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From Reinhold Pieper to Caemmerer: How Our Preaching Changed

Adam C. Koontz

In 1964, shortly after the Wisconsin Synod broke fellowship with the Missouri Synod, Robert Schultz (1928–2018), a professor of theology at Valparaiso University, wrote a triumphal article in the *American Lutheran* about the history of preaching in the Missouri Synod entitled "From Walther to Caemmerer."[1] In that Missouri Synod antebellum era,[2] Schultz could write with great confidence that after C. F. W. Walther (1811–1887) had understood and promoted the distinction between law and gospel, the Missouri Synod had finally rediscovered how to distinguish law and gospel well in the person of long-serving Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, homiletics professor, Richard Caemmerer Sr. (1904–1984). Schultz discusses no one between Walther and Caemmerer, no homiletical treatise of any kind, nothing about the synod's half-century-long run of the *Magazin für ev.-luth. Homiletik*,[3] Theodore Graebner's (1876–1950) *The Expository Preacher*,[4] or John H. C. Fritz's (1874–1953) *The Preacher's Manual*,[5] which was 1941's edition of the homiletical series, *The Concordia Pulpit*.[6] Missouri had evaporated, and the

[1] Robert C. Schultz, "From Walther to Caemmerer: A Study in the Development of Homiletics in the Missouri Synod," *American Lutheran* 44, no. 7 (July 1961): 7–10, 25. A similar estimate of pastoral theology more broadly: "Since 1940 the evangelical approach to pastoral theology has been strongly reiterated [since Walther] in the Missouri Synod. Many men have contributed to this spirit, but none has nourished it more vigorously than Caemmerer." Robert C. Schultz, "Pastoral Theology," in *The Lively Function of the Gospel: Essays in Honor of Richard R. Caemmerer on Completion of 25 Years as Professor of Practical Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis*, ed. Robert W. Bertram (St. Louis: Concordia, 1966), 9–22, here at p. 12. A comprehensive obituary for Schultz is available at https://www.valpo.edu/valpomag/ 2019/01/29/in-memoriam-5/.

[2] I.e., before the 1974 walkout at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

[3] Cf. a dissertation supervised by Richard Caemmerer, Lester Zeitler, "Preaching Christ to the Glory of God for the Salvation of the Hearer: An Analysis of the Preaching Proposed in the *Magazin Für Ev.-Luth. Homiletik und Pastoraltheologie*, 1877–1929" (ThD diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1965). Available at https://scholar.csl.edu/thd/40/.

[4] Theodore Graebner, *The Expository Preacher: A System of Inductive Homiletics* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1920), a revision of *Inductive Homiletics* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1918).

[5] John H. C. Fritz, *The Preacher's Manual: A Study in Homiletics with the Addition of a Brief History of Preaching, Sermon Material, Texts for Various Occasions, and Pericopic Systems* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1941).

[6] *The Concordia Pulpit* picked up where the *Magazin für Ev.-Luth. Homiletik* left off and ran from 1930–1990. *Concordia Pulpit Resources* (1990–present) continued the tradition of homiletical

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Missouri of 1964 at long last was articulating law and gospel in a way faithful to Walther, or so said Schultz.

Unmentioned, too, was the only person who both took homiletics with Walther and later authored a homiletics textbook. The introduction to that treatise on preaching, all 474 pages of it in two identical editions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even mentioned the author's consultation of his student-produced *Collegienheft* filled with Walther's observations on preaching and commentary on the primary homiletics text of early Missouri, John Jacob Rambach's (1693–1735) posthumously published treatise, *Praecepta Homiletica* (1736).[7] Reinhold Pieper (1850–1920) wrote the Missouri Synod's and the Synodical Conference's most comprehensive work on homiletics, *Evangelisch-Lutherische Homiletik*,[8] but after a long career of service to Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, followed by two more parish pastorates at Chatham and Riverton, Illinois, he also evaporated.[9] By 1964, it was as if he had never existed; Schultz skips over him along with Graebner, Fritz, Louis Wessel (1864–1933)—Pieper's longtime Concordia, Springfield, homiletics colleague—and many other homiletical thinkers inside and outside the synod's professorial posts through the years. You would search in vain for mention of Pieper's book in Caemmerer's 1959 homiletics treatise. Between Pieper's death in 1920 and Caemmerer's *magnum opus* in 1959, Missouri's dominant homiletic and so also Missouri's preaching had become altogether different.

What had changed was something more than the content of bibliographies, and a closer look at Pieper's homiletic alongside Caemmerer's will reveal the depth of that change. Caemmerer's differing understanding of the word of God, articulated in his *Preaching for the Church*[10] and clarified in his *Concordia Theological Monthly*

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discussion and help under its first editor, Erwin Kolb. Caemmerer supervised Kolb's doctoral dissertation ("A Study of Applications Used in the Sermons of *The Concordia Pulpit* of the Years 1955–1964" [ThD diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1967]), available at https://scholar.csl.edu/thd/26/.

