Luther And Chemnitz On Scripture
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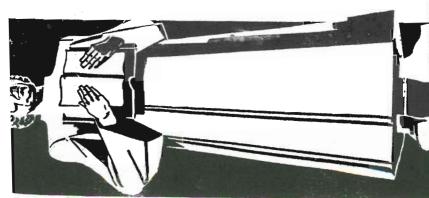
Chemnitz On The Authority Of The Sacred Scripture (An Examination Of The Council Of Trent)

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"Shades Of Martin Chemnitz"
ELMER A. NEITZEL

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Luther and Chemnitz on Scripture

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Accents from the author's From Luther to Chemnitz on Scripture and the Word.

are the two Martins: Luther and Chemnitz. The first could well enough have survived in history without the second; but it is a question whether the church which bears his name could have. Therefore, there is undoubtedly some truth to the Roman Catholic assessment: "Vos Protestantes duos habuistis Martinos; si posterior non fuisset, prior non stetisset." ["You Protestants have two Martins; if the second had not come, the first would not have stood."] By the same token, the second would probably have been entirely forgotten, were it not that history remembers him as the foremost of those who after Luther handed on the torch which shaped Lutheran theology and the Lutheran church in succeeding generations. His strength lay precisely where Luther's was, in the Word; or as A. L. Graebner put it, "in the clear

TWO NAMES STAND OUT in shaping Lutheran theology. They

held it to be an inviolable and self-evident fact that only from within faith is a man rightly able to do and to judge theology. Faith, of course, is not blind; it seeks for and is grounded on understanding. Always at center is Christianity's central article, the justification of the sinner by faith, sola gratia/sola fide. The Gospel and its proper understanding are grounded on God's revelation in Holy Scripture. For both Luther and Chemnitz that "queen," Holy Writ, must rule.²

and incontrovertible thetical exhibition of the doctrine of man's

All theology works with presuppositions. Luther and Chemnitz

This "servant-posture" (Knechtsgestalt) in theology hardly char-

salvation as set forth in the Word of God."1

acterizes theology and theologians in our day. Rather a spirit of rationalism prevails, surfacing especially in all the various angles of the higher critical methodology. Initiated under the pious guise of search for relevancy of the Word in our day and for reconciliation in the broken body of mankind, this method has relentlessly led to drastic reduction of the Biblical text and its content. Bultmann's demythologizing has been called, with a touch of ironical euphemism, "translating." Many of his disciples have been taken in by an apparently noble goal, of making the Word more meaningful for our day. But the kerygma, or message, which Bultmann wants to hang on to, existentialistic decision vis-a-vis Christ, itself has to be seen finally as being in need of demythologizing.³

Still in spite of the revisionists' undercutting of Scriptural controls, the Societare net only menages somehow to survive but to

controls, the Scripture not only manages somehow to survive, but to reign supreme as the one unifying force in Christianity. Some may doubt whether such a factor really still exists. But the fact that rampant subjectivism has failed to take over completely in theology, is evidence enough that Holy Scripture is always able of itself, by its own tenacity and divine character and power, to surface to the top. It remains the church's only mooring in a world spiritually bankrupt and theologically confused. It goes on presenting God and His saving

Gospel to us and to all who hear it. Thus God in His Holy Word is still *Deus loquens*, the God who speaks, even as He is *Deus locutus*, the God who has spoken in the past decisively and clearly to the salvation of mankind.

There is bound to be little argument over Luther and Chemnitz both being men of the Word, i.e., Holy Scripture. Too often, however, the notion has prevailed—even within Lutheran theology that while the one was free and evangelical in his handling of the Scriptures, the other was dry, straight-laced, unbending, pedantic, even legalistic. Nothing is farther from the truth. A comparison of the Confessions which they authored, or had a leading hand in, will demonstrate the absolute uniformity and consistency with which both Luther and Chemnitz used God's Holy Word. Thus it is absolutely true that the Biblical base was the same for Luther in his Large and Small Catechisms, the Smalcald Articles, and the Augsburg Confession (for which he, too, was at least indirectly responsible), as it was for Chemnitz (and his co-workers) in the writing of the Formula of Concord. There was nothing new in the way they both viewed Scriptures as in fact the written Word of God, a Word not to be set apart arbitrarily from the spoken or proclaimed Word of God, but the norm for the sake of the Gospel, the central core of the Bible.4

Chemnitz, it is true, was not a creative genius of the same stature or measure with Luther. Nor was such needed to do the work of building, assimilating, preserving, all of which was necessary after a crucial, productive, earth-moving sort of period like that of Luther. Luther's life is well enough known than to require further delineating here. But it should be stated of Chemnitz, without giving his biography in detail⁶ that he was much more than mere epigone of Luther. Like Luther his knowledge of the Word of God had come the hard way, through his own personal study of the text, through the original languages which, like Luther, he had mastered. This preparation, which was largely outside of the classroom, was enriched with the simultaneous reading of the works of Luther. It was such preparation that equipped him for the responsible task as superintendent of the territorial church of Braunschweig, a post he held for most of his active ministry of 33 years. Notable, too, is the fact that like Luther he thus was intimately tied to the pastoral side of the church, always conscious of the needs of the pastors and people in his territory. His theological aptitude and competence came to be shared with his fellow workers through the in-service lectures which he regularly delivered for their professional enrichment. After his death these lectures were published in the form of his dogmatics, the Loci Theologici. However, it was for his Examen Concilii Tridentini, 1573, and the leading role in the writing of the Formula of Concord, 1577, that Chemnitz is especially remembered.

Sola Scriptura was literally tatooed into Chemnitz' skin, as it had been for Luther first of all. Luther was the pioneer and trail-blazer, but Chemnitz was no less committed to the principium cognoscendi of Holy Writ. Their preaching, lecturing, writing, exegeting,

demonstrated this throughout. As a result, the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, in which they both played leading roles, can rightly be said to embrace the "very marrow of the Scriptures." If there was one position which Chemnitz scores and judges very critically in his answer to Trent, it was the notion "that the Holy Scripture is a mutilated, incomplete, and imperfect teaching." To do this was setting a deliberately invalid and untrue difference, between the written Word of God and the oral Word as it was conceived to have come down through the church, Chemnitz contended. Like Luther he looked upon Holy Writ as God's divinely inspired Word, "a sure Word," "confirmed with great miracles," through which "God Himself revealed Himself and His will to the human race." To

