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'RIGHTEOUSNESS' AND 'PEACE' IN THE PAULINE EPISTLES
AND ECUMENICAL MISSIOLOGY

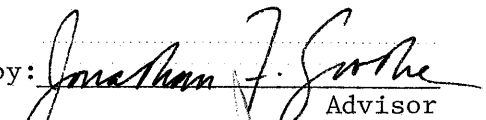
A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Exegetical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by

Gregory John Lockwood

May 1983

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Advisor

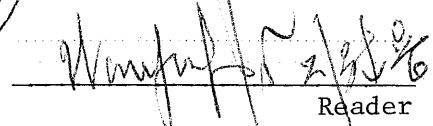

Reader

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INTRODUCTION

In March, 1970, the Theological Assembly¹ of the German Confessional Movement issued the "Frankfurt Declaration on the Fundamental Crisis of Christian Mission." The statement, authored by Tübingen professor of missions Peter Beyerhaus, attracted wide attention. Fifteen German professors² were among the first to add their signatures. On June 19 the editor of Christianity Today published the English translation as a leading article.³ A few weeks later the Lutheran bishop of Bavaria, Herman Dietzfelbinger, commended the declaration to pastors: "Die Frankfurter Erklärung zur Grundlagenkrise der Mission" vom März 1970 [ist] ein wichtiges Dokument, dessen Studium ich - bei allen Vorbehalten im einzelnen - nur nachdrücklich empfehlen kann."⁴

¹"Theologischer Konvent."

²P. Beyerhaus, W. Böld, E. Ellwein, H. Engelland, H. Frey, J. Heubach, A. Kimme, W. Klunneth, O. Michel, W. Mundle, H. Rohrbach, G. Stählin, G. Vicedom, U. Wickert, J. W. Winterhager.

³Harold Lindsell, "The Frankfurt Declaration," Christianity Today 14 (June 19, 1970):3-6.

⁴Herman Dietzfelbinger, Der Bleibende Auftrag (Berlin und Hamburg Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1970), p. 309. "The 'Frankfurt Declaration on the Fundamental Crisis of Christian Mission' of March, 1970, [is] an important document. Despite all reservations about particulars, I can only emphatically recommend that you study it."

The Frankfurt Declaration articulates the alternative theologies of mission which lie before churches today. Either we endorse ecumenical missiology's advocacy of 'humanization' as the world's only hope, or we retain the traditional understanding of the missionary task as expressed in the Great Commission of Matthew 28.

These issues first came to my notice in the context of an orientation course for prospective New Guinea missionaries, held at Lutheran Teachers College, Adelaide, during the 1970-71 Australian summer. The college's missions lecturer, Rev. Wilhelm Stoll, introduced us to the Frankfurt Declaration and explained its major themes. Not long after our arrival in New Guinea some of us were invited to attend a retreat conducted by Dr. Beyerhaus. The week-long retreat took place at Madang in May, 1971. Thorough Bible studies on such texts as the Great Commission, the Transfiguration (Matthew 17) and the Message of Reconciliation (2 Corinthians 5) made a deep impression on all who participated. For me this retreat has marked the beginning of an abiding interest in the issues at stake in contemporary missiology.

On the one hand Beyerhaus urged on us the need to affirm with joy and renewed conviction our calling to preach the saving gospel of justification, the faith once for all delivered to the saints (Jude 3). On the other hand missionaries needed to contend for that faith against false gospels which disrupt and destroy the life of congregations.

Part of our pastoral obligation to engage in "Lehre und Wehre" of this kind involved paying careful attention to the vocabulary commonly employed in the theology of world missions. In his study The Ethics of Revolution Martin Scharlemann mentions the need for Christians to be "particularly alert to the trick of using the language of the Christian

religion and making it mean something which was never intended by the church."⁵ The most obvious example is the use of the word 'salvation' in ecumenical missiology. While some attention will be given to this, my special interest is in the words 'shalom' (which missiologists consider equivalent to 'salvation') and its New Testament counterpart 'eirene.' Both at the retreat and in his book Missions: Which Way? Beyerhaus drew attention to the ecumenicals' choice of 'shalom' as a slogan, and their avoidance of the New Testament concept of peace.⁶ Thus arose my interest in having a deeper look at these concepts in the light of the biblical evidence.

But 'eirene' cannot be fully understood in isolation from the concept with which it is frequently associated, 'dikaiosyne' (for example, Romans 5:1, 14:17; Hebrews 7:2). 'Justification' was the theme for a retreat of Australian missionaries held at Wau, Papua New Guinea, in 1980 - the 400th anniversary of the Book of Concord. Through participation in this retreat I was stimulated to take a greater interest in the 'articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae' and its continuing significance for mission theology. Accordingly a major part of this paper will be devoted to a study of 'dikaiosyne.'

⁵ Martin Scharlemann, The Ethics of Revolution (St. Louis: Concordia, 1971), p. 5.

⁶ Peter Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way?: Humanization or Redemption (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971), p. 35. For the purposes of this paper we will use the word 'ecumenical' in a narrow sense to refer to "a current trend within those churches which are members of the World Council of Churches and among some of that organization's influential theologians." (Missions: Which Way?, p. 16).

Chapter I sets the stage for the word-studies of the subsequent chapters. It attempts to provide an overview of the understandings of the gospel and world mission which characterize the most outspoken groups within Protestant missiological circles; the ecumenicals, who dominate the World Council of Churches, and the conservative evangelicals. Attempts to bridge the gulf between these conflicting missiologies have so far been unsuccessful. Of special interest for the purposes of this study is their distinctive use of Biblical terms, particularly righteousness and peace. The chapter notes those weaknesses in ecumenical and evangelical missiology which come to expression in their use of terms. It then outlines a Lutheran approach which resolves the vexed question concerning the relationship between evangelism and social action. For this approach a precise understanding of the gospel of righteousness and peace is most important.

The chapter concludes by drawing attention to a major source of the malady in ecumenical missiology: historical-criticism. Sound missiological principles may only be formulated on the basis of sound exegesis and a clear understanding of the gospel.

Accordingly the second chapter seeks to establish exegetically the proper understanding of the gospel of righteousness and peace according to St. Paul. Through an analysis of the Old Testament words דִּינָה and שָׁלוֹם and their New Testament counterparts δικαιοσύνη and εἰρήνη , we will seek to show that these concepts are multi-faceted: they do not merely apply to just and peaceful relationships among men, but have very important vertical, spiritual and eschatological dimensions which may not be overlooked. The chapter discusses some critical interpretations which have flattened out these rich Pauline terms.

The third chapter takes up the Lutheran Confessions to see whether they are an accurate systematic exposition of Paul's teaching on righteousness and peace.

In the final chapter we will measure ecumenical missiology's use of these key terms by the yardstick of Paul's own usage. Particular attention will be given to one subdivision of this theology, the theology of liberation.

The conclusion will point to the power of the apostolic gospel in enabling men to follow Jesus' example as the "man for others."

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING: POLARIZATION BETWEEN ECUMENICAL AND EVANGELICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE GOSPEL OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND PEACE

Continuing Polarization of Ecumenicals and Evangelicals

In this paper the terms 'ecumenical' and 'evangelical' will be used in a restricted sense as designations of two distinct groups within modern Christendom. It should go without saying that consciousness of our oneness with fellow-believers across denominations, cultures and centuries is a characteristic of all Christians, as is the conviction that the Gospel is central to Christianity. But for the sake of convenience we will reserve the word 'ecumenical' for influential World Council of Churches (WCC) theologians like M. M. Thomas, Emilio Castro, J. C. Hoekendijk, Harvey Cox and Walter Hollenweger, men known for their emphasis on 'humanization.' It is this theology which has placed its stamp on the WCC in recent years. On the other hand many 'evangelical' churches still belong to the World Council and seek to have their voices heard within its ranks. Others, while sharing common concerns with evangelical members of the WCC, prefer to remain outside. Beyerhaus has estimated that conservative evangelicals, representing particularly North American

"faith missions," number about 55 percent of all Protestant missionaries in the world.¹

Since the Uppsala Assembly of the WCC in 1968 there has been a polarization between the ecumenical and evangelical positions. Theologians on both sides have deplored this lack of consensus. One of the most vigorous statements comes from Carl Braaten:

We refuse to take sides in the polarization between evangelical-minded and ecumenical-minded theologians who needlessly restrict the gospel either to its vertical dimension of personal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ or its horizontal dimension of human liberation through the creation of a just social order. It is painful to hear leading evangelicals sneer at the concerns of the ecumenical people who connect mission to liberation, revolution, humanization, dialogue, secularization, socialization, and the like. For the deepest human longings and profoundest social needs are gathered up and reflected in such slogans. To dismiss them to a place of secondary importance is to pass by on the other side, while modern man lies in the ditch bleeding to death. It is equally disturbing when ecumenical voices fail to find the language to underscore the permanent relevance of gospel proclamation in sermon and sacraments, in words of witness as well as deeds which lead to personal conversion and the spread of Christianity. . . . A theology of the gospel includes personal salvation and human liberation.²

Braaten states the issue between ecumenicals and evangelicals sharply and precisely. But we cannot agree that the issue may be resolved by a simple assertion that the gospel includes both the "vertical dimension of personal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ" and the "horizontal dimension of human liberation through the creation of a just social order." And like it or not, the polarization persists. When the WCC's Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) decided to conduct its 1980 conference in Melbourne (May 12-24), evangelicals thought it necessary

¹Peter Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way: Humanization or Redemption (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971), p. 26.

²Carl E. Braaten, The Flaming Center: A Theology of the Christian Mission (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), pp. 3-4.

to convene an assembly of their own. This took place in Pattaya, Thailand, three weeks later. A participant in both meetings, Waldron Scott, observed "little evidence of evangelical/ecumenical convergence at Pattaya." Rank and file evangelicals remained suspicious of ecumenical missiology, while ecumenicals at Melbourne were unwilling to seek rapprochement with evangelicals.³ The basic issues have not changed. Is the preaching of the gospel or the pursuit of social justice primary in the mission of the Church? And how is the gospel to be defined?

In this chapter we will discuss the ecumenical and evangelical approaches in more detail. Above all we will examine the presuppositions which lead to their distinctive interpretations of Biblical key words like 'righteousness' and 'peace.' Then we will turn our attention to a third approach, a strictly Lutheran (and, we believe, Biblical) understanding of the mission of the church. This is a solution to the ecumenical/evangelical dilemma which has attracted very little notice. For this approach a clear understanding of the gospel of righteousness and peace is particularly important.

The Ecumenical Understanding of the Gospel and World Mission

As we noted earlier, the concern of the ecumenical theologians may be summed up under the caption 'humanization.' A good illustration is found in a report from the Bangkok conference of the CWME (29th December, 1972, to 8th January, 1973). The assembly recommended a statement on "Salvation Today" to member councils and churches. It contains this

³Waldron Scott, "The Significance of Pattaya," Missiology: An International Review 9 (January, 1981):66-67.

sentence: "He [God] calls his Church to be part of his saving activity both in calling men to decisive response to his Lordship and in unequivocal commitment to the movements and works by which all men may know justice and have opportunity to be fully human."⁴ The theological base which has established itself in the WCC gives priority to the quest for social justice. Its adherents are committed to the struggle against everything that oppresses men and women today: "the scandals of racism, of social injustices, of economic and political oppression, the tragic shame of . . . war or the bloody suppression of liberation movements, the dehumanization of technological civilization and the threat that it poses for the future of humanity."⁵ Society is to be humanized by changing political, social and economic structures.⁶

In its best expressions, ecumenical missiology is simply taking up the responsibility laid upon Christians to speak on behalf of widows and orphans, the poor, the undernourished, and the oppressed. It protests vigorously against pressures and institutions in modern society which would make men callous towards each other. Humanization means that men are to be more human to one another, more just and more loving. Ecumenicals are rightly concerned that our mass society often devalues the individual and treats him as less than human. As Christ became the "man for others," so we should take up the cause of our fellow-man. In so doing we should extend "the invitation to men to grow up into their full humanity

⁴As given in International Review of Mission 62 (April, 1973):183. Cited by E. W. Janetzki, "'Salvation Today' - The Mission of the Church in the 70's," Lutheran Theological Journal 7 (December, 1973):94.

⁵Ibid., p. 181.

⁶Peter Beyerhaus, Shaken Foundations: Theological Foundations for Mission (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1972), p. 26.

in the new man, Jesus Christ."⁷

Unfortunately this very laudable and necessary concern is generally linked with a tendency, especially marked in more radical expressions such as liberation theology, to stress horizontal relationships rather than our relationship with the transcendent God, socio-political rather than spiritual concerns, and life in this world to the exclusion of "the life of the world to come." Another serious problem is the tendency to follow Marxist economic and sociological analysis, and to understand world issues rather too narrowly in terms of conflicts between opposing groups: oppressors and oppressed, haves and have-nots. Later we will have to say more about ecumenical missiology's sympathetic attitude towards the theology of revolution.⁸ Ultimately both problems have their roots in the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Modern man has come to see himself and his own analyses more and more as the measure of all things. More recently it was humanism which shaped the theology of secularization promoted by Friedrich Gogarten, Arend van Leeuwen, Harvey Cox and J. C. Hoekendijk. That this theology became official within the WCC may be attributed to the influence of Hoekendijk and Walter Hollenweger.⁹ Beyerhaus has detected a similar tendency in the Papal Commission for Justice and Peace.¹⁰

⁷"Renewal in Mission," in Uppsala Speaks: Section Reports of the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Uppsala 1968 ed., Norman Goodal (Geneva; World Council of Churches, 1968), p. 28. For our summary of ecumenical missiology's concerns we are indebted to the report "Renewal in Mission," pp. 21-38.

⁸Infra, p. 7.

⁹Beyerhaus, Shaken Foundations, p. 26.

¹⁰Missions: Which Way?, p. 92.

No longer is the Great Commission of Matt: 28:19-20 regarded as determinative for the mission of the church. Ecumenical theology proceeds rather from the sovereign activity of God in the world.¹¹ He is at work not only within the church but beyond it, achieving his purpose "that justice might shine on every nation."¹² Through revolutionary acts He leads the world toward the Kingdom of God. Beyerhaus writes:

This kingdom is understood as a future kingdom but also as a thoroughly worldly one. It is a state of perfect peace and of prosperity for mankind: "Steadfast love and faithfulness will meet: righteousness and peace will kiss each other . . . and our land will yield its increase" (Ps. 85:10-12, RSV).¹³

Another consequence of this approach is the reduction of the status of our Lord to that of a great man who set a fine example of concern for the poor and oppressed. It is therefore not surprising that justification 'propter Christum' is removed from the central place in theology.

By no means is it easy to give a comprehensive and consistent account of such a multiform phenomenon as ecumenical missiology. Documents like "Renewal in Mission" bear all the marks of being committee products, "wrapped in the cottonwool of carefully inclusive if not purposefully ambiguous phraseology."¹⁴ We can hardly expect fully consistent statements to emerge from attempts to reconcile the divergent opinions which find expression in WCC meetings. Many sentences, and even whole paragraphs in the official reports are unquestionably orthodox. Nevertheless, even its carefully worded statements contain features which must be opposed, as the Frankfurt Declaration has correctly indicated. Among them are:¹⁵

¹¹Ibid., p. 35. ¹²International Review of Mission, p. 184

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Arne Sovik, "Personal Comment on the Work of the Section on Renewal in Mission," in "Renewal in Mission," p. 36.

¹⁵These seven points summarize the antitheses as given in Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way?, pp. 113-20.

1. the tendency to make socio-political analyses and the demands of non-Christians determinative for the task of mission.¹⁶

2. the assertion that mission must be concerned with the manifestation of a new humanity rather than revelation of God.¹⁷

3. the idea that Christ is anonymously present in non-Christian religions, historical changes and revolutions, so that man can find salvation in him without hearing the gospel.¹⁸

4. universalism - the view that men may be born again and have peace with God regardless of their knowledge of the saving work of Jesus Christ.¹⁹

¹⁶Much of "Renewal in Mission" is devoted to sociological analysis. See especially the headings "Centres of power," "Revolutionary movements," "The University everywhere is in change," "Rapid urbanization and industrialization," "Suburbia, rural areas," "Relations between developed and developing countries." (pp. 30-32). We are not suggesting that such analysis may not be useful in showing the church localities where mission outreach may be particularly fruitful. But it is a matter for concern when this is given as much attention as study of the Scriptural directives for mission.

¹⁷See "Renewal in Mission," p. 32: "Are they the best situations for discerning with other men the signs of the times, and for moving with history towards the coming of the new humanity?"

¹⁸"This does not come to expression in a radical form in "Renewal in Mission." But the document does speak of "those who, unknowing, serve the 'man for others'" (p. 30). The emphasis on dialogue rather than proclamation (though proclamation is not entirely overlooked) is also a matter for concern. The report states: "The meeting with men of other faiths or of no faith must lead to dialogue." In dialogue we do not share the gospel so much as "our common humanity" (p. 29).

¹⁹"Renewal in Mission" does not state explicitly that men may be regenerated regardless of their knowledge of the saving work of Christ. But in speaking of those who serve Christ unwittingly, its position conforms to that rejected by the declaration. The stress throughout the document is on mankind's progress towards the new humanity. The claim is made that "often the turning point [regeneration] does not appear as a religious choice at all" (p. 28). If it is not a religious choice, is it then simply a choice to be pro-man? This section is very vague.

The document has a good word for "those who reject the church, and yet continue to wait for the new humanity" (p. 30). This suggests that

5. the idea that the church is merely part of the world and has no real advantage over the world. A corollary of this is the understanding of salvation as a social reconciliation of all men.

6. the teaching that non-Christian religions and philosophies are ways of salvation.²⁰

7. the idea that non-Christians should no longer expect the second coming of Christ. This section also repudiates the "enthusiastic and utopian ideology of ecumenical missiology, and "the identification of messianic salvation with progress, development, and social change."²¹

The place of revolution. Some ecumenical missiologists believe the golden age will be ushered in by revolution.²² The late 1960s saw a spate of literature on the "theology of revolution;" now a very similar theology goes by the name "theology of liberation." This "relatively

waiting for the new humanity is more important than belonging to the church and receiving the means of grace. Thus the distinction between church and world is broken down.

²⁰Supra, note 4.

²¹"Renewal in Mission" asks: Do missionary priorities provide "the best situations for discerning with other men the signs of the times, and for moving with history towards the coming of the new humanity?" (p. 32). Thus it is the coming of the new humanity which is eagerly awaited, rather than the second advent of our Lord. The concluding paragraph speaks of our certain hope that the new humanity will come to its fulfilment in Christ, and looks forward to his final victory (p.36). But this falls short of being a clear confession that Christ will come again.

²²"Renewal in Mission" is ambivalent about revolutionary movements, and fails to give clear guidelines to churches. The pertinent paragraph reads:

"The longing for a just society is causing revolutions all over the world. Since many Christians are deeply rooted in the status quo they tend to be primarily concerned for the maintenance of law and order. Where the maintenance of order is an obstacle to a just order, some will decide for revolutionary action against that injustice, struggling for a just society without which the new humanity cannot fully come. The Christian community must decide whether it can recognize the validity of their decision and support them" (p. 31).

small yet trendy subdivision"²³ of missiology has been spawned by the ecumenical trend of which we are speaking, and received endorsement from influential theologians in the World Council. Through a study of the theology of liberation we are able to examine ecumenical missiology in its most striking humanistic form. Accordingly the third chapter of this paper will focus on the use of 'righteousness' and 'peace' in the theology of liberation.

Modifications of the Ecumenical Position

To be fair, it must be stated that some leaders of the WCC have been trying to correct the balance and retain a place for evangelism within the mission of the church. At least they have tried to give that impression. Philip Potter has affirmed the section of the Lausanne Covenant which reads: "We affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty." But Potter left out the clause: "Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation. . . ."²⁴ At Melbourne Emilio Castro, Director of the CWME, "made an eloquent and powerful address balancing the need for proclaiming a gospel of personal conversion and salvation, a gospel with full dimensions of transcendence and eternal life, along with a gospel for the poor promising fulfilment of their longings for a better life on this earth, here and now."²⁵ But

²³ Wilhelm Stoll, "On Missions Literature in the English Language," Lutheran Theological Journal 15 (December, 1981):138.

²⁴ Beyerhaus makes this observation in a report on the Fifth Assembly of the WCC, held in Nairobi in 1975. The report is printed in the Lutheran Theological Journal 10 (August, 1976):73-77. The quotations are on p. 75.

²⁵ David M. Stowe, "What did Melbourne Say," Missiology: An International Review 9 (January, 1981):26.

Waldron Scott reported that although "Castro seemed eager to build bridges to Pattaya . . . the rank and file were unwilling to walk over them."²⁶

The majority of delegates to Melbourne were resolved that humanization should remain the chief goal of ecumenical mission strategy.

How does Castro understand the gospel which he commended to Melbourne delegates? After the conference he put forward this rather complex analysis:

But to conclude that it is another conference on "social action" seems to me to miss the genius of Melbourne. Melbourne raises a challenge to the Christian thought which believes it is possible to develop a social ethic independent of the evangelistic dimension. Melbourne turns upside down the traditional argument: "We cannot preach the gospel without involving ourselves with social justice." Melbourne says instead: "We cannot get involved in justice without proclaiming the Gospel." Melbourne tries to show the Church that . . . it must be present as a revelatory community to point towards Jesus Christ, to show humanity how all its human struggles relate to the Kingdom of God so fully manifested in Jesus Christ.²⁷

Castro maintains that the Melbourne documents insist on evangelism "in the incarnational style of Jesus Christ." From the cross Christians are to move towards the periphery of humanity, emptying themselves and announcing "the Good News of salvation in Jesus Christ." That is the spiritual, missionary dimension opened up by the conference.²⁸

But as long as the ecumenical movement does not withdraw from the position that mission includes both evangelism and social action, there will be a question about how to maintain the proper balance between the two aspects. Can the church, with its limited resources and expertise,

²⁶ Ibid, p. 67.

²⁷ From a letter to Eugene L. Stockwell, cited by Stockwell in "A Conciliar Reaction," *Missiology*, p. 55.

²⁸ See "Renewal in Mission," p. 34.

exercise its ministry not only in the form of "congregations" and "chaplaincies," but also in "health and welfare service, youth projects, political and economic pressure groups, functional and professional groups?"²⁹ Can it assume all these responsibilities without detriment to its evangelistic task?

Despite Castro's appeal to Biblical conceptions of the church's mission, the impression remained with at least one liberal delegate³⁰ that Melbourne "did have a heavy focus on a this-worldly kingdom . . . construed . . . predominately in socioeconomic terms."³¹ "Works evangelism" took precedence over "Word evangelism."³² Bringing the gospel to the poor meant to advance the cause of socialism in developing countries.³³ A conservative commentator made this amusing observation:

[According to the Melbourne documents] the poor are the saints and are God's favorites. The rich are the sinners and the gospel comes to them only in judgment. . . . The mission of the church is to break the chains of poverty and injustice, to move the poor toward more equitable material affluence. The purpose of evangelism, then, is to make saints into sinners.³⁴

The Ecumenicals' Use of Biblical Terms

Having described some tendencies of ecumenical missiology, we return to the special subject of this paper, the use of language. Beyerhaus has criticized the deceptive methods employed by leading missiologists

²⁹Ibid., pp. 55-56.

³⁰David M. Stowe describes himself as belonging "to a liberal church [the United Church of Christ] fully committed, in theory at least, to most progressive causes." Ibid, pp. 23-24.