[7] Johann Jacob Rambach, *Erlauterung über die praecepta homiletica: von dem seligen auctore zu unterschiedenen mahlen in collegiis vorgetragen, nun aber aus dessen manuscriptis herausgegeben*, ed. Johann Philipp Fresenius (Giessen: Johann Philip Krieger, 1736).

[8] Reinhold Pieper, *Evangelisch-Lutherische Homiletik: Nach der Erläuterung über die* Praecepta Homiletica *von Dr. J. J. Rambach* (Milwaukee: Germania, 1895). Concordia Publishing House reprinted the text without any change in 1905.

[9] See Adam C. Koontz, "Reinhold Pieper's Classical Lutheran Homiletic," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (January 2021): 23–36, for more biographical detail and description of Pieper's method on its own terms rather than by extensive comparison to another's.

[10] Richard R. Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959).

journal articles,[11] will help us understand how the Missouri Synod's homiletic changed between the early and mid-twentieth century. Pieper's articulation of the Scriptures as verbally inspired and as being the word of God produced a different homiletic than Caemmerer's more elusive understanding of the "Word of God."[12] A new homiletic came forth from a new hermeneutic.

When they wrote their homiletical treatises, both Pieper and Caemmerer had been preaching for decades and teaching preaching for at least several years—Pieper about five years when the first edition was published, Caemmerer for two decades when his *Preaching for the Church* appeared in 1959. Pieper taught a great many more subjects than Caemmerer because academic specialization was largely unknown to the Synodical Conference seminaries of the early twentieth century, but Caemmerer preceded the advent of specialized homiletics doctoral programs. His master's degree and doctorate from Washington University, St. Louis, were not in theology.[13] Neither man was narrowly trained in an academic subdiscipline, but both were engaged in wide-ranging conversations—Pieper with an orthodox Lutheran past and Caemmerer with a burgeoning neoorthodox present.[14]

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[11] Chief among these for hermeneutics and preaching are "Lutheran Preaching and Its Relation to the Audience" (December 1947): 881–888; "A Concordance Study of the Concept 'Word of God'" (March 1951): 170–185; and the three-part 1966 series in which Caemmerer became much more explicit about his acceptance of biblical higher criticism and its relationship to exegesis and preaching: "Current Contributions to Christian Preaching" (January 1966): 38–47; "The New Hermeneutic and Preaching" (February 1966): 99–110; and "Preaching and the Recovery of the Church" (March 1966): 146–157.

[12] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 1, "Preaching utters words. Yet when it is truly preaching, it is the Word of God to man and the power of God at work in man." This event is conditioned by what "truly preaching" is, which Caemmerer does not define, not by what "the text says" or "the Bible says."

[13] Richard R. Caemmerer, "The Moral and Political Ideals of Livy" (MA thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 1933), completed during Caemmerer's pastorate at Mount Olive Lutheran Church, St. Louis, and "The Education of Representative German Princes in the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., Washington University, St. Louis, 1944), completed after his 1940 call to the Concordia, St. Louis, faculty, on which he would serve until the formation of Christ Seminary—Seminary-in-Exile (Seminex). He taught at Seminex from its beginning in 1974 to his death and its dissolution in 1984. More autobiographical or biographical detail is available in Richard R. Caemmerer, "Stance and Distance," in *The Lively Function of the Gospel*, ed. Bertram, 3–6; Richard R. Caemmerer, "No Continuing City: A Memoir of Change toward Deepening and Growth in Jesus Christ," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 5 (October 1977): 270–315; and George W. Hoyer, "*Preaching for the Church*: An Appreciation," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 31, no. 2 (February 1960): 117–118.

[14] The contrast is clear in an article that ironically appeared in the same issue of *Concordia Theological Monthly* with Arthur Repp and George Hoyer's glowing endorsements of Caemmerer's *Preaching for the Church*; the article makes clear what has changed in Barth's theology from the period of orthodoxy: "[In Barth's theology,] there is no longer a problem connected with higher criticism of the Bible, 'errors' in the Bible. Barth can grant all this, and still say that the Bible is also divine, inspired." Robert D. Preus, "The Word of God in the Theology of Karl Barth," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 21, no. 2 (February 1960): 115.