Chemnitz was the bridge between Luther and the 17th century Lutheran theologians who concentrated on the Doctrine of the Word. He faithfully transmitted the Reformation heritage, not only on the central article of justification but on all the doctrines of Christian faith, especially Scripture as the Word of God. For too long now and unfortunately within the Lutheran church itself, which owes its very existence and life to a long line of loyal teachers—the notion has been current that the great need of the Lutheran church today is to throw off the Pieper-Walther-Quenstedt-Gerhard-Chemnitz stranglehold on theology and to get back to the so-called more evangelical, more Christological emphasis of Luther, especially on the Word. The unproved assumption in this clamor, of course, is that this chain of theologians was not evangelical and Christological in the same way as Luther, or that he was not slavishly tied to the Scriptures as they were. It helps little to say that much of the rhetoric rises simply out of pure ignorance of the simple fact that these authors are not evaluated fairly and objectively. It stands self-condemned on the very questionable, secondary authority of prejudiced writers from the period of liberalism's heyday, like Harnack and company. 11

For Luther and Chemnitz the sola Scriptura principle included not only the fact that Scriptures were the single authority which God left His church, but also support for its inspiration, its identification with the Word, its Christo-centricity, efficacy, clarity, inerrancy. Theirs is thus a remarkable consistency on Scripture as the Word of God. This can be readily demonstrated. They both took very seriously the "Holy Spirit's book" and every article of faith in it. Naturally, this could hardly make a man like Luther, nor Chemnitz for that matter, congenial "to the liberal historians and theologians, aloof from theology and dogma." Luther and Chemnitz fend well enough for themselves, however, the opposition of critical scholarship notwithstanding.

On Inspiration

Luther's calling of the Bible "The Holy Spirit's book," is a familiar phrase by now; but it was more than a phrase for him. Anyone familiar even a little with his writings knows that this is an attitude that runs very deeply and consistently in his handling of all of Scripture. The Holy Spirit and the apostolic spokesmen are in

closest relation. So close in fact that they coincide in production of God's Word. Scripture's content and text are inseparable, constituting the "means and vehicle by which one comes to faith and eternal life," "the vehicle of the Holy Spirit." The Genesis Commentary of Luther, all eight volumes in the new American Edition, is literally replete with supportive references to Scripture's inspiration. Luther's language slips back and forth from Scripture to Holy Spirit, from Holy Spirit to Scripture, in asserting the divine origin of the text. Even so-called "trifles" in the lives of the Old Testament patriarchs and their families do not divert him from seeing how the Spirit's work is interlaced through all of the Scripture's text. When men scoff at the Old Testament, they do so against the Holy Spirit who works there "with his own pen." 17

Luther is fully aware of the divine/human character or nature of Scripture as the Word of God. But "although they also were written by men," Luther is fully convinced that the Scriptures in point of origin "are not from men, but from God."18 Nor can the late Luther be shown to be any different from the early Luther on this score, as though in later years he tended to become more of a doctrinaire biblicist. His handling of the Epistle of James also needs to be seen in the light of his general Biblical treatment. When this is done, then the familiar reference to James as a "right strawy epistle," as well as the other critical statements which are taken from his Prefaces on the Books of the Bible will be understood in a more balanced way. For example, seeing Luther's handling of James in a commentary like that on Galatians will do more to demonstrate Luther's actual attitude towards this epistle—which he is usually held to have maligned than some secondary source which merely repeats like a broken record that he was for throwing James out of the Bible.20

Luther never dodged specific problems in connection with Scripture's text. But, however great the problem(s), he never let this shake his confidence in the "Holy Spirit's book." His magnum opus against Erasmus, De servo arbitrio, The Bondage of the Will, is a case in point. Throughout its length and breadth, Luther supported Scripture because it was "God-inspired." He literally tears into Erasmus for views that merely upheld Scripture's "inspiringness" or being "God-inspiring." ²¹

In similar way Chemnitz subsumed the inspiration of Scripture in the whole task of theologizing. It was divine initiative that led to Scripture's coming into being as the written Word of God. God "by His own act and example initiated, dedicated, and consecrated that way and method when He Himself first wrote the words of the decalog." "We are speaking," says Chemnitz, "of the divinely inspired Scriptures." God is Scripture's author, first of all, and it is He who has both initiated and governed its origin, purpose, and use, its perfection and sufficiency. "

Chemnitz finds the attitude of Christ towards the Old Testament Scriptures especially significant. If He had deemed them in adequate or insufficient in some way, He would have supplemented, modified, or criticized them in some way. Instead, as every reader

knows, He repudiated the traditions of the Pharisees and their patchings on to the Word of God, and "restored the pristine and genuine purity of the prophetic doctrine" by leading "the church back to the Scriptures." ²⁵

One of the truly brilliant sections in Chemnitz' Examen comes in his survey of the New Testament books. In no uncertain terms he avers that what these Scriptures are saying is what the Holy Spirit Himself is saying. Therefore, "we should believe about the Scripture what the Scripture says about itself, or rather, what its author, the Holy Spirit Himself, concludes and declares about His work." In his great dogmatic work, De duabus naturis in Christo, The Two Natures of Christ, Chemnitz from cover to cover illustrates his total commitment to the text of Scripture as the inspired Word of God. On this central and most important doctrine, the person of Christ, he insists that "it is safest and most correct to speak with Scripture itself and to imitate the language of the Holy Ghost." 27

It was clear to Chemnitz that without the doctrine of inspiration, as Scripture asserted it, there was no defense for Scripture's authority either. For Chemnitz there was no alternative to Holy Scripture. There was no other place where the outpouring of the Spirit, or new revelation was to be sought. In a beautifully limpid passage in his *Enchiridion* Chemnitz says very simply:

In the past God made His Word known in various ways. He has Himself appeared, or He has moved holy men through His Spirit, giving them His Word and speaking through their mouths. Finally, He spoke through Christ, and through His apostles . . . But He has not commanded or promised us to expect such in-pouring and revelation. Rather, for the sake of future generations, He caused His revealed Word to be set down in certain Scriptures by the prophets and apostles, and directed and bound His church thereto. Accordingly, when today anyone seeks to know, establish, and prove what God's Word is, the answer is: Thus it is written, as the Scripture states.²⁸

Franz Pieper with justice avers that "Chemnitz is certainly not 'hesitant'... in expressing his position as to the inspiration of Scripture." Nor surely was Luther, who found a remarkable similarity between the miracle by which a sinner is converted by the Spirit and the wondrous activity of the Spirit in the miracle of inspiration!

On Scripture—the Word of God

To the important contemporary question of whether the Scriptures can be identified or considered coterminous with the Word of God, Luther and Chemnitz answered with a resounding yes. Scripture's own testimony to this effect, as well as the fact of its divine inspiration, supplied all the evidence necessary.