³¹Ibid., pp. 32-33. ³²Ibid., p. 32. ³³Ibid., pp. 33-34.

³⁴Charles Chaney, "A Southern Baptist Response," Missiology, p. 39.

as part of a long-range strategy:

Here we meet professors who in effect adapt traditional Christian concepts to the expectations and wishes of the new generation. They use language that appears quite traditional, and that sounds in fact increasingly orthodox. But its content becomes ever more humanistic and this-worldly. What is euphemistically called "socially relevant" or "political" theology is really a camouflaged atheistic humanism.³⁵

We are interested both in the ecumenicals' selection of terms which may be integrated into their system, and in the discarding of concepts for which they have no use. Among terms we meet frequently are 'salvation,' 'liberation,' 'reconciliation,' 'justice,' 'social justice' and 'peace,' and 'shalom.' Conspicuous by their absence are the words 'justification,' 'righteousness' and 'forgiveness.'

Recently some ecumenicals have lost patience with the misleading use of classical Biblical terminology which has become the norm in their circles. Charles Forman and Peter Wagner have protested against the overloading of the word 'evangelism.'³⁶ Thomas F. Stransky, a Roman Catholic observer of both Melbourne and Pattaya, has also expressed frustration at

³⁵ Shaken Foundations, p. 27.

³⁶ Forman, who called himself an 'ecumenist,' writes: "I think, as Peter Wagner says, . . . evangelism should not be loaded with meanings it never had. It is better to keep it as a word meaning the verbal sharing of the gospel message and to use other words for other aspects of the Christian mission." - "An Ecumenist Reply," Missiology 9 (January, 1981):78.

See also Peter Wagner, "Lausanne's Consultation on World Evangelization: A Personal Assessment" (Mimeographed). Cited by Waldron Scott, p. 74.

the ecumenical practice of overloading Biblical terms.³⁷ So it is not only evangelicals and Lutherans who recognize that ecumenical missiology has not been straightforward in this matter. The acknowledged free-for-all in the use of terms is ample warrant for our attempt to delineate more clearly two words which are particularly illuminating for our understanding of the gospel.

The Evangelical Understanding of the Gospel
and World Mission

If ecumenical missiology tends to stress 'humanization,' evangelicals insist that primary importance must be given to redemption. George M. Marsden's definition of an evangelical is unsympathetic, but one we believe most conservative evangelicals would accept as accurate. He writes:

"Evangelical" Christians [are] people professing complete confidence in the Bible and preoccupied with the message of God's salvation of sinners through the death of Jesus Christ. Evangelicals were convinced that sincere acceptance of this "Gospel" message was the key to virtue in this life and to eternal life in heaven; its rejection meant following the broad path that ended with the tortures of hell.³⁸

³⁷"A Roman Catholic Reflection," Missiology 9 (January, 1981):45-46. Stransky writes:

"All Christian themes and all personal or churchly concerns are given freedom to roam about, all justifying their claims for attention by 'salvation' and 'kingdom.' In this free-for-all, the terms which suffer most are mission and evangelism. The contents of these classical terms become overloaded, begin to bulge, then burst out and dissipate, so that mission and evangelism by meaning too much end up meaning too little and doing too little. Are we then left with the task of creating new words to describe and discuss that ever old, always new task, that specific missionary activity which proclaims the gospel and calls for living faith and discipleship among those who lack Christ's baptismal seal? With the losing of the focus begins the exit of the task."

³⁸George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 3.

As a Lutheran, albeit a Lutheran pietist, Peter Beyerhaus would probably prefer to reverse the order, "professing . . . confidence in the Bible," "preoccupied with the message of God's salvation." Beyerhaus himself does not fit neatly into the category of an evangelical as it is commonly understood in the United States. But his scholarship, his sympathy with Württemberg pietism, and his friendship with leading evangelicals overseas, make him well qualified to be an evangelical spokesman. Beyerhaus offers this summary of the evangelical position:

Theologically, they all have an extremely conservative orientation. They strongly emphasize personal salvation as the heart of the Christian faith. The main concern of the Gospel for them is the reconciliation between God and man by Jesus Christ's saving sacrifice on the cross. As they see it, the teaching concerning personal salvation is being threatened by the ecumenically-oriented churches and missions.

A strong evangelistic intensity characterizes these missions. Their concern is the proclamation of salvation in Jesus Christ to non-Christians, particularly those who have never before heard the Gospel. . . . They prefer, therefore, to operate pioneer-missions . . . and frequently by-pass the younger churches . . .³⁹

In recent years the most important statements of evangelical missiology have been the "Wheaton Declaration" of 1966, the "Frankfurt Declaration" (1970), and the "Lausanne Covenant" (1974). We will comment briefly on salient features of these statements.

At Wheaton evangelicals pledged themselves to seek "the evangelization of the world in this generation."⁴⁰ By the gospel they understood the message concerning "the God-man, Jesus of Nazareth," His crucifixion and bodily resurrection. "Christ died for us, shedding His blood as an atonement for our sins. In and through Him all men can be reconciled with

³⁹.....
Missions: Which Way?, p., 27.

⁴⁰.....
 "Wheaton Declaration," International Review of Mission 55
 (October, 1966):476.

God, made fit for His presence, and His fellowship."⁴¹ On the whole this is a fine explication of Christ's redemptive work, although the words "made fit for His Presence, and His fellowship" contain intimations of a confusion between justification and sanctification. Another sentence compounds the confusion: "The proclamation of this 'good news' has at its heart the explicit imperative: 'Ye must be born again.'"⁴² But despite this unfortunate lack of clarity, the declaration re-affirmed the primacy of the gospel in missionary proclamation, and helped prepare the ground for the Frankfurt Declaration.

The Frankfurt Declaration identifies "Seven Indispensable Basic Elements of Mission:"

1. The Great Commission (Matt. 28:18-20). The alternative is to formulate mission goals on the basis of socio-political analysis.
2. "Glorification of the name of the one God . . . and the proclamation of the lordship of Jesus Christ, his Son" (Ezek. 38:23; Ps. 18:49; Rom. 15:9). The antithesis is 'humanization.'
3. Salvation may be found in Christ alone (Acts 4:12). This is in opposition to 'anonymous Christianity' and the reduction of the status of Christ.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 462.

⁴²Ibid. Actually there is no imperative in the text of John 3:3,5. Under the heading "The Gospel" Wheaton lumps together truly evangelical statements and statements about the new "Christ-centred, Christ-controlled life" made possible in Him (pp. 461-62). Adolf Köberle's comment is apposite: "One should consider the gracious gift of God's love for sinners by itself in all its wonderful glory, and should write the material which deals with the renewal of life by the Holy Spirit on another page, because it is better not to describe with the same words both the perfect and the imperfect, both what has been definitely promised and what will and must still become." Cited by Peter Koehne, "Justification and the Formula," Highlands Lutheran Seminary, Ogelbeng, Papua New Guinea, 1980, mimeographed.

4. This salvation needs to be appropriated by faith (John 3:16; 2 Cor. 5:20). The antithesis is universalism.

5. Mission means "to call out the messianic, saved community from among all people" (1 Pet. 2:9; Rom. 12:2). This is said in protest against the dissolution of the boundary between church and world.

6. Adherents of nonchristian religions and world-views are victims of false hopes (Eph. 2:11-12). Here the declaration opposes the idea that dialog may substitute for proclamation.

7. Christian mission is the saving activity of God between the times of the resurrection and second coming of Jesus Christ (Matt. 24:14). This final part of the declaration refutes enthusiastic, utopian ideologies.⁴³

Like the Frankfurt Declaration, the Lausanne Covenant begins with the Great Commission: "We believe the gospel is God's good news for the whole world, and we are determined by his grace to obey Christ's commission to proclaim it to all mankind and to make disciples of every nation."⁴⁴ The Gospel is defined as "the good news that Jesus Christ died for our sins and was raised from the dead according to the Scriptures, and that as the reigning Lord he now offers the forgiveness of sins and the liberating gift of the Spirit to all who repent and believe." Evangelism "is the proclamation of the historical Biblical Christ as Saviour and Lord, with a view to persuading people to come to him personally and so be reconciled to God."⁴⁵

⁴³ For the full text of the Frankfurt Declaration see Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way?, pp. 111-120.

⁴⁴ Lutheran Theological Journal 8 (August, 1974):90.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 91.

A carefully worded paragraph on "Christian Social Responsibility" affirms that "evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty."⁴⁶ But the next paragraph, "The Church and Evangelism," lays down the priority: "In the church's mission of sacrificial service evangelism is primary."⁴⁷

Thus there emerges the difference in emphasis between the ecumenical and the evangelical understanding of mission. Ecumenicals define mission primarily in terms of social action, but, at least officially, protest that they do not wish to give up preaching the gospel. In the process the gospel is often re-defined in humanistic terms. On the other hand evangelicals have been quite unequivocal in giving primacy to the gospel, but emphasize also the church's social responsibility.⁴⁸

On both sides there are strong pressures towards rapprochement. J. B. Vermaat, Beyerhaus and others have warned that WCC leaders who stress the gospel and play down their differences with evangelicals may be resorting to clever tactics ("the strategy of the embrace") in order to woo the opposition.⁴⁹ Among evangelicals there is a "significant group . . . who are advocating not only 'holistic mission' but also 'holistic evangelism.'"⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 92.

⁴⁸ John R. W. Stott has suggested the definition: "Mission equals proclamation plus service." Cf. Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way?, p. 59, and Shaken Foundations, pp. 52-53.

⁴⁹ Cf. the Beyerhaus report in Lutheran Theological Journal 10 (August, 1976):74.

⁵⁰ Waldron Scott, p. 74.

While the ecumenical view that "the mission of the church is to rescue society and thus to establish the messianic kingdom of peace and prosperity" is "infinitely worse"⁵¹ than aberrations on the evangelical side, evangelical missiology has not been free from a degree of confusion about the nature of the gospel and the church's task. For one thing, evangelicals have sometimes distorted the meaning of the gospel. A clear example is the Wheaton Declaration's claim that the gospel has at its heart the imperative: "Be born again."⁵²

Another problem for evangelicals has been a lack of clarity about the relationship between gospel proclamation and social service within the missionary task. While evangelicals have insisted on the priority of evangelism, and have refrained from drawing social action into the definition of mission in any pronounced fashion, they have, nevertheless, had considerable difficulty in arriving at a theological resolution of the relationship between evangelism and social action. Beyerhaus himself in his earlier writings shows some uncertainty on the issue. In Missions: Which Way? he criticizes conservative evangelicals for understanding salvation as a "purely other-worldly treasure of Christian hope." Evangelicals, he says, should recognize that "salvation in a real way breaks into social conditions in history," and not limit the proclamation of salvation "to a restoration of the vertical relationship between God and man."⁵³

⁵¹E. W. Janetzki, "'Salvation Today' - The Mission of the Church in the 70's," Lutheran Theological Journal 7 (December 1973):97.

⁵²Supra, p. 14.

⁵³Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way?, pp. 56-57.

What takes place in salvation is indeed something entirely spiritual and other-worldly. Certainly salvation breaks into our history, for the person who is baptized into Christ is thereby assured that he has been justified and saved; there is now no condemnation for him (Rom. 8:1). No longer does he need to live with a guilty conscience, nor does he need to fear that he will be condemned on the last day (1 Thess. 1:9-10; 5:9; Rom. 5:9-10). But whether we speak of the present or of the future reality of salvation, the Biblical viewpoint is that it has everything to do with the restoration of the vertical relationship between God and man - plus nothing.⁵⁴ Beyerhaus should have affirmed this, and clearly distinguished between the gospel of salvation (or justification) and its fruit in human relationships (sanctification).

Missions: Which Way? commended Stott's definition ("mission equals proclamation plus service") as a welcome sign that henceforth evangelicals would give more attention to social issues.⁵⁵ But already at that time Beyerhaus expressed some misgivings about the way evangelicals had resolved the problem of the relationship between proclamation and

⁵⁴E. W. Janetzki's comments are helpful: "What precisely is the Biblical meaning of salvation? Granted, there are examples, particularly in the Old Testament, where salvation is more than personal salvation and involves the total well-being of God's people. But it is putting the telescope to the blind eye to see this as the essential meaning of salvation. It is quite clear, as Arndt-Gingrich show, for example, under soteria, that salvation in the New Testament is found only in connection with Jesus Christ, and that it is both a present and a future reality for his people. Moreover, it is essentially salvation from the sin that separates man from God, from the demands, the accusation and the damnation of the Law, from death and from the power of the devil." Janetzki, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁵Missions: Which Way?, p. 59; Shaken Foundations, p. 52.

human betterment. He felt this had been resolved "in practice but not in theology."⁵⁶ In theology considerable uncertainty remained.

That this was so became evident at the 1975 Nairobi meeting of the WCC, where Stott made the proposal to the Geneva representatives: "Could we not perhaps agree in seeing mission as the comprehensive term which takes in everything that Christ has set as the task for His people in the world, that is, evangelization and socio-political action?" Beyerhaus's reaction was sharp: "With this suggestion the biblical theologian Stott got on to slippery ice, indeed. For it would be very difficult for him to demonstrate exegetically that Christ has sent his people into the world to engage in socio-political action."⁵⁷ Here Beyerhaus begins to stand on common ground with the distinctive Lutheran approach we will be elucidating in the next section of this chapter.

But in the mainstream of evangelical thinking some confusion persists. More than 50 evangelical theologians from 26 countries met in Grand Rapids last June in an attempt to clarify the Lausanne Covenant's statement concerning Christian engagement in social and political action. They met in response to a growing demand for guidance from evangelical Christians seeking a better understanding of the balance between the elements of evangelism and social responsibility in the church's mission. The report by John Stott and David Wells makes the excellent point that social progress in some countries is hampered by the prevailing religious

⁵⁶ Missions: Which Way?, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Lutheran Theological Journal 10 (August, 1976):76.

culture; "only evangelism can change this."⁵⁸ While we can readily endorse this and other sections of the report, certain formulations fail to distinguish adequately between the church's proper task and its alien task.⁵⁹ We are left with the impression that Christ's missionary mandate to His church included both the spiritual ministry of the gospel and ministry to man's temporal needs. This is a basic weakness in the report.⁶⁰

The Evangelicals' Use of Biblical Terms

In this thesis our main concern is with the deceptive use (and non-use) of key biblical terms on the part of ecumenical scholars. The

⁵⁸ For a summary of the report see Arthur Williamson, "Evangelicals Study the Link Between Social Action and Gospel," in Christianity Today 26 (August 6, 1982):54-58. The citation is from page 56.

⁵⁹ Two quotations illustrate this:
 "Seldom if ever should we have to choose between satisfying physical hunger and spiritual hunger, or between healing bodies and saving souls, since an authentic love for our neighbor will lead us to serve him or her as a whole person. Nevertheless, if we must choose, then we have to say that the supreme and ultimate need of all mankind is the saving grace of Jesus Christ . . ."

". . . although social action should not be called evangelism nor identified with it (since central to evangelism is the verbal proclamation of the gospel), nevertheless it has an evangelistic dimension in the sense that good works of love, done in the name of Christ, are a silent but visible demonstration of the gospel." (ibid.)
 But is the verbal proclamation of the gospel merely central to evangelism? Surely the verbal proclamation is evangelism; there is nothing more to be added.

⁶⁰ On October 8 Christianity Today published a response by Gary L. Singleton (p. 12). Singleton found the report of the Grand Rapids meeting 'unsatisfying.' He said it was not enough to concede the priority of evangelism. Christians needed to be cautious about the struggle for social justice, since this often carries left-wing connotations.

evangelicals have been more straightforward in their use of these terms, adhering to commonly accepted meanings. We do not find conservative evangelicals deliberately reducing Biblical concepts to fit in with humanistic thought-patterns.

Evangelicals understand salvation as salvation from sin and eternal condemnation.⁶¹ When the concept of 'reconciliation' is discussed, evangelicals recognize man's need to be reconciled to God⁶² as well as to his fellowmen. They do not hesitate to speak of 'atonement' and 'redemption' through the death and resurrection of Christ.⁶³ It was an evangelical who pointed out the ecumenical preference for the term 'shalom,' interpreted horizontally, to the neglect of the Scriptural dimension of 'peace with God.'⁶⁴ Evangelicals know man's great need for a peaceful relationship with God.

Justification, justifying faith and forgiveness also play a role in their theology. The Wheaton Declaration gave the assurance that evangelicals would "pray that all those Roman Catholics who study the Scriptures would be lead by the Holy Spirit to saving faith in Christ."

⁶¹Cf. the Lausanne Covenant, Lutheran Theological Journal 8 (August, 1974):91. Cf. also Beyerhaus, Shaken Foundations, p. 43: "Traditionally the motive of saving men from eternal death has been the driving force of both Catholic and Protestant mission. The frightening vision of thousands of Chinese souls which daily, Niagara-like, plunged into a abyss so depressed Hudson Taylor that he became the motivating force behind the founding of the China Inland Mission."

⁶²"Wheaton Declaration," International Review of Mission, p. 462: "Christ died for us, shedding His blood as an atonement for our sins. In and through Him all men can be reconciled with God, . . ."

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way?, p. 35.

The Declaration affirmed that "salvation is through Christ alone."⁶⁵

The mission of the church committed evangelicals "to proclaim the Gospel which offers men the forgiveness of sins only through faith in Jesus Christ."⁶⁶ Wheaton confessed the Reformation formula: "The Scriptures teach . . . Justification by faith alone apart from works (sola fide) (Rom. 1:17; 3:20-26)."⁶⁷

While Beyerhaus often refers to 'salvation' and 'reconciliation,' refuting ecumenical misinterpretations, 'justification' has a less prominent place in his vocabulary. But it is obvious that justification is of decisive importance for him. A Geneva statement suggested that today the fundamental question was no longer man's relationship to God, but the question of true man - humanization. Beyerhaus responded: "With this programmatic declaration, Paul's central question of how man may be justified before God and may have communion with Him becomes an obsolete concern."⁶⁸ Beyerhaus also takes issue with Bultmann's existentialist interpretation of justification: "According to Bultmann," he says, "man actually remains alone in his world." But Paul taught that "justification by faith constituted a new personal fellowship with a living God in Jesus Christ."⁶⁹

On the whole there is a high degree of consonance between evangelical and traditional Lutheran terminology, simply because both follow biblical usage. The main weakness in the evangelical documents is a tendency to lump together gospel indicatives and exhortations about the need

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 467. ⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 465. ⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 466-67.

⁶⁸ Missions: Which Way?, pp. 85-86.

⁶⁹ Shaken Foundations, p. 11.

to be born again or to lead a Christ-controlled life. Sometimes the evangelicals have treated justification and sanctification, the gospel and good works, redemption and social action, under the same heading, thus glossing over the distinction between the two aspects. For example, the Lausanne Covenant's paragraph on "The Nature of Evangelism" mixes fine gospel statements with the following: "In issuing the gospel invitation we have no liberty to conceal the cost of discipleship. . . . The results of evangelism include obedience to Christ, incorporation into his church and responsible service in the world. . . ." [italics mine].⁷⁰ Certainly the gospel does bear the fruits listed here, but why introduce this into a paragraph on the nature of evangelism? Such statements leave us in some doubt about the nature of the true mission of the church.

A Distinctively Lutheran Approach

Does the mission responsibility of the church include involvement in social action? Ecumenicals answer with an emphatic 'yes,' and accord socio-political causes priority over the gospel; evangelicals also answer 'yes,' but insist that preaching the gospel is the church's prime task. However, we must take seriously Beyerhaus's observation that "it would be difficult . . . to demonstrate exegetically that Christ has sent his people into the world to engage in socio-political action."⁷¹ According to Beyerhaus, some Lutherans at Nairobi called for the reintroduction of a clear distinction between Law and Gospel.

⁷⁰ See Lutheran Theological Journal 8 (August, 1974):91.

⁷¹ See Lutheran Theological Journal 10 (August, 1976):76.

Henry Hamann commented:

This is undoubtedly the crux of the matter. Any solution of the problem which operates with an 'and' (evangelization and world development; care for the soul and the body of man, etc.) is bound to result in the Nairobi embrace. And this is the case, even if the two factors joined by the 'and' are regarded as quantitatively very different, like adding a million and a hundred. The obvious importance of the 'hundred' (world development) will always encroach on the 'million' (preaching the Gospel), just because both material need and the aid required are so tangible, so easy to visualize, so powerful in their impact, while the Gospel concerns itself with realities just as momentous, to be sure, but with realities which are those of faith and not of sight. But if we come back to the distinction between Law and Gospel, and if these are plus quam contradictoria (more than contradictory), then no simple addition of one to the other makes sense. You can't add peaches and machine parts.⁷²

Hamann has consistently maintained that the church has only one mission, one message. He writes: "The one function of the church is the pure preaching of the gospel and the right administration of the sacraments."⁷³ As "the only place in all the world in which the blessed tidings of the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake are heard,"⁷⁴ the church should direct all its energies to its evangelistic task. It is not correct to say that evangelism is only the church's primary task.⁷⁵ For the New

⁷² Ibid., p. 77.

⁷³ "The Church's Responsibility for the World: A Study in Law and Gospel," in Henry P. Hamann, ed., Theologia Crucis: Studies in honor of Hermann Sasse (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1975), p. 80.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 73. Hamann is citing Hermann Sasse, Here We Stand, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1938), p. 121. Cf. Beyerhaus, Shaken Foundations, p. 101: "The Church has only one instrument that is unique: the Gospel."

⁷⁵ The LCMS document, "A Statement of Scriptural and Confessional Principles," rightly criticizes views of mission which imply "that an adequate or complete witness to Jesus Christ can be made without proclaiming or verbalizing the Gospel." But is it adequate to say that "to make disciples of every nation by bearing witness to Jesus Christ through the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments" is "the primary mission of the church?" See "Documentation," Lutheran Theological Journal 7 (August, 1973):65. Or does this still leave the door open to the type of confusion which has troubled evangelicals?

Testament knows only the risen Christ's commission to preach repentance and forgiveness in his name to all nations (Matt. 28:19; Mark 16:15-16; Luke 24:46-48; John 20:23). Nowhere does it suggest that socio-political reform belongs to the church's mission. And yet, Hamann argues, by concentrating on its proper task "the church will not only be preserved as church but will also render signal service to the world."⁷⁶

Men and women whose faith is truly active in love have by no means an insignificant effect on society. In the context of their vocation they are conscientious; "negatively, they don't cheat, lie, rob, deceive, use violence, nor use others as tools, instruments, play-things, or as stepping stones or rungs on the ladder to gain their own selfish ends."⁷⁷ The church instructs all ages in the Christian life of faith and love. This instruction includes guidance concerning the responsibilities of citizens. In situations where the government and other agencies are unable to handle certain welfare projects, the church may take over these tasks vicariously, letting its faith be active in love, but standing prepared to bow out when its services are no longer needed. Finally the church benefits society through its 'prophetic role,' reminding governments and citizens of the absolute will of God. But none of these roles for the church is at variance with the contention that the mission of the church is one. Whenever the church assumes responsibility for social welfare or the maintenance of law, it is engaging in a "strange work" which must be clearly distinguished from its proper mission of preaching

⁷⁶"The Church's Responsibility for the World," p. 72.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 81.

the gospel of the forgiveness of sins.⁷⁸ But "when the church consciously and consistently carries out this one mission, it is discharging in full its responsibility in the world and for the world."⁷⁹

Hamann's analysis is most helpful. So multifarious and pressing are the human needs which confront a missionary in a developing country that it is often no easy task to decide which demands must take precedence; it requires no small amount of conviction and resolution for pastors and other church-servants not to become side-tracked from their calling to minister with compassion to man's deepest need, his spiritual hunger for forgiveness and a right relationship with God. The Lutheran Confessions' clear distinction between the church's 'alien' task and its

⁷⁸ Cf E. W. Janetzki, "'Salvation Today,'" Lutheran Theological Journal (December, 1973):98-99; "Confessional Lutherans will heartily concur in Gensichen's 'mission in first gear.' They will have some difficulties with his 'mission in second gear,' however, for this raises the question of how seriously we are to take the distinction between the two kingdoms; and that in turn, raises the question of what is the church? The tendency in ecumenical circles is to view the church in sociological rather than theological terms. Its mission then becomes basically anthropocentric and this-worldly, and the old statement 'Outside the church there is no salvation' no longer applies. The new creation that is the church, however, is God's creation, his people, the body of Christ, the new Israel of God. . . . Our Confessions state it well:

'(The Holy Spirit) has a unique community in the world. It is the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God. . . . In this church we have the forgiveness of sins. . . . Toward forgiveness is directed everything that is to be preached . . . and all the duties of Christianity. . . . Therefore everything in the Christian church is so ordered that we daily obtain full forgiveness of sins through the Word and through signs appointed to comfort and revive our consciences as long as we live. . . . But outside the Christian church (that is, where the Gospel is not) there is no forgiveness and hence no holiness. . . . (Large Catechism, II:42, 54, 55, 56)."