Pieper is dependent on a preceding tradition of homiletical theory, beginning experientially with his classes in preaching from Walther. Walther's textbook, Rambach's *Praecepta Homiletica*, was augmented with commentary and elucidation, recorded in Pieper's *Collegienheft*[15] and presumably condensed into the section on preaching in Walther's *Amerikanisch-Lutherische Pastoraltheologie*.[16] Pieper's citations of Walther directly are almost entirely from Walther's sermons with some excerpts from Walther's pastoral theology. Among the Lutheran orthodox homileticians, Pieper used John Benedict Carpzov I (1607–1657),[17] Christian Chemnitz (1615–1666),[18] John Förster (1496–1558),[19] John Gerhard (1582–1637),[20] Andrew Adam Hochstetter (1668–1717),[21] and John Andrew Quenstedt (1617–1688).[22] More frequent than quotations from the orthodox writers are Pieper's quotations from nineteenth-century German Lutheran homileticians such as Claus Harms (1778–1855),[23] Christian Palmer (1811–1875),[24] Henry August

[15] Pieper, *Ev.-luth. Homiletik*, iv, mentioned that this collective production of Walther's homiletics students revealed Walther's "almost verbatim" repetition of Rambach's homiletical teaching.

[16] C. F. W. Walther, *Americanisch-Lutherische Pastoraltheologie*, 4th ed. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1897); a translation of the 1872 first edition is available now in English as *Pastoral Theology*, ed. David W. Loy, trans. Christian C. Tiews (St. Louis: Concordia, 2017).

[17] J. B. Carpzov, *Hodegeticum brevibus aphorismis pro collegio concionatorio conceptum* (Leipzig: Johannes Bauer, 1652 and often reprinted), available in a modern bilingual edition: *Hodegeticum brevibus aphorismis pro collegio concionatorio conceptum: Ein Wegweiser für Prediger in Leitsätzen: Lateinisch-Deutsch*, ed. Reiner Preul (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014).

[18] Christian Chemnitz, *Brevis Instructio Futuri Ministri Ecclesiae* (Jena: Nisius, 1660).

[19] Johann Förster, *Methodus concionandi* (Wittenberg: Roth, 1635 and often reprinted).

[20] Johann Gerhard, *Methodus studii theologici* (Jena: Steinmann, 1620 and often reprinted), available in English as "Method of Theological Study," in *On Interpreting Sacred Scripture and Method of Theological Study*, ed. Benjamin T. G. Mayes, trans. Joshua J. Hayes, Theological Commonplaces I–II (St. Louis: Concordia, 2017), 135–241; *The Method of Theological Study: Presented in Public Lectures at the University of Jena in 1617*, trans. Paul A. Rydecki (Malone, Tex.: Repristination Press, 2017).

[21] Andreas Adam Hochstetter, *De recta concionandi textumque sacrum cum exponendi tum adplicandi ratione commentariolus* ([n.p.], 1701; 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1767), available in English as "A Short Treatise on How to Preach Aright and How to Expound and Apply the Sacred Text," trans. Joshua J. Hayes, in Wilhelm Loehe, *The Pastor* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2015), 337–358.

[22] Pieper used an abbreviated translation that had appeared in the *Magazin* of Quenstedt's large pastoral theology, *Ethica pastoralis et instructio cathedralis* (Wittenberg: Mevius, 1678).

[23] Claus Harms, *Der Prediger, wie ihn die Pastoraltheologie sein und thun lehret* (Kiel: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1837).

[24] Christian Palmer, *Evangelische Homiletik* (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1857).

Schott (1780–1835),[25] and Frederick Ernest Ziegler (1807–1882).[26] Among non-Lutherans, Pieper used the English-language preaching textbook[27] of James Mason Hoppin (1820–1906), a Yale professor of homiletics and art history, and a German edition of Charles Spurgeon's (1834–1892) *Lectures to My Students*.[28] Pieper also cites several articles from the "Yellow Bible," the *Magazin für ev.-luth. Homiletik*, and, in a couple places, his seminary homiletics notes from Walther and George Schaller, a professor instrumental in the *Magazin*'s flourishing in the late nineteenth century.[29]

In addition to homileticians, Pieper also cites the chief rhetoricians of classical antiquity, Aristotle's (384–322 BC) *Rhetoric*, Cicero (106–43 BC), Quintilian (AD 35–100), and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (first-century BC).[30] His treasury of preachers ranges from the patristic era to the Lutheran Reformation with Luther as the chief exemplary preacher and John Philip Fresenius (1705–1761),[31] John Jacob Rambach,[32] Philip Jacob Spener (1635–1705),[33] Adolph Hoenecke (1835–1908),[34] and Walther[35] also often referenced or cited as examples of good preaching. Pieper

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[25] Heinrich August Schott, *Die Theorie der Beredsamkeit mit besonderer Anwendung auf die geistliche Beredsamkeit*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Barth, 1815–1849), and his abridgement, Kurzer Entwurf einer Theorie der Beredsamkeit (Leipzig: Barth, 1815).