Luther saw in the hesitancy of men to acknowledge the Bible as the Word of God, the same attitude which led to man's fall in the first place, i.e., to doubt God's Word no matter what its form. For Luther it was never a question whether the Bible merely contained

the Word, but the confidence that it is the Word. The author might be this prophet or that apostle, but the Author behind all was God Himself.³¹ Holy Scripture was God's own pasture for nurturing His church³² and, therefore, "there is not a superfluous letter" in it.³³

The childlike trust with which Luther honored the Bible as the Word of God was an attitude learned from the Savior Himself, he felt. A key verse in his thinking was John 10, 35, that "the Scripture cannot be broken," where he notes how Jesus upheld the Scriptures as the Word of God.³⁴ Luther is perfectly aware of the lowly character of the Bible, framed in human language as it is; and yet it is the divine Word. He draws the following analogy:

The Holy Scripture is the Word of God, written and (as I might say) lettered and formed in letters, just as Christ is the eternal Word of God cloaked in human flesh. And just as Christ was embraced and handled by the world (in der Welt gehaltet und gehandelt), so is the written Word of God too.³⁵

There was, in other words, in Luther's thinking a remarkable parallel between the incarnation of Christ, the Word, and the inspiration of Holy Scripture, the Word. This led Willem Kooiman, the Dutch Luther scholar, to observe: "It is not incorrect to say that Luther's view of the Bible has closer bonds with his doctrine of the incarnation than with any theory of inspiration." ³⁶

For Luther, another way of emphasizing the same truth was to speak of Scripture as among the foremost of the *larva Dei*, the masks or veils of God. God's manner of approach to men is always through His own chosen way, sometimes in very lowly form. This could be printed letter, water of Baptism, bread and wine, the manger at Bethlehem, etc. Luther's point is very simple: Do not despise God's approach merely because it appears humble and lowly! It is after all His doing. True worship begins and ends where God is and speaks!³⁷ God wishes to be taken, heard, seen there where He comes or speaks, and if this seem—in the case of Scripture—that He binds Himself to the "letter" of the written Word, so be it. There is where He adds His Spirit and power.

Luther has often been termed "externalist" as a result of his so-called "enslavement to the letter." Adolf Harnack had already cast the same slur at Luther's "biblicism." But if believing that the Bible was in every way the Word of God be biblicism, then Luther could have cared less. In his loyalty to Holy Scripture none could charge him either with literalism—as though the Bible apart from its intended use in proclaiming the Gospel was of the essence!—or with liberalism, that is, reductionism of the text.

Chemnitz viewed Scripture in exactly the same way as Luther. When Scripture spoke, it was always a case of haec dicit Dominus, thus saith the Lord. It bore the full authority of the Word of God Himself, on all doctrines, but especially so as our source for the great mystery of Christ becoming true man.³⁹ While he asserts this truth throughout his Christological work, De duabus naturis in Christo, it is undoubtedly the Examen which says it most eloquently and point-

blank. Chemnitz traces the whole course of God bringing His Word to mankind, as far as this is known, and then states plainly that it was God's own doing that the written Word should stand as the stamp and seal upon the previous oral message. Moving from book to book in the New Testament—the Old Testament's standing was secured already by Christ's testimony!—Chemnitz shows from the internal witness of the records themselves how the Holy Spirit carried forward this work of setting down God's Word for succeeding generations in written form. With convincing argument he shows that 2 Tim. 3, 16, the sedes doctrinae on inspiration which is usually relegated to accounting for the Old Testament's divine origin only, will, "if it is diligently weighed, . . . show that Paul was speaking not only of the sacred writings of the Old Testament, but of the whole Scripture of the Old and of the New Testaments."40 With reason he asserts that "this, therefore, is the true canonization of the writings of the New Testament."41

Chemnitz ignores the problems neither in textual study nor in the distinction between the *homologoumena*, the generally accepted books in the early church, and the *antilegomena*, the disputed books. Still through all, he maintains that Scripture's canonicity, its status as the true Word of God, was not something established by the church, but by God, "from the Holy Spirit, by whose impulse and inspiration it was brought forth." The witness of the early church was by no means to be discounted in establishing apostolicity for the individual books, but finally it is the text itself, given by the Holy Spirit, which is determinative, over and above such witness itself. In his *Enchiridion* Chemnitz explains that Scripture's canonicity is, therefore, to be sought in this "that Scripture by intention (is) a rule and plumbline," given by God, by which all doctrine and teaching in the church is to be judged. Hence:

Whatever does not have foundation in it, or cannot be proved by it, or is not in accord with it, but stands in opposition to it, cannot and should not be set forth nor accepted as the Word of God.⁴⁴

Thus for both Luther and Chemnitz God's Word for us today is coterminous with Holy Scripture.

Centrality of Christ in Scripture

It has often been observed that Luther's shift from theologia gloriae—the medieval "ascent theology" on which Luther had been weaned and which taught that the pious follower must climb upwards into God's fellowship through the grace infused by means of the ecclesiastical system—to theologia crucis, which pointed the sinner to the wounds of Jesus and Calvary, to God's forgiving grace in Christ, was the key to the Reformation. Indeed, this insight, which came early in his life⁴⁵ led him to distinguish sharply for the rest of his life between what he called the "active righteousness" of man, salvation by works, and the "passive righteousness" which is the sinner's through Christ. Between "domestic righteousness" and "alien righteousness," that is, between what we work out and what Christ worked out for

us, there simply is no mean. Therefore, the watchword of his life became: *Unum praedica*, sapientiam crucis, preach one thing, the wisdom of the cross.

As Christ is the bridge between the sinner and his God, so Christ is also the center of the Scriptures. No theology is more cold and lifeless, Luther told Erasmus, than one which strips Christ from the Scriptures. He Word incarnate is without question the very heart of the Word inscripturated, and "we must be careful," therefore, says Luther, "to preserve the real meaning of the Holy Scriptures and their truly wonderful light." It is beyond question that all the Scriptures point to Christ alone," for he is the "Cornerstone on which all that is to stand before God must be founded and built."

As Christ is Scripture's core, so justification of the sinner by the grace of God through faith is its cutting edge. A true "saint" is that man who declares his faith in and stands on Jesus Christ. This is what the Scriptures, which understand me better than I understand myself, and which help us to understand God's gracious goodness as nothing else can, proclaim from beginning to end, how our sins were laid on Christ and how He has become our righteousness for us and cloaked us with His holiness and forgiveness.

Thus we have here a hermeneutic circle which every Christian, particularly theologians, must see: If a person is to understand Scripture, he must have Christ, for Christ, or the Gospel, is Scripture's center. Also true is that if a person is to have Christ and the righteousness which avails before God, he must have the Christ whom Scripture preaches and no other!