⁷⁹ "The Church's Responsibility for the World," p. 87.

proper work is of great service in providing the necessary perspective for missionary outreach.

It may seem that we have strayed from our subject: the place of the words 'righteousness' and 'peace' in modern missiology. But if it is true that the church's one mission is to preach the gracious gospel of the forgiveness of sins and the righteousness of faith, then it becomes absolutely essential that we have a very clear understanding and a deep appreciation of that gospel; we simply have to know what we mean when we speak of 'righteousness' and 'peace.' We may rejoice that evangelicals do indeed care about the proper understanding of the gospel; they still want it to be primary in their missionary activity. But evangelicals often lack an adequate appreciation of the greatness and wonder of justification, and tend to skip over it quickly in order to focus on what is for them of at least equal importance: sanctification. On the other hand, ecumenicals normally have cared very little for many of the terms used by St. Paul to define the gospel. Their thinking runs primarily in the categories of contemporary socio-political theory.⁸⁰ But the more we esteem the gospel of justification and its importance for mission, the more we will want to keep in focus its precise meaning according to the New Testament. Lutheran theory may be able to make a distinctive contribution at this point.

Historical-Criticism: The Root of the Malady in Missiology

Much of the confusion in ecumenical missiology may be traced to its roots in exegetical theology. Beyerhaus writes:

⁸⁰ Cf. the judgment of Beyerhaus, Missions: Which Way?, p. 77; "The understanding of mission emerging from the theology of secularization does

The malady which most of our major missions have never dared to examine closely is the insidious paralysis in the Biblical convictions of many theologians and ministers in our churches. Critical methods of exegetical research have undermined the authority of Scripture. Demythologization and existential interpretation have dissolved the concept of Christ's expiatory sacrifice as well as the reality of his future kingdom still to be established in power by his second coming. Situationalist views of the Bible deprive its texts of their normative significance for faith and ethics and reduce them to the level of answers to the socio-political problems which men in their time had to face.⁸¹

Since the Enlightenment Biblical theologians have been influenced by man's growing confidence in his own reason. More and more man has placed himself at the center and come to look upon himself as the measure of all things. "In many countries," says Beyerhaus, "there is hardly a faster way to ruin one's reputation as a theologian than to speak of the inspiration of the Bible, its inerrancy, and the absence of self-contradictions."⁸² Instead of the old doctrine of inspiration we have the "historio-critical" [sic] method. Beyerhaus identifies three main presuppositions of the method:

1. A theory of knowledge which places at its center "man as subject."
2. A tendency to highlight the individual peculiarity of Biblical texts at the expense of what they have in common with other texts.

not really want nor even attempt to ground itself biblically. References to the Bible are sporadic and arbitrary. The original meaning of Scripture is distorted. The sociologists' empirical analysis and the dialogue with those of other convictions are equally and strangely regarded to be sources of understanding for missionary tasks and principles."

⁸¹"Mission and Humanization," in Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, ed., Mission Trends No. 1: Crucial Issues in Mission Today (New York: Paulist Press, and Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1974), p. 238.

⁸²Shaken Foundations, pp. 3-4.

3. Because this tendency leads to chaotic atomization of scripture, the introduction of alien philosophical principles in order to make sense of the material.⁸³ Dominant since the second world war have been, first, the existentialist school under Bultmann, and subsequently the revolutionary philosophy of the late sixties and the seventies.⁸⁴

Thus the crisis in missiology has its starting-point in Biblical hermeneutics.⁸⁵ The WCC is suffering a deep "hermeneutical crisis," because "there is no common conviction that the Bible is the authoritative and reliable basis for Christian faith and ministry."⁸⁶ Human experience in "political, social, cultural, religious, or psychological" situations stands alongside Scripture as an authority of at least equal importance.⁸⁷

Accordingly our procedure will be to begin with the exegesis of 'dikaiosyne' and 'eirene' in St. Paul. In the process we will have to evaluate recent interpretations of these terms by historical critics. In the final chapter we will explore in detail the malady in missiology which has resulted from horizontalist exegesis.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁸⁵ See the heading of the first chapter of Shaken Foundations: "Biblical Hermeneutics: The Starting Point."

⁸⁶ The historical-critical treatment of Matt. 28:16-20 provides an excellent illustration of the way this approach can undermine the foundations for mission. Wilhelm Heitmüller was one of the early proponents of the view that the Trinitarian baptismal formula of Matt. 28:19 was late and unauthentic. Thus he cast doubt on the authenticity of the Great Commission as recorded in Matthew. Julius Schniewind's commentary on Matthew gives a detailed rebuttal of the critical view. See Wilhelm Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), p. 267; and Julius Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus. Das Neue Testament Deutsch. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), pp. 275-79.

⁸⁷ Peter Beyerhaus, "The Theology of Salvation in Bangkok," Christianity Today 17 (March 30, 1973):11.

Any departure from the apostolic understanding of justification can only result in a defection from the mission goals set for the Church by our Lord. For mission, according to Beyerhaus, "is grounded in the nature of the gospel."⁸⁸ Adolph Küberle has spelled this out more clearly:

If the guilt of humanity has been overcome and blotted out by an all-sufficient act of love in Christ, then the universal obligation of bringing it to all the world rests on the Church, which is His Body. Justification and a world-wide mission are interchangeable ideas for St. Paul.⁸⁹

We turn now to our consideration of St. Paul's gospel of righteousness and peace.

⁸⁸ Missions: Which Way?, p. 113

⁸⁹ Adolf Küberle, The Quest for Holiness, 3d ed., trans. John C. Mattes (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1938), p. 76.

CHAPTER II

'RIGHTEOUSNESS' AND 'PEACE' IN THE THEOLOGY OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

Introduction

The 'Sitz im Leben' for the Old Testament terms 'righteousness' and 'justification' is the image of God as an Oriental king and judge. His people appear before Him for His decision, which may mean approval or disapproval. When He decides in favor of someone, that person is treated as 'righteous' (יָדָרַשׁ). A particularly clear illustration is Psalm 143:2. Here the suppliant begs the Lord for a favorable decision in his case. Justification, then, is to be understood within the context of a juridical situation. In His capacity as King and Judge, God pronounces a person to be in a right relationship to Himself.¹

If a person's relationship with God has thus been restored, then he will enjoy peace. Peace ('shalom') is the effect, the fruit of יְשׁוּעָה (Is. 32:17). But this gift of God cannot be enjoyed by the wicked: for him there is no 'shalom' (Is. 48:22; 57:21).

In his discussion of the New Testament doctrine of justification Martin Scharlemann draws righteousness and peace together in a fine manner: "So there is involved the process of recognizing one's unworthiness,

¹For the insights of this paragraph we are indebted to a tape-recording of Dr. Scharlemann's convocation address on the topic: "The New Testament Teaching on Justification." (Concordia Seminary, St. Louis: Tape No. 80-420).

appealing to the King, getting His approval, and thereby going out free and at peace.²

These two gifts, the foundational gift of righteousness, and its fruit, the gift of peace, frequently appear in conjunction in both the Old and New Testaments. While we will sometimes have to treat them separately, as far as possible this study will seek to understand them in relationship to one another.

This chapter is addressed to a humanistic exegesis which seeks to siphon off some of the rich Biblical content of these terms. In particular we will be concerned with the attempt to reduce, or even eliminate, the vertical dimension of the concepts (the aspect expressing our relationship to God), the personal or spiritual dimension, and the eschatological dimension. That of course does not mean that these terms have only these dimensions. For example, 'eirene' very frequently has a horizontal nuance: the peace Christians have, or are to have, with their fellow men (for example, Rom. 14:19). But that is not in dispute. Accordingly we will focus mainly on the vertical, spiritual and eschatological aspects, which we believe have not received their due in recent scholarship. It is our contention that a failure to understand these aspects will also have serious consequences for human relationships.

Before we proceed to the apostle Paul we need to pay some attention to the Old Testament, both because it provides the background to the Pauline letters, and because tendentious exegesis has also had an impact

²Ibid.

in Old Testament studies of 'righteousness' and 'peace,' and needs to be taken into account in this paper.

The Old Testament Background

The Vertical Dimension of 'Righteousness' and 'Peace'

Righteousness before God

The Song of Moses praises God for His perfect righteousness

The Rock, his way is perfect;
for all his ways are justice.
A God of faithfulness and without iniquity
just ($\text{פ} \cdot \text{ד} \cdot \text{צ}$) and right is he (Deut. 32:4).

God had shown Himself $\text{פ} \cdot \text{ד} \cdot \text{צ}$ in His relationship to His people. He had been a Rock, a tower of strength throughout their history. Moses sings of Him as "our Rock" (32:31), the Rock that begot Israel (32:18), cared for him, kept him as the apple of His eye (32:10), the Rock of his salvation (32:15). In the future also they could count on Him to remain $\text{פ} \cdot \text{ד} \cdot \text{צ}$: faithful to His promises, vindicating His servants and having compassion on them (32:36).

Jer. 12:1 represents God as the righteous judge before whom the prophet pleads his case.³ Scharlemann comments: "Here God is represented as vindicating (a synonym for justification) His people on the basis of an agreement, rules and principles that He Himself has determined and offered to His people."⁴ Another clear example of a juridical situation is Is. 45:25: "In the Lord all the offspring of Israel shall triumph [KJV: 'be justified'] and glory."

³"You are always righteous, O LORD, when I bring a case before you. . . ." (NIV)

⁴"The New Testament Teaching on Justification."

A man's status before God as righteous or unrighteous depends entirely on the divine decision and declaration. The Lord tells Noah: "I have seen that you are righteous before me ($\text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן} \text{ } \text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן} \text{ } \text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן}$)."⁵ The Lord reckons Abraham's faith as righteousness (Gen. 15:6). David walked before God in righteousness (1 Kings 3:6). Solomon appeals to the Lord God of Israel to act as judge, condemning the guilty and vindicating the righteous (1 Kings 8:32). Examples could be multiplied⁶ to demonstrate the prophetic scriptures' accent on the vertical dimension: man's status as righteous or unrighteous depends on how he appears in the sight of God - whether he receives divine approval or not.

From this perspective we need to call in question a statement by H. Seebass, which plays down the Old Testament's concern for righteousness before God. Seebass makes the claim: "In general before the exile, a man's righteousness is not so much in relation to God as in relation to his fellowmen, his behavior being regulated on the one hand by human relationships . . . and on the other by the law of God."⁷ Why, we may ask, is the law mentioned last? And is it permissible, on the basis of the Old Testament evidence, to admit the demands of human relationships as another norm alongside the law of God? According to the Old Testament all human behavior and relationships are regulated by the Mosaic legislation,

⁵ Gen. 7:1.

⁶ Psalm 51:4 is another good illustration:
'Against you, you only, have I sinned and done what is evil in your sight, so that you are proved right ($\text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן} \text{ } \text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן} \text{ } \text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן}$) when you speak justified ($\text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן} \text{ } \text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן} \text{ } \text{ׁוֹשֵׁׁטׁוֹן}$) when you judge.'" (NIV).

⁷ New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, 1978 ed., s.v. "Righteousness, Justification," by H. Seebass.

which is confessed to be of divine origin. Man is accountable to God for the attitude he has taken to divine law in his relationships with his fellow-men.⁸

Peace with God

Does the Old Testament word 'shalom' sometimes possess a vertical dimension? Can it have the nuance of a peaceful relationship between God and man?

In classical Greek 'peace' ('eirene') is the opposite of 'polemos' (war). It means an absence of hostility in relationships with others. Such a relational aspect is by no means lacking in the Old Testament references to 'shalom' (for example, Eccl. 3:8: "a time for war and a time for peace;" 1 Kings 20:18: "If they have come out for peace, take them alive; if they have come out for war, take them alive" [NIV]). Joseph's brothers could not speak peaceably to him (Gen. 37:4). As Moses left his father-in-law's household for Egypt, Jethro said to him, "Go in peace," indicating that Moses' departure would not jeopardize their relationship (Ex. 4:18). Moses sent messengers to Sihon with an offer of peace (Deut. 2:26). Many more examples could be given to underline the point. The relational accent of 'shalom' is quite prominent in the Old Testament. It comes into view not only in relationships between human individuals and groups, but also in the relationship between God and man. When the word involves the aspect of material prosperity,⁹ this is seen as the result

⁸Seebass does go on to say that "Amos 5:4,6,14 and the book of Hosea testify generally to a concern for righteousness before God, through inter-personal relationships." Ibid.

⁹Gerhard von Rad: "At root it means 'well-being,' with a strong emphasis on the material side." See his article, " שָׁלוֹם in the OT," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 2:402 (Hereafter TDNT)

of a harmonious relationship with God (Is. 54:10,13). Like הַשָּׁלוֹם then, שָׁלוֹם is a relationship word.¹⁰

As we have noted, the Lord would only bestow peace on the man who stood in the right relationship with Himself; there was no peace for the שָׁלוֹם (Is 48:22; 57:21); but only (by implication for the שָׁלוֹם). Only those who do not merely draw near to the Lord with their lips (Is. 29:13), but return to Him in genuine repentance and faith (30:15), may enjoy His grace and blessing, righteousness, peace and safety (30:18: 32:17-18).

Modern exegesis of the word 'shalom' has been particularly sensitive to the aspect of harmonious human relationships and the material well-being which accrues to man as a result. Luther anticipated the modern scholars when he gave this succinct definition of 'shalom': "With the Hebrews peace means prosperity and joy, good fortune and well-being."¹¹ In this respect the word שָׁלוֹם is similar to הַשָּׁלוֹם . שָׁלוֹם included respite from war, protection from wild beasts (Ezek. 34:25) and other natural disasters (הַשָּׁלוֹם - Jer. 38:4).

¹⁰ Later in the same paragraph von Rad says: "Peace implies stability of relationship." What Leon Morris writes about 'eirene' in the NT applies also to the OT's use of 'shalom': "Indeed, it may be regarded as fundamental to the other blessings included in the conception that there is no longer enmity between God and man, that a state of peace exists between God and His creation, and that accordingly His will to bless operates unhindered." The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross (London: Tyndale Press, 1955), p. 217. This is particularly clear in Isaiah 54. The Lord promises that He will no longer be angry with His people but will be compassionate with an everlasting love (v. 8) and re-establish His covenant of peace with them (v. 10). As a result, the people will enjoy prosperity (שָׁלוֹם - v. 13), population growth (vv. 1-3), freedom from oppression and terror (v. 14), and victory in warfare (vv. 15-17).

¹¹ Luther's Works, American Edition, 56 vols., Jareslav Pelikan and Hilton C. Oswald, gen. eds. (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House and Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955-), vol.17: "Lectures on Isaiah" (Chapters 40-66), p. 168.

But while this is generally recognized, can we go as far as Werner Foerster and deny that the Old Testament uses $\alpha\iota\varsigma\psi$ for the relationship between God and man?¹² Certainly $\alpha\iota\varsigma\psi$ in the sense of a peaceful relationship with God does not appear as explicitly in the Old Testament as it does, for example, in Rom. 5:1. But this does not mean that 'shalom' never has that nuance. In this connection we need to take into account the frequent Old Testament references to the peace offerings, the $\alpha\omega\eta\zeta\psi$ (Lev. 3:1-17; 7:11-18; 22:21, and so forth). Walter Roehrs has a fine comment on the purpose of the peace offering in restoring a good relationship between God and His people:

The phrase of peace offering . . . identifies its purpose. The basic meaning of peace is the opposite of every kind of brokenness and incompleteness. Peace supplies what is lacking for wholeness of body and soul; it puts together the disjointed pieces of a shattered relationship into a harmonious whole; it may involve compensation or expiation to fill in the disintegrating gaps. A sacrifice of peace offering was the ritual demonstration that the broken relationship between the holy God and unholy Israel had been healed. As was the case in the burnt offering (Chapter 1), the prescribed procedure signified first of all that sin, the cause of the disruption, had been removed by (a) transferring it to the animal . . . ; (b) throwing the blood of restitution against the altar. Then Israel was given the privilege of accepting and celebrating its reconciliation with God in a meal of holy communion.¹³

¹²Werner Foerster, TDNT 2:410. Cf. also Leon Morris, The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross, p. 211: "Thus, while we may not say that the New Testament conception of peace with God is to be discerned in the Old Testament, yet we can see how the way was being prepared with the thought of a peace which includes an ethical content, and which takes its origin from God." But we cannot be as categorical as Morris is in the first part of this quotation. Not only does the Old Testament prepare the way for the New Testament conception of peace with God, but this conception is actually discerned in passages like Num. 25:12 ("I give to him - Phinehas - my covenant of peace"), Ezek. 37:26; Is. 54:10 and the Leviticus references to the $\alpha\omega\eta\zeta\psi$ (Infra, pp. 39-40).

¹³In Walter R. Roehrs and Martin H. Franzmann, Concordia Self-Study Commentary (St. Louis: Concordia, 1979), pp. 91-92.

We may place Gerhard von Rad's comments about the שָׁלוֹם אֱלֹהִים beside what Roehrs has to say about the שָׁלוֹם אֱלֹהִים . Von Rad believes:

It is not surprising that שָׁלוֹם occurs when there is reference to a covenant. Indeed, the connection between the two words is so strong that in this context שָׁלוֹם seems to have become a kind of official term. The thought may be that the relationship of שָׁלוֹם is sealed by both parties in a covenant. Conversely, it may be that the covenant inaugurates a relationship of שָׁלוֹם . Ezekiel in particular may be cited in favour of the latter. In two passages he tells us that Yahweh makes a שָׁלוֹם אֱלֹהִים for Israel, and in both cases the context makes it clear that the relationship of שָׁלוֹם is the result (Ez. 34:25; 37:26). It must be said that only rarely among its many possibilities of application does the word refer to so spiritual a matter as here. For in these passages שָׁלוֹם does not mean material well-being, but a relationship of peace dependent on the disposition of those who conclude the covenant. It is not surprising that with this emphasis the word could express the final prophetic insights on the interrelation of God and the people of God. Along with the Ezekiel passages which refer to the שָׁלוֹם אֱלֹהִים that Yahweh grants to His people, we may quote especially Is. 54:10: "My kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace (שָׁלוֹם אֱלֹהִים) be removed."¹⁴

Von Rad also draws attention to the fact that Israel always regarded the goods and values associated with שָׁלוֹם as gifts of Yahweh. Although there is a material element in שָׁלוֹם , "when it is used in its full compass it is a religious term."¹⁵

Summary

We conclude that the vertical dimensions 'righteousness before God' and 'peace with God' play an important role in the Old Testament. God is frequently represented as the righteous Judge before whom the sinner pleads his case and seeks a favorable verdict. By virtue of being considered righteous, a person or community enters a relationship of 'peace with God.' This depth dimension of peace is especially clear in the references

¹⁴ (TDNT), 2:403.

¹⁵ Ibid.

to peace offerings (Leviticus) and to the covenant of peace (Ezek. 37:26; Is. 54:10; Num. 25:12). Whereas Ezek. 34:25 speaks of safety from wild beasts, the context of Ezek. 37:26 makes it very plain that God plans to make a covenant of peace between Himself and Israel.¹⁶

Personal Righteousness and Peace of Mind in the Old Testament

The Righteousness of the Individual

Since Albrecht Ritschl some exegetical scholars have accented "communal justification" or "the social character of justification" rather than justification of the individual sinner.¹⁷ Scholars have been concerned to discourage an egotistical understanding of the Biblical teaching on righteousness.

Ernst Käsemann is one who has warned against understanding God's righteousness "in too narrowly an individualistic way."¹⁸ Seebass says that "in the pre-exilic period, little is said about individual righteousness, the main concern being that men should remain within the national righteousness."¹⁹ In this preamble to our study of St. Paul's theology of justification we cannot analyze Seebass' contention in detail. Suffice to say that there are some highly significant passages in which the Old Testament focuses on an individual's righteousness without mentioning the

¹⁶ Cf. Also Jer. 16:5: "I have taken away my peace from this people, says the Lord, my steadfast love and mercy."

¹⁷ See Gottlob Schrenk's reference to Ritschl in his article on 'δικαιοσύνη', TDNT, 2:206.

¹⁸ Cited by C. Brown, "Righteousness," in the New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, 3:373.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 355.

righteousness of the community (Noah, Gen. 7:1; Abraham, Gen. 15:6; and the general statement in Hab. 2:4: "The just [ישׁוֹרֵשׁ] will live by his faith").

'Shalom' as Peace of Mind

While contemporary exegesis has a sharp sense for whatever points to communal or social dimensions of Biblical terms, it seems much less inclined to pick up nuances which apply to individuals. Having established that the Old Testament has significant references to the righteousness of individuals, we take up the question of whether אִשְׁוֵי sometimes has the connotation "peace of mind" or "inward peace."

H. Beck and Colin Brown say that "in Philo the concept of peace becomes introverted and signifies peace of mind."²⁰ Their choice of the word 'introverted' illustrates the modern bias against any understanding of אִשְׁוֵי/עִרְוָה as peace of mind. Beck and Brown are implying that the Old Testament never uses אִשְׁוֵי to signify inner peace; such a usage was new with Philo.

While von Rad accepts that 'shalom' can refer to the vertical relationship between God and Israel, and even calls this application of the term a 'spiritual' matter,²¹ he is emphatic that אִשְׁוֵי never refers to a psychological "peace of mind." In the final paragraph of his article, " אִשְׁוֵי in the OT," he writes:

When we consider the rich possibilities of אִשְׁוֵי in the OT we are struck by the negative fact that there is no specific text in which it denotes the specifically spiritual attitude of inward peace. There are, indeed, more passages in which it is used of groups rather than

²⁰ Ibid., 2:779.

