not free of human weakness. |

Theses 16–21 were not discussed in the Lehrverhandlungen because the alloted time ran out. The *Synodalbericht*, by making such observations, would suggest that they might not bind as would theses 1–15. Yet the Missouri Synod did include them in 1894 Thesen (74–75).

Table A.2: **Die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion**
(J. F. Bünger, 1865 Western District)

	German	English
1.	Daß weder die Naturreligion, noch eine heidnische, noch die mohammedanische, noch die jetzige jüdische die wahre Religion sein kann, ist unbestreitbar. (11,11)	It remains incontestible that neither nature religion, nor a heathen one, nor the Mohommedan one, nor the current Jewish one can be the true religion.
2.	Bei Entscheidung der Frage, ob die christliche Religion die wahre sei, kommt alles darauf an, ob die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments Gottes geoffenbartes Wort sei oder nicht. (11,22)	With the question of whether the Christian religion is the true one, it depends entirely on whether or not Holy Scripture, Old and New Testament, is God's revealed Word.
3.	Die Gewißheit, ob die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments Gottes geoffenbartes Wort sei, hängt davon ab, ob die als heilige Schrift jetzt noch vorhandenen Bücher a. ächt und unverstümmelt, b. glaubwürdig sind, und c. die unwidersprechlichen Merkmale göttlicher Eingebung an sich tragen. (11,23)	The certainty, whether Holy Scripture, Old and New Testament, is God's revealed Word, depends on whether the currently extant books as Holy Scripture are: a. genuine and not garbled; b. worthy of belief; and c. bear the incontrovertible marks of divine inspiration.
4.	Wenn die Bücher des Neuen Testaments von Gott eingegeben sind, sind es auch die des Alten Testaments. (11,25)	If the books of the New Testament are inspired by God, then so also are those of the Old Testament.
5.	Die neutestamentliche Schriften, die wir noch als solche haben, sind ächt; denn a. alle Diejenigen, die über die Aechtheit derselben Zeugniß abzulegen hatten und ablegen konnten, bestätigen ihre Aechtheit, b. die neutestamentlichen Bücher selbst beweisen durch ihre Form und ihren Inhalt, daß sie des ihnen zugeschriebenen Ursprunges seien. (11,26)	The New Testament writings that we yet have as such are genuine because: a. All of them that had and could offer witness to their authenticity confirm their authenticity. b. The New Testament books themselves prove by their form and content that they are of the origin ascribed to them.

6.   Die neutestamentliche Schriften, die wir noch als solche haben, sind unverfälscht und unverstümmelt, denn a. alle vorhandenen Bücher stimmen mit einander überein. Es wäre aber diese Uebereinstimmung unmöglich, wenn sie verfälscht und verstümmelt worden wären. Zwar findet sich eine bedeutende Anzahl verschiedener Lesarten vor; allein gerade, wenn dies nicht der Fall wäre, so könnte man nicht ohne Grund einen absichtlichen Plan der verfälschung fürchten. Die Aufbewahrung aller jemals vorhandenen verschiedenen Lesarten beweist, daß die ursprüngliche der Christenheit erhalten ist. So viel übrigens derselben sind, so ergibt sich bei Vergleichung, daß, welche man annehmen möge, kein Unterschied der Lehre der heiligen Schrift in irgend einem Theile sich herausstellt; b. alle Uebersetzungen stimmen mit den vorhandenen neutestamentlichen Schriften überein; c. alle Citaten in den Schriften der Feinde und Freunde, sowie die noch in unsern Händen befindlichen Auslegungen ganzer biblische Bücher, letzterer vom Anfang bis auf diesen Tag, stimmen auch mit denselben. (11,32)

The New Testament writings that we yet have as such are neither falsified nor garbled, because: a. All extant books agree with each other. Such agreement would be impossible, were they falsified or garbled. True, there exist a significant number of variant readings; yet were this not the case, one would not be without a reasonable basis in fearing an intentional plan for falsification. The preservation of all the formerly existing different variants proves that the original source of Christianity is contained therein. As many of these remain left over, so by comparison the results show that, whatever one might accept, no difference becomes apparent in the doctrine of Holy Scripture in whatever part. b. All translations agree with the extant New Testament writings. c. All citations in the writings of foes and friends, as well as the interpretation of entire biblical books yet available to us, and of those the ones from the beginning to the present, agree with them as well.

7.   Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments besitzen den höchsten Grad der Glaubwürdigkeit und geschichtlichen Wahrheit; denn was erstens die Schreiber derselben betrifft, so haben dieselben a. die Wahrheit schreiben können, b. schreiben wollen, c. schreiben müssen. (11,41)

The writings of the New Testament possess the highest degree of believeability and historical truth because what first of all pertains to the authors themselves, they a. were capable of writing the truth, b. wanted to write the truth, and c. had to write the truth.

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8. Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments besitzen den höchsten Grad der Glaubwürdigkeit und geschichtlichen Wahrheit, denn was zweitens den Inhalt betrifft, so stimmt dieser a. mit allen sonstigen historischen Zeugnissen über die geographischen Verhältnisse und die Beschaffenheit des jüdischen Volkes und der ganzen damaligen Welt, so weit die neutestamentlichen Schriften davon reden; b. gerade die Widersprüche, welche man in den Schriften selbst zu finden meint, beweisen, wie abgeschmackt es ist, anzunehmen, daß die Verabfassung der neutestamentlichen Schriften auf einem absichtlichen Uebereinkommen ihrer Verfasser beruhe, gemeinschaftlich der Welt Unwahrheit als Wahrheit und als die alleinige rechte Religion zu bringen. Uebrigens haben bis jetzt alle Widersprüche, die man in der heiligen Schrift zu finden meinte, als Scheinwidersprüche erwiesen. Es ist daher unvernünftig, um einiger noch ungelösten Schwierigkeiten willen den biblische Urkunden die höchste menschliche Glaubwürdigkeit absprechen zu wollen; c. selbst solche Personen in der apostolischen Zeit, welche vorher die entschiedenen Feinde des Christenthums waren und alle Gelegenheit und Fähigkeit hatten, sich von der Wahrheit oder Unwahrheit der apostolischen Berichte zu überzeugen, haben sich bekehrt und sind zum Theil, wie Paulus, die eifrigste Verkündiger des Christenthums geworden. (11,43)

The writings of the New Testament possess the highest degree of believeability and historical truth because what secondly pertains to the content, this agrees: a. with all other historical witnesses regarding geographical relationships and the condition of the Jewish people and the entire world of that time, as far as the New Testament writings speak about it. b. Even the contradictions that one intends to find in Scripture prove how vulgar it is to assume that the writing of the New Testament is based on the intentional arrangement among its authors to collectively bring to the world falsehood as if it were truth, as if it were the only right religion. In any case, up to this time all contradictions that one intends to find in Scripture have been proven to be only seeming contradictions. From that, it is unreasonable to be willing to reject the highest human credibility regarding the original biblical documents for the sake of but a few difficulties that have yet to be solved. c. Even such persons in apostolic times, who previously had been the decided foes of Christianity and had every opportunity and ability to convince themselves of the truth or falsehood of the apostolic reports, themselves repented and in part, like Paul, became the most zealous proclaimers of Christendom.

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9. Die Bücher des Neuen Testaments sind von Gott selbst eingegeben, denn sie erklären sich dafür und Gott hat dies selbst bestätigt und besiegelt; a. durch unwidersprechliche göttliche Weissagungen, b. durch unwidersprechliche göttliche Wunder, c. durch die wunderbare Erhaltung, Verbreitung und Annahme derselben in der ganzen Welt, trotz ihres, der hochmüthigen menschlichen Vernunft und den menschlichen Neigungen durchaus widerstrebenden Inhalts und trotz aller Bekämpfungen, die sich durch die Weisen und Machtigen dieser Welt erfahren haben, d. durch ihre beseligenden und heiligenden Wirkungen in den Herzen der Menschen, und e. endlich durch das Zeugniß des Heiligen Geistes, welches alle diejenigen von ihrer Göttlichkeit empfangen, welche den Wirkungen derselben nicht muthwillig widerstreben, sondern sich dadurch zum lebendigen Glauben dringen lassen, wie solchs insonderheit in der Standhaftigkeit der heiligen Märtyrer sich zeigt und in dieser wunderbaren Macht selbst von der ungläubigen Welt Anerkennung verlangt. (11,48)

The books of the New Testament are inspired by God himself because they declare themselves affirmatively to be so and God himself had confirmed and affixed his seal to this: a. Through incontestible divine prophecies. b. Through incontestible divine miracles. c. Through the miraculous preservation, spread, and acceptance of the same throughout the whole world. And that in spite of arrogant human reason and the human inclination that in its content thoroughly struggles against Scripture and in spite of all struggles experienced on account of the wise and powerful of this world. d. Through their salvific and sanctifying effects in the hearts of people. e. Finally, through the witness of the Holy Spirit. Everyone that does not wilfully strive against the effects of the NT books but rather allows himself to be brought to a living faith by this means receives that witness from the divinity of the NT books. That is shown especially in the steadfastness of the holy martyrs, which in this miraculous power even has elicited recognition even from the unbelieving world.

10. Alle diese unwidersprechliche Beweise, daß die Bücher des Neuen Testaments und darum auch die dadurch bestätigten Bücher des Alten das geoffenbarte geschriebene Wort Gottes sind, können durch den Einwand nicht umgestoßen werden, daß der Inhalt jener Bücher zum Theil den sogenannten unumstößlichen Gesetze der menschlichen Vernunft, sowie den vorgeblich sicheren Ergebnissen namentlich der neueren wissenschaftlichen Forschungen auf den verschiedensten Gebieten widersprechen. (11,55)

All of these incontestible proofs that the books of the New Testament and thereby the validated books of the Old are the revealed, written Word of God cannot be overturned by the objection that the content of those books partially contradicts the so called unassailable laws of human reason as much as the allegedly certain findings particularly in recent scientific research in the most diverse of areas.

Table A.3: **Grundsätze der lutherischen Kirche über Schriftauslegung**
(1867 Northern District—*Ratified*)

	German	**English**
1.	Weil man nicht einem jeglichen Geiste folgen, sondern die Geister prüfen soll auch im Bezug auf Schriftauslegung, so hat die lutherische Kirche gewisse Regeln der Schriftauslegung aus der heiligen Schrift gesammelt, nach welchen jede Auslegung derselben geschrieben und nach welchen sie geprüft werden soll. (13,7)	Since one ought not follow after any old spirit, but rather should test the spirits also with respect to biblical exegesis, the Lutheran Church therefore has collected specific rules of biblical interpretation from Holy Scripture, according to which every interpretation of the same should be written and examined.
2.	Diese Regeln, weil sie aus der heiligen Schrift selbst genommen sind, sind wohl zu unterscheiden von solchen, die außer der Schrift und ohne dieselbe (wie z.B. von den Päbstlichen) gemacht werden und denen sich daher die Schrift unterordnen müsse. (13,7)	These rules, because they are taken from Holy Scripture itself, are certainly to be distinguished from those that are outside Scripture and made without them, such as, for example, from the papal ones, and from those which Scripture must subordinate to itself.
3.	Zwar sind einige derselben schon aus dem Lichte der Natur bekannt, allein wir befolgen dieselben nicht sowohl darum, weil sie aus dem Lichter der Natur bekannt sind, als weil wir sie in der Schrift selbst angewandt und bestätigt finden. (13,8)	A few of these rules are indeed known already from the light of nature, yet we follow them not because they are known from the light of nature, but solely because we find them used in Scripture itself and confirmed therein.
4.	Zu solchen aus dem Lichte der Natur sich ergebenden Regeln der Auslegung gehören alle diejenigen, welche in der Auslegung jeder Schrift befolgt werden müssen. (13,8)	To those rules of interpretation that arise from the light of nature belong all of those that must be followed in the interpretation of every writing.
5.	Da der Heilige Geist durch die Schrift redet, so ist der Sinn des Heiligen Geistes nicht von den Worten der Schrift nicht zu trennen. (13,9)	Because the Holy Spirit speaks through Scripture, one cannot separate the sense of the Holy Spirit from the words of Scripture.
6.	Daher kommt es keinem Menschen zu, irgend einen Sinn erst hineinzulegen; wir sollen nur den Sinn des Heiligen Geistes aus seinen Worten herausnehmen, und die Schrift sich selbst auslegen lassen, da der Heilige Geist selbst der einzig sichere und wahre Ausleger der Schrift ist. (13,10)	Because of that, no person is entitled to immediately import any given sense into the text. We should only take the sense of the Holy Spirit from his words and let Scripture interpret itself because the Holy Spirit is the only sure and true interpreter of Scripture.