Many theologians today have missed, or purposely ignored, this hermeneutic circle, which is God-given. They like to quote Luther's statement, "If the adversaries press the Scriptures against Christ, we urge Christ against the Scriptures." They, however, forget the other half of Luther's theology of the Word, as he calls them back to a Scriptural mooring in their Christology: "Stick to the Word of God. Ignore every other—whether it is devoid of Christ, in the name of Christ, or against Christ, or whether it is issued in any other way." The Christ/Scripture inter-connection was absolutely basic in Luther's theology, as it has always been in Lutheran theology since.

Chemnitz, of course, was no exception. His de duabus naturis in Christo, often termed the greatest work on Christology since the time of Athanasius, masterfully portrays the Christ/Scripture syndrome. The Christo-centricity of Scripture is never an idle or accidental thing for Chemnitz, but its very core. The Gospel is always more than mere cognitive information or truth, and in its proper application and interpretation always has to do with "repentance, faith, justification, hope, and charity." As Chemnitz defends Scripture's meaning of "to justify" over against Trent, it is likely that each reader will come to concur that this is the grandest chapter in his Examen. Trent's obfuscating of this central article has brought it diametrically opposite to Scripture's core teaching and introduced a "monster of uncertainty" into the whole matter of the sinner's justification coram Deo, before God. The real issue is the tension between

theologia gloriae and theologia crucis. "How great an impiety and blasphemy it is . . . to take away from Christ the glory of the propitiation for sins, . . . and to transfer it to the merits of our works, or at least to divide it between the merit of Christ and our merits," thunders Chemnitz!⁵³ Christ is the sinner's only access, and it is Scripture alone which "teaches that men should not glory in themselves but in the Lord."⁵⁴

Obviously, for Chemnitz, too, it is not a case of one or the other, Christ or Scripture, or one over against the other. He sees the same God-given hermeneutical circle Luther saw, in which Christ and Scripture coalesce in the great Gospel truth of God's mercy to sinners. It is not that he and Luther did not distinguish the two; but simply a case that they would not let the two be ripped one from the other!

The Authority of Scripture

All his life Luther was a man whose reason was captive to the Word of God, as he had maintained under duress at Worms, 1521. True Gehorsam, listening obedience, under the Word of Scripture, was the way to describe his life. Joseph Lortz, the Catholic historian often credited in our day with initiating a "softer" treatment of Luther, contests this; arguing that Luther never really was an attentive listener to the Word of God. 55 It is a criticism which will not stand up under scrutiny, as every historian or theologian knows who handles Luther's life and work fairly. In fact, Lortz himself shows his skirts when he explains this failure of Luther to be a good listener on the grounds, first of all, of his (Luther's) rejection of Aquinas' theology on the subject of God's grace (gratia infusa), and, secondly, with his unsubstantiated charge that Luther was in the final assay an individualist, or subjectivist. 56

Scripture is the touchstone—there is no other!—for the church, as well as each individual believer, on all doctrine or teaching.⁵⁷ It is the normative authority, auctoritas normativa, by which the faith which is to be believed and accepted in the church, the fides quae creditur, must be determined. Love and peace there must be within the church, and for them Luther was always ready to bend,⁵⁸ but never at the expense of the Word and its purity. "Cursed be that love (caritas)," Luther cried on the basis of Gal. 2, 9, "by which the truth, or doctrine of faith, is lost or sacrificed."⁵⁹ Whatever the doctrine—the Trinity, infant baptism, justification, etc.—Luther held that the warrant for such teaching had to be found in Scripture, clearly, unequivocally. Doctrine is of God, and must be pure, for God did not give us the Holy Scriptures to multiply our darkness or confusion.⁶⁰

The authoritative Word was the written Word. Through all his busy life of preaching, teaching, writing, Luther upheld this principle. Nor did he know another way in which unity in the church could be served, than through commitment to the truth as given clearly in Holy Writ. To it the flighty spirit of man must be tied down, if extreme individualism and subjectivism are to be kept from reigning

in the church, in every pulpit, every home. For Luther there was no great issue at stake in how the church would be governed, that is, by what polity; but he was completely adamant on any other authority usurping Scripture's place. From the moment the Reformation took place in Luther's own life, and then broke like a thunderstorm upon the world, to the very end of his life, in his last sermon, it could truly be said that sola Scriptura governed and moved him in every way. Sobering are his words to an age that has largely forfeited the Reformation heritage: "God's Word and grace are a passing shower (ein fahrender Platzregen) . . . Buy while the market is at your door." The second to the proposition are solar to the proposition and solar transfer and the proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the proposition and the proposition of the proposit

The counter-Reformation repudiated Luther's position on sola Scriptura directly. It reversed his stand at Worms by establishing Tradition (virtually the same as papal authority) alongside Scripture as authority in the church. It is a stance upheld to this present time. Vatican II simply endorsed Trent by stating that "both sacred tradition and sacred Scripture are to be accepted and venerated with the same sense of devotion and reverence." Together "sacred tradition and sacred Scripture form one sacred deposit of the Word of God."63 Hans Küng concurs that "a two source theory of Scripture and tradition" was Vatican II's final outcome. 64 A few Catholic scholars, like Geiselmann and Tavard, have tried hard to rid their church of the embarrassment of operating under the dual authority of Tradition and Scripture, arguing that the two coinhere and actually constitute but one authority. Heinrich Lennerz, another Catholic, disagrees completely, defending as Trent's meaning the dual concept. This Chemnitz had eloquently challenged centuries before. There can be little doubt, regardless of the theological gymnastics used to remove the stigma, that Chemnitz had understood Trent correctly. Joseph Lortz makes the whole matter crystal clear in our day when he observes that then, as now, "the church was anchored in the papacy."65 Everything pinnacles finally, as Lutherans have always charged, in the single authority of the papacy. Even Kiing admits this is a logical conclusion.66

If the Reformation's sola Scriptura was intolerable to Trent, Trent's was diametrically opposed to Scripture itself, as Chemnitz showed convincingly. The authority of Scripture means this, if it means anything at all: either in its Word nothing can be doubted, for it has divine, sacred authority; or else the alternative obtains, that nothing can be believed until human authority or experience have first verified or established it.67 This latter would be an insufferable affront to God Almighty. Faith rests on what the Word, Holy Scripture, has revealed, not on what the fathers, ancient or modern, have ruled. Chemnitz is at pains to show that not all tradition in the church is necessarily wrong or useless. But for tradition to be "received and venerated with the same reverence and pious affection as the Scripture itself," this he condemns as the work of "a reprobate mind" which is willing "to forsake the clear light of the Scripture."68 The same verdict applies to modern traditions which parade under various names, usually under the aegis of scientific theologizing. Chemnitz, like Luther, simply averred that whatever did not correspond clearly

to Scripture's teaching was by its nature expendable, and ordinarily to be rejected out of hand, even though it claimed apostolic ancestry. The Formula of Concord, 1577, for which Chemnitz was one of the chief architects, included special introductory statements for Scriptural control in theology, both in the Epitome, or shorter section, and also in the Thorough Declaration, the extended treatment of doctrines which were in controversy. The Epitome states the basis on which all theological statements and judgments are to be made:

The Holy Scriptures alone remain the only judge, rule, and standard, according to which, as the only test-stone, all dogmas shall and must be discerned and judged . . . Other symbols and writings cited are not judges, as are the Holy Scriptures, but only a testimony and declaration of the faith, as to how at any time the Holy Scriptures have been understood and explained in the articles in controversy in the Church of God by those then living, and how the opposite dogma was rejected and condemned. 69

Corresponding closely to this is the stance of the Thorough Declaration:

The Word of God alone should be and remain the only standard and rule of doctrine, to which the writings of no man should be regarded as equal, but to which everything should be subjected.⁷⁰

Efficacy of the Word

"The Holy Spirit does not come without His Word, (but) through His lyre, the Word, or Scripture," is the way Luther expressed the dynamic existential power and relevance of God's chosen instrument. 71 Luther could have expressed the causative power, auctoritas normativa, the power by which faith is created through the Holy Spirit, in no better way than to say that the Word is the Holy Spirit's means of melting the icy hearts of "frozen sinners." This causative power by which the miracle of conversion comes about does not stand opposed in any way to the normative authority of the Word which governs in all matters of faith. 73 Rather the two coalesce perfectly in the working of God. It emphasizes, too, the fact that neither Luther, nor Lutheran theology, has ever viewed the Holy Spirit's "lyre" in a boxed or wooden manner, something to be manipulated by men. Much rather it is a simple asseveration that the written, or the spoken, Word is like the "torch of Gideon" in the hands of the Holy Spirit, to use Luther's figure of speech.74

Pivotal in Reformation theology, therefore, is the person and the work of the Holy Spirit, whose intent it is to lead sinners to repentance and faith through the Word. Faith and the Word of God are correlatives; the Word is never preached or read without fruit, for "where the Word is," says Luther, "there necessarily faith also is." It was not a case of irresistible, automatic power, inevitably doing its thing. Luther was well enough aware of the power of man to resist the Holy Spirit when the manner of His approach was through means like Word and Sacrament. Like all men, he puzzled over the reason

why it should be effective in some, and not in others, since all are equally sinful and resisting, and since the Spirit's work was equally efficacious and earnest towards all. But be this as it may—an unsolvable conundrum until Glory dawns—it was Luther's position that the Word must not for that reason, be despised in any way, nor must we know any other Christ than Scripture's. For this reason he exhorts always that men retain the highest reverence and awe for God's gift.

A prime insight and contribution of Luther to the church was the keen insight he had into the proper distinction between Law and Gospel, and the respective spheres which each had in the sinner's behalf. In his *Genesis Commentary* there is the vivid analogy of the "upper millstone," the grinding, powdering force of the Law, set over against the "lower millstone," the Gospel with its quickening, life-giving power. But undoubtedly Luther's masterpiece on the proper distinction between Law and Gospel is his *Galatian Commentary*, where he graphically portrays the smashing power of the Law to knock down all pretension of righteousness in man and the uplifting power of the Gospel which bestows the "alien righteousness," Christ's righteousness, given to faith, which we have neither earned nor merited.

Nor does Luther ever forget the significance of the Word of God in the life of the regenerate sinner. Since he remains simul justus et peccator—at the same time saint and sinner all his earthly life—the functions of the Law and Gospel continue for him each day. But it is also true that, motivated by the power of the Holy Spirit through the Gospel, the Christian man seeks to conform his life to the Holy Will of God. And so Luther rightly points to the norm or rule which God has given us in His Law, according to which we seek to pattern ourselves in loving obedience. Though this righteousness does not justify, or even add to our justification, before God, it nonetheless is God-pleasing. Luther's Treatise On Good Works, a large part of his Small and Large Catechisms, especially also the Galatian Commentary, explicate further this teaching or guiding function of the law, sometimes quite properly called the "third use" of the Law.

Luther was always fearful of the confusion that would result if the Gospel were again made into Law, even as St. Paul was greatly exercised over what had happened in Galatia. Such legalism could undo all of Christian faith. Such distortion is the "letter that kills," warned Luther, and it is not of the Spirit.⁷⁷ Nothing was worse than to make of the Gospel of forgiveness "a chain, ropes, or yoke."

In recent years there has been a tendency to understand Luther as cautioning against being bound to "the written Word," or "the letter" of the text, or concern for purity of doctrine. Nothing could be farther from Luther's intent or mind. It is the Law which kills (indeed, this ought be its function against man's pretension of right-eousness), not the Word itself, the text, or the letter of the text; and the "spirit" signifies the Gospel, for it alone gives life and can transform. And this the Holy Spirit does. We can only preach His Word and administer His sacraments, says Luther; but He must give

the increase and get at men's hearts and not only their ears. 78 "I did nothing; the Word did everything." 50

Chemnitz concurred completely. The fides qua creditur, the faith in the believer's heart, is solely the work of the Holy Spirit, though never apart from His chosen means, "as though we were supposed to sit in the corner and await some special revelation apart from and outside of the Word and Sacraments."81 The power of the Word, or Scripture, is not of course in the vocables as letters or characters in the text, but in the office and ministry of the Holy Spirit who is able to make of what would be dead letters a life-giving power unto salvation.82 This in itself indicates that the wonderful work of conversion is not a mere mechanical process, as though there was some kind of locked-in power in the Word by itself. "The Gospel," explains Chemnitz simply, "is the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes, not because a certain magical power inheres in the characters, syllables or sound of the words, but because it is the medium, organ or instrument, through which the Holy Spirit is efficacions, setting forth, offering, exhibiting, distributing, and applying the merit of Christ and the grace of God." Such conversion, rebirth, regeneration, occurs not modo irresistibili, in irresistible manner, but through the Spirit's gracious and wondrous power through the Word—in whatever way it touches men's hearts, by hearing, reading, or the like— and through the same Word working through Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

On Perspicuity of Scripture

Claritas Scripturae, Scripture's clarity, is a built-in, inherent characteristic or quality. It is something self-evident, as far as Luther is concerned, simply because God gave Holy Scripture. He reasons: Would God add to men's darkness and obscurity and uncertainty by sending us an obscure word? But this is not a matter for dialectics only. The simple fact is that the text itself evinces the greatest clarity, granting, of course, that the man who approaches it is equipped with the ordinary tools of language. Luther's strongest case in behalf of Scripture's clarity comes in his rightly famous De servo arbitrio where he literally flattens Erasmus and his notions about an obscure and recondite text. However, it is a theme which runs throughout Luther's voluminous writings from the beginning moment of the Reformation till his death.