[26] Friedrich Ernst Ziegler, *Das Fundamentum Dividendi oder von dem logischen Verhältnisse zwischen dem Hauptsatze und den Theilen der Predigt* (Dresden: Adler and Dietze, 1851).

[27] James Mason Hoppin, *Homiletics* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1881).

[28] Charles Spurgeon, *Vorlesungen in meinem Predigerseminar* (Hamburg: Oncken, 1896), available in the original English in many editions.

[29] Much more information on the *Magazin* and Schaller's contributions among many others is available in Zeitler, "Preaching Christ to the Glory of God."

[30] As all of these rhetorical texts are available online in original and translated versions, titles will be helpful for checking Pieper's sources: Aristotle's *The Art of Rhetoric* (*Rhet.*); Cicero's *De oratore, De inventione,* and his *Topica*; Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (*Inst.*); and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (*Rhet. Her.*).

[31] Joh. Phil. Fresenius, *Auserlesene heilige Reden über die Epistolischen Texte* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Brönner, 1755).

[32] In addition to the homiletical text cited above (n. 7), Pieper used Rambach's hermeneutical works (*Institutiones Hermeneuticae Sacrae* [Jena: Hartung, 1723] and *Erläuterung über seine* Institutiones Hermeneuticae Sacrae, ed. E. F. Neubauer [Giessen: Krieger, 1738]) and his books of sermons (*Christus in Mose*, ed. Joh. Phil. Fresenius [Frankfurt and Leipzig: Spring, 1736]; *Erkenntnis der Wahrheit zur Gottseligkeit* [Halle: Waisenhaus, 1727]; and *Betrachtungen über den Rath Gottes*, ed. Joh. Phil. Fresenius [Giessen: Krieger, 1737]). For more information on Rambach's hermeneutics, see Benjamin T. G. Mayes, "The Mystical Sense of Scripture according to Johann Jacob Rambach," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (January 2008): 45–70.

[33] Philipp Jakob Spener, *Deß thätigen Christenthums Nothwendigkeit und Möglichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Zunner, 1680).

[34] A. Hoenecke, *Wenn ich nur Dich habe* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 1893).

[35] In addition to Walther's pastoral theology, Pieper utilized (in chronological order of publication) *Amerikanisch-Luth. Evangelien-Postille* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1880); *Amerikanisch-Luth. Epistel-Postille* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1882); *Casual-Predigten und Reden* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1889); *Gnadenjahr* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1890); *Predigtentwürfe* (St. Louis: Concordia,

worked self-consciously inside a tradition of preaching and thinking about preaching stretching back to and beyond Luther, and though he does not cite any writer or preacher with the same frequency as Walther would, he is clearly aligned with a homiletical tradition centered, as we will see, on an orthodox understanding of Scripture and a concomitant fivefold application of Scripture.

Caemmerer describes his treatise as the result of decades of preaching and teaching preachers to preach. His main text has no notes, and each chapter ends with pedagogical questions and exercises similar to a creative-writing textbook. An absence of citation is not an absence of influence, and Caemmerer's suggestions for further reading are more revealing than his main text. The large "For Further Reading" section of Caemmerer's treatise is not an index of Caemmerer's own reading or even his own homiletical experience. His student years at Concordia St. Louis were still under the domination of Francis Pieper, whom Caemmerer admired for his vigor,[36] and the paucity of German-language material in Caemmerer's recommendations is more likely his estimate of his readers' linguistic capacity than his own. Nonetheless, the recommendations in Caemmerer's annotated bibliography tell us much about his homiletical thinking's sources.[37]

Caemmerer's suggestive citations of Scripture at the top of each recommended reading section are intriguing but unexplored, so it is unclear how he would develop those large passages of Scripture in connection with the specific topics throughout the book.[38] Of the texts or preachers important to Reinhold Pieper, Caemmerer recommends only two: Luther and Walther. The Luther recommendation is only of

1891); and *Gesetz und Evangelium: Vorträge* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1893). Walther dominates the "table of chiefly used works" on Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, vii–viii.

[36] Caemmerer's reminiscences of Francis Pieper are in the *Oral History Collection of the Archives of Cooperative Lutheranism*, ed. A. Kendrick and H. Knubel (New York: Lutheran Council in the USA, 1984), 23, and are cited along with other valuable summaries of Caemmerer and other Seminex professors in Donn Wilson, "The Word-of-God Conflict in the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod in the 20th Century" (MDiv thesis, Luther Seminary, 2018), 76.

[37] Clear statements about his theological changes are found in his memoir, written many years after those changes and several years after Seminex when he had greater clarity and calmness in evaluation: see Richard R. Caemmerer, "No Continuing City," especially on his change in understanding the meaning of the word of God, 281–282.