7.	Rechte Ausleger sind darum nur Werkzeuge, den Sinn des Heiligen Geistes aus- und darzulegen, aber keine Dictatoren, deren Auslegung wir um ihres Amtes willen als untrüglich und bindend anzusehen hätten. (13,12)	Proper interpreters are therefore only tools to interpret and explain the sense of the Holy Spirit, yet not dictators whose interpretation we, by virtue of their office, should see as infallible and binding.
8.	Die Kirche nimmt denselben gläubig an, sie sei zu dem Verständniß desselben gekommen, wie sie wolle, und ist in solchem ihren Glauben gewiß. (13,13)	The church assumes this in faith, that it has come to the understanding of this matter, as it should desire, and is certain in such faith.
9.	Da der Heilige Geist allein durch die Schrift redet, so kann die Tradition, die neben der Schrift als Wort des Heiligen Geistes geltend gemacht wird, und das Ansehen der Kirchenväter keine Norm der Auslegung sein. (13,17)	Since the Holy Spirit speaks alone through Scripture, neither tradition that is regarded next to Scripture as a word of the Holy Spirit, nor the views of the church fathers can be a norm of interpretation.
10.	Darum kann auch die Vernunft nicht als Norm gelten. (13,18)	Reason, therefore, cannot also be in force as a norm.
11.	Desselben gilt auch von dem sogenannten innerlichen Licht des Geistes, von dem die Schwärmer reden. Schmalkald. Art. 3,8. (13,19)	The same is true regarding the so-called inner light of the spirit, of which the enthusiasts speak. Smalcald Articles III, §8.
12.	Ein Ausleger muß daher seine Auslegung a l l e i n aus der Schrift selbst als richtig beweisen. (13,19)	An interpreter must therefore prove his exegesis to be true **alone** from Scripture itself.
13.	Als eine Auslegung der Schrift mit Schrift müssen wir auch die gelten lassen, da solche Sprüche angeführt werden, aus denen das zu Beweisende gefolgert werden kann und muß. (13,19)	We must also permit as a valid interpretation of Scripture with Scripture those in which such formulations are introduced, from which the matter to be proved can and must be deduced.
14.	Jede Auslegung muß dem Glauben ähnlich sein. (13,20)	Every interpretation must conform to the analogy of faith.
15.	Das Alte Testament muß aus dem Neuen erklärt werden. (13,24)	The Old Testament must be explained via the New Testament.
16.	Die dunklen Stellen der heiligen Schrift sollen nach den helleren beurtheilt werden, nicht umgekehrt. (13,24)	The obscure passages of holy Scripture should be judged according to the clearer ones and not vice versa.

17.	Diejenigen Stellen der heiligen Schrift, darin eine Lehre nur berührt wird, sind zu beurtheilen nach solchen Stellen, in denen, als in ihrem Sitz (*sedes doctrinae*) die Lehre absichtlich und vor andern ausführlich behandelt wird— nicht umgekehrt. (13,29)	Those particular passages of Holy Scripture in which a doctrine is only touched upon are to be judged according to those passages in which, like in their *sedes doctrinae* the doctrine is dealt with intentionally and more completely than in others, not in the reverse fashion.
18.	In der Auslegung muß man nach Zweck und Zusammenhang richten. (13,30)	In the act of interpretation one must judge according to purpose and context.
19.	Weil der Heilige Geist in hebräischer und griechischer Sprache eingegeben hat, so muß man in Auslegung derselben auf diesen Grundtext zurückgehen. (13,32)	Because the Holy Spirit inspired [Scripture] in the Hebrew and Greek languages, one must therefore go back to this source text in the activity of interpretation.
20.	Weil der Heilige Geist sein Wort in menschlicher Sprache gegeben hat, so muß man in Auslegung der Schrift den Sprachgebrauch festhalten. (13,34)	Because the Holy Spirit gave his Word in human speech, one must therefore hold fast to the use of language in the interpretation of Scripture.
21.	Jede Stelle der Schrift hat nur e i n e n vom Heiligen Geist beabsichtigten, den buchstäblichen Sinn. (13,36)	Each passage of Scripture has but **one** intended sense from the Holy Spirit: the literal sense.
22.	Der sogenannte geistliche Sinn [allegorische, parabolische und typische] ist nicht ein zweiter Sinn neben dem buchstäblichen, sondern ein vom Heiligen Geist selbst aufgeschlossener Sinn der Sachen, welcher der Buchstabe ausdrückt, und der damit ein buchstäblicher Sinn wird. (13,41)	The so-called spiritual sense (allegorical, parabolic, and typological) is not a second sense alongside the literal, rather it a sense of the matters unlocked by the Holy Spirit that is expressed by the literal and thereby becomes a literal sense.
23.	Die geistlichen Deutungen, die vom Heiligen Geist selbst in der Schrift gemacht werden, sind wohl zu unterscheiden von denen, die von Auslegern gemacht werden; diese letzteren sind nicht für den vom Heiligen Geist beabsichtigten Sinn mit Sicherheit zu erkennen, darum auch nicht beweiskräftig (obwohl sie dem Glauben ähnlich sein können). (13,42)	The spiritual explanations made by the Holy Spirit himself in Scripture are certainly to be distinguished from those made by interpreters. The latter ought not be recognized with certainty as the intended sense from the Holy Spirit and thereby not capable of asserting proof (although they may agree with the analogy of faith).

24. Der buchstäbliche Sinn ist nicht immer in der eigentlichen, sondern oft in den uneigentlichen, bildlichen Bedeutung der Worte zu finden. (13,43)	The literal sense is not always found in the intrinsic sense,[3] but often in the extrinsic, figurative meaning of the words.
25. Zu entscheiden, ob eine Stelle eigentlich oder uneigentlich sei, steht in keines Menschen Willkür. (13,43)	The decision about whether a passage is literal or figural stands within no human arbitrariness.
26. Von der eigentlichen Bedeutung eines Wortes oder Satzes dürfen wir nicht abgehen, es nöthige uns denn die Schrift selbst dazu. (13,43)	We may not depart from the intrinsic meaning of a word or sentence unless Scripture itself necessitates that departure for us.
27. Solche nöthigenden Gründe sind: Die Umstände des Textes, Parallelstellen und die Aehnlichkeit des Glaubens. (13,44)	Such necessary reasons include: the circumstances of the text, parallel passages, and the analogy of faith.
28. In derjenigen Stelle, die der Sitz einer Lehre ist, oder darin etwas Neues eingesetzt wird, sind die Worten ohne allen Zweifel in der eigentlichen Bedeutung gebraucht. (13,48)	In those passages that are the *sedes* of a doctrine or where something new is being instituted, the words are used without a doubt in their intrinsic meaning.
29. Der Beweis, daß eine Stelle uneigentlich zu verstehen sei, muß augenscheinlich und hinreichend sein. (13,49)	The proof that a passage is to be understood figuratively must be obvious and sufficient.

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[3] Here *eigentlich* and *uneigentlich* have meanings like literal and figural, intrinsic and extrinsic or proper and improprer. The term classifies the tangible or literal with the basic meaning and figural with a derivation of that basic meaning.

Table A.4: **Thesen über das tägliche Forschen in der Schrift**
(1874 Northern District)

		German	English
1.		Die heilige Schrift enthält nicht nur Gottes Wort, sondern sie ist das Wort Gottes. (20,18)	Not only does Holy Scripture contain God's Word, it rather is God's Word.
2.		Die heilige Schrift hat des armen sündigen Menschen Seelenheil und ewige Seligkeit zu ihrem eigentlichen Endzweck. Sie ist darum dazu gegeben: a. den Rath Gottes zur Seligkeit des Menschen zu offenbaren; b. den seligmachenden Glauben zu wirken; c. in gottgefälligem Leben zu unterweisen. (20,25)	Holy Scripture has as its proper goal the saving of poor human souls and eternal salvation. It is therefore given for the purpose: a. To reveal the counsel of God for the salvation of man. b. To effect saving faith. c. To instruct in a God-pleasing life.
3.		Es wäre daher nicht der rechte Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift:	Based on that, the proper use of Scripture would not include:
	a.	nur Moral aus derselben lernen wollen. (20,30)	Only the desire to learn morals from it.
	b.	sie nur als ein Hilfsmittel benutzen, das Wissen zu bereichern. (20,34)	Using it only as an assistive means to enrich one's knowledge.
	c.	sie nur darum lesen, um — wie bei einem menschlichen Buche — zu prüfen, ob sie Wahrheit oder Unwahrheit enthalte. (20,36)	Reading only, as with any other human book, to determing if it contains either truth or falsehood.
	d.	gar deshalb in derselben forschen, um sie bekämpfen, oder allerlei Irrthümer aus ihr beweisen, oder gewisse Sünden durch sie beschönigen zu können. (20,39)	Even to research it in order to contend against it, or to prove every sort of error from it, or to attempt to justify certain sins through it.
4.		Der rechte Zweck alles Forschens in der heiligen Schrift ist der, Christum darin zu finden und darum, sowohl um sein selbst als auch um anderen Willen a. die seligmachende Wahrheit recht zu erkennen und dadurch im Glauben geheiligt zu werden, b. dieselbe von den ihr widersprechenden und seelengefährlichen Irrthümern unterscheiden und alle Irrwege meiden lernen. (20,42)	The proper goal of all research in Holy Scripture is to find Christ in it and therefore, for one's own sake as for that of others: a. To properly recognize saving faith and thereby be sanctified in faith. b. To differentiate [Scripture] from dissenting and soul-harming errors and to learn to eschew all paths of error.

5.	Soll dieser Zweck erreicht werden, so ist es nöthig, daß man a. die heilige Schrift nicht als Menschenwört, sondern als Gottes Wort in Furcht und Glauben lese. (20,49)	For this goal to be reached, it is necessary that one, in fear and faith, read Holy Scripture not as the word of men, but as the Word of God.

Table A.5: **Thesen über die Artikel und die Analogie des Glaubens**
(J. A. Hügli, 1876 Northern District—*Ratified*)

	German	**English**
1.	Alles, was in der heiligen Schrift enthalten ist, ist um der göttlichen Offenbarung willen, bei Verlust der Seelen Seligkeit, zu glauben und anzunehmen; daher die ganze heilige Schrift das organische Fundament des Glaubens genannt wird. (22,15)	Everything that is included in Holy Scripture is to be believed and accepted for the sake of divine inspiration and at the peril of the soul losing its salvation. Therefore the entire Holy Scripture is called the organic foundation of faith.
2.	Unter Artikeln des Glaubens versteht man jedoch Stücke oder Theile der göttlichen Lehre, die uns zu glauben von Gott vorgeschrieben ist, um die ewige Seligkeit zu erlangen, die aber unter sich und mit dem ganzen Glaubensfundament unzertrennlich verbunden sind. (22,17)	Regarding articles of faith, however, one understands pieces or parts of the divine doctrine that are prescribed by God for us to believe in order to attain eternal salvation. Yet they are inseparably bound among themselves and with the entire foundation of faith.
3.	Die einzelnen Artikeln unsers Glaubens entstehen nicht durch eine sogenannte dogmenbildende Bewegung in der Kirche, oder durch den Consens der Kirche, sondern sie waren von Anfang an in der heiligen Schrift klar dargelegt und wurden von der Kirche jeder Zeit geglaubt; wiewohl sie zu einer Zeit besser erkannt und deutlicher erklärt worden sind, als zu einer anderen. (22,20)	The individual articles of our faith do not arise from a so-called movement of dogmatic formation in the Church or through the consensus of the Church, rather, they were clearly stated in Holy Scripture from the beginning onward and were believed by the Church in every time, even if they were at one time better known and explained more clearly than in another.
4.	Die Artikel des Glaubens werden einzeltheilt in fundamentale (Grundartikel) und sogenannte nicht–fundamentale. (22,23)	The artices of faith are categorized into fundamental and so-called non-fundamental.
5.	Die fundamentalen sind diejenigen, auf welche unser Glaube gebaut ist, die den Glauben erzeugen und durch welche der Glaube erhalten wird. (22,25)	The fundamental ones are those upon which our faith is built, those that constitute the faith and those that preserve the faith.