Luther, of course, is perfectly aware of all the complexities of language and the nuances of meaning in the art of communication. But his handling of Scripture, especially in its original Hebrew and Greek, convinced him of God's serious intent to make His will and purpose, especially for man's salvation, perfectly clear. There will be figures of speech, of course, also in the Bible, but by itself it makes these plain, even as common usage does among men generally. In fact, we must assume that the literal sense is ordinarily the intended one, and that the Scripture was given in order to convey meaning, God's meaning. This intent from the side of God by itself should caution us against looking for or allowing different meanings for given texts. The clarity of Scripture simply rules this out. The text

itself, with its context, and the analogy of faith—other clear passages of Scripture bearing on the same subject—points the reader to the evident sense as surely as the bearing points on the navigator's instruments.

Certain presuppositions must be assumed for the Biblical interpreter. Basic is the confidence that the Scriptures are the revelation of God. As Koestlin puts it, Luther regarded "as settled once and for all that all religious truth is given us in the Holy Scriptures." Along with competence in the languages, and the assumption of sensus literalis unus est (that there is but one literal sense or meaning), the interpreter observes the rules of grammar, the common usage of terms, the context, the analogia fidei. The faithful, believing scholar will have no difficulty seeing that Christ is the heart of the Scripture. Moreover, he will quickly be confronted by the importance of the Law, Gospel distinction, a principle very important to his keeping straight the article of the sinner's justification coram Deo, and one which is difficult to apply consistently, simply because man's sinful nature inclines him towards semi-Pelagianism, towards legalism, or confusion of Law and Gospel, especially by turning the latter back into Law.

Having said all this, Luther insisted that Scripture is still its own interpreter really by God's own intent. It may be a deep, winding body of water at times, but travel along and through its depths is never really the task of the "clever" voyageur, but of one who is the wondering and observant explorer, the obedient listener or hearer of what God is saying in His Word. Thus the task is more that of enarratio, unfolding, what is plainly there, rather than of complicated exegetical gymnastics. Sophisticated scholarship too often has inclined towards making the Scripture a waxen nose, for the sake of its own convenience or viewpoint; but Scripture is no reed in the wind that allows itself to be bent hither and yon. So Luther knew from within himself how reason reaches out to insert its own ideas into the text of Scripture, and how every heretic, therefore, finds his own notions appealing. All the more reason for remembering that Scripture is a light brighter and purer than the sun!

like luther. Chemnitz, too, understood the depth, the mysterious profundity, of the articles of faith contained in Scripture. But precisely this demonstrated Scripture's great quality of clarity in presenting them for faith's acceptance. Really no shroud of obscurity remains over any of them, that is, as to what Scripture in fact teaches; though indeed human reason, by itself, unaided by Scripture's teaching, stands helplessly before a bottomless and impassable gulf. But clarity was given for faith's sake. Scripture speaks for itself, if we will but let it.

Chemnitz likewise spells out the same rules of hermeneutics, as does Luther. Perhaps nowhere is his support for the clarity of Scripture more in evidence than in his response to the Council of Trent's decrees, in his Examen. This is a masterful portrayal of the whole matter. The same holds true, however, for his De duabus naturis, in which his exegetical prowess is surely at its sharpest.

After all, the principle that *Scriptura Scripturam interpretatur*, Scripture interprets Scriptures, simply presupposes the inherent clarity of the text.

Along with its inspiration and authority, Scripture's perspicuity forms the warp and woof of the sola Scriptura principle for Luther and Chemnitz.

On Inerrancy or Truthfulness of Scripture:

Hardly anyone questions the general reliability or truthfulness of God's Word as contained in Scripture. The bothersome question is rather one of degree: to what extent may the Scriptures properly or rightly be termed reliable, or to be more specific, inerrant. Considerable hassle has surfaced in recent theology over the use of the term inerrancy. It seems to say too much for modern minds which have grown accustomed to relativizing almost everything and yielding on the absolutes. So, while the general accuracy, or relative reliability of Scripture's content is regularly granted among Christians, the tendency has come on stronger under the influence of so-called scientific theology-largely the higher critical method which works with the presupposition that the text of the Bible is a human product like any other and not a de facto and actually divinely inspired Word —that the whole question of Scripture's inerrancy is an outmoded, unscientific, unverifiable position which as Barth puts it, once had its dav but now has had it.

ing the issue of inerrancy alive than mere persistence of a few diehards who have difficulty letting go of vestigial remains from medieval mentality. Perhaps this attitude may explain some support for the teaching but it hardly explains the reasons why Biblical students, scholars as well as laymen, continue their aggressive defense. In fact even more significant, from one point of view, is the inability of opponents of the doctrine to leave it alone. Nothing can explain this dual concern for the Bible's inerrancy, therefore, other than the fact of Scripture's own conclusive testimony to that effect and the fact that most of the alleged "errors" resolve themselves under closer scrutiny.

By now it should be self-evident that more is involved in keep-

Luther's and Chemnitz' position corresponded closely to this stance. Attack on Scripture was tantamount to attack on or affront of Christ, the Lord, Himself! For both there was the a priori confidence and judgment that with Scriptures they were dealing with God's divinely given Word; that, secondly, God's Word was self-attesting on the matter of its inerrancy; and, finally, that the Scriptures had not in fact been shown to be deceitful, wrong or erring, in general or in particulars. Both were Biblical scholars of the very highest competence, completely familiar with the languages, wonderfully at home in all of its content, remarkably familiar with almost all of the Scripture's "problems" or so-called contradictions. Undoubtedly their stance before Scripture was that of childlike trust based on Scripture's divine origin, and, beyond that, Scripture's self-testimony and self-vindication. This would include the familiar declaratory passages like 2 Tim. 3, 16; John 10, 35 and 2 Pet. 1, 21, as well as John 16, 13; 1 Thess. 2, 13, Gal. 1, 9-12; Heb. 6, 18; Num. 23, 19, etc.

"We dare not give preference to the authority of men over that of Scripture," Luther states in his Commentary on Genesis, with the mammoth task of translation of the whole of Scripture well behind him. "Human beings can err," he goes on, "but the Word of God is the very wisdom of God and the absolutely infallible truth." This is a refrain repeated throughout his writings, late and early in his life; and so also in the writings of Chemnitz.