[38] For example, Caemmerer asserts that the "chief tract on preaching in the Scriptures is 2 Corinthians 1–7 (1 Corinthians 1 and 2 supplement); in the sayings of Jesus, John 17; in the Old Testament, Isaiah, especially Chapters 40 and 52. Paul's principle of Law and Gospel is summarized Galatians 3 and 4 [sic]," *Preaching for the Church*, 297. The claim about 2 Corinthians 1–7 is especially fascinating because of the intensely personal character of 2 Corinthians and its relationship to Paul's self-evaluation of the purpose and nature of his apostolic ministry, but the connection between exegesis and homiletics remains loose in these brief mentions.

his sermons on John's Gospel,[39] a much smaller portion of his corpus than Pieper's *Homiletik* references. The Walther recommendation is for (first) the German edition of his *Die rechte Unterscheidung zwischen Gesetz und Evangelium*[40] and (second) W. H. T. Dau's (1864–1944) English translation, *The Proper Distinction of Law and Gospel*.[41] Some German capacity is presumed by this recommendation, but none of Walther's preaching (then only in German) nor his own chapter on homiletics in his (also then only in German) pastoral theology are commended to the reader. Of the rhetoricians Pieper cited, Caemmerer recommended Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[42]

Most of Caemmerer's recommendations are much more specialized than Pieper's sources, reflecting the explosion of academic specialization and the entry of Missouri Synod preachers and homileticians into an anglophone intellectual universe. Books on audience psychology, Rudolf Flesch's assorted composition textbooks, art history volumes on Christian symbolism in the fine arts, and communications texts on overcoming common public-speaking difficulties all have a place. Now-forgotten mid-century Missouri Synod sermon volumes and homiletical helps such as O. A. Geiseman's (1893–1962) sermons on the epistle texts for the entire Christian year,[43] W. G. Polack's (1890–1950) sermonic studies on Lenten hymns,[44] and many books of sermons from prominent preachers of mid-century Missouri—including Walter A. Maier (1893–1950) only with palpable disinterest[45]—are present in a profusion astounding by comparison to Pieper's. The Missouri Synod's own literature and sermons had become sufficiently numerous to be available on nearly all the different subjects Caemmerer covers.

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[39] Martin Luther, *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John, Chapters 1–4* (1537–1540): vol. 22, in *Luther's Works, American Edition*, vols. 1–30, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955–76); vols. 31–55, ed. Helmut Lehmann (Philadelphia/Minneapolis: Muhlenberg/Fortress, 1957–86); vols. 56–82, ed. Christopher Boyd Brown and Benjamin T. G. Mayes (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2009–), hereafter AE.

[40] C. F. W. Walther, *Gesetz und Evangelium: Aus seinem schriftlichen Nachlass gesammelt* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1893).

[41] Caemmerer used a 1901 edition of the German text cited in note 35 above; the English is *The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel*, trans. W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia, 1928); *Law & Gospel: How to Read and Apply the Bible*, ed. Charles P. Schaum, trans. Christian C. Tiews (St. Louis: Concordia, 2010).

[42] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 298.

[43] O. A. Geiseman, *Old Truths for a New Day*, 2 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1949), "sermons with pastoral note and insight thoroughly evident," Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 308.

[44] W. G. Polack, *The Seven Ways of Sorrow* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1948).

[45] Maier is listed with Billy Graham as an evangelistic preacher, Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 304, and as having "fertility of Gospel variation," but with a style not suitable to the parish, 307. Caemmerer warmly recommends the sermons of Maier's largely forgotten successor, the third Lutheran Hour Speaker, Armin Oldsen (1910–1994), *A Message from God* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1953). See https://www.lutheranhour.org/history.asp for more information.

The preachers and the homileticians among the great number of Caemmerer's recommendations are much less often Lutherans than among Pieper's sources, and when they are Lutherans such as Gustav Wingren (1910–2000)[46] or Edmund Steimle (1907–1988),[47] they are likely not from the Missouri Synod or the other churches of the Synodical Conference, which was on life support in 1959.[48] Caemmerer's favorite homiletical treatise was by the Iowa Synod theologian Michael Reu (1869–1943), cited in the 1924 English translation from Wartburg Publishing House.[49] The Southern Baptist John Broadus's (1827–1895) *Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons* was for Caemmerer the classic "review of all factors in the preaching process,"[50] and alongside Broadus, there is bibliographic information for everyone from Episcopalian preacher Phillips Brooks (1835–1893)[51] to liberal Protestant leading light Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878–1969).[52]

The world had changed drastically, and the recommended reading reflected that. What had changed more than reading primarily in English, or reading a greater variety of books on a great array of topics, or reading more non-Lutherans than one had in years past, was the theology of preaching, and Caemmerer's annotated bibliography states that clearly. He knew and promoted a "revival" in homiletics due to a new understanding of what the word of God is.[53] He recommends Karl Barth's

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[46] Gustav Wingren, *The Living Word*, trans. V. C. Pogue (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1960). Caemmerer also used the 1955 German translation from the original Swedish and assessed the work as valuable because it "illustrates the motif theology," Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 298.