	German	English
6.	Auch unter den Fundamentalartikeln ist ein Unterschied zu machen, und zwar nennt man erstens primäre diejenigen, welche zur Erlangung der Seligkeit zu wissen so nöthig sind, daß der, der keine Kenntniß davon hat, nicht zu glauben kommen und selig werden kann. (22,26)	Also among the fundamental articles there is a distinction to be made. Indeed, one names those primary that are so necessary to know in obtaining salvation that whoever has no knowledge of them cannot come to faith and be saved.
7.	Zweitens, secundäre nennt man diejenigen, die zwar zur Erlangung der ewigen Seligkeit zu wissen nicht unbedingt nöthig sind, die aber nicht geleugnet werden dürfen, wenn man selig werden will. (22,30)	Next, one names those secondary those that are indeed not absolutely necessary for obtaining eternal salvation, yet may not be denied if one wishes to be saved.
8.	Die sogenannten nicht fundamentalen Glaubensartikel sind Theile der christlichen Lehre, die man auch nicht wissen oder leugnen kann, ohne dadurch das Glaubensfundament an und für sich zu verletzen. (22,36)	The so-called non-fundamental articles of faith are parts of the Christian doctrine of which one may be ignorant or which one might deny without violating the foundation of faith on one's account.

Table A.6: **Thesen über die Analogie des Glaubens**
(J. A. Hügli, 1877 Northern District—*Ratified*)

	German	English
1.	Das Wort Analogie ist griechischen Ursprungs und heißt Aehnlichkeit oder zusammenstimmendes Verhältniß. Es wurde auf die Lehre von den Artikeln des Glaubens übertragen, damit anzudeuten, daß dieselben alle in einem harmonischen Verhältniß stehen sowohl untereinander als auch in Absicht auf die Erlangung ihres Endzwecks, die Ehre Gottes und das Heil der Menschen. (23,14)	The word analogy is of Greek origin and means similarity or harmonious relationship. This was transferred to the doctrine concerning the articles of faith in order to signify that all of these exist in a harmonious relationship just as much with each other as with a deliberate view to the attainment of their goal, the glory of God and the salvation of mankind.
2.	Die Sache nach versteht man unter der Analogie des Glaubens die Summa aller der Lehren, welche die heiligen Schreiber mit klaren, unmißverständlichen Worten in der heiligen Schrift an solchen Stellen aussprechen, welche wie helle Sonnen glänzen und die jedermann leicht verstehen kann. (23,17)	Accordingly, one understands regarding the analogy of faith the summary of all doctrines that the holy authors expressed with clear words in Holy Scripture that cannot be misunderstood. Those words are in such passages that shine like the sun; anyone can easily understand them.

	German	English
3.	Diese Stellen sind überall da zu suchen, wo der Heilige Geist vorsätzlich, mit Absicht oder doch, nach dem Zuständniß aller, von einer Sache redet, wo also die sogenannte Sitz der Lehre ist. (23,22)	These passages may be found in any place where the Holy Spirit designedly, with intent, or indeed, by right of all those that deal with a subject, where thus is the so-called *sedes doctrinae*.
4.	Eine kurze Summe der ganzen Analogie des Glaubens findet sich schon in unserm kleinen Katechismus. (23,29)	A short summary of the entire analogy of faith is already found in our Small Catechism.
5.	Alle Schriftauslegung soll sich nach der Analogie des Glaubens richten. (23,38)	All iterpretation of Scripture should conform to the analogy of faith.
6.	Jede Schriftauslegung, die mit der Analogie des Glaubens streitet, ist somit gewiß falsch. (23,47)	Every interpretation of Scripture that conflicts against the analogy of faith is thereby certainly false.
7.	Daraus, daß die Auslegung irgend einer Schriftstelle nicht mit der Analogie des Glaubens streitet, folgt noch nicht, daß sie die richtige Auslegung dieser Stelle sei. (23,48)	Accordingly, should it be the case that the interpretation of some passage or other in Scripture does not conflict with the analogy of faith, it does not follow that it is the proper interpretation of this passage.
8.	Nicht alles, was der Analogie zu widerstreiten scheint, widerspricht auch wirklich der Analogie des Glaubens. (23,52)	Not everything that appears to contend against the analogy of faith really does so.

Table A.7: **Von der Vollkommenheit und Deutlichkeit der heiligen Schrift**
(F. A. O. Pieper, 1882 Minnesota-Dakota District)

	German	English
1.	Die heilige Schrift ist Gottes Wort und zu den Zweck dem Menschen von Gott gegeben, um die Menschen durch dieselbe zur Seligkeit zu führen. (1,16)	Holy Scripture is God's Word and is given by God to people for this purpose, in order to lead people to salvation by means of the same Scripture.
2.	Wenn wir sagen, die heilige Schrift ist vollkommen, so verstehen wir darunter dies, daß dieselbe alles enthält, was uns Menschen zur Erlangung der Seligkeit zu wissen nöthig ist. (1,22)	When we say that Scripture is perfect,[4] we understand it so: Scripture contains everything that is necessary for us humans to know for the attainment of salvation.

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[4] One can also say *quintessential, plenary, complete*, and so on; there is neither lack, nor flaw, nor anythg that must be changed; it is perfect just the way it is.

3.	Daß diese Vollkommenheit der heiligen Schrift zukomme, sagt sie selbst, indem sie a. ausdrücklich sagt, daß sie den ganzen Rath Gottes zur Seligkeit verkündige, b. jeden Zusatz zu ihrem Inhalt verbietet, c. das Heil der Menschen an sich bindet. (1,26)	That Holy Scripture possesses this perfection,[5] it says so itself in that it a. expressly says that it proclaims the entire counsel of God unto salvation; b. forbids any addition to its contents; and c. binds the salvation of mankind to itself.
4.	An der Vollkommenheit der heiligen Schrift müssen wir gegen die Papisten, Schwärmer und Rationalisten festhalten, damit wir unsers Glaubens gewiß seien, und nicht Menschen zu Herren unsers Glaubens werden. (1,30)	We must hold fast to the perfection of Holy Scripture against the papists, enthusiasts, and rationalists, that we may thus remain certain in faith and not let people become the lords of our faith.
5.	Unter der Deutlichkeit oder Klarheit der heiligen Schrift verstehen wir diejenige Eigenschaft derselben, nach welcher sie alles, was uns zur Erlangung der Seligkeit zu wissen nöthig ist, klar und allen verständlich ausspricht. (1,39)	Under the category of the perspicuity or clarity of Holy Scripture we understand those attributes of the same Scripture according to which it expresses clearly and understandably to everyone all that is necessary to know for the attainment of salvation.
6.	Die Deutlichkeit der heiligen Schrift und die Vernunftmäßigkeit des in ihr deutlich Ausgesprochenen sind nicht zu verwechseln. (1,45)	One may not confuse the perspicuity of Holy Scripture with the conformity to reason possessed by those clearly expressed passages within it.
7.	Daß diese Deutlichkeit der heiligen Schrift zukomme, sagt sie selbst, indem sie a. sich diese Eigenschaft selbst beilegt, b. sich als G o t t e s Wort darstellt, der klar redden w o l l t e und k o n n t e, c. alle Christen in sich das Heil suchen und alle falsche Lehre durch sich abweisen heißt. (1,54)	That Holy Scripture possesses this perfection, it says so itself because it a. ascribes this attribute to itself; b. because it represents itself as God's Word that both **wants** to speak clearly and **has the ability** to speak clearly; c. because it means that all Christians seek salvation in it and repel all false doctrine by means of it.

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[5] Here *zukommen* has the sense of one's situation, one's portion, one's lot; Holy Scripture is therefore in the position of having this attribute.

8.	Indem wir behaupten, daß die heilige Schrift klar sei, erklären wir weder die Dienstleistung der Menschen zum Verständniß derselben für unnütz, noch das sorgfältige Forschen und die Erleuchtung des Heiligen Geistes für überflüssig. (1,59)	While we maintain that Holy Scripture is clear, we neither declare that the service of people toward the understanding of Scripture is unnecessary, nor do we declare careful research and the illumination of the Holy Spirit to be superfluous.
9.	Die Deutlichkeit der heiligen Schrift wird nicht umgestoßen durch die Thatsache, daß dieselbe so verschieden ausgelegt worden ist und noch so verschieden ausgelegt wird. (1,65)	The perspicuity of Holy Scripture is not overturned by the fact that it has been so variously interpreted and continues to be variously interpreted.
10.	Für dunkel erklären die heilige Schrift alle diejenigen, welche das Licht zur Erklärung der Schrift nicht aus der Schrift selbst nehmen, sondern dieselbe nach der Tradition, oder durch ein unfehlbares Lehramt, oder nach dem sogenannten inneren Licht, oder nach dem menschlichen Vernunft auslegen wollen. (1,68)	All those that declare Holy Scripture to be obscure do so not by taking the light for explaining Scripture from Scripture itself, rather they draw it from tradition, or from an infallible Teaching Office, or from interpretation according to a socalled inner light, or from interpretation according to human reason.
11.	An der Deutlichkeit der heiligen Schrift müssen wir festhalten, damit wir unsers Glaubens gewiß seien, und nicht Menschen zu Herren unsers Glaubens werden. (1,71)	We must hold fast to the perspecuity of Holy Scripture, that we remain certain in faith and not let people become the lords of our faith.

Table A.8: **Schriftlehre**
(F. A. O. Pieper, 1884 General Delegate-Synod)

	German	**English**
1.	Eine Lehre ist nur dann Schriftlehre, wenn sie sich auf das ausdrückliche Schriftwort gründet, oder, was dasselbe ist, wenn sie allein aus den Stellen der Schrift entnommen und beurtheilt wird, welche gerade von dieser Lehre handeln. (19,161)[6]	A doctrine is thus only scriptural doctrine when it is based upon the explicit words of Scripture, or the equivalent, when it is only taken from and judged by the passages of Scripture that immediately deal with this doctrine.

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[6] The 1894 *Thesen* erroneously leaves out the next two parts of the first proposition (*Satz*) that nevertheless exist in the doctrinal proceedings themselves.

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A. Was wir hiermit sagen. Nicht, daß alle Worte, mit welcher wir von einer Lehre reden (oder die kirchliche und theologische Ausdruck), dem Buchstaben nach in der Schrift stehen müßten, wohl aber, daß alles, was in einer Lehre ausgesagt wird, in den Worten der Schrift offenbart vorliegen müsse.(19,161)

Here is what we are saying. Not that all the words with which we speak about a doctrine (or the churchly and theological expression) must exist according to the letter in Scripture, rather indeed, that everything expressed in a doctrine must be present, **revealed in the words** of Scripture.

B. Was wir hiermit abweisen: a. die Herleitung einer Lehre aus dem sogenannten Schriftganzen oder aus Stellen, welche nicht von dieser Lehre handeln; b. die Verwerfung oder Modulierung einer in den Schriftwort klar ausgedruckten Lehre um sogenannten nothwendiger Folgerungen willen oder im Interesse eines sogenannten Systems. (19,161)

What we herewith reject: a. the derivation of a doctrine from the socalled "totality of Scripture" or from passages that do not deal with this doctrine; b. the rejection or modulation of a doctrine that is clearly expressed in the word of Scripture for the sake of socalled necessary conclusions or in the interest of a so-called system.