Chemnitz' Examen, as a matter of record, literally exudes this confidence in the sacred text from stem to stern. Of course modern scholars are relatively unconcerned for what Chemnitz held, because they are convinced he was one of the leading forces in shaping the hard-nosed 17th century orthodox theologians in their support for Scripture's inspiration and inerrancy. But Luther is another matter. It would be a considerable coup to be able to claim him for a freer, less hardened view on Scripture, the feeling runs. However, that is not the way the proverbial cookie crumbles. Luther cannot be claimed for that side. While they say it with regret, men like Paul Althaus are frank to admit that Luther's theology of Scripture is grounded on the fact that "Scripture never errs."89 Luther may refer to and endeavor to reconcile (as does Chemnitz) the various Biblical difficulties, but, as Althaus asserts, this in no way causes him to swerve an inch from the conviction of Scripture's absolute infallible nature, in every detail the inspired work of the Holy Spirit. 90

It is not that either Luther or Chemnitz minimize, or that they are not cognizant of, the human side of Scripture; nor do they stand with blinders on over against the "problems." But they both note, first, that the difficulties are minor when compared with the Scripture's central articles, and, secondly, that they regularly resolve themselves when alternative solutions are considered. Whatever weakness existed, more often than not, was in man himself, in his own limitations of scholarship and available, definitive and final information, than in the text of Scripture itself. Also, too frequently the attacks could be shown to stem from prejudice in general against all supernatural, miraculous activity of God. Those who have actually read firsthand and at length in the works of Luther and Chemnitz will be duly amazed how forthright and frankly they confront the various Biblical "problems"—it is not an exaggeration to claim that their competence in the overall field exceeds that of most modern critical scholars!—and yet conclude with the resounding verdict that God's Book stands inviolate.

Call it naivete, or childlike simplicity of faith! But before these two sworn doctors of the Word are lightly dismissed, each critic had better be forwarned whom he is taking on in debate or conflict! Seldom, if ever, have two men stood shoulder to shoulder with such consistency; and seldom has the Lord had more faithful and able defenders of His inspired Word.

The last words that Luther ever penned—"Bend low in reverence before its (Scriptures') footprints! We are beggars! That is true!"—might well stand as the epitaph on their remarkable lives and the

outstanding, on-going heritage they bequeathed to the church which followed in their train and to all followers of Christ who love His Word, the Scriptures, that cannot be broken.

FOOTNOTES

- A. L. Graebner, "The Study of Church History," Theological Quarterly, vol. II (1898), St. Louis, 60f.
- Cf. Luther's statement in his Galatian Commentary, "Diese Königin musz herrschen, ihr müssen alle gehorchen und unterworfen sein." St. L., IX, 87; WA 40 I, 120, 17-25.
- 3. Cf. Prenter, R., The Word and the Spirit. Augsburg, Minneapolis, 1965, 65-73 passim. Also, Blamires, Harry, A Defence of Dogmatism. SPCK, London, 1965, 125.
- 4. Cf. Fagerberg, Holsten, A New Look at the Lutheran Confessions, 15-35 passim. Concordia, St. Louis, 1972. Fagerberg deflates completely the opinion which has prevailed for many years (propounded by von Loewenich, Schlink, and many others) that the Confessions—except for the Formula of Concord—set the spoken or proclaimed Word of God apart from, indeed above, the written text of Scripture itself.
- 5. Cf. Hauck, Alb., ed., Realencyklopaedie fur protestantische Theologie und Kirche (Herzog). Leipzig, 1897, III, 803.
- Cf. Klug, E. F., From Luther to Chemnitz on Scripture and the Word, 115-140, for a sketch of the life and work of Chemnitz. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1971.
- Part I of the Examen is now available in English translation (by Fred Kramer), through Concordia, St. Louis, 1971.
- Cf. Chemnitz, Loci, Wittenberg, 1623, pars tertia, 235, where he uses this phrase of the Confessions in the church.
- Chemnitz, M., Examination of the Council of Trent, I, 43 (Kramer translation). Concordia, St. Louis, 1971. Hereafter referred to as Ex. 10. Ibid., 47.
- 11. One of the most recent of these unfortunate efforts is that appearing in the Concordia Theological Monthly, June, 1972, "The Other Understanding of the Inspiration Texts" by Traugott H. Rehwaldt. This article begins with a downgrading of Pieper's position on Scripture, largely on the basis of the writer's old classroom notes, and with virtually no attention to Pieper's demonstrated Biblical theology in the three volumes of his Christian Dogmatics. To set over against Pieper the so-called "Christocentric approach" of Herman Sasse is to misunderstand both, especially to misrepresent Pieper, whose work on the person and work of Christ, in volume II of his dogmatics, stands not only as a classic in its own right, but illustrates most excellently that the Scriptures must be the norm for the Gospel's sake. Moreover, the charge that the orthodox theologians of the 17th century "saw inspiration as a formal process . . . which had nothing to do whatever with the content" is absolutely condemned by the reading of these authors themselves—which was not done! By the same token, the charge that Pieper went beyond the 17th century theologians with his teaching on Scripture's infallibility is equally groundless and out of keeping with the facts. Robert Preus has provided the whole denouement of this thinking in his The Theology of Post-Reformation Theology, Concordia, St. Louis, 1970, q.v. Rehwaldt's "shock" over the failure of Pieper to cite 1 Cor. 2, 13 more than once in his dogmatics, should in fairness have been tempered by recognition of the balanced excellence with which Pieper treats verbal inspiration at great length. It is regrettable, too, that the verbal adjective theopneustos, which regularly in Greek usage, classical and koine, has the passive tense

rather than the active, is translated by Rehwaldt to mean "God-inspiring," rather than "God-inspired" or God-breathed." Only the most desperate liberal has opited for the active sense on theopneustos, and always with article can finally only be seen as a denial of the auctoritas normativa of Scripture, in a feeble effort at emphasizing its causative authority (auctoritas causativa), and the result is that the sola Scriptura principle of the Reformation is greatly weakened, if not entirely given up. What this means is that Rehwaldt is suggesting that the material principle in theology, the Gospel or justification of the sinner through Christ, should also become the formal principle, the authority by which we know. Kent Knutson also tried to pan off this kind of theologizing, a blurring of the formal principle with the material in his essay on "The Authority of formal principle with the material in his essay on 'Scripture' in CTM, March 1969, 156-165.

the intent of denying the miracle of the inspiration of the text. Rehwaldt's

- 12. Rupp, Gordon, The Righteousness of God, 4. Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1953. 13. WA 48, 43; St. L., 9, 1775.
- 14. LW 22, 472.