²¹ TDNT, 2:403

individuals. . . . When we remember the way in which it is linked with הַשְׁלָמָה , with שְׁלָמָה (Zech. 8:16) or with הַשְׁלָמָה (Is. 60:17), we are forced to say that in its most common use שְׁלָמָה is an emphatically social concept.²²

But this writer thinks it would be more accurate to speak of 'shalom' as an emphatically relational concept, as von Rad does in another place.²³

Is there really no text in which שְׁלָמָה denotes peace of mind? When Hannah was deeply troubled and prayed to the Lord out of her great anguish and grief, what did Eli have in mind in bidding her: "Go in peace?" (1 Sam. 1:15-17). Surely he was primarily concerned that she have inner peace. Did Elisha have no thought of calming Naaman's troubled conscience when he assured him he could go "in peace?" (2 Kings 5:19). In begging the Lord's pardon for having to enter the temple of Rimmon with his master, Naaman had made it very apparent that he was concerned for personal forgiveness and peace of mind (verse 18). And what about the parallelism between שְׁלָמָה and הַשְׁלָמָה ("quietness and confidence") in Is. 32:17?²⁴ That "quietness and confidence" refers to a psychological condition is clear from Is. 30:15, where it is contrasted with restless, anxious activity (see also Is. 7:4).

²²Ibid., p. 406.

²³Ibid., P. 402: "Peace implies stability of relationship." So frequently do we read of the 'shalom' of an individual or 'shalom' between individuals that we doubt whether a preponderance of references to groups is of much significance. David can speak of the 'shalom' of Joab and the 'shalom' of the people in the same sentence (2 Sam. 11:7). There is 'shalom' between David and Abner (2 Sam. 3:21), Jonathan and David (1 Sam. 20:13,42), Jethro and Moses (Ex. 4:18), Samuel (an individual) and the Bethlehem elders (a group; 1 Sam. 16:4), but not between Joseph and his brothers (Gen. 37:4). It is the aspect of relationship that is of greatest significance.

²⁴Peaceful relationships with other men, peaceful and secure habitations ('shalom' on a horizontal, social level) are linked to peace of mind in Is. 32:17-18.

These examples are sufficient to cast doubt on von Rad's contention, and leave us open to the possibility that *qibš* may refer to spiritual peace in other passages also. We conclude that the Old Testament does have significant references both to the righteousness of individuals and to personal peace of mind.

Eschatological Aspects of 'Righteousness' and 'Peace' in the Old Testament

Prophets and psalmists alike interpreted times of national distress as signs of the Lord's indignation at their sins (Ps. 85:4-5). Under the severe judgments suffered at the hands of foreign enemies the inspired writers encouraged the people to look forward in hope to a time when "steadfast love and faithfulness will meet; righteousness and peace will kiss each other." (Ps. 85:10). In those days Israel would be subject to the great Prince of Peace, whose throne would be upheld in righteousness (Is. 9:6-7). Miraculous signs would testify to his Messiahship (Is. 32:1-4; 29:17-19; 35:5-7), his reign in righteousness (32:1). The spirit would be poured out on his people and a new aeon would dawn, in which "the effect of righteousness will be peace, and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust for ever" (32:17). Those who paid attention to the Lord's commands could be assured of peace "like a river" and righteousness "like the waves of the sea" (48:18). When Zion entered her future glory, her children's peace would be great, and she would be established in righteousness (Is. 54:13-14; compare 60:17). But this salvation was to be purchased at great cost: the righteous one, the Lord's servant, would have to be wounded for our transgressions, suffer the punishment that brought us peace, and in this manner make many to be accounted righteous (Is. 53:5, 11, 12).

The Lord's hand would bring righteousness and salvation to men ignorant of the way of peace and righteousness (Is. 59:1-8).²⁵

It is not only Isaiah who speaks of a Messiah who would usher in an age of righteousness and peace. Jeremiah records the prophecy about the righteous Branch, a King who would do what is right and be called "The Lord our Righteousness: (23:5-6; compare Is. 11:1-5). This king would inaugurate a time of 'shalom' (33:6), of safety and confidence. Zechariah likewise foretells the advent of the righteous and gentle king bearing a message of peace to the nations (9:9-10).

What the people of the old covenant eagerly anticipated became a reality in Jesus Christ. St. Paul is able to say to the saints at Rome: "The new aeon has come! Now the righteousness of God has been manifested - in the gospel of Jesus Christ." It is to Paul's theology that we now turn.

The Vertical Dimension of 'Righteousness' and 'Peace
in the Theology of St. Paul

The Vertical Dimension of Righteousness

In modern theology a controversy has arisen about the relationship of justification to our life in society with our fellow-men. Are we

²⁵ Isaiah 59 draws a clear connection between not knowing the way of peace (59:8), unjust behavior, and the broken relationship with God (59:2). When the Lord saw that man was incapable of extricating himself from his sinful situation, He intervened Himself to bring righteousness and salvation. The chapter has great significance as background to Rom. 3, where Paul's thought moves along similar lines: first, the depiction of man's *ἀδικία*, his lack of righteousness and peace (he quotes Is. 59:7-8, and distinctly echoes vv. 4-6); then the revelation of the divine righteousness which intervenes for man's redemption.

entitled to understand justification as a social event which ties men together on a horizontal level?²⁶ Or is justification primarily to be viewed from a vertical perspective as something which takes place between God and man? This section will focus on the teaching of St. Paul, and then examine Markus Barth's contentions concerning the "social character" of justification.

Justification in the Pauline Epistles: An Interpretation Which Preserves the Vertical Dimension

Righteousness as an attribute of God

Gottlob Schrenk says there can be no doubt that the phrase $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ used "when the apostle makes his most solemn and mighty pronouncements concerning . . . salvation," constitutes a subjective genitive. Cranfield marshalls the arguments in support of a genitive of origin at Rom. 1:17²⁷, but also lists some weighty evidence in favor of a subjective genitive²⁸, in particular the parallelism with $\delta\upsilon\acute{\nu}\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in 16b and $\delta\acute{\rho}\gamma\eta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$

²⁶ See Markus Barth, "Jews and Gentiles: the Social Character of Justification," Journal of Ecumenical Studies 5 (Spring, 1968):241-67.

²⁷ C. E. B. Cranfield, Romans, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 1:97-98. The issue of subjective genitive versus genitive of origin (genitivus auctoris) is not easily resolved. Käsemann in "Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 58 (1961):367-78, favors the former; Bultmann in "DIKAIOSYNE THEOU," Journal of Biblical Literature 83 (1964):12-16, argues for the latter. Perhaps the best solution is the one Cranfield mentions in a footnote:

"Some commentators have felt that the arguments on both sides are so strong that the best solution is to conclude that Paul is here using $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in a double sense, meaning at the same time God's righteous activity [also His righteous nature?] and its result in man's situation. . . ." 1:98-99.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 96.

in 18. But whatever our exegesis of 1:17 may be, it is indisputable that *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ* is a quality of God. Rom. 3:25-26 is decisive: *εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ - εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον.*

Righteousness as divine activity and power

While it is true that 'righteousness' is a quality of God, and this vertical dimension may not be diminished, the term cannot be understood in isolation from what it means for man. It cannot be taken in a purely static Hellenistic sense. Like other New Testament terms ('grace,' 'love,' 'mercy') it is a quality displayed dynamically for the welfare of man. Schrenk has drawn attention to the character of *δικαιοσύνη* as divine action:

δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ shows God at work. It is not a mere attribute of God in the static Hellenistic sense or in terms of the attributes of older Protestantism. God's *δύναμις* is involved. Hence it is no less effective than the action of His wrath (cf. the *ὀργή Θεοῦ* in R.1:18), cf. *ἀποκαλύπτεται* in 1:17, *περανέρωται* in 3:21, *ἔνδειξις* in 3:25f. ("demonstration") and cf. the emphasis on confirmation by the *συνίστησιν* of 3:5. (p. 203)²⁹

Käsemann published a significant essay in 1971,³⁰ in which he argued that justification involves more than God's gift to man. According to Käsemann, "Der entscheidende Schritt auf dem Wege, Paulus angemessen zu verstehen, erfolgt erst dann, wenn man der unlöslichen Verbindung von Macht und Gabe in unserm Begriff innewird."³¹

We cannot take exception to what Käsemann says here. If the gospel is the power of God unto salvation and God's righteousness is revealed in

²⁹"*δικαιοσύνη* in Paul," TDNT, 2:203.

³⁰"Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus."

³¹"The decisive step towards understanding Paul correctly is only made when one becomes aware of the inseparable connection of power and gift in our concept."

the gospel (Rom. 1:16-17), then that righteousness, like the gospel, must be a powerful thing. Martin Franzmann agrees with Schrenk and Käsemann: "Since 'the righteousness of God' is the content of the news (Gospel), it means an action by God . . . [,] a gracious, redeeming action."³²

The center in the cross of Christ

The introductory verses of Romans have made it plain that the gospel concerns God's Son (1:3,9), who has been designated Son of God in power since His resurrection from the dead (1:4). In the crucifixion and resurrection of the Son of God the δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ has been displayed³³ (see also Rom. 3:21-26).

God both is and demonstrates righteousness

If, as we have stated, δικαιοσύνη is both a quality of God and divine activity, then we may say with Schrenk: "God both is and demonstrates righteousness."³⁴ Schrenk maintains that God's righteousness is not static, but demonstrates itself in the ἐνδειξις of His judicial

³²Martin H. Franzmann, Romans (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1968), p. 35.

³³TDNT, 2:203-4. Schrenk maintains that "the closely linked statements [concerning δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ] have a historical centre, namely, the revealing work of God in the act of the cross." See also Robert D. Brinsmead, "Lutherans in Crisis over Justification by Faith," Verdict (November, 1979):19. Brinsmead writes: "In the gospel . . . , the holy history of Jesus Christ is recited, rehearsed and represented."

³⁴TDNT, 2:204. We may compare the expression "the love of God," which plays such a role in 1 John. The divine love is both a quality of God ("God is love," 1 John 4:8) and a quality demonstrated in action ("In this the love of God was made manifest among us, that God sent his only Son into the world, so that we might live through him." - 4:9).

action. *δικαιοσύνη* expresses both His grace and His justice. Because God shows His righteousness in the atonement, we cannot misunderstand and underrate the *πάρεσις ἡμαρτημάτων*. In Gal. 3:13; 2 Cor. 5:21; Rom. 8:3 the thought of judgment is linked with the divine action on the cross. At the same time the *ἔνδειξις* is a declaration of man's pardon and salvation.

Forensic Justification: Another Perspective Which is Clearly Vertical.

There have been persistent protests against the idea that justification must be viewed as judicial action. Donald Guthrie notes that "this forensic view of justification has, however, been objected to by some scholars on the grounds that it distorts Paul's meaning."³⁵ But it is very difficult to refute the evidence in favor of the forensic interpretation. Guthrie writes: "The frequent use of the verb 'to justify' (*dikaioo*) leads us to believe that for Paul it is generally used in a forensic sense."³⁶ Judicial imagery abounds in the Pauline epistles. The most striking and clear-cut instance of the forensic setting is found in the great chapter, Romans 8: "Who shall bring any charge against God's

³⁵ Donald Guthrie, New Testament Theology (Leicester, England, and Madison, Wisconsin: Inter-Varsity Press, 1981), p. 499. Richard Jensen has criticized Melancthon for his interpretation of justification "in the context of the satisfaction theory of the atonement." Thus "justification took on an increasingly forensic or juridical character. The accent in this understanding of justification is on its objective character. This objective accent subverted the existential character of justification." See Jensen's article, "Justification - Where Faith and Experience Meet," Dialog 21 (Winter, 1982):43.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 500. Guthrie notes that "M. Barth, Justification (1971), bases his exposition of Paul's view on a juridical interpretation."

elect? It is God who justifies; who is to condemn?" (8:33-34) Schrenk draws attention not only to the above passage, but also to the antonym

Διακονία τῆς κατακρίσεως, opp. ["opp." = "as opposed to"] *Διακονία τῆς Δικαιοσύνης* in 2 Cor. 3:9.³⁷ Schrenk observes:

What it does mean is that the man who has *δικαιοσύνη* is right before God. Naturally, the forensic element is only a figure for being righteous before God, and it is not to be pressed in terms of juridical logic. We are not now in the sphere of jurisprudence. We are dealing with the divine Judge who is also the unlimited King. Hence the symbolical aspect, as with such images as *καταλλαγή*, etc., is not to be allowed to predominate by logically pursuing the forensic mode of apprehension. The legal aspect must be transposed at once into a divine key. The 'iustificatio iniusti' is against all human standards. The content bursts the forms and an act of grace replaces customary legal procedure. Because this is an incomparable judicial act, our main task is to grasp the basic theme. What is brought out by the legal concept is that God exercises grace which is not capricious but which is in accordance with His holy norms, with the new covenant and with true right.³⁸

The relationship of justification to the terms *ἄφεσις* and *δωρεά*

Justification can sometimes be elucidated by such words as *ἀφιέναι* (Rom. 4:7) or *καταλλάσσειν*, *καταλλαγή* (Rom. 5:9-10; 2 Cor. 5:18-20).

While forgiveness is a synonym of justification, the word *δικαιοσύνη* gives to forgiveness "a precision grounded, enlarged and deepened in divine right."³⁹

Justification is also spoken of as an imparted gift (*δωρεά* - Rom. 5:17: *τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης*). Schrenk writes:

It is because this impartation determines the whole life of faith that one can speak of a state of justification. The continually renewed positing of faith on the ground of imparted *δικαιοσύνη* is what is meant in Phil. 3:9: *μη̄ έχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου, ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ*

³⁷ Schrenk, p. 204

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 204-5

³⁹ Ibid., p. 205.

πίστεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην. The question is put: Whence does this arise? And the answer is: Not from the Law, but from God.⁴⁰

In a fine sentence Schrenk sums up the character of δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ as divine attribute, activity and gift: "If the δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ is the righteousness which God enjoys and displays in the act of salvation as well as the righteousness which He constantly imparts on this basis, this multiplicity in the use of the formula is justifiable, since it is always finally and exclusively His righteousness."⁴¹

'Righteousness' and 'faith'

For Paul faith is never a phenomenon in isolation, a spiritual possession of the individual. As noted earlier, it is always related to the justifying action of God revealed in the gospel of His Son.⁴² Only from the perspective of this vertical dimension can it be properly understood. Schrenk writes: "All that is said remains in the sphere of the objective divine act. This emerges clearly in the fact that in the Pauling communities believers are justified when they are baptised and receive the Spirit."⁴³

Schrenk also notes the manner in which the verb λογίζεσθαι "brings out the pure grace of the divine giving. What is reckoned is what is established by sovereign grace."⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., p. 41. Cf. Martin Chemnitz, Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I, trans. Fred Kramer (St. Louis: Concordia, 1971), p. 565: "Faith is the means . . . through which we . . . apply to ourselves from the Word of the Gospel the mercy of God, who remits sins and accepts us to life eternal for the sake of His Son, the Mediator."

⁴³ TDNT, 2:206.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 207.

Conclusion.

Schrenk has been quoted extensively, because we believe the evidence he adduces points unequivocally to the vertical aspect of justification. Indeed, the righteousness revealed in the gospel refers to nothing else than the gracious salvific activity of the sovereign God on behalf of sinful man. It is God alone who acts in displaying and conferring His righteousness. What happens to human relationships on a horizontal level is another topic and cannot be confused with Paul's teaching on justification.

Therefore the righteousness conveyed to us in the gospel is always an alien, heavenly righteousness, a righteousness 'extra nos.' Its center is Christ, who in virtue of His passion and exaltation has become our righteousness (1 Cor. 1:30). Our righteousness depends on the redemption which is in Christ Jesus (Rom. 3:24). By no means may it be reduced to a horizontal level, as if it also involved a new self-understanding.⁴⁵ When God demonstrates His righteousness in justifying the sinner, this is an incomparable judicial act transposed into "a divine key."⁴⁶ This action bursts all horizontal, this-worldly forms, for here "we are dealing with the divine Judge who is also the unlimited King"⁴⁷ and who, contrary to all human standards and expectations, graciously justifies the ungodly for Christ's sake.

⁴⁵Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, "*πίστις* and *πιστεύω* in Paul," TDNT, 6:218: "The knowledge imparted in the kerygma and appropriated in faith embraces not only knowledge of God's act in Christ but also a new self-understanding on man's part."

⁴⁶Schrenk, p. 205.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 204.

Justification in Paul: According to an Interpretation which Introduces a 'horizontal' or 'communal' aspect as of Equal Importance to the Vertical Aspect (Markus Barth on justification's "social character")

It would be a distortion of Barth's position to claim that he ignores the vertical dimension of justification.⁴⁸ Throughout his article on the "social character" of justification⁴⁹ he bears in mind that justification is through the grace of God. What makes Barth's approach provocative is his insistence that man "can only be co-justified with others," for "fellow-man and community with him are not secondary but integral to 'my' acquittal in the process of justification. Justification by Christ is, therefore, an event which ties man and man together. It is a social happening."⁵⁰ Thus we see that Barth, in speaking of justification, gives great emphasis to this horizontal dimension. Is he entitled to say this aspect is integral to the process of justification?

Barth shows a fine sense for the Christian's obligation to strive for the extension of fellowship, reconciliation and social justice in a broken and pluralistic world. Indeed the theme of reconciliation seems to be uppermost in his mind, that "weighty concept" which "happily brings together the aspects of the peace that was made and of the filial life that is necessary and enjoyed under the one Father."⁵¹ However Paul speaks so often of justification that this theme can hardly be ignored. Accordingly Barth proceeds to demonstrate the social value of justification.

⁴⁸Supra, p. 46, note 36.

⁴⁹Markus Barth "Jews and Gentiles: The Social Character of Justification in Paul," Journal of Ecumenical Studies 5 (1968):241-67.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 250-51.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 244.

At this stage we will simply raise a few questions about those aspects of Barth's theology which most clearly detract from the vertical dimension of justification. Other criticisms of his position will be made when we discuss the personal and spiritual dimension of righteousness (subjective justification). As may readily be seen, Barth's stress on the horizontal dimension of justification and his insistence on its 'social character' are two sides of the same coin. But there are some advantages in breaking up the material as we have done, and making a distinction between the suprahuman dimension of righteousness and peace, and their significance for the mind and conscience of the individual.

How then does Barth detract from the vertical dimension of justification? In the first place he interprets 'pistis Christou Jesou' in Gal. 2:20 and so forth, as a subjective genitive ('the faith of Christ') rather than an objective genitive ('faith in Christ').⁵² Christ becomes merely an example of faith. This interpretation is in keeping with his tendency to minimize the divine-human dimension, and accent human relationships. This writer agrees with Bultmann that "for Paul . . . πίστις is always 'faith in . . .'"⁵³ After all, the ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ of Mark 11:22 could hardly mean "Have the faith of God!" Bultmann says an

⁵² Note the careful wording: "It is probable that the Greek words pistis Christou Jesou should be understood to refer not only (as is commonly assumed) to faith in the Messiah Jesus, but also and first of all to the faith of this Messiah." Ibid., p. 248. H. Seebass also speaks of Christ's "absolute trust in him who justifies the ungodly," thereby "bringing into the world the possibility of a similarly implicit trust in God." New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, 3:363.

⁵³ TDNT, 6:217.

objective genitive can be used instead of the prepositions *εἰς*, *ἐπί*, *πρός* and *ἐν*. There are so many instances where these prepositions are part of a clear statement about faith in Christ⁵⁴ that we cannot doubt that *πρός Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* is to be construed in the same way.

Secondly, Barth shows a predilection for the words 'political' and 'social' when he interprets passages which speak of reconciliation. In his commentary on Ephesians we read: "Christ is praised here not primarily for the peace he brings to individual souls; rather the peace he brings is a social and political event . . ."⁵⁵ At another place he claims: "Christ is depicted . . . as a statesman appointed by God to make and announce social peace between divided groups of men."⁵⁶ The use of these terms may be understandable in an exegesis reflecting on the reconciliation between Jew and Gentile. Certainly the reconciliation between Jewish and Gentile Christians had great social and political implications in the world of the first and subsequent centuries A.D. But the words 'social' and 'political' carry secular connotations which do not fit at all into contexts where Paul speaks of "spiritual blessings in the heavenly places"⁵⁷ and of the great divine mystery of God's reconciling both Jew and Gentile to Himself.⁵⁸ Paul's subject in Ephesians is the great mystery of God's plan to reconcile Jew and Gentile and make them one body in Christ. The letter deals with the unity of the Church, not

⁵⁴ Bultmann lists Acts 20:21; 24:24; 26:18; Col. 2:5; 1 Peter 1:21; Gal. 3:26; Col. 1:4; Eph. 1:15; 1 Tim. 3:13; 2 Tim. 3:15. Ibid., p. 204, nn. 228, 229.

⁵⁵ Markus Barth. *Ephesians*, 2 vols., Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1974), 1:262.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 267

⁵⁷ Eph. 1:3.

⁵⁸ Eph. 1:9; 2:20-22; 3:4-9, etc.

the unity of mankind in general. It is a gross confusion of the Two Kingdoms to introduce socio-political terminology as soon as we see words like 'reconciliation.'

Furthermore we need to do justice to Paul's stress on the vertical dimension throughout his discussion of reconciliation.⁵⁹ Christ brings peace between Jew and Gentile, creating in himself one new man out of the two. But through the cross He also reconciles both of them to God (Eph. 2:16). Formerly Gentiles were far away from God, ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (2:13), but now through Christ both Jew and Gentile have access to the Father in one Spirit (2:18). Clearly Paul is concerned with far more than relationships between hostile social groups.

Does Paul Use 'Eirene' Only Rarely in the
Sense of Peace with God?

Earlier we noted that Foerster denies that εἰρήνη in the Old Testament is ever used in the sense of 'peace with God.'⁶⁰ With regard to 'eirene' in Paul Foerster makes the following claim: "Only rarely in the NT is εἰρήνη used for the relationship of peace with God."⁶¹ He says

⁵⁹We do not wish to give the impression that Barth misses the vertical dimension of reconciliation in Ephesians. He is too thorough a scholar to do that! Jews and Gentiles, he says, "are now 'reconciled' to one another and to God." (Ephesians, p. 266). Through Christ, the high priest, they have "access to God." (p. 268) The problem with Barth's approach is that his stress on horizontal reconciliation tends to overshadow what he says about reconciliation between God and man. For example, he makes the statement: "the concept of reconciliation praises the political result of the Messiah's mission and work." (p. 266) But the introduction of socio-political terminology is distracting, and takes us into a sphere quite removed from the exalted subject of this epistle: Paul's concern to praise God for all the spiritual blessings bestowed on us in Christ.

⁶⁰Supra, p. 36. TDNT, 2:410.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 415.

this dimension is "part of the sense" of εἰρήνη in Eph. 2:14-17, and "the sole meaning in R. 5:1."⁶²

This next section of our study will examine these passages, but also attempt to show that the connotation of 'peace with God' is present in other passages.

Rom. 5:1.

Before we examine this verse, it may be in place to make some general comments about Foerster's procedure. While it is convenient to distinguish between various modes of peace, one wonders whether Foerster is not making the distinctions between his categories too rigid. He identifies five categories: (a) 'eirene' as the normal state of things; (b) 'eirene' as the eschatological salvation of the whole man; (c) 'eirene' as peace with God; (d) 'eirene' of men with one another; (e) 'eirene' as peace of soul.⁶³ The fact that these five senses are covered by a single Greek word should surely make us cautious about making hard and fast distinctions. For example, it would not be hard to make a case that Jesus' word, "Your faith has saved you; go in peace" (Mark 5:34; Luke 8:48; 7:50) embraces not only peace of soul and eschatological salvation, but peace with God through Christ. The accent on divine forgiveness of sins is very clear in Luke 7:36-50.

Romans 5:1 holds a pivotal position within the structure of the epistle, which in itself is an indication of the importance of 'eirene.' "Δικαιωθέντες οὐκ ἐκ πλοτεως gathers up the thought of 1:18-4:25."⁶⁴ The more immediate context is 4:23-25, where Paul concludes his argument

⁶² Ibid. ⁶³ Ibid., p. 412-17.