2. Nur wenn wir dies festhalten, bleiben a. die einzelnen Artikel der christlichen Lehre stehen, b. ist in unserm Herzen eine göttliche Gewißheit, c. wird den Christen das ihnen von Christo gegebene Recht, alle Lehre zu prüfen, gelassen, d. haben wir die Verheißung, daß Gott bei unserm Lehren auch Leute und Zuhörer geben werde, die es annehmen. (19,180)

Only when we hold fast to this: a. The several articles of Christian doctrine remain in place. b. There exists in our hearts a divine certainty. c. Christians are permitted the right given them from Christ to test every doctrine. d. We have the promise that God will provide also with our doctrine people and hearers that accept it.

Table A.9: **Wie verwerflich es sei, Sachen des Glaubens aus den Schriften der Väter begründen und die Gewissen an die Lehrentscheidungen derselben binden zu wollen** (C. F. W. Walther, 1884 Synodical Conference)

German	**English**
Es ist dies so verwerflich	Doing this is so reprehensible
I. weil es schriftwidrig ist; den es ist (10,28)	**because it is contrary to Scripture,** for it is
A. wider die nur der heiligen Schrift zukommende Autorität,	contrary to the **authority** that only Holy Scripture possesses as
a. allein die lautere Quelle aller Glaubenserkenntniß	the sole, pure source of any knowledge pertaining to faith,
b. allein die untrügliche Regel und Richtschnur aller Lehren und Lehrer und	to be the sole unmistakable rule and norm of all doctrine, and

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c.	allein die Rechtsgiltige Richterin in allen Religionsstreitigkeiten zu sein. Deut. 4,2. 2. Tim. 3,15–17. Apost. 26,23. Luc. 16,29 (vgl. V. 27–31.) Röm. 16,17 („neben"). Gal. 1,8. Offb. 22,18,19. Ps. 119,105. Jes. 8,19,20. Matth. 4,4.7.10. Luc. 10,26. Joh. 10,34. (vgl. V. 33–36).	the sole valid judge in every religious controversy.
B.	wider die L e h r e der Schrift; denn es ist	against the **doctrine** of Scripture, for it is
a.	wider die N a t u r d e s G l a u b e n s der Christen, welche derselbe nach der Schrift hat, nämlich auf Gottes Wort gegründet und darum göttlich gewiß zu sein, Röm 10,17. Ephes. 2,20. 1. Thess. 2,13. 1. Cor. 2,4.5. Ebr. 11,1. Röm. 4,20–22. Luc. 16,29 (vgl. V. 27–31.)	against the **nature of faith** of Christians, who have that according to Scripture, namely, based on God's Word and therefore being divinely certain.
b.	wider die in der Schrift enthaltenen W a r n u n g e n vor Vertrauen auf Menschen auch in Glaubenssachen, und vor allen Menschenlehren, sowie wider die darin enthaltenen E r m a h n u n g e n, alles zu prüfen. Ps. 62,10. Joh. 2,23–25. Matth. 5,20.21. Matth. 15,9. (vgl. V. 1–14.) 1. Thess. 5,20.21. Joh. 4,39–42. 1. Cor. 10,15. Apost. 17,11.	against the **warnings** in Scripture concerning putting one's trust in mankind even in matters of faith, and primarily concerning human doctrine; similarly against the **exhortations** contained therein to test everything.
II.	w e i l e s e i n R ü c k f a l l i n d a s a n t i c h r i s t l i c h e P a b s t t h u m i s t; (10,59)	**because it is backsliding into the antichristian papacy**
III.	w e i l e s e i n A b f a l l v o n d e m H a u p t g r u n d s a t z d e r K i r c h e d e r R e f o r m a t i o n i s t. (10,73)	**because it is a falling away from the main fundamental principle of the Church of the Reformation.**

Table A.10: **Thesen über die Göttlichkeit der heiligen Schrift**
(A. L. Graebner, 1886 Synodical Conference—*Ratified*)

	German	**English**
I.	Die Lehre, daß die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments nach Inhalt und Ausdruck göttlichen Ursprungs sei, ist eine Lehre, mit deren Drangabe der Grund des christlichen Glaubens aufgegeben wird. (11,5)	The doctrine, that Holy Scripture, both Old and New Testament, is of divine origin according to content and expression, is a doctrine whose letting go[7] would also give up the basis for the Christian faith.
II.	Die Lehre von der Göttlichkeit der heiligen Schrift ist selbst ein Glaubensartikel und kann somit nur aus der Schrift selber erkannt und kraft derselben mit voller Zuversicht angenommen oder geglaubt werden. (11,40)	The doctrine of the divinity of Holy Scripture is itself an article of faith and consequently is may only be revealed by Scripture itself and only with the aid of the same can it be accepted or believed with full confidence.
III.	Die Lehre von der göttlichen Ursprung der heiligen Schrift ist in der Schrift auf mehrfache Weise klar und deutlich geoffenbart.	The doctrine of the divine origin of Holy Scripture is clearly and distinctly revealed in Scripture many times.
a.	Die Schrift lehrt, daß die heiligen Schreiber nicht die eigentlichen Verfasser dieser Schrift waren, sondern geschrieben haben als Werkzeuge des Heiligen Geistes. (11,47)	Scripture teaches that the holy authors were not the proper authors of this writing, rather, they wrote as tools of the Holy Spirit.
b.	Die Schrift lehrt, daß alles was in ihr geschrieben steht, nicht nur dem Inhalt, sondern auch dem Ausdruck nach, ein Werk des Heiligen Geistes sei. (11,53)	Scripture teaches that everything that stands written in it, not only the content, but also according to the expression, is a work of the Holy Spirit.
c.	Die heilige Schrift beansprucht eine solche Geltung und fordert ein solches Verhalten ihr gegenüber, wie es nur eine nach Inhalt und Ausdruck von Gott selbst stammende heilige Schrift beanspruchen und fordern kann. (11,67)	Holy Scripture claims the sort of validity and requires such a relationship to be had with it that only a Holy Scripture, that according to content and expression comes from God himself, can require and demand.

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[7] The noun *Drangabe* comes from *geben+daran*, here meaning *fahren lassen*, to let go.

Table A.11: **Thesen über den rechten seligen Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift**
(J. M. Bühler, 1889 California-Oregon District)

	German	English
	German	**English**
1.	Da man nur überhaupt nur dasjenige recht gebrauchen kann, was man recht kennt, so ist auch kein rechter Gebrauch der Bibel möglich, wo man sie nicht als das erkennt, was sie in der Wahrheit ist, Gottes eigenes Wort. (2,9)	Since in any case one can only use something properly if one properly knows it, no proper use of the Bible is possible when one does not recognize it for what it in truth is: God's own Word.
2.	Zur Gewinnung einer klaren Verstandesüberzeugung, daß die Bibel Gottes Wort ist, sind Gründe genug vorhanden. Recht fest und fröhlich wird aber unser Herz hierin erst durch das Zeugniß des Heiligen Geistes und des von ihm hervorgebrachten Glaubenslebens. (2,12)	There are plenty enough available reasons for the attainment of a clear conviction of reason that the Bible is God's Word. Our heart only becomes truly steady and happy through the witness of the Holy Spirit and from the life of faith brought forth by him.
3.	Diese Erkenntniß, daß die Bibel Gottes Wort ist, heißt mit Recht eine selige, denn wer sie besitzt und recht gebraucht, der kennt den wahren Gott und den rechten Weg zu Gott, der kommt zum wahren Seelenfrieden und zu einer lebendigen Hoffnung der Seligkeit im Glauben und ist wahrhaft selig, hier zeitlich und dort ewiglich. (2,31)	This insight, that the Bible is God's Word, is properly called a blessed insight, for whoever has it and uses it properly knows the true God and the true way to God. He or she arrives at a true peace of the soul and a living hope of salvation in faith and is truely saved, both here temporally and there eternally.
4.	Die rechte Gebrauch dieser Erkenntniß, daß die Bibel Gottes Wort ist, aber besteht darin, daß wir Gottes Wort nach seinem eigentlichen Zweck und Ziel gebrauchen, nämlich zum Heil der Seele. (2,35)	The proper use of this knowledge that the Bible is God's Word consists, however, in that we use God's Word according to its purpose and goal, namely, the salvation of the soul.
5.	Dieser heilsame und seligmachende Gebrauch des Wortes ist darum zunächst und vor allem ein persönlicher, da jedermann vorerst für seine eigene Person alles aus Gottes Wort zu nehmen, zu lernen, zu erfahren, zu genießen und auszuüben hat, was zu seiner Seligkeit nöthig ist. (2,39)	This beneficial and salvific use of the Word of God is therefore primarily[8] a personal one, where each one first of all has to learn, experience, savor, and practice taking everything from God's Word that is necessary for his or her salvation.

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[8] The German *zunächst und vor allem* is a form of an intensifying doublet that occurs frequently in the LC and

(continued next page)

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6.	Aus dem rechten persönlichen Gebrauch des Wortes Gottes geht auch der rechte Gebrauch desselben in der kirchlichen Gemeinschaft hervor, sowohl in den einzelnen Gemeinden, wie in der Verbindung der Gemeinde zur Synode, nämlich zur immer bessern Anneigung dieses Wortes, zur Gewinnung und Befestigung der rechten Einigkeit im Geist, zur Aufdeckung und Abweisung falscher Lehren und Gebräuche und zur Verbreitung der seligmachenden Wahrheit. (2,42)	From the proper personal use of the Word of God also the right use of the same in churchly fellowship comes forth, as much as it does in individual congregations, as in the connection of congregation to the synod, namely, toward the ever-better inclination to this Word, toward the attainment and strengthening of the proper unity of the Spirit, toward the discovery and repudiation of false doctrine and usages and to the spread of salvific truth.
7.	Weil daher das persönliche Christenthum des Einzelnen und die Verbindung der einzelnen Christen desselben Glaubens zu einer kirchlichen Gemeinschaft nur in dem Grade recht und heilsam ist, in welchem Gebrauch des Wortes Gottes unter uns im Schwang und Uebung geht, so soll diese Erkenntniß, daß die Bibel Gottes Wort ist, uns allen allezeit ein kräftiger Trieb sein, dieses theure Wort unsers Gottes immer eifriger recht zu treiben, wie im Kämmerlein und im Familienkreise, so auch in Schule, Gemeinde und Synode. (2,45)	Because, consequently, the personal Christianity of the individual and the connection of the individual Christian of the same faith in church fellowship is only right and beneficial to the degree in which the use of God's Word among us is in current, continual use, thus this knowledge that the Bible is God'sWord, should always be for us all a powerful drive ever to further more zealously and correctly this preciousWord of our God, as in our little prayer chamber and in the circle of the family, so also in the school, congregation, and synod.

Table A.12: **Was sagt die Heilige Schrift in Betreff ihrer Würde und ihres Ursprungs selbst von sich?**
(Fr. Busse from Walther's *Lutherstunden*, 1891–92 Iowa District)

	German	**English**
I.	Was sagt die heilige Schrift in Betreff ihrer Würde und ihres Ursprungs selbst von sich?	What does Holy Scripture say about itself concerning its worth and its origin?
1.	Sie nennt sich schlechthin: a. „das Buch", b. „die Schrift" oder „die Schriften". (9,13)	It calls itself plainly: a. "The Book;" b. "Scripture" or "the Scriptures."

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elsewhere; one can translate it to have the same meaning or signifier.