7, 314; *WA* 44, 532.

- 15. LW 30, 321; WA 20, 788 ff. All references here to John 5, 13. cf. e.g., LW 2, 91; WA 42, 327; LW 3, 114; WA 42, 630; LW 2, 308f; WA 42, 482f; LW 5, 352; WA 43, 671; LW 5, 24; WA 43, 446; LW
- 17. LW 3, 210; WA 43, 251; LW 4, 60; WA 43, 178. 18. LW 35, 153; WA 10², 72ff; cf. also LW 45, 373; 24, 127; 26, 102.
- 19. cf. WML 6, 477ff; see also LW 34, 317; WA 392, 187ff.
 - cf. LW 26 & 27; WA 40 & 402 & 2.
- 21. Cf. above, the CTM Rehwaldt article.
- 22. Examen, 52.
- 23. Ibid.

20.

31.

34.

- 24. Ex., 62.
- 25. Ex., 66.
- 26. Ex., 150.
- Chemnitz, M., The Two Natures in Christ, trans. by J. A. O. Preus, 395. Concordia, St. Louis, 1971. 27.

 31^2 , 67.

- 28. Chemnitz, M., Enchiridion, 32. A. L. Graebner, ed. Brumder, Milwaukee, 1886. 29. Pieper, F., Christian Dogmatics, I, 266, fn. 77. Concordia, St. Louis,
- 1950. 30. cf. WA 24, 86; St. L. 3, 74.
 - cf. LW 1, 6; WA 48, 5; LW 6, 343; WA 44, 257; LW 16, 95; WA
- LW 12, 162. 32.
- 33. LW 34, 227; WA 50, 262ff.
- cf. LW 13, 71. 35. WA 48, 31; St. L. 9, 1770.
- 36.
- Kooiman, W., Luther and the Bible, 237. Muhlenberg, Philadelphia,
- 37. cf. LW 16, 318; WA 31², 235.
- 38. cf. Altaus, P., The Theology of Martin Luther, 50ff. Fortress, Phila-
- delphia, 1966. 39. cf. The Two Natures in Christ, 15-17.
- 40. Ex., 136.
- 41. Ibid. 42. Ex., 176.
- 43. Enchiridion, 33.
- 14. Ibid. 45.
 - The "tower experience" of Luther is dated usually somewhere between 1512-1513, especially in connection with his understanding of Rom. 1,

- 17. The years immediately following were crucial too; but all evidences point to the fact that by Oct. 31, 1517, he had come to the light on this important distinction, though some of his writings still show distinctive elements of Roman Catholic heritage. Those who date the "tower experience" after 1518 confront insurmountable difficulties in documenting and reconciling the evidence.
- 47. LW 1, 192 f; WA 42, 143 f.
- 48. WML 2, 432.
- 49. LW 15, 38; WA 31, 251. 50. cf. LW 34, 122 and LW 33, 451.
- 51. Ex., 125.

46. cf. BOW 71 & 75.

- 52. Ex., 590 ff.
- 53. Ex., 657. 54. Ibid.
- 55. Lortz, J., Geschichte der Kirche, vol. 2, 120. Aschendorf, Munster, 1964.
- 56. Almost all recent Roman Catholic scholars of the Reformation reject the extremism of Denifle and Grisar, but virtually to a man they follow Lortz's line in condemning Luther on the grounds indicated.
- 57. cf. LW 2, 354 ff; WA 42, 515 f. 58. cf. WA, BR 6, 25 f; St. L. 17, 1974f.
- 59. LW 27, 38; WA 40², 47.
- 60. cf. LW 40, 157; 26, 418; 27, 31.38; 41, 210-220. (The latter reference is from Luther's Against Hanswurst, one of his most eloquent briefs in behalf of doctrinal purity based on Holy Writ.)
- 61. LW 45, 352; WA 15, 32.
- 62. The Documents of Vatican II, New York, 1966, 17.
- 64. Küng, H., Infallible?, 77.
- 65. Geschichte der Kirche, 95.
- 66. Küng, H. op. cit., 74 & 77.
- 67. cf. Ex., 261.
- 68. Ex., 272 ff.

144.

63. Ibid.

- 69. Concordia Triglotta, 779. Concordia, St. Louis, 1921.
- 70. lbid., 855.
- 71. LW 5, 111; WA 43, 505.
- 72. LW 14, 130; WA 31, 452.
- Even Hans Küng concurs on this. He states: "Christian faith is not a dumb faith. We know what we believe and confess what we know. There is no act of faith without a content of faith . . .; no Christian fides qua creditur which is not in some way also fides quae creditur." op. cit.,
- 74. LW 16, 99; WA 31², 69.
- 75. LW 1, 153 ff.
- 76. cf. LW 3, 237; WA 43, 44.
- 77. LW 51, 225 ff; WA 342, 156 ff.
- cf. e. g., Prenter, R., Word and the Spirit, 115 ff; Pinomaa, L., Faith
- Victorious, 106 ff; Althaus, P., Theology of Martin Luther, 52 f. 79. LW 51, 76.
- 80. Ibid., 77.
- 81. Enchiridion, 89.
- 82. Ibid., 36.
- 83. Examen Concilii Tridentini, Secunda Pars, Locus I, Sec. V, 7 ff. Berlin

Edition, 1861. Quoted in Klug, E., From Luther to Chemnitz, 208, and in translation appendix p. 5.

84. cf. e. g., BOW 127-129 passim; WA 18, 654-656. 85. Koestlin, J., Theology of Luther, II, 268.

86. cf. BOW, 191 f; WA 18, 700 f; cf. also LW 24, 104.

87. BOW 261; WA 18, 749. 88. LW 1, 122; WA 42, 91.

89. Althaus, P., op. cit., 16. 90. Ibid., 50.

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN FOOTNOTES:

WA D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Weimar, 1833ff.
LW Luther's Works: American Edition. St. Louis: Concordia and Philadel-phia: Fortress, 1955ff.

WML Works of Martin Luther. The Philadelphia Edition. Muhlenberg, 1943.

St. L. D. Martin Luthers sämmtliche Schriften. J. Walch, ed. 2nd edition. St. Louis: Concordia, 1880-1910.

BOW Martin Luther, On the Bondage of the Will. Trans., J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston. Westwood, N. J.: Revell, 1957.

Ex. Chemnitz, Martin, Examen Concilii Tridentini. The Examination of The Council of Trent, vol. I. Trans., Fred Kramer. St. Louis: Concordia, 1971.