[47] Caemmerer admired the textual radio preaching of Steimle on *The Protestant Hour* printed in Edmund Steimle, *Are You Looking for God?* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957). An overview of Steimle's biography and bibliography, including his more theoretical works, is available at the *Day1* (the former *The Protestant Hour*) website: https://day1.org/speakers/5e8f61ac6615fb11a600006f/view/.

[48] Armin W. Schuetze, *The Synodical Conference: Ecumenical Endeavor* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 2000), 348–358.

[49] J. Michael Reu, *Homiletics*, trans. A. Steinhaeuser (Columbus: Wartburg, 1924).

[50] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 297. The edition Caemmerer used was John A. Broadus, *On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons* (New York: R. R. Smith, Inc., 1930), a reprint of the 1870 original. Many versions of Broadus's work are edited and revised by assorted later writers. For example, the 1944 Harper edition printed in New York was J. B. Weatherspoon's revision of C. S. Gardner's revision of E. C. Dargan's revision of Broadus's original text. Distortion could enter into the process as revisions were made and rewriting was done, but the fate of Broadus in his church body was still to be known and to some degree read. Pieper, along with Wessel and others, was first ignored and then unknown in his church body after his death.

[51] Phillips Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching: Delivered before the Divinity School of Yale College in January and February 1877* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1877).

[52] Harry Emerson Fosdick, *What Is Vital in Religion* (New York: Harper, 1955), cited by Caemmerer for good examples of preaching without a text and also for his sermons in the *Great Pulpit Masters* series.

[53] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 297.

(1886–1968) *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (in German), vol. 1, part 1, for its ample portrayal of the meaning of "the Word,"[54] and he understands homiletics to be living from the exegetical labors of C. H. Dodd (1884–1973)[55] and Leon Morris (1914–2006)[56] on the early Christian *kerygma*. Caemmerer also understood Luther to agree with these theologians on the basic meaning of the "word of God" as the message of Jesus' death and resurrection, not as the Scriptures.[57]

Uniting these fresh dogmatic and exegetical insights on the meaning of God's word and bringing them together for the sake of homiletics was Wolfgang Trillhaas (1903–1995), whose *Evangelische Predigtlehre*[58] Caemmerer describes as "valuable for integrating the entire process [of preaching] with the basic theology."[59] Trillhaas's treatise summarized the teaching on homiletics that he did alongside other topics in practical theology and dogmatics at both Erlangen and Göttingen. Trillhaas is valuable for his integration—to amend Caemmerer's formulation somewhat—of the continuing task of preaching with the new dialectical theology that Barth magisterially set forth in his *Church Dogmatics*. After distinguishing the discussion of the Christian sermon from the discussion of liturgics generally and specifying who should be a Christian preacher, Trillhaas begins his discussion of homiletics proper with a definition of the Word as principally Christ and secondarily the apostolic witness to Christ. Citing the same portion of the *Church Dogmatics* as Caemmerer had cited, Trillhaas polemicizes against verbal inspiration as a misunderstanding that predicates the emergence of a Bible-word independent from the apostolic witness to Christ directly from the Holy Spirit. Christian preaching is not dependent on the Bible but on the word of God in Christ and the apostolic witness to Christ.[60] Caemmerer's homiletic thus rests on the foundation of neoorthodox theology,[61] a fact with consequences for what preaching is—*inventio*

[54] Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik* I.1 (Zürich: Zollikon, 1944).
[55] C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* (New York: Harper, 1951).
[56] Leon Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956).
[57] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 297.
[58] Wolfgang Trillhaas, *Evangelische Predigtlehre* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1936).
[59] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 297.
[60] Trillhaas, *Evangelische Predigtlehre*, 34–35.
[61] On the apparent similarity in structure and terminology to Lutheran orthodoxy along with a real and large dissimilarity in meaning, see the discussion of Barth and neoorthodoxy's understanding of the Bible and the word of God in Henning Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation, Vol. 4: From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 390–392.

in classical rhetoric[62]—and for how preaching should be done—*dispositio* in classical rhetoric.[63]

This differs greatly from Pieper's articulation that the norm of holy eloquence (*heilige Beredsamkeit*) is "the holy Scripture, the inexhaustible source of heavenly truths."[64] The affirmation of the verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture was Pieper's throughout his homiletic with no qualification. He does not engage with the growing number of biblical higher critics in American seminaries and divinity schools.[65] For Pieper, preaching expounded the Scriptures and was normed by the Scriptures: "The preacher who would carry out his office rightly must be diligent in finding the actual, true sense of Scripture with certainty."[66] As we compare the topics of *inventio* and *dispositio* in Pieper and Caemmerer, we will find their great differences are all traceable back to their differing understandings of the word of God. Differing hermeneutics produced differing homiletics.