2. Sie nennt sich ausdrücklich: a. das Buch des HErrn, b. das Gesetz des HErrn, c. die heilige Schrift, d. das Wort oder die Worte Gottes, e. die heiligen Buchstaben. (9,22)	It calls itself specifically: a. the Book of the Lord; b. the Law of the LORD; c. Holy Scripture; d. the Word or the words of God; e. the holy letters.
3. Sie macht a. keinen Unterschied zwischen dem, was die heiligen Schreiber einst mündlich gepredigt, und dem, was sie geschrieben haben; daher sie auch b. von ihren Schriften wie von predigenden Personen redet. (9,29)	It makes: a. no differentiation between that which the holy authors at one time preached and that which they wrote; consequently it also b. speaks of its writings as of preaching persons.
4. Sie stellt a. die Schriften des alten Testaments denen des neuen Testaments, sowie b. die Apostel des neuen den Propheten des alten Testaments gleich. (9,38)	It places on an equal basis a. the writings of the Old Testament with those of the New Testament, in like manner as b. the apostles of the New with the prophets of the Old.
5. Sie erklärt ausdrücklich die „Schriften der Propheten" für Gottes Offenbarung der ewigen Geheimnisse seines Willens. (9,40)	It expressly declares the "writings of the prophets" to be God's revelation of the eternal mystery of his will.
6. Sie erklärt sich selbst a. für die einzige und untrügliche Richtschnur in allen Fragen des Glaubens und Lebens und zwar b. zu welcher nichts hinzu und von welcher nichts hinweggethan werden dürfe. (9,43)	It declares itself a. to be the sole and unmistakable norm in all questions of faith and life and indeed b. that to which nothing may be added and from which nothing may be taken away.
7. Sie erklärt selbst a. daß keine „Weissagung" oder Schrift aus menschlichem Willen hervorgebracht ist, b. daß die ganze Schrift, also alle Bücher, welche sie enthält, von Gott eingegeben sind, c. daß die heiligen Schreiber geredet haben, getrieben vom Heiligen Geist, d. daß nicht sowohl sie, die heiligen Schreiber, als Gott, *in specie*, der Heilige Geist oder der Geist Christi selbst, nur durch sie geredet habe. (9,52)	It itself declares a. that no "prophecy" or Scripture is brought forth from human will; b. that all Scripture, that is, the books that it contains, are inspired by God; c. that the holy authors have spoken, driven by the Holy Spirit; d. that the holy authors did not speak as God in specie, or as the Holy Spirit, or as the spirit of Christ himself; neither did they speak as if through them.

8.	Sie erklärt daß a. der Heilige Geist den heiligen Schreibern gegeben habe, nicht nur w a s , sondern auch w i e sie reden sollten, b. daß der Heilige Geist sie gelehrt habe, mit welchenWorten sie reden sollten, c. daß er durch ihren Mund geredet oder die Worte in ihren Mund gelegt habe, d. daß ihre Zunge der Griffel eines guten Schreibers gewesen sei. (9,58)	It declares that a. the Holy Spirit gave the holy authors not only **what** they had to say but **how** they had to say it; b. that the Holy Spirit taught them what words they should speak; c. that he spoke through their mouths or laid the words in their mouts; d. that their tongues were the stylus [or pen] of a good writer.
II.	Was lehrt die alte Kirche nach der apostolischen Zeit bis zur Zeit der Reformation von der Inspiration der heiligen Schrift? (10,15)	What did the ancient Church teach from post-apostolic times to the Reformation concerning the inspiration of Holy Scripture?
III.	Was hat Luther von der Inspiration der heiligen Schrift gelehrt? (10,46)	What did Luther teach concerning the inspiration of Holy Scripture?
IV.	Was lehrt unsere Kirche laut ihrer öffentlichen Bekenntnisse von der Inspiration der heiligen Schrift? (10,62)	What does our church teach according to its public confessions regarding the inspiration of Holy Scripture?
V.	„Was wird gegen die Lehre von der Inspiration der heiligen Schrift, wie sie von der Schrift selbst geoffenbart ist und von der alten Kirche, sowie von der Kirche der Reformation, Luther an der Spitze, bezeugt wird, von den Rationalisten und von den modern-gläubigen Theologen ganz vergeblich eingewendet?" (10,64)	What objections are raised in a most futile way by the rationalists and modernbelieving theologians against the doctrine of inspiration of Holy Scripture, as it is revealed by Scripture itself and given witness by the ancient Church as well as from the Church of the Reformation, with Luther at the fore?

Table A.13: **Von der Kraft und Wirksamkeit des göttlichen Wortes**
(1892 Western District)

	German	**English**
1.	Wenn wir von der Kraft und Wirksamkeit des göttlichen Wortes reden, so meinen wir das Wort der Schrift, welches den Inhalt der christlichen Predigt bildet und diese zu dem macht, was sie ist; und zwar haben wir dabei vornehmlich das Evangelium im Sinn. (31,12)	When we speak of the power and efficacy of the divine Word, we thus mean the word of Scripture that construes the content of the Christian sermon and makes it to be what it is; and indeed with that we have primarily the Gospel in mind.

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2.   Eben dieses Wort, das geschriebene und gepredigte Wort, ist lebendig und kräftig, bewegt das Herz der Menschen, wirkt den Glauben und alle guten Werke, führt zur Seligkeit, baut und erhält die Kirche Gottes auf Erden. (31,16)

Exactly this Word, the written and spoken Word, is living and powerful, moves the hearts of people, produces faith and all good works, leads to salvation, builds and preserves the Church God on earth.

3.   Solche Kraft hat das Wort daher, daß Gott selbst, Gott der Heilige Geist, durch dasselbe redet und wirksam ist. Und so ist auch der Glaube und neue Gehorsam, der aus dem Worte fließt, göttliche Gewißheit und ein geistliches, göttliches Leben. (31,35)

The Word has such power from the fact that God himself, God the Holy Spirit speaks through the same and is effective. And thus comes faith and new obedience that flows out of the Word, divine certainty, and a spiritual, godly life.

4.   Das Wort hat allewege Geist und Kraft in sich, äußert freilich aber seine Wirkung nur dann, wenn es in Brauch und Uebung ist. Und der Geist Gottes ist und bleibt der HErr, welcher das Wort als Mittel in seinen Dienst nimmt und dasselbe nach seinem Wohlgefallen braucht und verwendet. (31,46)

The Word always has Spirit and power in itself, but it only expresses its efficacy in a manner that is certain when it is in use and being put into practice. And the Spirit of God is and remains the Lord, who takes up the Word to be used as a means in his service and uses and applies it according to his good pleasure.

5.   Das Wort Gottes erweist sich an allen, die es hören, auch an solchen, die es nicht annehmen, lebendig und kräftig. Doch wird es denen, welche seiner heilsamen Wirkung hartnäckig widerstreben, schließlich ein Geruch des Todes zum Tode. (31,59)

The Word of God manifests itself, alive and powerful, to all that hear it, even to such as those that do not accept it. Indeed, it becomes finally a stench of death that leads to death for those that offer stiff-necked resistance to its salvific efficacy.

6.   Ob auch die meisten das Wort verachten und verwerfen, so schafft dasselbe doch überall, wo es im Schwange geht, etliche Frucht zum ewigen Leben. (31,65)

Even if most despise and reject the Word, yet it still creates everywhere where it comes into current use, quite a bit of fruit unto eternal life.

7.   Aus dem allen ergibt sich, daß es unser höchstes Anliegen sein muß, daß Wort Gottes fleißig zu predigen, zu lehren, zu hören und zu lernen. (31,67)

From all of this it follows that our greatest concern must be diligently to preach, teach, hear and learn the Word of God.

Table A.14: **Unsere Missourisynode ist eine wahrhaft evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinschaft, denn sie schöpft alle ihre Lehren aus dem klaren Schriftwort**
(E. W. Kähler, 1892 Central District—Thesis 1 *Ratified*)

	German	English
1.	Die einzige Quelle der Erkenntniß christlicher Lehre ist die heilige Schrift, und zwar für jede Lehre das ausdrückliche, klare Schriftwort. (31,13)	The sole source of the knowledge of Christian doctrine in Holy Scripture, and indeed for every doctrine the express, clear word of Scripture.
2.	Hierzu bekennt sich unsere evangelischlutherische Kirche als zu ihrem obersten Grundsatze und sagt sich damit los von allen, die denselben leugnen oder verfälschen. (31,39)	Concerning this our Evangelical Lutheran Church confesses it as its highest principle and therefore rejects all that deny this or falsify the same.

Table A.15: **Unsere Missourisynode ist eine wahrhaft evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinschaft, denn sie schöpft alle ihre Lehren aus dem klaren Schriftwort**
(J. G. Stöckhardt, 1894 Central District—*Confessed*)

	German	English
I.	Daß die Schrift Wort für Wort von Gott eingegeben und in allen Stücken unfehlbare Wahrheit ist. (32,12)	That Scripture is given by God word for word and is in all its parts infallible truth.
II.	Daß wir ohne alles eigne Verdienst, aus Gnaden durch Christum vor Gott gerecht und selig werden; daß der Glaube allein uns gerecht macht, aber nur darum, weil er die Gerechtigkeit hinnimmt und sich zueignet, welche Christus allen Sündern erworben und bereitet hat. (32,22)	That we, without any merit of our own, are righteous before God and become saved by grace through Christ; that faith alone makes us righteous, yet only because it receives and appropriates to itself the righteousness that Christ won for all siners and for whom he has prepared it.
III.	Daß Gott selbst aus den Glauben in uns angezündet hat, daß wir durch Gottes Gnade zu Christo bekehrt und neugeboren sind, ohne unser eignes Vorbereiten, Zuthun und Mitwerken; daß wir aus Gottes Macht im Glauben erhalten und durch den Glauben bewahrt werden zur Seligkeit. (32,36)	That God himself out of faith has kindled in us, that we are converted to Christ through God's grace and born again with out any preparation, addition work, or cooperation on our part; that we are maintained in faith by God's power and through that faith are preserved unto salvation.

IV.	Daß Gott unsere Bekehrung, Gerechtigkeit, Seligkeit sich so hoch hat angelegen sein lassen, daß er uns schon vor Grundlegung der Welt aus eitel Gnaden und Christi willen zur Kindschaft und zum ewigen Leben erwählt und verordnet hat, ohne alle Rücksicht auf unser eignes Verhalten. (32,53)	That God was so greatly concerned with our conversion, justification, and salvation that already before the foundation of the world, out of mere grace and for the sake of Christ, he elected and decreed us to be children of God and to have eternal life, without any respect to our conduct.

Table A.16: Über die Inspiration der heiligen Schrift
(E. Zapf, 1909 Northern Illinois District—*Ratified*)

	German	**English**
I.	Die Inspiration der heiligen Schrift besteht darin; daß Gott die menschlichen Schreiber der biblischen Bücher zum Schreiben veranlaßt und ihnen dabei mitgetheilt, eingegeben hat, nicht nur alle Sachen, die sie schreiben sollten, sondern a l l e Wo r t e , durch welche diese Sachen auszudrücken waren. Die Schrift enthällt somit nicht nur, sondern sie i s t in allen ihren Teilen nach Inhalt und Form Gottes Wort und als solches durchaus wahr und unfehlbar. (1,13)	The inspiration of Holy Scripture consists of the fact that God caused the human writers of the biblical books to write, and by that he imparted to them, inspired, not only all the things that they were supposed to write, rather **all the words** by which these things were expressed. Not only does Scripture contain it, rather, it **is** in all its parts according to content and form God's Word and as such it is thoroughly true and infallible.
II.	Diese Lehre ist in der heiligen Schrift selbst auf das allerdeutlichste an vielen Stellen und in mannigfacher Weise geoffenbart. (1,17)	This doctrine is revealed in Holy Scripture itself in a manner most clear in many passages and in various ways.
III.	Die Einwände gegen diese Lehre sind nichtig und dienen, genau besehen, vielfach nur dazu, sie zu bestätigen. (1,31)	The objections to this doctrine are of no consequence and serve, when rightly examined, much more only to confirm it.

IV. An dieser Lehre ist sehr viel gelegen. Auf ihr beruht im letzten Grunde alle Gewißheit unsers Glaubens und unsers Heils. Das Aufgeben derselben öffnet alle Willkür in Sachen des Glaubens und der Lehre Tür und Tor, und ihre Bekämpfung hat schon in der Christenheit unermeßlichen Schaden angerichtet. Um so treuer sollten wir sie festhalten und bekennen. (1,57)

V. Den rechten Gebrauch dieser Lehre für Prediger und Lehrer als solche zeigt 1 Petr. 4,11 an: „So jemand redet, daß er's rede als Gottes Wort." Für a l l e Christen als solche besteht der rechte Gebrauch unter anderm namentlich darin, daß sie in der Schrift, als Gottes höchsteigenem Wort, immer fleißiger forschen und dabei sie immer treuer brauchen, wozu sie Gott gegeben hat (2 Tim. 3,15.16): als Unterweisung zur Seligkeit, zur Lehre, Strafe, Besserung, Züchtigung in der Gerechtigkeit und zum Trost (Röm. 15,4). (1,71)

Much is laid upon this doctrine. On it rests ultimately all of the certainty of our faith and of our salvation. Giving up the same opens up the floodgates to every kind of arbitrariness in matters of faith and doctrine. Fighting that as already caused any manner of harm in Christianity. All the more faithfully should we hold fast to it and confess it.