⁶⁴ Cranfield, Romans, 1:257.

that those who believe in Him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead will have righteousness reckoned to them. Jesus was handed over because of our sins and raised for our justification. And it is only through Jesus our Lord, through His suffering, death and resurrection that we can have peace with God. The Christological accent in 5:1 is extremely important, and must not be overlooked as a result of its position at the end of the verse.⁶⁵

It remains to note the relationship between *δικαιωθέντες, εἰρήνη* and *καταλλαγῆ* (verses 10-11). The United Bible Societies' (UBS) third edition of the Greek New Testament places the heading "Results of Justification" above chapter 5.⁶⁶ But Cranfield says:

The reconciliation Paul is speaking of is not to be understood . . . as a consequence of justification, a result following afterwards. The thought is rather that - in the case of the divine justification of sinners - justification necessarily involves reconciliation. Whereas between a human judge and an accused person there may be no really deep personal relationship at all, the relation between God and the sinner is altogether personal, both because God is the God He is and also because it is against God Himself that the sinner has sinned. So God's justification of sinners of necessity involves also their reconciliation, the removal of enmity, the establishment of peace. . . . The fact that they are righteous by faith means that they now live as God's friends.⁶⁷

This is a superb delineation of the relationship between justification and reconciliation. Cranfield expresses very finely the unique legal relationship which obtains between God and the sinner, with the

⁶⁵ See Rom. 5:11, 21; 6:23; 7:25; 8:39 for the formula *διὰ (or ἐν)* *Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν*.

⁶⁶ *The Greek New Testament*, 3d. ed. by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, in cooperation with the Institute for New Testament Textual Research, Münster/Westphalia (United Bible Societies, 1975), p. 540.

⁶⁷ *Romans*, p. 256-57.

implication that for such a judge justification necessarily involves reconciliation. The only question would be whether it is not legitimate and helpful to speak of 'peace with God' and reconciliation to Him as the logical (if not the temporal) consequence of justification, the fruit ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\eta$, Is. 32:17) of our being reckoned as righteous in God's sight.

What Cranfield has written on this verse is worth quoting at length:

That $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\eta$ here denotes, not subjective feelings of peace (though these may indeed result), but the objective state of being at peace instead of being enemies, is made clear by the parallel statements of v. 10f. . . . The question arises: . . . What did Paul understand to be the relation between reconciliation and justification? The correct answer would seem to be . . . : Where it is God's justification that is concerned, justification and reconciliation, though distinguishable are inseparable. Whereas between a human judge and the person who appears before him there may be no really personal meeting at all, no personal hostility if the accused be found guilty, no establishment of friendship if the accused is acquitted, between God and the sinner there is a personal relationship. . . . He does not confer the status of righteousness upon us without at the same time giving Himself to us in friendship and establishing peace between Himself and us - a work which, on account of the awful reality both of His wrath against sin and of the fierce hostility of our egotism, . . . is only accomplished at unspeakable cost to Him.⁶⁸

This paragraph clearly expresses the incomparable nature of the judicial decision which takes place in the divine justification of the sinner. Cranfield also makes it plain that the peace thus established is first and foremost - indeed exclusively - between God and the justified. At this point Paul is certainly not saying that the justified have peace with God and among themselves.

We will now turn to other passages in Romans where we think $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\eta$ has the connotation of 'peace with God.'

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 258

Rom. 1:7.

Cranfield considers it "likely that the thought which here is uppermost is that of peace with God," although he thinks "Paul may also have had in mind the blessings which result from reconciliation with God."⁶⁹

Rom. 1:7 and its parallels in the greetings in other epistles make one thing crystal clear: from Paul's perspective a state of 'shalom' or 'eirene' is not something which men can achieve through their cooperative endeavors for a just and harmonious social order. It is not to be gained by works; from first to last it is a gracious gift from God. The primary dimension is vertical, not horizontal.

Rom. 8:6.

Foerster is undoubtedly right in saying that εἰρήνη in this verse is to be understood eschatologically (in contrast to θάνατος). But does he have valid reasons for stating categorically that Paul "is not thinking in terms . . . of peace with God?"⁷⁰ R. C. H. Lenski would be one to add this verse to Foerster's short list of passages using 'eirene' of our relationship with God. He writes: "This peace is here added . . ., the condition when God is our friend, when all is well with us, this condition leading to the feeling of peace, the enjoyment of harmony, friendship, and communion with God."⁷¹ In support of Lenski we note that verse 7 speaks of τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός as being ἐχθρὰ εἰς θεόν; the obverse of this is self-understood: the 'eirene' to which he has just

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 72.

⁷⁰ TDNT, 2:414.

⁷¹ R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1936), p. 510.

referred must include the connotation of enjoying peace and harmony with God.

Rom. 14:17.

The context of this verse is Paul's appeal to the 'strong' Christians to be considerate to their weaker brothers and not cause offence in matters of food and drink. While it is undeniable that peaceful relationships among Christians are on Paul's mind, indeed very much so,⁷² we still have to ask whether Foerster is entitled to place the verse solely in the category: "εἰρήνη of men with one another." Foerster writes: "δικαιοσύνη reminds us that no man's conscience must be violated; εἰρήνη indicates that in the kingdom of God there will be no kind of sickness, evil or discord."⁷³ But Lenski⁷⁴ and Franzmann refer to the obvious correspondence between Paul's use of δικαιοσύνη and εἰρήνη here and in 5:1. Franzmann says simply: "As Paul puts it elsewhere: "Since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. . . ." D. G. Stockhardt is emphatic that Paul has a vertical perspective in mind here. He writes: "Wir verstehen mit den Älteren Exegeten, wie Korner, Calov, mit Rückert, Tholuck, Philippi, Weiss, Luthardt unter δικαιοσύνη die Gerechtigkeit κατ' ἔξοχην, die Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, die Glaubensgerechtigkeit, unter

⁷² According to the context, Christians are to serve Christ by living peaceably with one another.

⁷³ TDNT, 2:416

⁷⁴ Lenski, p. 843

⁷⁵ Cranfield, Romans, 1:252

εἰρήνη den Frieden mit Gott, und unter χάρα ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ die Freude, welche die gerechtfertigten Christen beseelt, welche der ihnen innewohnende Heilige Geist in ihnen wirkt."⁷⁶ Lenski stresses that since the kingdom is the kingdom "of God," it "most emphatically" refers to "God's relation to the Christians, and thus their relation to him, established by grace." He criticizes Sanday and Headlam for their view that righteousness here means "just dealing; peace is the peace with one another which should characterize Christians . . ." Lenski continues:

This whole conception, making God's kingdom a relation of men to men, is a pitiful reduction of the mightily scriptural view of the kingdom. One is sorry to see it so wide-spread. It is the notion of modernism, of all those who 'work' for the spreading of the kingdom by establishing better social, economic, governmental, personal justice in the world, by reforms, abolition of wars, and all kinds of uplift movements. Go mend and patch, - God knows the world needs it! and the devil ever keeps tearing new holes to mend. But all this tinkering and even its best results are not the kingdom of God; for his kingdom is spiritual, eternal.⁷⁷

Cranfield is more cautious, but in essence he agrees with Lenski: "By δικαιοσύνη Paul probably means the status of righteousness before God which is God's gift, by εἰρήνη the state of having been reconciled with God, by χάρα the joy which is the Spirit's work in the believer; for so to understand these three terms here is surely, in view of the fact that they are combined as a definition of the kingdom of God, much more natural . . ."⁷⁸

⁷⁶D. G. Stöckhardt, *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1907), p. 602; "With older exegetes like Korner, Calov, Rückert, Tholuck, Philippi, Weiss, Luthardt, we understand by δικαιοσύνη the righteousness par excellence, the righteousness which avails before God, the righteousness of faith; by εἰρήνη (we understand) peace with God, and by χάρα ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ the joy of soul of the justified Christian which is created in them by the Holy Spirit dwelling in them.

⁷⁷Lenski, pp. 844-45.

⁷⁸Cranfield, Romans, 2:718.

In Rom. 14:17 Paul is trying to lift the sights of the believers above their petty squabbling over such mundane matters as food and drink. For the kingdom of God into which they have been called is a spiritual, heavenly, eternal kingdom. This verse, with its unmistakable accent on spiritual realities, may provide us with the clearest refutation of the immanentist interpretation of εἰρήνη. Like righteousness and joy, it is a gift that comes down ἀνωθεν (James 1:17) and is not of this world (John 14:27; 16:20-22), even as Christ's kingdom is not of this world (John 18:36).

Eph. 2:14-17.

As we have seen, Foerster recognizes this as a passage which speaks of εἰρήνη as peace with God. He writes:

We hardly do justice to the passage if we do not perceive that the law plays a double role, dividing the Gentiles from the commonwealth of Israel and also Israel from God. By the Law there arises both the enmity between Jews and Gentiles and also that of man towards God. Hence in v. 14 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν is to be taken in a comprehensive sense. When Christ abolished the Law, He set aside the twofold disorder of the race both among men and toward God. εἰρήνη means peace with God and within humanity. It thus denotes order, the healing of all relationships. Hence the striking expression ἔχθρα in v. 14 is to be taken generally.⁷⁹

It is highly significant that both Rom. 5:1 and Eph. 2:14-17, places generally acknowledged as speaking of peace with God, are followed by verses which speak of our access (προσαγωγή) to the Father through Jesus Christ (Rom. 5:2; Eph. 2:18. compare Eph. 3:12). The word προσαγωγή thus underlines the vertical dimension of εἰρήνη. It belongs to the language of courtly ceremonial.⁸⁰ Christ is the One

⁷⁹ TDNT, 2:415.

⁸⁰ Karl Ludwig Schmidt, "προσάγω, προσαγωγή", TDNT, 1:132-33.

who gives men access to the King and a right relationship with Him.

Col. 1:19-20

Through Christ God reconciled all things in heaven and on earth to Himself, making peace (*εἰρηνοποιήσας*) through the blood shed on the cross. In his commentary on these verses F. F. Bruce draws the connections with Rom. 5:1-10. He writes: "This is an aspect of the gospel which Paul emphasizes in other places; in Rom. 5:1ff., for example, he speaks of the "peace with God" which belongs to those who have been justified by faith; when they were His enemies, in rebellion against Him, they were "reconciled to God through the death of his Son."⁸¹ Justification and reconciliation, righteousness and peace with God belong together. Peace must be founded on righteousness, says Bruce, for sinful men cannot enjoy peace with God without the assurance that He has accepted them and declared them righteous.⁸²

Gal. 5:22.

Finally we should include Luther's comment on the spiritual gift of *εἰρήνη* mentioned in Gal. 5:22. He says briefly: This means "peace with both God and man, so that Christians are peaceful and quiet. They are not quarrelsome and do not hate one another. . . ." ⁸³ So Luther understands *εἰρήνη* in a comprehensive way as involving peace

⁸¹"Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians," in E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce, The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1980), p. 208.

⁸²Ibid., p. 209.

⁸³Luther's Works, American Edition, vol. 27, p. 94.

with God, peace with man, and the peaceful disposition from which peace with man proceeds.⁸⁴ We do not find in Luther the rather rigid distinction between categories of εἰρήνη which we found in Werner Foerster.⁸⁵

Conclusion.

We conclude that εἰρήνη in the sense of 'peace with God' occurs a number of times in the Pauline writings, and that these passages are very significant. To say, then, that "only rarely in the NT is εἰρήνη used for the relationship of peace with God,"⁸⁶ is quite misleading. It is another indication of the tendency to focus on horizontal relationships at the expense of what the Scriptures teach about man's relationship with God.

The Personal and Spiritual Dimension of of 'Righteousness' and 'Peace'

In recent years traditional Lutheran theology has come under attack for encouraging people to be introspective and introverted. Scandinavian Lutheran Krister Stendahl claims the apostle Paul had a robust conscience; the tendency for Westerners to cultivate an introspective conscience began with Augustine and reached a climax with Luther.⁸⁷ Markus Barth sees a "danger of crass individualism and egotism"⁸⁸ in the traditional understanding of justification with its stress on the individual's need to repent

⁸⁴In this respect εἰρήνη is analogous to ἀγάπη. It involves: (a) a vertical dimension, the love of God for man; and (b) a horizontal dimension, God's love for man enables men to love one another.

⁸⁵Supra, p. 53. ⁸⁶Foerster, TDNT, 2:415

⁸⁷Krister Stendahl. "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," Harvard Theological Review 56 (1963):199-215.

⁸⁸Barth, "Jews and Gentiles," pp. 241-67.

and be justified by grace. Other scholars have played down the Biblical emphasis on personal, spiritual peace, peace of mind, and labeled this concept as 'introverted.'

This section will weigh the contentions of these scholars against the Biblical evidence.

The Personal Dimension of Righteousness
(Subjective Justification)

Markus Barth

His confusion of objective and subjective justification

In the first place we need to affirm Schrenk's statement that

δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ applies to the whole of humanity. He writes:

This statement does not apply only to the subjective experience of the individual. From the very first it is given the widest possible range (R. 1-3) and embraces all humanity. Hence *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ* is not just the experience of the individual. It is supremely the universal divine happening in Christ on behalf of the whole race.⁸⁹

Schrenk is here speaking of objective justification. Objective justification embraces the whole human race. Rom. 3:25-26 has a nice balance between objective and subjective justification, the work of God in Christ and the personal faith of the Christian. Here Paul speaks first of what God accomplished for all men when Christ was put forward as a propitiation for their sins. Then Paul turns to the divine justification of the individual through faith (*τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ* - subjective justification).

We return now to the argument advanced in Barth's article on the "social character" of justification, and examine it from another angle.

⁸⁹ TDNT, 2:203.

When Barth says that man "can only be co-justified with others,"⁹⁰ is he making a proper distinction between objective and subjective justification? In the sense of objective justification it is correct to say that justification always involves my fellow-men, indeed, all humanity. My personal justification is only possible because of that prior event. But it seems that is not what Barth means when he writes: "There is no personal justification by God without justification of fellow-men by God."⁹¹ As a statement about personal, subjective justification, this is simply not true. It is possible for a person to receive subjective justification while his fellow-men are rejecting this for themselves. But it would be correct to say: "There is no objective justification by God without objective justification of fellow-men by God." What Barth is doing is taking what is true on the level of objective justification and writing as if that also applied to subjective justification.

Elsewhere when Barth speaks of Paul not claiming justification for himself alone or for the Jews alone, we find the same confusion. Of course Paul did not think objective justification was for himself alone or anyone else alone. But he firmly believed each individual needed to appropriate by faith what God had done for him in Christ. Barth does not give sufficient importance to this aspect. He even criticizes traditional Christianity for its interest in how each person might be justified by God, an interest which, he feels, contains the seeds of egotism.⁹²

⁹⁰Barth, "Jews and Gentiles," p. 250. ⁹¹Ibid., p. 245.

⁹²Ibid., p. 241: "Each person was mainly interested in how he might be justified by God, while others would follow the same pattern of salvation. Danger of crass individualism and egotism is apparent in this type of interpretation."

But by thus denigrating the Christian concern for subjective justification, Barth deprives individual consciences of their only source of comfort. His stress on the social and ethical character of justification⁹³ only makes it worse for the Christian conscious of his social and ethical shortcomings.

Barth's neglect of the role of faith in Paul's theology.

The traditional Lutheran formula "Justification by grace through faith" accurately reflects the structure of Paul's argument concerning justification. At this point we are interested particularly in the connection between justification and faith. It is Paul's contention that the righteousness of God proclaimed in the gospel is to be appropriated by faith. The just shall live by faith (Rom. 1:17). The UBS Greek Testament gives as its heading for the pivotal section, 3:21-31: "Righteousness through faith."⁹⁴

It is significant that Markus Barth, in his attempt to stress the social character of justification, pays scant regard to the role of faith in Paul's theology. In fact, faith is only mentioned once in his précis of the article, and then only in a general way.⁹⁵ Barth's formula for justification takes the abbreviated form "justification by grace." In the body of the article he does speak of faith, but as we noted in the previous

⁹³ Ibid., p. 243: "It is less amazing that with the fading out of the Christological center also every chance was lost for recovering the social and ethical character of justification."

⁹⁴ The Greek New Testament, p. 536.

⁹⁵ Barth, "Jews and Gentiles," pp. 241-42; "In matters of faith"

chapter, he prefers to give the expression "pistis Christou Jesou" the attenuated meaning "the faith of Christ."

Colin Brown argues that "Käsemann makes an important point when he warns against understanding God's righteousness in too narrowly an individualistic way."⁹⁶

Probably Käsemann had good reason to protest against Bultmann's emphasis on the existential decision of the individual.⁹⁷ And certainly Paul's primary concern is to address the Christian congregations as communities among whom the righteousness of God has been proclaimed. However, he can also speak of his personal faith (Rom. 1:12). In stating the theme of the epistle to the Romans he announces the gospel as the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes - in the singular (παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι - 1:16; 10:4). The gospel is not just for groups, but for each individual believer. Therefore Barth is wrong when he says:

"It is clear that no man for himself alone can claim and have justification

⁹⁶ H. Seebass and C. Brown, "Righteousness, Justification," in The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, 3:373.

⁹⁷ Cf. the comments of Cranfield:
 "The theological objections which Käsemann has raised to it, [taking δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ as a genitive of origin] namely, that it involves an isolating of the gift from the Giver and an anthropocentric rather than theocentric understanding of the gospel, and that it is individualistic, are important and require to be taken very seriously; but, while these objections may well lie against the theology of Bultmann, whose contributions on the subject Käsemann had specially in mind, it is, in our view, perfectly possible to hold that Paul meant by δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ in some of the places where he uses the expression the status of righteousness which may be had as a gift from God. . . ." Romans, 1:98-99.

and believe in the justifying God.⁹⁸ Rather the contrary is true: no man can believe for another. What we can do, however, is encourage one another *διὰ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πίστεως* (Rom. 1:12).

Krister Stendahl

Krister Stendahl argues that Paul, unlike Augustine and Luther, never had to struggle with a plagued conscience.⁹⁹ The problem of a conscience troubled by the demands of the Law was a peculiarly Western phenomenon, and should not be allowed to condition our interpretation of Paul. When Paul reflected on his life before his Christian calling, he could say he had been blameless as far as the righteousness of the law was concerned (Phil. 3:6). Never did he urge Jews "to find in Christ the answer to the anguish of a plagued conscience."¹⁰⁰ Stendahl continues: "To be sure, no one could ever deny that hamartia, "sin," is a crucial word in Paul's terminology, especially in his epistle to the Romans."¹⁰¹ But "we look in vain for a statement in which Paul would speak of himself as an actual sinner."¹⁰² He has a good conscience (Rom. 9:1; 2 Cor. 1:12; 5:10-11, 1 Cor. 4:4). Romans 7 and 1 Tim. 1:15 cannot be used as an indication that Paul suffered from a "subjective conscience struggle."¹⁰³

To a degree Stendahl is right in distinguishing between the protracted struggles of conscience experienced by Augustine and Luther, and the revolutionary change in the life of the apostle. We can only agree with F. F. Bruce:

⁹⁸ Barth, "Jews and Gentiles," p. 257.

⁹⁹ Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience," pp. 200-205.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 202 ¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 208 ¹⁰² Ibid., p. 210 ¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 213

Paul had no doubt at all of the rightness of his course while he was engaged in stamping out this blasphemy, as he saw it; his conscience was clear as he thus manifested his zeal in the service of God and the Law. The 'introspective conscience of the West' may imagine that Paul had subconscious misgivings about his conduct while he was active as arch-persecutor, but nothing that Paul himself says in later life about this conduct supports any such idea.¹⁰⁴

But the point at issue is not whether Paul, the Pharisee, had misgivings about his conduct while he was active as a persecutor. Stendahl's main point is that even after his conversion Paul did not have to struggle with pangs of conscience. Stendahl claims Paul spoke of his weakness rather than of his sin.¹⁰⁵

We will confine ourselves to criticism of some of the weaker points in Stendahl's argument:

a) Stendahl himself concedes that "sin" is a crucial word in Paul's terminology, especially in Romans.¹⁰⁶ If Paul, speaking in universal terms, concludes that all men are under the power of sin (3:9) and that the law makes them conscious of this (3:20), are we to exclude Paul himself from having such a consciousness simply because he rarely dwells on it?

b) Stendahl himself recognizes that "the Sin with capital S in Paul's past was that he had persecuted the Church of God." Paul refers to this sin in 1 Cor. 15:9; 1 Tim. 1:13; Gal. 1:13. In 1 Tim. 1:15-16 he calls himself the "chief of sinners." But Stendahl claims "this is not an expression of contrition in the present tense, but refers to how Paul in his ignorance had been a blaspheming and violent persecutor, before

¹⁰⁴F. F. Bruce, New Testament History (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1980), pp. 240-41.

¹⁰⁵Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul," pp. 210-11 ¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 208.

God in his mercy and grace had revealed to him his true Messiah and made Paul an Apostle and a prototype of sinners' salvation (1:12-16).¹⁰⁷ It is difficult to understand how Stendahl can assert that 1:15 does not have present-tense meaning.¹⁰⁸ The Greek is clearly present tense: *ἔν πρώτῳ εἶμι ἐγώ.*

c) Paul was reluctant to call attention to his personal experience (cf. 2 Cor. 12:1-5). But this does not mean he never had pangs of conscience. Stendahl recognizes that Romans 7 poses the greatest difficulty for his thesis, and devotes almost three pages to the chapter.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless he maintains that Paul's argument "is one of acquittal of the ego, not one of utter contrition."¹¹⁰ Paul is chiefly concerned to demonstrate that "not only the Law but the will and mind of man are declared good and are found to be on the side of God."¹¹¹ He distinguished "between the good Law and the bad Sin" on the basis of "the rather trivial observation that every man knows that there is a difference between what he ought to do and what he does."¹¹²

When Stendahl argues that Paul, as a regenerated person, delights in God's holy law and holds sin responsible for his failure to comply with the law, he is on solid ground. But Paul is not making trivial observations about matters which did not affect him very deeply. No matter how we arrange the text of chapter 7,¹¹³ Paul's heartfelt cry "O wretched man that I am" will retain its importance as an expression of the misery Paul

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 209 ¹⁰⁸ Ibid. ¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 211-14

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 212 ¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 214 ¹¹² Ibid., p. 212.

¹¹³ Stendahl criticizes Moffatt for re-arranging the chapter to make the exclamation "O wretched man that I am" become the climax (p. 213)

feels as a result of indwelling sin. He is unable to be light-hearted about the tensions he experiences within himself.

d) We could add that Paul's insistence that he has a good conscience is in itself evidence that Paul had "a deep and sensitive introspective conscience."¹¹⁴ Clearly it was not a matter of indifference to Paul whether or not he and his fellow Christians had a good conscience toward God and toward men (Acts 24:16). He did not want weak Christians to have their consciences defiled, as a bad conscience could lead to their falling and being destroyed (1 Cor. 8:7-13). Are we entitled, then, to assume that Paul was not concerned about the dilemma of the introspective conscience?

e) Finally we need to ask if Stendahl is justified in minimizing the place of 'forgiveness' in Paul. Stendahl says "'forgiveness' is the term for salvation which is used least of all in the Pauline writings."¹¹⁵ In fact, he says the term is not used at all in the undisputed Pauline letters; it appears only in Eph. 1:7 and Col. 1:14 as an apposition, and in Rom. 4:7 as an OT quotation. But here "Paul's own preference for 'justification' is clear from the context."¹¹⁶

This is a highly specious argument. In Rom. 4:6-8 Paul is clearly placing high value on the text from Psalm 32, which he introduces as further proof that God's "non-reckoning of sin" is "a reckoning of righteousness to a man," and that God's forgiveness is a whole and personal forgiveness."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 211 ¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 202 ¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 202, n. 5.