I. Inventio

Both Pieper and Caemmerer professed that sermons should be textual or, in Pieper's German, *textgemäß*, an adjective less vague than the English "textual," specifying that the sermon should conform to the text or should be in accord with the text. Pieper required every Christian sermon to have a text as its basis and its content, whether the text was found in a church lectionary or the preacher's choice.[67] A search for the same discussion in Caemmerer could be confusing because the linguistic shift means that what Pieper describes as, respectively, analytic and synthetic sermons is similar to how Caemmerer discusses textual and topical sermons.[68] For Pieper, an analytic sermon draws its themes and major divisions

[62] Classic definitions and discussions of *inventio* from Pieper's sources in Aristotle, *Rhet.* I; Cicero, *De inventione*; Quintilian, *Inst.* III; and *Rhet. Her.* I.3, II.1, III.3-7, 10.

[63] Classic definitions and discussions of *dispositio* from Pieper's sources in Aristotle, *Rhet.* III.13-19; Cicero, *De oratore*, II.291-332; Quintilian, *Inst.* III-VII; and *Rhet. Her.* II.27-46, III.1, 16-18.

[64] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, xviii. All translations from the German are the author's.

[65] The intellectual options on the nature of biblical authority were differently formulated in the 1890s and the 1950s, but the move beyond and away from a verbally inspired text of Scripture similar to Caemmerer's move under a Barthian aegis was available to Pieper. Pieper did not live in a time isolated from challenges to the doctrine of verbal inspiration. See J. D. Campbell, "Biblical Criticism in America, 1858–1892: The Emergence of the Historical Critic" (PhD diss., University of Denver, 1982).

[66] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, xviii.

[67] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 22–25.

[68] For Pieper's analytic and synthetic distinctions, see *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 82–84. For Caemmerer's distinction between textual and topical sermons, see *Preaching for the Church*, 71–72.

from the words of the pericope, and a synthetic sermon draws the theme and major divisions from the preacher's arrangement, whether for catechetical or evangelistic purposes. Caemmerer's distinction of textual from topical sermons is different from Pieper's traditional analytic-synthetic distinction. Caemmerer was aware of the traditional analytic-synthetic distinction[69] but utilized textual and topical instead as, respectively, preaching directly on a Bible text (perhaps even as much as a book at a time)[70] and preaching on something that begins in the preacher's mind and uses biblical materials, if not also some biblical text.[71]

What changed? In Caemmerer's formulation, the preacher's relationship to the text even in a textual sermon, let alone a topical sermon, is looser than in Pieper's understanding of the biblical text's relationship to the sermon. Under the heading "Using the Text," Caemmerer employs an unusual prepositional phrase, "from the text," because the predominant element for the preacher is not the text—which indeed may or may not be present in a sermon although it should normally be present—but the preacher's desire to preach Christ.[72] Indeed, if the text does not speak of redemption through Christ, the preacher should nonetheless proclaim the gospel *stricte dictu*,

> But the text is only a section of a larger picture, and the preacher cannot afford to have it fence in the essential vitality of his message. True, the sermon should not become untextual, but it should not cease to be Biblical and persuasive or the good news.[73]

Note the oppositions between the specific "text" and the "larger picture," between the text as a fence and the preacher's message, and between what is textual and what is "biblical." The controlling element in the relationship between the preacher and the text for Caemmerer is "his total understanding of Scripture, his 'theology,'"[74] not the actual text and its words.

The text is not unimportant, but Caemmerer's metaphor of the preacher as a geography teacher shining a light on a particular part of the globe—the text—shows two things: the preacher's control over the sermon and the text's relative importance. Relative to all of the preacher's "theology," the text is just one text and may not be about the main thing that the preacher wants to proclaim in every

[69] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 71.
[70] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 67–68.
[71] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 71.
[72] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 5, inter alia.
[73] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 90.
[74] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 69.

sermon—salvation through Christ.[75] The exploration of textual diversity is controlled by the unity of the preacher's theology as the globe depicts a given small country as part of something much larger. The text does not drive the sermon and serves instead as a "cue" for the message the preacher prepares "on the basis of his total understanding of Scripture, his 'theology.'"[76]

Caemmerer's now famous formulation of homiletical method as "goal-malady-means"[77] governs the sermon. If a text does not provide all three of these "primary components of preaching," then the other one or two components should be developed from other portions of Scripture.[78] The distinction between textual and topical preaching is not very apposite[79] because, extending Caemmerer's geographic metaphor, whatever country the teacher is showing us, he is always anxious to point out that we all live together on a globe. The geography teacher may be gesturing to Burkina Faso or Vanuatu, but one does not ever forget that the whole globe is there. The part is always subsumed by the whole, and if my theme is pine trees or polar bears and I cannot find pine trees in Burkina Faso or polar bears in Vanuatu, I will have to find them somewhere else.