The proper use of this doctrine for pastors and teachers as such is shown by 1 Pet. 4:11: "thus let whoever speaks, speak as the Word of God." For **all** Christians the proper use of this consist of, among other things, particularly that they continue ever more dilligently to research Scripture as God's most personal Word, and thereby use it ever more faithfully to the end that God gave it (2 Tim. 3:15, 16): as instruction unto salvation, for doctrine, punishment, improvement, chastening in righteousness and for consolation (Rom. 15:4).

APPENDIX B

AXIOMATA FROM JOHANN GERHARD

Here are Walther's collected axiomata from Gerhard's *Loci* concerning theology in general and the interpretation of Scripture. Gerhard's Latin and Walther's German texts are in *LuW*; the English is mine. Variations in spelling and punctuation shouldnot overly trouble the reader. One should test Walther's translations against the Latin; generally they present few issues beyond paraphrase. Reading through these sayings will help clarify the positions of "old Missouri."

I. Concerning Theology[1]

1.   Theologia est habitus intellectus θεόσδοτος practicus per verbum a Spiritu sancto collatus.[2]
Die Theologie ist eine gottgegebene durch das Wort vom heiligen Geist mitgetheilte praktische Fertigkeit des Verstandes.
Theology is a practical character of intellect given by God through the Word as conferred by the Holy Spirit.

2.   "Oratio, meditatio, tentatio faciunt theologum."
Gebet, Meditation und Anfechtung machen einen Theologen."
Prayer, contemplation, and trial make a theologian."

3.   "Credimus, ut intelligamus, non intelligimus, ut credamus."
Wir glauben, damit wir erkennen, wir erkennen nicht, damit wir glauben.
"We believe in order to understand; we do not understand in order to believe."

4.   Fides praecidit intellectum
Der Glaube geht der Erkenntniß voraus.
Faith precedes the ability to understand it.[3]

5.   Theologia nihil aliud est, atque grammatica, in Spiritus sancti verbis occupata.
Die Theologie ist nichts anderes, als eine Grammatik der Worte des heiligen Geistes.
Theology is nothing other than a grammar of the words that the Holy Spirit has taken up for its use.[4]

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[1] Walther, "Theologische Axiome," 6–7.

[2] *Habitus* can be a character, state of being, expression, condition, demeanor, and the like.

[3] Here the English differentiation between one's *ken* (basic knowledge) and something *canny* or *uncanny* remains helpful.

[4] In order for this thesis to work, one must understand seventeenth-century grammar. As we have already noted, changes in the approach to grammar in the LCMS German period helped problematize this thesis. The notion
(continued next page)

6. Majestate theologica indignum non est, habere in gynecaeo[sic] ancillas etiam peregrinans.[5]

Es ist der Erhabenheit der Theologie nicht unwürdig, in ihrem Hause auch fremde Mägde zu haben.

The majesty of theology does not consider it unworthy to have itinerant servant-girls in its inner dwelling.

7. Nomina qui fingit, simul et nova dogmata gignit.

Wer neue Worte erdichtet, erzeugt auch zugleich neue Glaubensartikel.

Producing new words births new dogmas; *or* all that is true is not new, all that is new is not true.

8. Moderati ingenii est, cum ecclesia non tantum sentire, sed et loqui.

Es ist die Art eines bescheidenen Geistes, mit der Kirche nicht nur zu glauben, sondern auch zu reden.

The manner of a temperate spirit is not only to understand [or believe], but also to speak in the manner of the Church.

9. Quod non capis, quod non vides,
Animosa firmet fides.

Was du nicht fassest, was du nicht siehst, mache der muthvolle Glaube dir gewiß.

What you can't grasp, what you can't see—'tis that faith gives the courage to be.

10. Οὐδεὶς γεωμέτρης εἰσίτω.

Kein Geometer hat hier etwas zu suchen.

No geometer will find aught here.

11. Articuli ad salutem cognitu necessarii sunt omnium temporum.

Die Artikel, deren Erkenntniß zur Seligkeit nöthig ist, sind zu allen Zeiten dieselben.

The articles that are necessary to know in order to be saved remain the same for all time.

12. "Ut in philosophia modicus error in principio in fine est maximus, sic in theologia modicus error totam doctrinam evertit."

"Gleichwie in der Philosophie, wenn man im Anfang ein wenig fehlet, am ende ein sehrgrößer unmäßiger Irrthum daraus wird: also gehet es in der Theologie auch zu, daß ein kleiner Irrthum die ganze christliche Lehre verderben und fälschen soll."

"As in philosophy a little error at the beginning is great at the end, so in theology a little error overturns the totality of doctrine."

13. "Debet doctrina esse unus quidam perpetuus et rotundus aureus circulus, in quo nullasit fissura; ea accedente vel minima circulus non est amplius integer."

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of words "captured" (*occupata*) by the Holy Spirit helps produce a salutary methodology for approaching the Word of God, namely, to find the scriptural comparanda and the Christological point.

[5] The *gynaeceum* is the inner dwelling in a Hellenistic house. This is where the women dwelled to remain safe. Here the word is misspelled.

"Die Lehre soll sein, gleichwie ein feiner ganzer güldener Ring, daran kein Rißlein noch Bruch sei; den sobald solcher Ring ein Rißlein oder Bruch gewinnt, ist er nicht mehr ganz."

"Doctrine should be like a certain single, continuous, smoothly-finished ring of gold in which there are nowhere any fissures; should that come about, even in the least, then that great circle would no longer be whole."

14. "Maledictus sit caritas, quae servatur cum jactura doctrinae fidei, qui omnia cedere debent, caritas, apostolus, angelus e coelo."

"Verflucht sei die Liebe in Abgrund der Höllen, so erhalten wird mit Schaden und Nachtheil der Lehre vom Glauben, der billig alles zumal weichen soll, es sei Liebe, Apostel, Engel vom Himmel, und was es sein mag."

"Accursed be love that is preserved by the loss of the doctrine of faith, for which everything else ought to be given up, be it love, apostle, even an angel from heaven."

15. "Si Deum in uno articulo negas, in omnibus negasti, quia Deus non dividitur in multos articulos, sed est omnia in singulis et unus in omnibus articulis."

"Wenn du Gott in Einem Artikel verleugnest, so hast du ihn gewißlich in allen verleugnet; denn er läßt sich nicht stückweis zertheilen in viel Artikel, sondern ist ganz und gar in einem jeden und in allen zumal Ein Gott."

"If you should deny God in one article, you have denied him in all of them, for God is not divided in many articles, but is all in one and one in all articles."

16. "Unum verbum Dei est omnia, omnia sunt unum; unus articulus est omnes, omnes sunt unus, et uno omisso omnes paulatim amittuntur; cohaerent enim et quodam communi vinculo continentur."

"Ein Wort Gottes ist alle und wiederum alle Gottes Worte sind Eins; alle Artikel unseres christlichen Glaubens sind Einer und wieder Einer ist alle, daß gewiß die andern allesamt mit der Zeit einzelig hinnachfallen; denn sie hangen alle an einander und gehören zusammen."

"One word of God is all, all of them are one. One article is all, all are one, and should anything be omitted from one, they all lose bit by bit. Therefore they are coherent and together they form a continuous chain."

II. Concerning Holy Scripture, the Principle of Theology[6]

1. "Οὐδὲν ἄτερ γραφῆς."
Nichts außer der Schrift.
"Nothing without Scripture."

2. "Quod credimus, debemus autoritati, quod intelligimus, rationi."
Was wir glauben, verdanken wir der Autorität, was wir einsehen, der Vernunft.
"What we believe we owe to the authority; what we understand we owe to reason."

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[6] Walther, "Theologische Axiome," 8–9.

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3. "Verbum Dei condit articulos fidei et praeterea nemo, ne angelus quidem."
Gottes Wort macht Artikel des Glaubens und sonst niemand, auch kein Engel.
"The Word of God creates articles of faith, yet no one besides, not even an angel."

4. "Scriptura est fluvius, in quo elephas natat, et agnus ambulat."
Die Schrift ist ein Strom, in welchem der Elephant schwimmt und das Lamm hindurchgeht.
"Scripture is a river in which an elephant swims, yet in which a lamb walks."

5. Nullus in scripturis est apex, a quo non pendeant doctrinarum montes.
In der Schrift gibt es kein Strichlein, an dem nicht Berge von Lehren hingen.
There is not the least particle of Scripture from whence mountains of doctrine could not hang.

6. Multa sunt in scripturis, etiamsi non dicantur.
Vieles ist in der Schrift, ohne daß es darin ausgesprochen wird.
There is much in Scripture that remains unexpressed.

7. "Pascimur apertis, exercemur obscuris; illis fames, his taedium pellitur"
Durch das Klare werden wir genährt, durch das Dunkle geübt; durch jenes wird der Hunger, durch dieses der Ueberdruß abgewehrt.
"By the clear passages we are fed, by the obscure we are exercised; by that, we hunger, by this, tedium is banished."

8. Patres fuerunt lumina, non numina.
Die Kirchenväter waren Lichter, nicht Götter.
The Fathers were lights, not gods.

9. Errat ecclesia, quae ecclesiam errare posse negat.
Die Kirche irrt, die da leugnet, daß die Kirche irren könne.
The Church errs when it negates the possibility that the Church can err.

10. Errant concilia, quae concilia errare posse negat.
Die Concilien irren, die da leugnen, daß die Concilien irren können.
Councils err when they negate the possibility that councils can err.

11. Hebraei bibunt fontes, Graeci rivos, Latini paludes.
Der Hebräer trinkt aus der Quelle, der Grieche aus den Flüssen, der Lateiner aus Sümpfen.
Hebrews drink from springs, Greeks from rivers, and Latins from swamps.

12. Prophetica et apostolica scripta sunt unica credendorum regula et norma.
Die prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften sind des Glaubens einige Regel und Richtschnur.
The prophetic and apostolic scriptures are the sole rule and norm of matters of faith.

13. Supremus controversiarum judex est Spiritus S. per scripturam nobiscum loquens.
Der höchste Richter aller Streitigkeiten ist der durch die Schrift mit uns redende Geist Gottes.
The supreme judge of controversies is the Holy Spirit that speaks to us through Scripture.

14. Dogma de canone proprie loquendo non est articulus fidei.
Das Dogma vom Canon ist eigentlich zu reden kein Glaubensartikel.
Properly speaking, the dogma concerning the canon is not an article of faith.

15. „Haeretici allegant quidem apostolica, sed non apostolice intellecta.
"Ketzer führen auch die apostolischen Worte an, aber nicht apostolisch verstanden.
"Heretics allege even apostolic words, yet not understood in an apostolic manner."

16. „In sensu, non in verbis est haeresis."
In der Meining, nicht im Ausdruck, ist die Ketzerei.
"Heresy is in the sense of the words, not directly in the words themselves."

17. Duo cum dicunt idem, non est idem.
Wenn zwei dasselbe sagen, so ist es darum nicht dasselbe.
As soon as two say the same thing, it isn't the same thing.

18. Multitudum errantium non parit errori patrocinium.
Die Menge der Irrenden rechtfertigt den Irrthum nicht.
A multitude of erring people cannot produce a legal defense for an error.

19. Superbia est mater haeresium.
Die Hoffart ist die Mutter der Ketzereien.
Arrogance is the mother of heresy.

20. "Errare potero, haereticus non ero."
Irren werde ich können, ein Ketzer werde ich nicht sein.
"If I will be able to err, I will not be a heretic."

21. "Haereticorum patriarchae philosophi."
Die Philosophen sind der Ketzer Erzväter.
"Philosophers are the patriarchs of heretics."