¹¹⁷ Martin Franzmann, Romans, p. 79. The rest of the footnote from Stendahl on p. 202 further illustrates the tendency we have been describing. He writes: "CF. my articles 'Sünde und Schuld' and

Conclusion.

Both Barth and Stendahl try to shift our attention away from the individual's concern for righteousness and forgiveness. Barth labels such a concern as egotistical; Stendahl stigmatizes it as self-centered introspection. Both assert that Pauline interpretation should make more room for socio-political concerns,¹¹⁸ the reconciliation of hostile social groups. But only a tendentious exegesis can escape the fact that Paul is very much concerned about the individual's need for a good conscience through the righteousness of faith. Schrenk's criticism of Ritschl is apposite:

[Paul] is not referring to a communal justification but to a justifying action of God which seizes the individual. To be sure, he does not think of individuals in the individualistic sense. When the individual is justified, he becomes a member of the body of Christ as he previously belonged to Israel, the *ἔθνη* or humanity. Yet the gift of justification determines rather than truncates the personal task of service.¹¹⁹

We would add that only the person assured of his righteous status before God can be truly free from self-concern and enabled to render genuinely loving service to others in the community.

Spiritual Peace, Peace of Mind

Leon Morris characterizes spiritual peace rather strikingly as

'Sündenvergebung,' Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 6 (1962), 484-89, and 511-13, with a discussion of the absence of a common word for 'guilt.'

¹¹⁸ Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul," p. 206: "Where Paul was concerned about the possibility for Gentiles to be included in the messianic community, his statements are now read as answers to the quest for assurance about man's salvation out of a common human predicament."

¹¹⁹ TDNT, 2:206.

"spiritual well-being at the highest level, a prosperity of soul resulting from being in right relationship with God."¹²⁰ But modern exegesis often seems to have no antenna for this note in the Scriptures. For example, Werner Foerster's contribution on εἰρήνη in Kittel's Wörterbuch evidences a bias against any interpretation of εἰρήνη in the sense of peace of soul. In fact Foerster feels we need to be warned against the tendency to think in such terms. In connection with John 14:27 he writes:

If Jesus here borrows from the Jewish greeting, this is in itself a warning not to think in terms of inner peace of soul (B. Weiss). The world wishes only αἰδῶσι; Christ gives the salvation secured by Him. Again in Jn. 16:33 the opposite of εἰρήνη as well-being or security is not anxiety but affliction (θλίψις).¹²¹

But we may ask: If Jesus was not concerned to dispel the disciples' anxiety, why did He bid them, "Be of good cheer?" (16:33). *Θαροῦτε* certainly refers to a subjective state, the cheerful courage which results from peace in Jesus.

Luther's exegesis of John 14:27 is in marked contrast to that of Foerster and Weiss. Luther regards Jesus' words as "a very comforting and pleasing bequest" to the disciples. For "it is peace, the greatest treasure in heaven and on earth. He does not want His disciples to be fearful and mournful; He wants them to have true, beautiful, and longed for peace of heart. . . . 'That [Christ says] is the best I can leave to you and give you; for peace of heart is the greatest peace.'"¹²²

¹²⁰ Morris, The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross, p. 215.

¹²¹ TDNT, 2:413.

¹²² Luther's Works, American Edition, vol. 24, pp. 177-78.

It is remarkable that Foerster devotes so little space to "εἰρήνη as peace of soul," and finds only one NT passage which undoubtedly has that meaning:

This meaning is undoubtedly present in R. 15:13: ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος πληρῶσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν. We must remember, however, how the word comes to take on this sense, namely, from its general use in the NT for the normal state. As the phrase θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης has implications for external life, and as εἰρήνη is used for the normal state of man's total being, so God creates in man the salvation which is the normal state of the soul that is in order - a state inseparable from χαρά. Hence the concept of εἰρήνη differs from the negative γαλήνη of the Stoics.¹²³

In this section we will study other Pauline texts for which a case may be made that they have in view the Christian's peace of mind:

In 2 Thess. 3:16 Paul pronounces the benediction: "Now may the Lord of peace himself give you peace at all times in all ways."¹²⁴ As we reflect upon the word 'peace,' we should bear in mind that it may often have more than one sense in a given passage. For example, Cranfield thinks it is likely that the thought uppermost in Paul's mind in Rom. 1:7 is peace with God, but grants that Paul may also have in mind the blessings which result from reconciliation with God.¹²⁵ Need we then exclude the blessing of peace of mind from this context, despite Foerster's flat denial that it means peace of soul?¹²⁶ Or in 8:6,

¹²³ TDNT, 2:417.

¹²⁴ 2 Thess. 3:16 is especially apt in view of the situation addressed. The Thessalonian congregation was suffering anxiety because of persecution, and was prone to disorderly living and hysteria because of the delay in the Lord's return. Accordingly Paul prays that they may have peace in all ways.

¹²⁵ Cranfield, Romans, 1:72.

¹²⁶ TDNT, 2:415.

where Paul speaks of the *φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος* as being life and peace, does the eschatological dimension of 'peace' or the dimension of 'peace with God' exclude spiritual peace as a fruit of setting our minds on the Spirit? Clearly spiritual peace is not Paul's primary thought in 5:1, but the relationship of peace with God has an effect on our conscience, as Stöckhardt recognizes:

Der Ausdruck *εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν* bezeichnet nicht die tranquillitas animi, auch nicht die pax conscientiae, sondern das Friedensverhältnis, in dem wir zu Gott stehen, welches freilich in dem Frieden des Gewissens reflectirt.¹²⁷

As we have noted, Cranfield agrees with Lenski that *εἰρήνη* in Rom. 14:17 means "the state of having been reconciled with God." Cranfield takes issue with Barrett, who explains peace merely as "a peaceful state of mind."¹²⁸ We would have to agree that Cranfield has put the accent in the right place; on the other hand, is it legitimate to see the issue as a simple choice between these two positions?¹²⁹

So averse are some modern scholars to the notion that 'eirene' may sometimes refer to peace of mind, that Käsemann regards it as a

¹²⁷"The expression *εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν* does not signify tranquility of mind, nor peace of conscience, but the peaceful relationship which we have with God and which is certainly reflected in peace of conscience." Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer, p. 215.

¹²⁸Cranfield, Romans, 2:718-19.

¹²⁹Leon Morris, The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross (p. 214), gives as examples of 'eirene' as 'peace of mind': John 14:27; 16:33; Rom. 8:6. Then he adds this note: "Other passages in which peace signifies a tranquillity of mind or soul . . . include Rom. xiv. 17, xv. 13; Gal. v. 22; Eph. vi. 23; 2 Thes. iii. 16; 2 Pet. iii. 14."

mistake to speak only of this in connection with Rom. 15:13,¹³⁰ the one verse Foerster admitted as undoubtedly having that meaning. But it is difficult to see how such a sense could not have been the primary part of Paul's intention, when he is praying that the Romans will be filled with all joy and peace in believing. Belief, after all, is something of the *καρπία* (Rom. 10:9-10).

Apart from these Romans texts, the passage which refers most clearly to peace of mind is Phil. 4:7: "And the peace of God, which passes all understanding, will keep your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus." F. W. Beare comments:

The peace of God is first of all the peace which God himself possesses, and then the peace which God bestows upon all who lay their cares before him. . . . We cannot 'think' our worries away, but when we bring them before God in prayer, he gives us his peace, which is far better than any calmness which we could achieve by reasoning.¹³¹

Since the preceding verse speaks of anxiety, it is most natural to understand verse 7 as referring above all to peace of mind.

It is doubtful that J. B. Lightfoot is correct in his claim that verse 7 is "an indirect allusion to their dissensions" (compare verses 2-3).¹³² But even if he is right, this does not alter the fact that Paul

¹³⁰ Ernst Käsemann, Commentary on Romans, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p. 387: "Salvation is again characterized as joy and peace which can come to expression in various ways, so that already for that reason it is a mistake to speak only of peace of soul (contra Foerster, TDNT, 2:412, 417)."

¹³¹ F. W. Beare, The Epistle to the Philippians, Black's New Testament Commentaries (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1959), pp. 147-48.

¹³² J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (London: Macmillan, 1913), p. 161.

is concerned for the reign of peace in the Philippians' hearts and minds. The same applies to Col. 3:15, where it is more likely that Paul partly has in mind strife within the congregation (verse 13). Christ's peace¹³³ must first arbitrate in the hearts of the congregation, and then they will be peaceably disposed towards fellow members of His body.

Conclusion.

We conclude that Rom. 15:13 is not Paul's only reference to εἰρήνη as peace of soul. Other verses which have to be considered are: Rom. 5:1; 8:6; 14:17; Gal. 5:22; Eph. 6:23; Phil. 4:7; Col. 3:15; 2 Thess. 3:16. That is a minimum, for we cannot exclude the possibility, indeed the likelihood, that the apostolic benediction "χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη" calls upon God to confer spiritual peace on the congregation (Rom. 1:7 and par.). Nor do we need to confine ourselves to occurrences of the word εἰρήνη. Eph. 3:12, for example, introduces the idea of 'confidence,' 'assurance,' which is closely related to 'peace' as a psychological state of mind. A hermeneutical approach which is insensitive to this dimension of St. Paul's theology cannot support its case from the biblical evidence.

Both the individual's righteousness by faith and his personal peace of mind are very much part of Paul's concern in his epistles.

¹³³ Christ is both our righteousness (1 Cor. 1:30) and our peace. See Leon Morris, The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross, p. 216: "So completely is Christ identified with this process of making peace that He can be said to be 'our peace.'"

The Eschatological Dimension of
'Righteousness' and 'Peace'

The Eschatological Dimension of
Righteousness and Salvation

Paul's Teaching

While the Old Testament prophets looked forward to an age of righteousness still to come, the New Testament proclaims that the new aeon of righteousness has come; God's righteousness has been revealed in the gospel of Jesus Christ. Accordingly the New Testament normally speaks of righteousness as having been displayed in the ministry of Christ, and as being reckoned to Christians now by faith. On the other hand, "Paul also can see the believer as looking for, stretching out, for justification, Phil. 3:12, 13, and expecting it in the end, Gal. 5:5: 'For through the Spirit, by faith, we wait for the hope of righteousness.'" ¹³⁴

Schrenk comments on this verse:

Since the promise of δικαιοσύνη transcends time, and points to the consummation, it gives rise to hope. . . . The justified, who have grasped the Now of forgiveness at the cross, can look forward with confidence to the final sentence . . . δικαιοσύνη is presented as an object of hope in Gl. 5:5: ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. The context shows that δικαιοσύνη and deliverance are identical in the last judgment. δικαιοσύνης is a gen. appos., and thus means final acquittal.¹³⁵

Schrenk notes that we must also take into consideration statements in which δικαιοῶ appears in the future tense (Gal. 2:16; Rom. 3:20, 30; 2:13). Passages where δικαιοσύνη and σωτηρία are parallel terms envisaging a present verdict (δικαιοσύνη) with sure consequences on the last day

¹³⁴H. P. Hamann, "Faith and Works: Paul and James," Lutheran Theological Journal 9 (May, 1975):37.

¹³⁵TDNT, 2:207. Another possibility is that δικαιοσύνης in Gal. 5:5 is a genitive of origin: "the hope which righteousness gives."

(σωτηρία) are Rom. 5:19; 8:33; 5:17; 10:4-10. Schrenk continues:

The linking of δικαιοσύνη and σωτηρία [in Rom. 10:9-10] unifies present and future which are distinct. It is not that universal judgment is anticipated in justification. Rather, this is something both present and future, as are also ἀπολύτρωσις and ὑιοθεσία. in Paul. The future form expresses the fact that the gift is not a passive state but a movement to the τέλος. Like everything given to us in Christ, this gift stands in the tension of hope.¹³⁶

Interpretations which Destroy the Eschatological Dimension: Foerster, Markus Barth

As we discuss the eschatological dimension of δικαιοσύνη, it may also be illuminating to focus on the closely related term σωτηρία and examine its connection with εἰρήνη. Foerster provides us with a detailed discussion of "εἰρήνη as the eschatological salvation of the whole man."¹³⁷ He makes the equation: εἰρήνη = οἰδψ = salvation. What becomes apparent is that Foerster understands both εἰρήνη and salvation as eschatological terms only in the sense of "realized eschatology": "salvation which has come to earth"¹³⁸ in Jesus Christ; "the eschatological salvation of the whole man which is already present as the power of God."¹³⁹

Thus the simple equation, εἰρήνη = οἰδψ = salvation, calls for careful examination. As we have explained, it is not legitimate to identify

¹³⁶ Ibid, pp. 207-8. Donald Guthrie (New Testament Theology, p. 503) has a fine section on "Justification, present and future," which runs on similar lines to Schrenk. We quote a small part of it:

"There is no reason why the believer need fear the Judge's decision (Rom. 8:1). He is already justified and will be saved from the coming wrath (Rom. 5:9). A verdict of 'guilty, but pardoned,' rather than 'guilty and condemned,' has already been declared. It is this conviction of pardon that forms the basis of Christian assurance."

¹³⁷ TDNT, 2:412-15

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 413

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 415.

the Pauline concept *εἰρήνη* with the Old Testament term 'shalom,' if 'shalom' is interpreted without reference to a vertical and spiritual dimension. The first part of Foerster's equation will stand only if the exegete does justice to the full meaning of *αἰς ψ*. But even if we may assume that *αἰς ψ* has been interpreted properly, we wonder whether Foerster is not doing his exegesis the wrong way around. Surely the New Testament provides the definitive interpretation for the Old Testament, not vice versa.

The second half of the equation (*αἰς ψ* = salvation) is just as problematical, if 'shalom' is taken in a purely immanent sense. *σωτηρία* does not signify material prosperity. In Paul a primary meaning is deliverance from the divine wrath on judgment day (Rom. 5:9; 1 Thess. 1:9; 1 Cor. 3:15; 5:5). Paul looked forward to the day when the Lord would save him *εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τῆν ἐπουράνιον* (2 Tim. 4:18). So salvation is not only realized; it is also future. Christians have been saved - in hope (Rom. 8:24); they are in the process of being saved (1 Cor. 1:18; 2 Cor. 2:15), and they will finally enter the salvation of the heavenly kingdom. But this tension between the 'now' and the 'not yet' is overlooked by Foerster.

In a similar fashion Markus Barth speaks of salvation only in this-worldly terms. Justification, or salvation, involves "all that is good for the human community;" it involves reconciliation, even of people of alien background; it involves justice and equal rights.¹⁴⁰ Although Barth mentions the future judgment, this plays no significant role in his argument.

¹⁴⁰ Barth, "Jews and Gentiles," pp. 241-42.

Paul's Teaching on the Eschatological Dimension of εἰρήνη.

On the day His righteous judgment is revealed, the God who shows no favoritism will give δόξα and τίμη and εἰρήνη to every one who does good, to the Jew first and to the Greek (Rom. 2:10). Here 'eirene' can only be understood as one of the great eschatological gifts. Cranfield concludes that it is more or less equivalent to σωτηρία.¹⁴¹

Apart from this clear example, however, there are not many instances in the Pauline writings where εἰρήνη refers primarily and unmistakably to the final sabbath rest (Heb. 4:9). However, we may certainly infer that the peace with God and the peace of mind a Christian now enjoys will continue beyond the grave. Just as St. John often refers to ζωὴ as ζωὴ αἰώνιος, so not only the ζωὴ but also the εἰρήνη of the spiritually-minded Christian are undoubtedly to be thought of in open-ended terms (Rom. 8:6).

In his explication of Rom. 8:6a, Lenski adduces 6:21 ("the end of those things is death") and 6:23 ("the wages of sin is death") and concludes quite correctly that Paul is speaking of "final and eternal death."¹⁴² But Lenski fails to recognize that the parallelism in the verse's structure indicates that 6b should likewise be understood in an eschatological sense. He says: "The fact that this (blessed spiritual) life shall go on into a blessed eternity is reserved for statement in vs. 11."¹⁴³ Stöckhardt is more consistent here:

Leben, ζωὴ, ist hier, im Gegensatz zu dem Tod, das ewige Leben, und dem entsprechend εἰρήνη das vollendete Heil, wie 2:10. Vgl.

¹⁴¹ Cranfield, Romans, 1:150.

¹⁴² Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, p. 510.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

6:22. Leben und Heil haben in dem geistlichen Sinn und Streben nicht ihre eigentliche Ursache, wohl aber läuft das geistliche Leben schliesslich in das ewige Leben aus. Das geistliche Leben, das von selber aus dem seligmachenden Glauben fliesst, oder die Heiligung ist nicht causa regnandi, wohl aber via regni.¹⁴⁴

τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος means life and peace both now and hereafter; it is indeed the 'via regni.'

Paul rarely uses the expression "ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ," Rom. 14:17 being the only instance in Romans. Cranfield notes that "when Paul does refer to it, it is nearly always as future; but here and in 1 Cor. 4:20 he is thinking of it as present."¹⁴⁵ Since the phrase is nearly always used in reference to the coming Kingdom of God, we may understand it as an eschatological expression. Käsemann has noted that the presence of the kingdom is understood christologically in Rom. 14:17: "It is in the presence and activity of the Lord Jesus Christ . . . that the kingdom of God is experienced in the present."¹⁴⁶ This kingdom cannot be associated with the establishment of a more perfect social order on earth. Since Paul normally refers to it as something we shall only enter upon death, the blessings associated with it, righteousness and peace, will only be ours in their fullness when we enter the kingdom. Meanwhile we enjoy the firstfruits of these gifts.

¹⁴⁴"Life here, in contrast to death, is eternal life, and the peace corresponding to it is final salvation, as in 2:10. Cf. 6:22. Life and salvation are not actually the result of our striving and our being spiritually-minded, but spiritual living does indeed lead finally to eternal life. Spiritual life (or sanctification), which arises of itself from saving faith, is not the cause of our coming to the kingdom, but it certainly is the way of the kingdom." Stöckhardt, Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer, p. 358.

¹⁴⁵Cranfield, Romans, 2:717-18, n. 2.

¹⁴⁶Cited by Cranfield in Romans, 2:717-18.

Conclusion

According to St. Paul, believers are already accounted righteous and reconciled to God for the sake of Christ. On the strength of this pronouncement, they may live in the assurance that they will be saved from God's wrath on the last day. Then the continuing decisive significance of the verdict of justification will be evident.

Thus the righteousness and peace of the Kingdom of God (Rom. 14:17; compare 8:6) are "open-ended": they are blessings which the Christian receives now and will enjoy in their fullness in eternity. There is no support in St. Paul for interpretations which overlook the on-going significance of justification and explain 'salvation' and 'peace' purely in terms of realized eschatology.

CHAPTER III

THE TESTIMONY OF THE LUTHERAN CONFESSIONS TO THE VERTICAL, SPIRITUAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND PEACE

Our exegetical study has established that the Pauline terms 'righteousness' and 'peace' are multi-faceted. Certainly they sometimes have a horizontal aspect: the righteousness and peace which exists, or should exist, among human beings. But in addition they clearly have vertical, personal (or spiritual) and eschatological dimensions. The present chapter will seek to show that the Book of Concord accurately reflects the substance of Paul's teaching concerning righteousness and peace.

The Vertical Dimension: God's Judicial Decision Gives Man Righteousness and Peace with God for Christ's Sake

The two great concerns of the Lutheran Confessions are the honor of the Son of God and the comfort of distressed consciences. Article III of the Augsburg Confession teaches that Christ is true God and true man. Through His suffering, death and resurrection He bestows on man life and every grace and blessing.¹ Forgiveness of sin and righteousness before God, as taught in the fourth article on justification, depend entirely on

¹AC III, 4,5.

Christ's vicarious suffering:

We receive forgiveness of sin and become righteous before God by grace, for Christ's sake, through faith, when we believe that Christ suffered for us and that for his sake our sin is forgiven and righteousness and eternal life are given to us.²

The Confessions always bear in mind the vertical dimension: the righteousness of Christ avails for man before God's tribunal. Because man's incipient righteousness remains imperfect, no one can plead his case before God on that basis. "Only the righteousness of the obedience, passion, and death of Christ which is reckoned to faith can stand before God's tribunal."³ Thus the Confessions uphold the glory of the Son of God throughout the discussion of righteousness. And intimately bound up with the honor of Christ is the Confessions' insistence on a forensic understanding of justification.⁴ "The word 'justify,'" says the Formula of Concord, " . . . means to declare righteous and free from sins and from the eternal punishment of these sins on account of the righteousness of Christ which God reckons to faith."⁵ The Formula states that this forensic

²AC IV, 1, 2. Therefore the consequences for the doctrine of justification can only be very serious whenever it is contested that Jesus is the Son of God, whose suffering propitiates God's wrath and atones for our sins. Cf. John Reumann: "But the present state of Leben-Jesu Forschung is precisely, I submit . . . to point to a human figure about whom we can say only very little . . . and to whom we allow little or no christology on Jesus' part." See p. 10 of article, "The Augsburg Confession in Light of Biblical Interpretation," in LWF Report 9: Commemoration and Self-examination, ed., Vilmos Vajta (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1980): 3-34. Reumann goes on to concede that justification is a central way of putting the good news in Paul, but questions its place as the key to the entire Scriptures. (pp. 22-23).

³SD, III, 32.

⁴See Werner Elert, The Structure of Lutheranism, trans. Walter A. Hansen (St. Louis: Concordia, 1962), p. 97. Here Elert refers to Melancthon's use of the expression "to be pronounced righteous according to the forensic usage." CF Ap IV, 252, 305.

⁵SD, III, 17.

meaning of δικαιοσύνη is the usual usage in both the Old and New Testaments (Prov. 17:15; Isa. 5:23; Rom. 8:33).⁶

Since it is the righteousness of Christ which is reckoned to man for his justification, human works and merit are utterly excluded from this article. Neither the contrition which precedes faith nor the works which follow may be taken into consideration. The Formula of Concord gives us this fine summary of what the Word of God teaches concerning the righteousness of faith:

A poor sinner is justified before God (that is, he is absolved and declared utterly free from all his sins, and from the verdict of well deserved damnation, and is adopted as a child of God and an heir of eternal life) without any merit or worthiness on our part, and without any preceding, present, or subsequent works, by sheer grace, solely through the merit of the total obedience, the bitter passion, the death, and the resurrection of Christ, our Lord, whose obedience is reckoned to us as righteousness.⁷

It will readily be seen that the Lutheran doctrine is at odds with ecumenical missiology, which deflects our attention away from what God has done for us in Christ and focuses almost exclusively on man's efforts to build the kingdom of God. The activitic strain in this theology is far removed from the attitude of Mary, who thought the one most essential thing was to sit at Jesus' feet and hear His saving message (Luke 10:42).⁸

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., 9

⁸Cf. Martin H. Scharlemann, The Ethics of Revolution (St. Louis: Concordia, 1971), pp. 47, 53. Scharlemann writes: "Here [Luke 10:42] is a portion of Scripture that is completely ignored by persons on fire for radical activity of a revolutionary quality" (p. 47). Contrast the attitude of Hugo Assmann, Theology for a Nomad Church, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1976), p. 25: "This book aims to be the word of action rather than the action of the word."