22. Nihil ratione ministra utilius, nihil magistra periculosius; nihil pulchrius, cum sequitur, nihil damnosius, cum antecedit.
Nichts ist nützlicher, als die Vernunft, wenn sie Dienerin ist, nichts gefährlicher, wenn sie Meisterin ist; nichts schöner, wenn sie folgt, nichts schädlicher, wenn sie vorangeht.
Nothing is more useful than reason as a servant, nothing more perilous when she becomes a queen; nothing more beautiful than when she follows, nothing more ruinous than when she leads.

23. Traditionum pontificiarum assumentum non est assumendum.
Die Anflickerei papistischer Ueberlieferungen mußt du verwerfen.
The patchwork pontifical tradition should not be accepted.

24. "Non credo, qui non lego."
„Ich glaube es nicht, weil ich es nicht lese."
"I don't believe it because I am unable to [find and] read it."

25. Dicio dicta perit, litera scripta manet.
Das gesprochene Wort vergeht, der geschriebene Buchstabe steht.
The spoken word perishes; the written letter endures.

26. Principium meum non est: Ratio dixit, sed Αὐτὸς ἔφα.
Mein oberster Grundsatz ist nicht: Die Vernunft hat's gesagt, sondern: Er hat's gesagt.
My first principle is not: Thus saith reason, rather: He [Christ] said it.

III. Concerning the Interpretation of Holy Scripture[7]

1. Scriptura in iis, quae ad salutem pertinet, perspicua est.
Die Schrift ist in dem, was zur Seligkeit nöthig ist, deutlich und klar.
Scripture is clear in that which pertains to salvation.

2. Scopus totius scripturae communis est Christus.[8]
Der allgemeine Endzweck aller Schrift ist Christus.
The general goal of all Scripture is Christ.

3. Quilibet locus scripturae sacrae sensum literalem admittit.
Der Buchstäbliche ist der wahre Sinn jeder Bibelstelle.
No matter what the passage of Sacred Scripture, it admits the literal sense.

4. Sensus literalis est id, quod sentit autor.[9]
Der buchstäbliche Sinn ist der Sinn des Schreibers.
The literal sense is the one understood by the author.

5. Sensus literalis unius loci nonnisi unicus est.
Der buchstäbliche Sinn einer einzigen Stelle ist nur Einer.
The literal sense of a given passage is unique.

6. Sensus literae non semper est literalis.
Der Sinn des Buchstabens ist nicht immer der buchstäbliche.
The sense of the letters is not always the literal sense.

7. Solus sensus literalis est argumentativus.
Allein der buchstäbliche Sinn ist beweiskräftig.
Only the literal sense is capable of supporting proof.

8. Sensus literae non temere est deserendus.
Der Sinn des Buchstabens ist ohne zwingenden Grund nicht zu verlassen.
One does not rashly depart from the sense of the letters.

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[7] Walther, "Theologische Axiome," 9–13.

[8] The term *scopus* is a loan-word from Greek used as "goal, purpose, viewpoint."

[9] The form *autor/author* is a late form of *auctor*. The verb *sentire* can include: perceive, feel, experience; think, realize, see, understand.

9. Scriptura semet ipsam explicat.[10]
    Die Schrift legt sich selbst aus.
    Scripture interprets itself.

10. Sensus literae est deserendus, ubi clarior parallelismus tropicam explicationem requirit.
    Der Sinn des Buchstabens ist zu verlassen, wo ein klarere Parallelstelle die Annahme eines uneigentlichen Sinnes erfordert.
    One departs from the sense of the letters wherever a clearer parallelism (parallel passage) requires a figural explanation.

11. Omnis explicatio Scripturae S. fidei debet esse analoga.
    Jede Schriftauslegung muß dem Glauben ähnlich sein.
    Every explanation of Holy Scripture is required to be analogous to the faith.

12. Sensus literae est deserendus, ubi analogia fidei tropicam explicationem requirit.
    Der Sinn des Buchstabens ist zu verlassen, wo die Analogie des Glaubens die Annahme eines uneigentlichen Sinnes erfordert.
    One departs from the sense of the letters where the analogy of faith requires a figural explanation.

13. Οὐδμία γραφὴ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἐστὶν ἐναντία.
    Keine Schriftstelle widerspricht der anderen.
    No passage of Scripture is contrary to any other.

14. Sensus literae est deserendus, ubi evidentia rei tropicam explicationem requirit.
    Der Sinn des Buchstabens ist zu verlassen, wo die Natur der Sache die Annahme eines uneigentlichen Sinnes erfordert.
    One departs from the sense of the letters where the evidence of the fact requires a figural explanation.

15. Distingue tempora, et concordabit scriptura.
    Unterscheide die Zeiten, und du wirst sehen, daß in der Schrift kein Widerspruch ist.
    Distinguish the times and Scripture will harmonize.

16. Omnis fidei articulus in Scriptura S. alicubi propriis et perspicuis verbis est expositus.
    Jeder Glaubensartikel ist in der Schrift irgendwo mit eigentlichen und deutlichenWorten ausgedrückt.
    Every article of faith in Holy Scripture is expressed somewhere using proper and clear words.

17. Statuendum de quovis dogmate ex propria ejus sede.
    Von jedem Dogma ist zu glauben, was von demselben da gesagt wird, wo es in der Schrift seinen Sitz hat.

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[10] The form *semet* is an emphatic of *se*.

Regarding whatever dogma, the matter is decided by that which comes from its individual *sedes*.

18. Sensus literae non est deserendus, praesertim quoad substantialia, ubi fidei articulus ceu in propria sede tractatur.
Der Sinn des Buchstabens nicht ist zu verlassen, namentlich was das Wesen der Sachebetrifft, wo ein Glaubensartikel als in seinem eigentlichen Sitz abgehandelt wird.
One may not depart from the literal sense, particularly as long as that belonging to the essentials is treated where an article of faith is dealt with in the same manner as in its proper *sedes*.

19. Tò ῥητόν est retinendum, ubi articulus fidei ex professo proponitur.[11]
Es ist genau bei den Buchstaben zu bleiben, wo ein Glaubensartikel geflissentlich vorgelegt wird.
The precise literal content is to be retained where an article of faith is expressly propounded.

20. Non potest scriptura intelligi theologice, nisi ante intellecta sit grammatice.
Die Schrift kann nicht verstanden werden theologisch, ehe sie verstanden ist grammatisch.
It is not possible to understand Scripture theologically before one understands it grammatically.

21. Sensus mysticus, id est, allegoricus, typicus vel parabolicus, vel literalis est, vel nullus.
Der (angebliche) mystische Sinn (das ist, der allegorische, typische, oder parabolische) ist entweder der buchstäbliche oder ist gar kein Sinn der Schriftworte.[12]
The mystical sense, that is, allegorical, typological, and parabolic, either is the literal sense or none at all.

22. Sensus allegoricus, typicus et parabolicus non est argumentativus, nisi innatus sive abipso Spirutu S. revelatus.
Der allegorische, typische und parabolische Sinn ist nicht beweiskräftig, es sei denn,daß der heilige Geist selbst ihn offenbart hat.[13]
The allegorical, typological, and parabolic senses cannot support proof unless it is natural or specifically revealed by the Holy Spirit himself.

23. Πᾶν ὅμοιον ἀνόμοιον.
Alles Aehnliche ist einander unähnlich.
Everything that is similar is unlike.

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[11] The term ῥητόν comes out of the Hellenistic legal tradition.

[12] Here Walther's translation differs from Gerhard's understanding of the *sensus mysticus*.

[13] Here Walther drops the *evidentia rei*.

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24. Simile non est extendendum ultra scopum et tertium comparationis.
Ein Gleichniß ist nicht über seinen Zweck und Vergleichungspunkt auszudehnen.
A comparison (simile) may not be extended beyond its scope and its point of comparison.

25. Cave, ne inferas sensum, effer.
Hüte dich, den Sinn nicht hinein zu tragen, hole ihn heraus.
Be careful not to import a sense, but to bring it out.

26. In scripturae explicatione non sufficit, qui sensus esse posit, docere, sed qui indubitatoesse debeat.
In Auslegung der Schrift ist es nicht genug, zu lehren, welches der Sinn sein könne, sondern, welches der Sinn ohne Zweifel sein müsse.
In the interpritation of Scripture it does not suffice to teach what a sense might be, but what, without a doubt, the sense must be.

27. Obscuriora et pauciora explicanda sunt ex clarioribus et pluribus.
Das Dunklere und Wenigere ist aus den Helleren und Mehreren zu erklären.
That which is more obscure and of lesser extent is explained from that which is clearer and more extensive.

28. Inhaerendum est in his, quae in scriptura sunt apertissima et ex his revelatur obscura.
An dem muß man halten, was in der Schrift ohne alle Dunkelheit ist und daraus das Dunkle enthüllen.
One must stick to the passages in Scripture where they are clearest and from which the obscure is revealed.

29. "Nihil ferme de obscuriantibus istis eruitur, quod non planissime dictum alibi reperitur."
Nicht leicht wird etwas aus dunklen Stellen aus Licht gezogen, was Licht an anderen Stellen mit ganz klaren Worten offenbart gefunden würde.
"Hardly ever is something plucked from the obscure that is not found to be spoken of elsewhere in the plainest of words."

30. "Das ist wohl wahr, etliche Sprüche der Schrift sind dunkel; aber in demselben ist nichts anders, denn eben, was an andern Orten in den klaren offenen Sprüchen ist."
"It is indeed true that quite a number of passages in Scripture are obscure, yet their content is nothing other than the very thing found at other locations in the clear, accessible sayings."

31. "Seid nur gewiß, ohne Zweifel, daß nichts Helleres ist, denn die Sonne, das ist, die Schrift; ist aber eine Wolke dafür getreten, so ist doch nichts anders dahinten, denn dieselbe helle Sonne. Also, ist ein dunkler Sprüch in der Schrift, so zweifelt nur nicht, es ist gewiß dieselbe Wahrheit dahinten, die am anderen Orte klar ist, und wer das Dunkle nicht verstehen kann, der bleibe bei den Lichten."
"Only be certain, without a doubt, that there is nothing brighter than the sun,

that is, Scripture. If a cloud goes in front of it, therefore there is nothing else behind it than that same bright sun. In the same wise, if there is an obscure passage in Scripture, don't worry about it, for certainly the same truth is behind it that is clearin other places. Whoever cannot understand the obscure passages can stay with the illuminated ones."

32. "Da kommen Ketzer her, daß sie die dunkeln Sprüche fassen nach ihrem eigenen Verstande, und fechten damit wider die klaren Sprüche und Grund des Glaubens."
"Heretics come from the position that they understand the obscure passages according to their own intellect and with that they duel against the clear sayings and the foundation of faith."

33. Quae dicuntur in scripturis ἀνθροποπαθῶς, intelligenda sunt θεωπρεπῶς.
Was von Gott in der Schrift Menschliches ausgesagt wird, muß Gottes würdig verstanden werden.
That which is spoken in Scripture as coming from people is to be revered as coming from God.

34. "In Vetere (Testamento) Novum latet, in Novo Vetus patet."
Das Neue Testament liegt im Alten verschlossen, das Alte ist im Neuen aufgeschlossen.
"In the Old Testament the New lurks; in the New the Old stands open."

35. Testamentum Vetus novi fundamentum, Novum Veteris complementum.
Das Alte Testament ist des Neuen Grund, das Neue des Alten Erfüllung.
The Old Testament is the basis of the New; the New is the fulfillment of the Old.

36. Moses prophetarum oceanus, reliqui prophetae postillatores Mosis, Novum T. Veteris complementum.
Moses ist der Ocean der Propheten, alle anderen Propheten sind Postillen über die fünf Bücher, das Neue Testament des Alten Erfüllung.
Of the prophets, Moses is the ocean. All the other prophets produce postils based on Moses' work. The New Testament is the fulfillment of the Old.

37. Littera non fallit, multos speciosa fefellit
Glossa, Dei verbo nitere, tutus eris.
Lubrica dum ratio sensus se volvit in omnes,
Certa faces ῥητῷ pectora, Christe, tuo.
Der Buchstabe betrügt nicht; Viele hat eine gleißende Glosse betrogen; stütze dich aufGottes Wort, so wirst du sicher gehen. Während die Schlüpfrige Vernunft sich drehtauf jeden Sinn, so machst du, Christe, durch dein Wort, wie es lautet, die Herzen festund gewiß.
The letter does not fail; many have been cheated by a specious gloss. Lean on the Word of God and you will go securely. As long as deceitful reason turns to any old sense, make certain, O Christ, hearts through your Word.

38. "Cum Paulus exponit Psalmum de Christo, non est alia, de angelii quidem, interpretatio agnoscenda."

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Wenn Paulus einen Psalm von Christo erklärt, so ist keine andere Auslegung anzuerkennen, auch die eines Engels nicht.
"Seeing that Paul explains a psalm concerning Christ, no other interpretation is to be recognized, even that of an angel."

39.   "Prophetae de rebus futuris utuntur saepe verbis sui temporis."
Die Propheten gebrauchen oft, wenn sie von zukünftigen Dingen reden, Worte ihrer Zeit.
"Prophets often use words of their own time when talking about future things."

40.   "Multa praedicta sunt, quae indubis completa, etsi, quomodo et quando impleta sint, nec sacra nec exotica historia referat."
Vieles ist geweissagt, was unzweifelhaft erfüllt ist, obgleich weder die heilige noch die Welt-Geschichte berichtet, wie und wann es erfüllt ist.
"Many are the predictions about that which is undoubtedly fulfilled, although neither sacred nor foreign history reports how or when that might be."

41.   Peritiores duces nusquam inveniet interpres, quam Christum ipsum, ejusquae discipulos, fallere nescios, qui, dum plurima V. T. oracula ex ipsa Spiritus Sancti intentione in N. T. interpretantur, ad innumera alia recte intelligenda clavem suppeditant.
Bessere Führer wird ein Ausleger nirgends finden, als Christum und seine dem Irrthum nicht unterworfenen Jünger, welche, indem sie sehr viele Weissagungen des Alten Testaments der Absicht des heil. Geistes gemäß im Neuen Testament auslegen, zum rechten Verständniß unzähliger anderer den Schlüssel darreichen.
An interpreter can find no better expert guides than Christ himself and his disciples that did not fall into ignorance. This is because they interpreted many OT oracles in the NT from the purpose of the Holy Spirit himself and made available keys toward the proper understanding of innumerable others.

42.   Talia sunt subjecta, qualia permittuntur, imo praescribuntur a suis praedicatis.
Die Subjecte sind der Art, wie es ihre Prädicate zulassen, ja vorschrieben.
Subjects are permitted of such kind that indeed are prescribed by their predicates.

43.   "Ut in Veteri T. umbra cernitur, ita in Novo res significata quaerenda est, non alius typus."
Wie im Alten Testament der Schatten ist, so ist im Neuen die bedeutende Sache zusuchen, nicht wieder ein Bild.
"As in the OT one discerns the darkness, so in the New one searches for the matter that is signified, not another type."

APPENDIX C

ERNST ECKHARDT'S RESEARCH

Table C.1: *Inspiration* Excerpts from Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon* 4:[b]584–[b]608

Document	Reference
"Was sagt die Schrift von sich selbst?"	J. G. Stöckhardt *LuW* 32 (1886) 161–168, 205–215, 249–257, 281–288, 313–323, 345–355
"Über die Inspiration der heiligen Schrift"	E. Zapf Northern Illinois District 1909
"Was sagt die heilige Schrift in Betreff ihrer Würde und ihres Ursprungs selbst von sich?"	F. Busse, transcribed and amended from C. F. W. Walther Iowa District 1891 and 1892
"Thesen über die Göttlichkeit der heiligen Schrift"	A. L. Graebner Synodal-konferenz 1886
Compendium Theologiae Positivae Prolegomena	Baier / Walther 1:93–108
Central District 1894	J. G. Stöckhardt 12–22
Katechismuserklärung	Friedrich Brunn 20–30
Wisconsin Synod 1883	19–33
Minnesota-Dakota District 1882	F. A. O. Pieper 16–22
"Vorwort"	C. F. W. Walther *LuW* 32 (1886) 1–12, 33–43, 65–77
"Was lehren die neueren orthodox sein wollenden Theologen von der Inspiration?"	*LuW* 17 (1871) 33–44, 65–76, 97–106, 129–140
"Was manche der heutigen gläubigen Theologen von der Inspiration lehren"	Friedrich Brunn *LuW* 13 (1867) 280–282
"Zur Inspirationslehre und zum ersten Kapitel der Bibel"	*LuW* 39 (1893) 325–333
"Die Lehre von der Inspiration unter den Baptisten"	F. A. O. Pieper *LuW* 32 (1886) 145–149
"Die Form der alttestamentlichen Zitate im neuen Testament"	F. A. O. Pieper *LuW* 32 (1886) 77–82
Was ist Inspiration?	*LuW* 25 (1879) 257–262 [probably incorrect]
"Synergismus in der Lehre von der Inspiration"	F. A. O. Pieper *LuW* 38 (1892) 193–198

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"Der neuste Angriff auf die Inspirationslehre in der Hannoverischen Landeskirche"

F. A. O. Pieper
LuW 37 (1891) 225–231, 257–263

"Die Inspirationslehre in der lutherischen Kirche Americas"

F. A. O. Pieper
LuW 48 (1902) 129—138

"The Scriptures the Word of Prophecy"

E. A. Brueggemann
Theological Quarterly 3 (1899) 286–303

"Wie durch die Irrlehre der Neueren betreffs Inspiration der heiligen Schrift . . . die Lehre vom seligmachendem Glauben geschädigt wird"

T. Stiemke
Eastern District 1894

Table C.2: *Schrift* Excerpts from Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon* 6:ᶜ640–ᶜ655

Document	Reference
"Vom Ansehen und Gebrauch der Schrift"	Wisconsin Synod 1883, 1884
"Was sagt die heilige Schrift in Betreff ihrer Würde und ihres Ursprungs selbst von sich?"	F. Busse, transcribed and amended from C. F. W. Walther Iowa District 1891 and 1892
Welches sind die Eigenschaften der heiligen Schrift? ["Was ist es um den Fortschritt der modernen lutherischen Theologie in der Lehre?" IV]	*LuW* 21 (1875) 321
"Von der Vollkommenheit und Deutlichkeit der heiligen Schrift"	F. A. O. Pieper Minnesota-Dakota District 1882
Compendium Theologiae Positivae Prolegomena	Baier / Walther 1:118–176
"Wer hat ihnen gesagt, daß die Bibel die heilige Schrift sei?"	C. F. W. Walther *Der Lutheraner* 4 (1848) 25–27, 33
Neuere Fälschungen des Schriftprinzips	*Theologische Quartalschrift* 1 (1904) 36–46, 66–75
"Was lehrt Johann Gerhard von der heiligen Schrift, insonderheit von der Inspiration der heiligen Schrift?"	*LuW* 17(1871) 225–236, 257–265 [Eckhardt puts this article here.]
"Einigkeit in der rechten Ansicht von der Autorität der Schrift als Quelle der Lehre der Weg zur Kircheneinigkeit"	*Theologische Quartalschrift* 1 (1904) 177–205
"Von der heiligen Schrift"	*Der Lutheraner* 52 (1896) 4, 5
Selbstunterricht in Gottes Wort	C. M. Zorn 6, 7
"Über den Stil und die Wohlredenheit der heiligen Schrift"	*Magazin für ev.-luth. Homiletik* 7 (1883) 267–273
"Über den rechten Gebrauch der Schrift im allgemeinen"	J. H. Schröder California-Nevada District 1903, 29–37
"Der rechte selige Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift"	J. M. Bühler

	California-Oregon District 1889
"Three of the Principal Proofs for the Divine Authority of the Bible"	J. A. Rimbach *Theological Quarterly* 9 (1905) 32
"Can a Man Understand the Bible by His Own Natural Powers?"	*Theological Quarterly* 12 (1908) 94-106

Table C.3: *Wort Gottes* Excerpts from Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon* 4:[d]375–[d]393

Document	**Reference**
Katechismuserklärung	Friedrich Brunn 490–501
"Von der Kraft und Wirksamkeit des göttlichen Wortes"	Western District 1892
Die Wirksamkeit des Wortes	A. T. F. Hönecke Ev.-luth. Dogmatik §61
"Die Kirche und Gottes Wort"	*Der Lutheraner* 55 (1899) 111, 121, 129, 137
"Die Angriffe der modernen Theologen auf Gottes Wort"	G. Gößwein *LuW* 42 (1896) 76–82, 120–126, 170–182, 226–238, 297–307, 329–339, 365–375; *LuW* 43 (1897) 18–26
"Vom rechten Gebrauch des Wort Gottes"	*Der Lutheraner* 45 (1889) 3, 18, 19, 27, 28, 34
"Die Furcht vor dem Worte Gottes das Kennzeichnen eines wahren Lutheraners"	*Der Lutheraner* 26 (1870) 153-155
Von dem göttlichen Wort als dem Lichte, welches zum Frieden führt	W. Löhe *Der Lutheraner* 3 (1847) 56-57

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Charles Philip Schaum was born on July 6, 1969 to Paul E. and Klare A. Schaum in Fort Hood, Texas. His father had a career in the U. S. Army, rising from private to lieutenant colonel. Both parents are registered nurses. His brother is a USAF major. Charles was educated in the public schools of New Jersey, Texas, and Virginia, graduating in the top tenth of his class.

Charles's academic degrees include a Bachelor of Arts from Rutgers College of Rutgers University, May 1991, featuring a major in computer science and a minor in Germanic studies; a Master of Divinity from Concordia College in May 1998; and a Master of Sacred Theology from Concordia College in May 2008 featuring a major in systematic theology and a minor in exegetical theology. His thesis is titled: "Biblical Hermeneutics in the Early Missouri Synod." Charles also studied at the Lutherische Theologische Hochschule in Oberursel, Taunus in Germany from 1995–1996, a sister seminary of Concordia College.

His professional experiences include working for Rutgers University Computing Services from 1987–1991 in various capacities, culminating in an appointment to the university-wide help desk serving users of microcomputer, minicomputer, and mainframe platforms in technical and non-technical environments. He was licensed by the New Jersey District of The LC—MS to teach *Dialog Evangelism II* and served as a lay parish leader before studying at seminary. There he worked in various capacities, including as a research assistant for professors Louis A. Brighton and Ronald R. Feuerhahn. He also worked for CPH as a freelance editor and also reorganizing its library and archive. As a candidate and pastor, Charles served Historic Trinity in Soulard, St. Louis from 1998–2000, holding the German-language divine services; St. John in Gary, Indiana from 2000–2002, where he also served on the Indiana District Archive task force;

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Charles has served Concordia Publishing House from 2003 to the present as Editor for Professional and Academic Books. Some of the titles to which he has contributed include the electronic text *Christian Cyclopedia*; the *Luther's Works* CD-ROM; the forthcoming *Lutheran Study Bible*, *The Blessings of Weekly Communion*; *Take Eat, Take Drink*; *Worship, Gottesdienst, Cultus Dei*; two forthcoming *Lonely Way* volumes; *Concordia: The Lutheran Confessions*, second edition; *Luther and World Mission*; *Martin Luther: A Man Who Changed the World*; Gerhard's *Theological Commonplaces*; CD text of Chemnitz's *Loci Theologici*; *Deacons and Deaconesses Through the Centuries*; *The Great Jesus Debates*; *Lutheran Book of Prayer*; *Lift High This Cross*; *Lutherans Against Hitler*; *God Grant It*; *The Lord Will Answer*; and from the Concordia Commentary series: *Leviticus, Joshua, Ruth, The Song of Songs*, and *Philemon*.

Charles is fluent in German and has studied Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Old English, Middle English, and Middle High German in a formal setting. Informal reading and speaking experiences include Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Old Icelandic, Old High German, Gothic, and Low German. Formal computer language training includes BASIC, FORTRAN, COBOL, Pascal, C, C++, LISP, Prolog, SmallTalk, and Eiffel. Hobbies include building microcomputers, using the TeX/LaTeX typesetting system that remains superior to WYSIWYG word processors, administering a home LAN, working with Linux and BSD operating systems, painting, photography, music composition, and woodworking.

Charles is married to a deaconess, the daughter of an LCMS pastor, and has two children.