The Confessions carefully distinguish between the righteousness of faith and civil righteousness, between peace with God and temporal peace. This distinction corresponds to the distinction between the Two Kingdoms, a distinction obscured by ecumenical missiology with its insistence on a unitary view of history. In its article on Free Will, the Augsburg Confession teaches that "man's will has some liberty for the attainment of civil righteousness and for the choice of things subject to reason." But without the Holy Spirit man's will "does not have the power . . . to attain the righteousness of God - that is, spiritual righteousness - because natural man does not perceive the gifts of the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 2:14); but this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Spirit is received through the Word."⁹ Melancthon says that "even civil righteousness is rare among men."¹⁰ That is what ecumenical and liberation theologians are rightly so concerned about. But we may venture to surmise that it will be rarer still if churches preach and teach only civil righteousness and social justice, excluding spiritual righteousness and so depriving men of that faith which is a "living, busy, active, mighty thing" and does good works incessantly.¹¹

The Confessions also speak of civil peace and security as a great physical and temporal blessing. Civil peace is included in the daily

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AC XVIII, 1-3

¹⁰ Ap XVIII, 5. See also Ap XVIII, 9: "Therefore we may profitably distinguish between civil righteousness and spiritual righteousness, attributing the former to the free will and the latter to the operation of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate.

¹¹ Luther's Works, American edition, vol. 35, p. 370.

bread for which we pray and thank God.¹² It is the duty of princes "to administer justice to their subjects for the sake of peace and to prevent discord and great disorder to their lands."¹³ Christians are to pray for kings and all in high positions "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way (1 Tim. 2:1, 2)."¹⁴ Disrespect for the fourth commandment deprives men of civil order and peace.¹⁵

This temporal peace roughly corresponds to the 'shalom' desired by ecumenical missiologists. But this temporal peace is to be distinguished from peace with God, whereby "our consciences are tranquil and joyful before God."¹⁶ God's eternal and unchangeable truth may not be given up for the sake of temporal peace [shalom!].¹⁷

The Blessing of Righteousness and Peace
For Distressed Consciences

The second great concern of the Lutheran Confessions is the comfort of distressed consciences. In the introduction to the Apology's article on Justification Melanchthon makes it plain that without justification "no poor conscience can have any abiding comfort or rightly understand the riches of the grace of Christ."¹⁸ Of the sixty pages in this article, at least forty have at least one reference to the

¹²SC III, 14

¹³AC XXVIII, 29

¹⁴SC IX, 5

¹⁵LC 1, 177

¹⁶Ap IV, 91

¹⁷SD XI, 95

¹⁸Ap IV, 2 (German edition). See also SD III, 6.

consolation this doctrine brings to frightened consciences. There is no suggestion that the individual's need for the comfort of forgiveness arises from egotism. Rather it is necessary¹⁹ that men receive assurance that for Christ's sake they are forgiven and considered righteous before God. Otherwise men are exposed to "the terrors of sin, . . . eternal death . . . and all the gates of hell."²⁰ Throughout the Confessions we see a real and deep pastoral concern for the individual sinner.

The corollary of the righteousness of faith reckoned to the individual is that he may now enjoy peace of mind. Nine times Melanchthon quotes our key text, Rom. 5:1, as his spiritual proof for the comfort which the article of justification brings to pious consciences.²¹ By virtue of the righteousness of faith Christians "take hold of grace and peace of conscience."²² Tormented consciences cannot find comfort from their works, for the law always accuses. But Christ was given to us "that through him we might have grace, righteousness and peace."²³

¹⁹ AC XXV, 4: "We teach with great diligence about this command and power of keys and how comforting and necessary it is for terrified consciences." See also Ap IV, 2: "It [justification] brings to pious consciences the abundant consolation that they need."

²⁰ Ap IV, 85.

²¹ AC XX, 16; Ap IV, 91, 195, 217, 304; Ap. XII, 36; Ap XXIV, 12, 60, 89.

²² Ap IV, 216.

²³ Ap IV, 285.

The Lutheran Confessions Emphasize the Eschatological
Aspects of Righteousness and Peace

At no point do the Lutheran Confessions yield to a fore-shortened eschatology which looks for utopian conditions to be established in this world. Millennial views are emphatically rejected.²⁴ On one hand the Confessions state that believers already possess in its perfection the reckoned righteousness of faith. But on the other hand, "the inchoate righteousness of the new obedience" remains imperfect and impure as long as we live.²⁵ The Confessions are utterly realistic about the sinful nature of the regenerate Christian, who continues in constant conflict with the Old Adam. This "unmanageable and recalcitrant donkey" requires coercion throughout our lives.²⁶ But this persistent disobedience "is not reckoned to us for our damnation but is forgiven and remitted by sheer grace for Christ's sake alone."²⁷ In the end it is only the perfect righteousness of Christ, imputed to the believing sinner, which can stand before God's tribunal.

Here we see how the vertical, forensic perspective intersects with the eschatological perspective. In justification the divine Judge declares that the sinner is now righteous for Christ's sake, and thus may have confidence for the day of judgment (1 John 4:17). Also the Christian's assurance that he has a righteous status before God and peace with God merges with the thought that he has "righteousness of the heart" and spiritual peace.²⁸ Man's confidence that his relationship with God

²⁴AC XVII, 5

²⁵SD III, 32

²⁶SD VI, 24

²⁷SD III, 58

²⁸For the expression "righteousness of the heart" see AP VII and VIII, 36. The Scriptural citation is Rom. 14:17.

is in order has as its natural consequence a good conscience and peace of mind.

Conclusion

The Lutheran Confessions faithfully reflect the richness of St. Paul's use of the concepts 'righteousness' and 'peace.' The Confessions consistently take into account the vertical, spiritual and eschatological dimensions of these terms. Justification is understood as a forensic act in which God declares the sinner righteous for Christ's sake. So the honor of Christ is upheld. But this declaration that the sinner is considered righteous cannot be without its effect on the believer's mind and conscience. Amid the terrors of sin and death, faith in the Gospel comforts and sustains our hearts. And this comfort is "abiding comfort,"²⁹ sustaining the Christian throughout his life, and assuring him that the inheritance of eternal life awaits him beyond the grave and the final judgment.³⁰

²⁹SD III, 35

³⁰SD III, 32

CHAPTER IV

THE USE OF THE TERMS 'RIGHTEOUSNESS' AND 'PEACE' IN ECUMENICAL MISSIOLOGY

Introduction

It is not really surprising that the peculiarly Pauline (and Lutheran) nuances of 'righteousness' and 'peace' have not been heard very often in modern ecumenical missiology. For on the one hand, much Protestant exegetical scholarship since Wilhelm Wrede has consigned Paul's doctrine of justification to the periphery of his teaching.¹ This has led exegetical scholars largely to neglect the subject for a number of decades.² Nigel Watson attributes the dearth of thorough studies on the subject to "the prevalence of the opinion that the doctrine no longer speaks to modern man."³ On the other hand, those scholars who have taken up the topics of δικαιοσύνη and εἰρήνη have not always listened attentively to Paul, but have allowed their interpretation to be

¹ Wilhelm Wrede Paul, trans. Edward Lummis (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1908; reprint ed., Lexington, Kentucky: American Theological Library Association, 1962), p. 122. Wrede wrote: "The Reformation has accustomed us to look upon this justification as the central point of Pauline doctrine; but it is not so. In fact the whole Pauline religion can be expounded without a word being said about this doctrine."

² Nigel Watson in "Justification - A New Look," Australian Biblical Review 18 (1970):31, refers to the "dearth of recent, full-length studies of justification."

³ Ibid.

influenced by the humanistic spirit of the age. So we hear much of justification's 'social character' and of shalom as horizontal reconciliation, while the apostle's vertical, spiritual and eschatological concerns are virtually ignored. It is gratifying that the last few years have seen a renewed interest in justification among exegetical scholars. After all, its prominent place in his teaching could hardly be overlooked for long. But most of these studies fail to do justice to every facet of Paul's teaching, and scholars remain reluctant to concede that it is this doctrine which is central not only to Paul, but to the entire Scriptures.

When exegetical scholars are so ambivalent about the place and meaning of justification, missiologists can hardly be expected to do better. In fact the literature of ecumenical missiology is marked by an even more pronounced bias towards a secular understanding of the church's message. Words like 'righteousness,' 'justice,' 'gospel,' 'shalom,' and 'salvation' often do double duty: they are made to apply indiscriminately both to the spiritual righteousness of faith (personal salvation) and, without proper explanations and distinctions, to man's striving for civil righteousness and peace. Often it is this second, secular sense which predominates. John Stott has pointed out the serious confusion involved:

To call socio-political liberation "salvation" is to be guilty of a gross theological confusion. It is to mix what Scripture keeps distinct - God the Creator and God the Redeemer, justice and justification, common grace and saving grace, the reformation of society and the regeneration of man.⁴

⁴ John R. W. Stott, "The Biblical Basis of Evangelism," in Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, ed., Mission Trends No. 2: Evangelization (New York: Paulist Press, and Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 17-18. Ernst Käsemann once pointed out that the 'chants' of National Socialism (Sieg! Heil!) were essentially religious terms which were used for secular purposes (this was communicated to us by Dr. Jonathan F. Grothe). The confusion is of a similar nature to the misleading use of terms to which Stott refers.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore in detail the use of the terms 'righteousness' and 'peace' in ecumenical missiology, paying particular attention to that influential subdivision known as liberation theology. Although we will focus on 'righteousness' and 'peace,' it will be necessary to say something about other terms (for example, 'liberation,' 'salvation') and their use in the literature of world mission. It should be pointed out that the distinctive interpretation in question is characteristic of avowed liberation theologians like Gustav Gutierrez, James Cone and Letty Russel, the closely related "political theology" of Jürgen Moltmann, Metz and others, and the theology of secular ecumenism advanced within the World Council of Churches by, for example, J. C. Hoekendijk, Hollenweger, M. M. Thomas and Harvey Cox.

Presuppositions of Ecumenical Missiology

In previous chapters we sought to understand Paul's teaching solely from the Biblical data, on the assumption that our gospel proclamation must be determined by the apostolic scriptures. This assumption has been challenged by liberation theologians, who label such an approach as 'rationalistic,' 'idealistic,' 'abstract' and 'mystical.'⁵ Liberation theology begins "not only from revelation and Church tradition, but with

⁵Cf. Carl E. Braaten, The Flaming Center: A Theology of the Christian Mission (Philadelphia: Fortress Press), p. 142: "Liberation theology thus aims to speak concretely not abstractly, prophetically not speculatively, objectively not subjectively, politically not mystically." Cf. also Letty M. Russell, Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective - A Theology (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), pp. 128-29.

facts and questions derived from the world."⁶ Orthodoxy must give way to 'orthopraxis.' Revelation must be supplemented, or even to a large extent displaced, by critical reflection on praxis - albeit in the light of the Word!⁷ While Gutierrez recognizes that meditation on the Bible for spiritual growth "constitutes . . . a permanent dimension of theology,"⁸ and in Part 4 of his book devotes considerable space to Biblical interpretation,⁹ this emphasis is nonetheless overshadowed by his call for radical action, for doing theology. To a large extent, the world sets the church's agenda. As Carl Braaten affirms, "Scripture is not the only text of the theology of liberation. In a real sense the present situation is the primary text and point of reference."¹⁰

A spokesperson for feminist theology, Letty M. Russell, sharply attacks the orthodox concern for careful definition of Biblical terms. She cites Aharon Sapsezian's article, "Theology of Liberation - Liberation of Theology."¹¹ to this effect:

⁶Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll:Orbis, 1973), p. 12. Philip A. Potter, the general secretary of the World Council of Churches, writes:

"The main focus of our concern for evangelization is not to arrive at some consensus as to its nature, scope and goal, or indeed to affirm our common calling, but rather to discover what the evangelistic task is in today's world. This demands that we discern the signs of the times. What are they? . . . Everywhere the process of secularization is going on. . . . We have been learning in the ecumenical movement that the only way forward is the way of dialogue with the modern world." "Evangelization in the Modern World," Mission Trends No. 2, pp. 169, 173.

⁷Gutierrez, p. 13.

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

⁹Ibid., pp. 143-308

¹⁰Braaten, The Flaming Center, p. 143

¹¹Full Title: "Theology of Liberation - Liberation of Theology: Educational Perspectives," Theological Education, 4 (Summer 1973): 254-67.

As Sapezian [sic] puts it:

. . . theology has to do more with obeying the Gospel than with defining, prescribing, or defending it; orthodoxy cannot be a substitute for orthopraxis; sharing in the effective transformation of life and of institutions and structures that shape life cannot be endlessly postponed by intellectual gamesmanship.¹²

However, it is evident that Russell herself operates with a definition of the Gospel which she is concerned to defend and prescribe as authoritative. Her chapter on "Salvation and Conscientization" spells out her conception of the Gospel as the message of 'shalom.'¹³ The only question is whether her definition, one commonly held by liberation theologians, may be accepted by those who do not share her attitude to the material principle.

The Neglect of the Vertical Dimension in Liberation Theology's
Discussion of Righteousness and Peace

In his sympathetic study of liberation theology Alan P. Neely states: "Perhaps the most apparent difference one notes in comparing traditional theology with that of liberation is the shift from the usual emphasis on God and the supernatural to an emphasis on humanity; that is, from a theocentric to an anthropocentric concern."¹⁴ Carl Braaten forthrightly criticizes the theology of liberation for being "so afraid of the idea of an outside deity." Religion has been pressed into "the straightjacket of political humanism," says Braaten. "The motifs of

¹²Russell, Human Liberation, pp. 128-29.

¹³Ibid., p. 104-130.

¹⁴Alan P. Neely, "Liberation Theology in Latin America: Antecedents and Autochthony," Missiology 6 (July, 1978): 345.

of mystery and divine transcendence become abbreviated" and "sometimes . . . totally obliterated."¹⁵

Not surprisingly, this has repercussions in liberation theology's handling of the concepts 'righteousness' and 'peace.' Gutierrez states flatly: "Salvation is not something other-worldly."¹⁶

The Righteousness of God, and Righteousness before God
in Liberation Theology

These expressions are almost totally lacking in the writings of liberation theology. The only references to 'righteousness' we have found are in James Cone. Cone speaks of "the righteousness of God," which "is not an abstract quality in the being of God, as with Greek philosophy. It is rather God's active involvement in history, making right what men have made wrong." The context makes it clear that Cone understands 'righteousness' as a synonym of justice, and more specifically 'social justice.'¹⁷ Yahweh, as the author of justice, is concerned for social, economic and political justice. God's love and righteousness comes to expression in His being for blacks and against whites, that is, in black liberation.¹⁸ Cone makes no attempt to harmonize his interpretation with Paul's announcement that the righteousness of God has been revealed in

¹⁵ Braaten, The Flaming Center, p. 153.

¹⁶ Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, p. 151.

¹⁷ Cone, James H., A Black Theology of Liberation (Philadelphia & New York: Lippincott, 1970), p. 19. The context reads: "The prophets of Israel are prophets of social justice, reminding the people that Yahweh is the author of justice. It is important to note in this connection that the righteousness of God is not an abstract quality . . ."

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 131.

the Gospel, a righteousness which grants acquittal to the person who believes in Jesus.

Nowhere in the writings of leading liberationists have we come across a reference to the divine verdict of 'justification' of the sinner by grace through faith. This would not matter, if the concept had been replaced by a suitable equivalent or rendered in a paraphrase. But what we find is that 'justification' and 'righteousness' have been replaced by the word 'justice,' which nearly always carries the connotation of social justice. It is considered part of the church's mission to challenge the structures of injustice in the struggle for a "new, just and fraternal society."¹⁹ While some sympathisers of liberation theology still see the proclamation of justification as part of the church's proper task, the movement's spokesmen leave justification quite out of the picture.

We noted above Cone's statement that "the righteousness of God is not an abstract quality in the being of God, as with Greek philosophy," but "rather God's active involvement in history." Cone's position illustrates the truth of John Johnson's observation that much contemporary theology accents the activity of God, however perceived, but shows less concern for the problem of His existence and nature. Pursuing the matter a step further, it may be instructive to ask how liberation theology does perceive the activity of God, and how important is its undoubted accent on God's activity on behalf of righteous causes. Certainly God is the One "who reveals himself through historical events, a God who saves in history."²⁰ In some sense He is said to be the One behind every act of

¹⁹ Gutierrez, p. 15

²⁰ Gutierrez, p. 154

liberation and every removal of injustice. Gutierrez can even say, "Christ the Savior liberates man from sin."²¹ But throughout his book the dominant theme is a different one: man's active participation in building a just and truly human society,²² a participation described as part of the saving action.²³ As the frontier between the life of faith and temporal works has become fluid, man's action in history has value in a completely new way.²⁴ The world has come of age,²⁵ man is master of his own destiny, and "makes himself" throughout his life.²⁶

Gutierrez is unable to resolve the tension between his stress on God's activity on behalf of justice and man's role in the salvific work. Sometimes the reference to God even seems to be tacked on as an after-thought: "It is a theology which is open - in the protest against trampled human dignity, in the struggle against the plunder of the vast majority of people, in liberating love, and in the building of a new, just, and fraternal society - to the gift of the Kingdom of God."²⁷

This juxtaposition of divine activity for man's salvation and human participation and co-operation is, of course, another manifestation

²¹Ibid., p. 37.

²²Ibid., pp. 158-59. In The Ethics of Revolution, Contemporary Theology Series (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 35, Scharlemann cites Gregory Baum, a Roman Catholic ecumenist: "God is what happens to man on the way to becoming human. . . . God is the mystery of man's humanization."

²³Gutierrez, p. 168: "The struggle for a just society is in its own right very much a part of salvation history."

²⁴Gutierrez, p. 72.

²⁵Ibid., p. 72

²⁶Ibid., pp. 27, 36

²⁷Ibid., p. 15.

of the synergistic strain within the Roman Catholic tradition to which Gutierrez belongs. From the perspective of Reformation theology Braaten makes the comment:

God alone is the subject of all saving activity. Both in its Lutheran and Calvinist versions the doctrine of salvation has been monergistic. Salvation is what God has done; man can relate to it only in a posture of radical receptivity . . . To turn it [the gospel] into an ethical imperative, a religious exercise, or any political praxis is to legalize or moralize the gospel.²⁸

In making these remarks it is not our intention to imply that Christians have no business to be concerned with the promotion of social justice. But it is necessary to clarify whether the gospel may be defined in socio-political terms. Liberation theologians have no hesitation in defining it this way. Gutierrez believes "the Gospel of Christ implies (and is incarnated in) man's multiple efforts to obtain justice."²⁹ He quotes Schillebeeckx with approval: "The hermeneutics of the Kingdom of God consists especially in making the world a better place. Only in this way will I be able to discover what the Kingdom of God means."³⁰ Gutierrez continues: "we have here a political hermeneutics of the Gospel." But such an intrusion of political concerns into the very definition of the Gospel can only have serious consequences for the doctrine and life of the church.

Since liberation theology assigns to human effort a role in the salvific process, it is only to be expected that the role of Christ is

²⁸ Braaten, The Flaming Center, p. 151.

²⁹ Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, p. 112. See also p. 268: "To announce the Gospel is to proclaim that the love of God is present in the historical becoming of mankind. It is to make known that there is no human act which cannot in the last instance be defined in relation to Christ."

³⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

diminished. While we find occasional references to His cross and resurrection,³¹ on the whole He is portrayed as merely "the man for others." He represents the new humanity, and as the representative invites us "to come of age and take responsibility for our representative role by working to help bring liberation and blessing into the lives of all people including ourselves."³² Christ represents an ideal; He is not the Redeemer, the Son of God who atoned for our sins with His blood. Russell cites Dorothea Sölle: Jesus Christ "is a representative not a replacement."³³ In this manner the person and work of Christ is seen in a purely horizontal perspective.

Summary

Secular missiology is characterized by a shift to an anthropocentric position which has no place for the Pauline teaching concerning the righteousness of God and His justification of the sinner. The gospel has come to imply the human quest for social justice. According to this social gospel, Jesus is merely the ideal "man for others," not the Son of God, our Redeemer.

The Neglect of the Vertical Aspect of Peace with God

In the second chapter we demonstrated that Paul uses εἰρήνη in the sense of 'peace with God' in Rom. 1:7 and par; Rom. 8:6; 14:17; Gal. 5:22; Eph. 2:14-17; Col. 1:19-20. The passages in Romans, Ephesians and Colossians occupy a significant place in Paul's argument.

³¹E.g., Russell, Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective, p. 136

³²Ibid., p. 139

³³Ibid., p. 136.

However in liberation theology we find the same tendency to flatten out the transcendent aspect of *εἰρήνη* as we discovered in influential word-books and commentaries.³⁴ We drew attention to modern missiology's preference for the Old Testament term 'shalom' and its studied avoidance of the New Testament concept of 'eirene.' This tendency comes to a relatively moderate expression in the final chapter of Moltmann's Theology of Hope:

But salvation, *σωτηρία*, must also be understood as shalom in the Old Testament sense. This does not mean merely salvation of the soul, individual rescue from the evil world, comfort for the troubled conscience, but also the realization of the eschatological hope of justice, the humanizing of man, the socializing of humanity, peace for all creation. This 'other side' of reconciliation with God has always been given too little consideration in the history of Christianity . . .³⁵

Earlier we questioned Foerster's simple equation of *σωτηρία* with shalom.³⁶ and the tendency to make Old Testament word usage definitive for interpreting New Testament concepts. To be fair to Moltmann, we must add that he prefaces his remarks by saying that *σωτηρία* and the goal of Christian mission include "reconciliation with God (II Cor. 5.18ff), . . . forgiveness of sins and abolition of godlessness."³⁷

Peter Beyerhaus characterises J. C. Hoekendijk as the "spiritus rector" behind the idea that salvation is shalom in a this-worldly sense.³⁸ In The Church Inside Out Hoekendijk claims the traditional understanding of salvation as forgiveness is a "distortion of the Biblical

³⁴E.g. Foerster's article on 'eirene' in TDNT, 2:406-20..

³⁵Jürgen Moltmann, Theology of Hope, trans. James W. Leitch (London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 329.

³⁶TDNT, 2:414

³⁷Moltmann, Theology of Hope, p. 329

³⁸Ibid.

view."³⁹ The aim of evangelism can only be to establish the shalom:⁴⁰

And shalom is much more than personal salvation. It is at once peace, integrity, community, harmony, and justice. . . . This concept in all its comprehensive richness should be our leitmotiv in Christian work. . . . Shalom involves destruction of all solitude, obliteration of all injustice, "to give men a future and a hope."⁴¹

During the summer of 1970 the Hamburg Missions Academy conducted a seminar on the topic "Introduction to the Understanding of Mission." Professor of missions, Hans Jochen Margull, chaired the sessions. Participants discussed and dismissed four traditional views of mission, including Walter Freytag's emphasis on witnessing to Jesus Christ.⁴² But obviously they felt most sympathy for the fourth view, that of J. C. Hoekendijk, which became the starting point for an attempt to come up with something more concrete.

It is worthwhile to quote in full Margull's summary of Hoekendijk's concept "signs of shalom":

It can be summed up thus: "We regard our mission(s) as movements which participate in God's mission (missio Dei) to gather up all things in Christ - and so we are led to set up a variety of signs of the shalom of God in the world." According to Hoekendijk, whose use of the term shalom is an attempt at a concretization of the concept of the kingdom of God, this term is "a secularized concept taken out of the religious sphere (- salvation guaranteed to those who have strictly performed the prescribed rites) and commonly used to indicate all aspects of the restored and cured human condition: righteousness, truth, fellowship, communication, peace, etc. (cf. Ps. 85)." Shalom is in fact the Old Testament term for peace and wholeness. In Hoekendijk's view shalom is "a social happening, an event

³⁹ J. C. Hoekendijk, The Church Inside Out, trans. Isaac. C. Rothenberg (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), p. 19.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 21-22

⁴² Hans Jochen Margull, "Mission '70 - More a Venture Than Ever," Mission Trends No. 1: Crucial Issues in Mission Today, ed. G. H. Anderson and T. F. Stransky (New York: Paulist Press and Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1974), pp. 49-58.

in inter-human relations," and as such "the fullest summary of all the gifts of the messianic era." In the discussion on this approach of Hoekendijk the following attempt at concrete illustration was proposed: "Today we find examples of the setting up of 'signs of shalom,' among many other movements, some of which take place, quite without notice, in the Freedom Movement in the USA, in the Aktion Sühnezeichen in Germany, in the presence of worker-priests in France, in the venture of interconfessional groups in Holland, in the industrial missions of England or America, in the work at Riesi in Sicily, in the Telephone Samaritans, in the involvement of academies and lay institutes, in many sorts of service for peace."⁴³

The seminar proceeded to make Hoekendijk's suggestion more concrete by discussing signs of shalom in relation to the following areas: world hunger, revolutionary situations in Latin America, the racial situation in Southern Africa, a suburban German parish, and internal church situations.⁴⁴

A 1973 publication of the United Church Press in Philadelphia is entitled Signs of Shalom. The author, Edward A. Powers, intended it as a manual "for introducing the shalom approach into the life of a congregation."⁴⁵ We find the familiar definition of shalom as "unity, well-being, community, justice and peace."⁴⁶ Shalom is perceived as a "broadly encompassing word to convey the heartbeat of the Bible and its vision of community, peace, and justice."⁴⁷ But Powers does include a word of warning from Gabriel Fackre:

Much of the popular conversation about shalom seems to mute this transcendent relationship . . . But the point to be emphasized . . . right now is that shalom as horizontal justice and healing is not synonymous

⁴³ Ibid., p. 51

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 52

⁴⁵ Edward A. Powers, Signs of Shalom (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1973), p. 12.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 9

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

with, although it is inextricably bound together with, divine justice and reconciliation.⁴⁸

So much has shalom become a term of common parlance in certain ecumenical circles that a new vocabulary has been created. Letty Russell speaks of God's "shalomatic purpose."⁴⁹ J. C. Hoekendijk has done even better:

Persönlich gebe ich jedoch einer anderen Beschreibung den Vorzug [in preference to 'Humanisierung' as the primary goal of mission], und es freut mich, dass sie jetzt auch von anderen ausprobiert wird. In aller apostrophischen Kürze: Es geht in der Missio Dei m. E. um das, was ich die Schalomatisierung des gesamten Lebens nennen möchte . . .⁵⁰

According to Hans-Lutz Poetsch, the theology represented by Hoekendijk, Hollenweger, and others, holds that "Christian mission activity [Schalomatisierung!] has to be found first of all at places of social, political, and economic conflict ("situationalism"). A close similarity with basic Marxist ideas is evident."⁵¹

Of the liberation theologians we have studied, Letty Russell provides the most extensive discussion of 'shalom.'⁵² Much of what she says about shalom as "a social event, a venture in co-humanity," and so

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁴⁹ Russell, Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective, p. 25.

⁵⁰ "However, I personally favor another description [in preference to 'humanization' as the primary goal of mission], and I am pleased that it is now being tried out by others. To put it very briefly: The "mission of God" is concerned with what I would like to call the 'shalomatization' of every aspect of life." J. C. Hoekendijk Kirche und Volk in der deutschen Missionswissenschaft (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1967), p. 347.

⁵¹ Hans-Lutz Poetsch, Marxism and Christianity; Contemporary Theology Series (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973), p. 59.

⁵² Russell, Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective, pp. 106-113.

forth, is paralleled in the writings of Hoekendijk, Margull, and Powers, and need not detain us. Although at some points she writes on semantic aspects with more precision than others,⁵³ she arrives at the same conclusions. In one respect she goes further, maintaining that the Bible contains various doctrines of salvation, and that "these differences in the semantic spectrum of salvation" will inevitably be reflected in "changes in the interpretation of salvation . . . in different life situations." Thus the polarization between conservatives and social activists is understandable, says Russell.⁵⁴ People may feel free to use a variety of definitions.⁵⁵

Neither James Cone nor Gutierrez makes use of the word 'shalom,' although Gutierrez sometimes echoes traditional piety in speaking of men's destiny to "communion with God."⁵⁶ There is also a reference to "the peace of the Lord" in a quotation from Medellin: "Where this social peace does not exist there will we find social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities, there will we find the rejection of the peace of the Lord, and a rejection of the Lord himself."⁵⁷ But here too the chief accent is on social and peace and justice.

Conclusion

Secular missiologists favor the word 'shalom,' because they believe this word is particularly useful in fostering their horizontalist

⁵³ E.g., she does not blandly equate salvation and shalom, but takes into account the Hebrew words 'hoshia' and 'ga'al' as background to the NT concept of salvation. Shalom, she says, is the goal of salvation.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 106.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 109.

⁵⁶ Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, pp. 198, 238, 263.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 195.

view of salvation. 'Shalom' is a purely "social happening" which occurs whenever conflicting human groups are reconciled. Indeed, the 'Schalomatisierung' of every aspect of life is said to be the goal of mission in our day. The vertical aspects involved in St. Paul's use of 'eirene' are not taken into consideration at all.

The Neglect of the Personal and Spiritual Dimension
of 'Righteousness' and 'Peace'

Not only does liberation theology's discussion of righteousness and peace tend to overlook the vertical dimension, leaving an "outside deity" out of the picture, but it also pays scant attention to the need of individuals for a righteous status before God, a good conscience, and peace of mind. Social and political concerns are paramount. "Liberation theology," says Braaten, "takes the concrete political imagery of the Bible and resists every attempt to neutralize it into an abstract spiritualization of the meaning of salvation."⁵⁸ Classical theology "pulled its God language into the sphere of personal and private life, letting it die the death of irrelevance."⁵⁹ Gutierrez declares himself opposed to "comforting and tranquillizing solutions."⁶⁰ On the other hand, he admits that liberation theology "does not always and satisfactorily include psychological liberation."⁶¹ Christians caught up in liberation movements often experience "a wearying, anguished, long and unbearable dichotomy between their life of faith and their revolutionary commitment."⁶² In

⁵⁸Braaten, *The Flaming Center*, p. 144

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 145

⁶⁰Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, p. 290.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 31

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 135

other words, conscientization has given Christians a bad conscience. For many there is a serious crisis in their prayer life. Consequently liberation theology needs to develop a "spirituality of liberation."⁶³

Liberation Theology's Failure to Stress the Believer's
Righteousness by Faith

Gutierrez does not link faith with justification and "the redemption which is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3:24). Rather there is "a direct, immediate relationship between faith and political action."⁶⁴ In his section on "Faith, Utopia, and Political Action"⁶⁵ he claims that faith and hope in Christ cannot be separated from the longing and struggling for brotherhood, for a Utopia free from all exploitation.⁶⁶ This Utopia will be revealed in the course of a history "which we fashion with our own hands."⁶⁷ The distance between this view and that of St. Paul is apparent.

Carl Braaten's Criticisms of the Neglect of Personal Justification

Although Braaten agrees that salvation includes social dimensions, he has made an incisive criticism of liberation theology's neglect of personal justification. He writes:

. . . there still remains the fact that the individual qua individual stands as a naked sinner before God. . . . Even if a person were living in a perfect society, not marked by gross injustice, inequality,

⁶³ See pp. 203-208 for Gutierrez's own attempt to provide a spirituality of liberation centering on a "conversion to the neighbor, to social justice, to history." The expression "spirituality of liberation" appears on p. 205.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 236.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 232-9.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 236

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 237-8.

poverty, oppression, and disease, there remains the inner space of existential concern as the solitary individual stands alone before God - a lost and condemned sinner. If a person is sorely vexed by problems of anxiety, guilt, sin, death, and meaninglessness, even the rosiest utopia - heaven on earth - would not fill the need of such a wretched soul. . . . Nothing can fill the void in the inner life except the satisfying verdict of God himself, "You are justified."⁶⁸

The Problem of Sin

The reason why liberation theology goes off on a tangent in its attitude to individual justification lies in its concept of sin. Gutierrez recognizes that sin is the "ultimate root of all injustice, all exploitation, all dissidence among men."⁶⁹ Consequently a social transformation will not "automatically achieve the suppression of all evils."⁷⁰ Nonetheless, his main pre-occupation is with sinful structures and the sins of the oppressing class.⁷¹ Wilhelm Stoll goes so far as to ask: "What kind of sin is this when the oppressed are sinless and justified by the sin of the oppressor?"⁷² It is true that Gutierrez rarely refers to the sins of the oppressed. Braaten's judgment is well-balanced: "Liberation theology is right in broadening the concept of sin to include the social dimension, but its view nevertheless remains rather shallow."⁷³ Man's

⁶⁸ Braaten, The Flaming Center, p. 150.

⁶⁹ Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, p. 237.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

⁷¹ Scharlemann notes that it was "the belief of Marx and Engels . . . that sin is economic and social, not personal." The Ethics of Revolution, p. 47.

⁷² Wilhelm Stoll, "Theology of Liberation - Christian Mission and the Liberation of the Poor," The Lutheran (July 13, 1981):286.

⁷³ Braaten, The Flaming Center, p. 154.

corruption is so profound that no elimination of sinful structures will remove the basic problem.

James Cone is less one-sided than Gutierrez in his consideration of the comparative sinfulness of oppressors and oppressed. Cone agrees with Luther's emphasis on the depravity of all men. "Black theology," he says, "does not deny that all men are sinners."⁷⁴ What it does deny is that whites are in a position to pass judgment on the sins of blacks.

Liberation theology by and large shares the view of Letty Russell and Dorothea Sölle: "Sin to us is eminently a political, a social term."⁷⁵

Forgiveness

Because sin is seen as oppression by one group of another, oppression which must be opposed by radical political methods, liberation theology rarely speaks of personal forgiveness. Letty Russell cites Jer. 31:34,⁷⁶ but in the context of a discussion of Biblical words for 'sin;' forgiveness itself is not accented. Later she speaks of "the Gospel stories of healing and forgiveness"⁷⁷ and of God's forgiveness, but her interest is in the possibility of "new life," the "new humanity." Gutierrez speaks of Jesus' insistence that Christians be reconciled to each other before offering gifts at the altar (Matt. 5:23-24). But

⁷⁴ Cone, A Black Theology of Liberation, pp. 166, 100.

⁷⁵ Russell, p. 62.

⁷⁶ "For I will forgive their iniquity ('awon), and I will remember their sin (chat-ta'th) no more," Ibid., p. 109.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 137.

instead of stressing mutual forgiveness, he proceeds to denounce parishioners guilty of a lack of charity.⁷⁸

So forgiveness has no place in the scheme of Gutierrez, nor in other secular theologies for that matter.⁷⁹ Gutierrez can agree that our enemies are not to be hated, but he insists they are to be combatted in a radical manner.⁸⁰ Liberation theologians are far more interested in the alleged 'conflictual',⁸¹ and revolutionary aspects of the Christian message, than in God's forgiveness and the forgiving attitude which is to flow from it. Thus there is no Gospel in their system. But the failure to underline the importance of forgiveness in social relationships, and the emphasis on conflict must have serious repercussions for both the church and the world.

Spiritual Peace

We have already alluded to liberation theology's indifference to the dimension of inner peace. This indifference is the natural consequence of the disregard for individual justification through forgiveness of sins. In fact, liberation theology has nothing to say to minds and consciences in distress. Only the message of justification "will relieve the bitter accusation of conscience."⁸²

⁷⁸Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, p. 264.

⁷⁹Most illuminating is the comment of Harvey Cox, an influential exponent of secular theology: "I think our overemphasis on the guilt-and-forgiveness aspect of Christianity has nearly obscured the fact that the gospel is first of all a call to leave the past behind and open ourselves to the promise of the future." On Not Leaving It to the Snake (New York: Macmillan, and London: Collier-Macmillan, 1964), p. ix.

⁸⁰Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, p. 276.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 22. ⁸²Braaten, The Flaming Center, p. 153.

Summary

We find in liberation theology no "comforting and tranquillizing solutions" which could give an individual a quiet conscience and peace of mind. Socio-political concerns predominate. Faith is related to political action struggling towards Utopia. Personal justification is neglected. Sin is treated superficially as a feature only of corporate structures and oppressive classes, while personal guilt receives little attention. Supposed 'conflictual' aspects of Christianity are underlined at the expense of the gospel of forgiveness.

Liberation Theology's Neglect of the Eschatological
Dimension of 'Righteousness' and 'Peace'

Our exegetical analysis has showed that St. Paul points not only to the righteousness reckoned to believers now, but also to the righteousness which remains a goal of our hope (Gal. 5:5; 2:16; Rom. 5:19, and so forth). Likewise the word 'eirene' has an aspect which is radically eschatological (Rom. 2:10; 8:6, and so forth).

In liberation theology we see a foreshortening of the eschatological perspective. It is true that Gutierrez accords considerable importance to eschatology in his system. He writes:

The Bible presents eschatology as the driving force of salvific history radically oriented toward the future. Eschatology is thus not just one more element of Christianity, but the very key to understanding the Christian faith.⁸³

The aspect of openness to the future is an integral part of Gutierrez's theology.

⁸³Gutierrez, p. 162.

But how does he understand this future? A key term for him is "Utopia," a subject to which he devotes nearly seven pages under the heading: "Faith, Utopia, and Political Action."⁸⁴ While he discounts ideology for its tendency to dogmatize,⁸⁵ the pursuit of a Utopia is advocated. This new era of peace and justice is "something to be achieved" by human effort,⁸⁶ involving revolutionary denunciation of the existing unjust and alienating order, the building of a new society, and the annunciation of the order which is to be. Only the oppressed can denounce, build, announce.⁸⁷ Thus man will enter a new era, "fashioned by his own hands. We live on the verge of man's epiphany, his 'anthropophany.'"⁸⁸

As conceived by liberation theology, Christian eschatology hopes for an indefinite continuation of this world's history on a higher plane. It is evident that there is a world of difference between this view and the New Testament expectation of an abrupt termination of history at the second coming of Christ.

Although Carl Braaten applauds the rejection of the two kingdom doctrine,⁸⁹ he keeps a critical distance from liberation theology's insistence that "history is one."⁹⁰ Braaten believes we must maintain "the priority of the eschatological future kingdom."⁹¹ Eschatology should not become "so thoroughly immanentized that it fails to express the transcendence of God's sovereign Lordship over history."⁹²

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 232-39.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 235

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 233

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 235

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 213

⁸⁹ Braaten, p. 147

⁹⁰ Gutierrez, p. 153

⁹¹ Braaten, p. 154

⁹² Ibid.

None of the major aspects of traditional eschatology - final judgment, the resurrection of the dead, eternal life - play a role in liberation theology. Again Braaten's criticism is worth noting:

Salvation as liberation tends to place the message of eternal life beyond death under a cloud of suspicion. . . . The issue of personal death and hope for eternal life is not, however, a phenomenon of a primitive consciousness, nor is it an opiate created by the ruling class to compensate for hardships in an unjust social order. The problem of death and dying which existentialism has thematized cannot be disposed of by rosy pictures of a future racially harmonious, classless, and nonsexist society. The Marxist philosopher, Milan Machovec, makes the point: "I do not know, for example, how to deal with death in a Marxist way. I know that . . . on this all too human point the Christian tradition has achieved more than . . . Marxist atheism."⁹³

Above all we need to note Braaten's connection of justification with the belief in an "ultimate judgment": "The message of justification is the answer to the question of what it is which promises grace, what we can really rely on in the ultimate judgment. . . ."⁹⁴ For Braaten Christian eschatology still involves the expectation of a last judgment. And the doctrine of justification only makes sense in the light of the fact that we must all stand before the bar of God. With the dissolution of the doctrine of the final judgment, it is only to be expected that the doctrine of justification is also dissolved.

Summary

Ecumenical missiology looks forward to the establishment of Utopia, the kingdom of God on earth, as the result of human effort. Not the second epiphany of Christ, but man's epiphany is what is eagerly anticipated. Traditional eschatological teachings concerning the final judgment, the

⁹³ Ibid., p. 156

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 153

resurrection of the dead, and eternal life, play no role in liberation theology. Since liberation theology no longer expects a final judgment, it is not surprising that the Pauline doctrine of justification is also abandoned.

Our critique of liberation theology's handling of key theological terms is not meant to imply that there is nothing of value to be learned from this theology. Orthodox Christianity can only share liberation theology's great social concern, its concern for justice and peace in the world. Christian love impels us to deplore situations of oppression and exploitation wherever they occur, and to do all in our power to overcome them. To the extent that Christians have been guilty of self-centered quietism, there is need for repentance. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Christians motivated by the Gospel often do more, in a quiet way, for the alleviation of human distress than those who trumpet their concern for social action.

The main point at issue in this paper is liberation theology's obscuring of the gospel. It reduces the gospel to a set of demands. Hans-Lutz Poetsch's criticism of the Bultmann school applies 'a fortiori' to the theology of liberation:

What is said by those theologians is not Christian at all. It is rather an attempt to hold ground for the importance and right to existence of a certain theology which has emptied itself of its Christian contents by replacing them with an anthropocentric religiosity. It is typical that as a consequence of such a change the right comprehension of the Gospel is always lost, and a legal understanding of man's belief and activity dominates. Man's connection with God is less important than his activity for his neighbor and his world, for the Law is especially effective in this area. But when it develops upon the basis of legal demand, love (agape) is no longer an evangelical charisma.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Poetsch, Marxism and Christianity, p. 58

Ecumenical missiology may be criticized on many counts. This chapter has concentrated on three facets of the Pauline message of righteousness and peace which are neglected by this theology. But to neglect these vertical, spiritual and eschatological dimensions is to lose the gospel altogether. And when the gospel is abandoned, one loses the only source of inspiration for genuine self-sacrificing service of the neighbor.

Summary

This conclusion will summarize the most important findings of the thesis.

Chapter I. Polarization between ecumenical and evangelical missiologists persists both within and without the World Council of Churches. Neither side has come up with a satisfactory resolution of the proper relationship between evangelism and social action within a definition of the missionary task. Ecumenical missiology has become increasingly concerned for social justice rather than justification, but some spokesmen say they wish to retain a place for evangelism in mission. Evangelicals give priority to the gospel, but generally include statements on the church's social responsibility in their definition of mission goals.

Starting from a clear distinction between law and gospel, a few Lutherans have insisted that the church's one and only mission is to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. This position deserves more attention than it has received. If it is accepted, a precise understanding of the gospel will be seen as a matter of crucial importance for missiology. Even some ecumenical missiologists have lost patience with the sloppy use of terminology related to evangelism.

But this malady has its roots in the crisis in Biblical hermeneutics arising from the dominant historical-critical method. Accordingly the thesis takes up the exegetical study before examining the effects of horizontalist exegesis on missiology.

Chapter II. In the Old Testament God is depicted as a righteous judge and King before whom the sinner pleads his case and seeks a favorable verdict. The person declared righteous is thereby at peace with God.

Righteousness is not only for social groups but also for individuals. The Old Testament also has significant references to the spiritual peace of individuals. Peace is contrasted with a state of restless anxiety. Finally, the Old Testament looks forward to the advent of the righteous Messiah, the Prince of Peace. In Jesus Christ this hope became reality. Thus, 'righteousness' and 'peace' in the Old Testament have vertical, personal (or spiritual) and eschatological dimensions.

These dimensions of the terms are very clearly in evidence in the theology of St. Paul. Paul views justification 'vertically,' as divine forensic action on behalf of the sinner. In several places he teaches that we have peace with God on the basis of justification. Paul also teaches that through faith the individual appropriates justification for himself and so receives a good conscience and peace of mind. But Christians still live in the tension of hope. While they now have the assurance that there is no condemnation for them, they still await the hope of righteousness and the perfect peace of eternal life.

Some modern exegetes have tended to lay insufficient weight on these dimensions. Albrecht Ritschl and Markus Barth have stressed the 'communal' or 'social' character of justification. Werner Foerster claims Paul rarely speaks of peace with God. Doing his exegesis back to front, he interprets 'eirene' in terms of the supposedly more horizontal 'shalom.' Krister Stendahl and Barth caricature as 'introspective' and 'individualistic' interpretations of justification which point to the comfort it affords to individual consciences. Foerster warns us not to think Jesus and the apostles were concerned for our peace of soul. A clearly eschatological term like *σωτηρια* he explains only in the sense of realized

eschatology. But justification and salvation cannot be understood without reference to the last judgment.

Chapter III. The Book of Concord faithfully reflects the vertical, spiritual and eschatological facets of *δικαιοσύνη* and *εἰρήνη*. The two great concerns of the Confessions are the honor of the Son of God and the spiritual comfort of distressed consciences. Consciences may be at peace, because the righteousness of Christ avails for us before God's tribunal. Rom. 5:1 is an important proof-text for this point.

The Confessions make a careful distinction between the righteousness of faith and civil righteousness, between peace with God and temporal peace. Humanistic theology makes no such distinction.

According to the Confessions, the comfort provided by the Gospel is abiding comfort, sustaining us in the hope of eternal life.

Chapter IV. The Pauline nuances of righteousness and peace have rarely been heard in recent ecumenical missiology. Liberation theology, political theology, and the theology of secular ecumenism have reinterpreted words like salvation and peace in purely secular terms. We hear of social justice, but almost nothing of righteousness and justification. For secular missiology begins not only from the Biblical revelation, but from the world's facts and questions. Doing theology has precedence over hearing the gospel; orthopraxis is more important than orthodoxy.

Liberation theology's anthropocentric concern leads to a neglect of the vertical dimensions of righteousness and peace. Salvation is no longer seen as something other-worldly. Man is master of his destiny, but he does cooperate with God in building the new society. The gospel

is incarnated in these struggles for social justice. Jesus is reduced to being merely the ideal "man for others." 'Shalom' is a popular slogan, because it can be integrated into a view of salvation as merely reconciliation of social groups. Indeed, 'Schalomatisierung' is seen as the major goal of mission, while Paul's accent on peace with God is disregarded. Ecumenical missiology disparages tranquillizing solutions which promise individuals forgiveness and peace of mind. The socio-political struggle towards Utopia has paramount importance. There will be no epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ in order to judge the living and the dead. Instead we are to wait for the epiphany of man, his 'anthropophany.' A far cry from Paul's Christ-centered proclamation!

Conclusion

At its best, ecumenical missiology displays a concern for poor and oppressed peoples which is consistent with the Scriptures' insistence that God's people be "Good Samaritans" to those in distress. But as we have seen, ecumenical missiology emphasizes righteous and peaceful relationships on a horizontal level at the expense of man's spiritual needs and his relationship to God. It is to be feared that such a one-sided advocacy of loving interpersonal relationships will prove counter-productive, especially since it is wedded to ideological analyses of society. This thesis has noted the tendency for the more extreme forms of ecumenical missiology to underline allegedly 'conflictual' aspects of Christianity, while the Christian message of forgiveness is ignored almost entirely. By failing to teach the Biblical gospel of righteousness and peace in all its rich dimensions, ecumenical missiology deprives people of the only motivation there is for truly loving service to the neighbor.

Only the pure apostolic gospel can produce that faith which is "a living, busy, active, mighty thing" and cannot help "doing good works incessantly."¹

¹Martin Luther, Luther's Works, American Edition, vol. 35, p. 370.

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