Comparison to Reinhold Pieper's different articulation of textuality is easiest in looking at the differing uses of the words *truth* or *truths*. Caemmerer is at pains to distinguish the preacher's calling as doing full-time what all Christians do part-time—witness to the gospel—again, detached from any specific text of Scripture.[80] The pastor's unique calling as a "full-time Christian witness" is "the calling of speaking the truth, that is, God's redeeming plan fulfilled in Christ (Eph. 4:7–16)."[81] "Truth" is here the gospel *stricte dictu*, not all true things or all scriptural things generally, as in Pieper's formulation of the contents of Holy Scripture as "heavenly truths."[82] Caemmerer's "truth" is narrower than Pieper's and detached from Scripture as Pieper's is not.

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[75] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 90, "As the preacher plans his sermon, he must make clear to himself how he intends to *amplify the teaching of the bare text* so that he can fully preach the Word" (italics mine). The "bare text" is opposed in this formulation to the "full" preaching of the "Word," which is not the text of the Bible.

[76] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 69.

[77] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 35–40, 68, 88–89.

[78] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 68.

[79] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 69, 71.

[80] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 10–13. Caemmerer's egalitarian reading of Ephesians 4:12 as describing the ministry of all Christians is possible because the pastor's particular knowledge of the word is not about a specific capacity to grasp the text in the original languages or some similar skill. Instead, he says full-time and in every circumstance of his ministry the very same gospel-in-the-narrow-sense message that the laity proclaim.

[81] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 12.

[82] Pieper, *Ev.-luth. Homiletik*, xviii, 12, inter alia.

Compare Pieper's definition of divine preaching as having a pericope of the divine word as its basis, not merely as the foundation of a building lies underneath the building but as the source of the sermon's content. Because Holy Scripture is perfect (*vollkommen*), it contains everything necessary for faith and life (*Wandel*).[83] The definition of preaching is yoked inseparably to the nature and authority of Scripture. There is no element controlling the text, not even "theology," so that although Pieper notes Luther's or Claus Harms's occasional textless preaching, he censures the phenomenon severely. Preaching must confine itself to canonical texts because preaching on non-canonical texts, although this was done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as Pieper notes, means preaching that cannot communicate divine truths. If you are going to preach, why not, Pieper rhetorically asks, have a *divine* word as your basis?[84] The divine text is so free that Pieper will engage in criticism of his forefathers from previous centuries and a preacher whom he admires in Harms—something rare for him—when and where their preaching was unmoored from the canonical divine Scripture: "The careful study of the text leads the preacher more and more deeply into the holy Scripture . . . the more he [the preacher] reads into the Scripture, sinks into it, and lives for it, the more will he also preach according to the text (*textgemäβ*)."[85]

These differing articulations of what preaching is—communicating the truths of a specific text for Pieper as opposed to proclaiming the gospel generally for Caemmerer—are especially clear when the text's scope is examined. The determination of the scope of a text or of a sermon will provide a clear view of the consequences of differing hermeneutics of the Bible and of how that will result in sermons very differently apportioned for congregations. "Rightly dividing the word of truth [ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον]" (2 Tim 2:15)[86] will turn out to be vastly different from Pieper to Caemmerer.

[83] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 24–25.

[84] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 25.

[85] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 23–24.

[86] The LXX's use of the same verb at Proverbs 3:6 (ἵνα ὀρθοτομῇ τὰς ὁδούς σου) and 11:5 (δικαιοσύνη ἀμώμους ὀρθοτομεῖ ὁδούς) indicates cutting a straight path through a field or making a straight way to travel upon, a meaning also found in Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.136; Thucydides, 2.100.2; and Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.309. Plato uses the metaphor "cutting a road" in *Leg.* 7, 810E for a previously cleared, metaphorical path in a discussion down which the conversation can fruitfully progress. Paul is adjuring Timothy to make a straight way for sound doctrine in his preaching and teaching. "To 'cut the Word of truth straight' is wisely to give and apply it for the hearer's use," Johann Gerhard, *Commentary on 1 and 2 Timothy*, trans. Joshua J. Hayes (St. Louis: Concordia, 2017), 145. All Scripture quotations are the author's translation.

II. Scope

In the preparation and delivery of a sermon, one can speak of its scope—what it is about and where it is headed. It is not in the delivery of a key idea or theme that Pieper and Caemmerer differ very much. What Pieper recommends as the necessity of a clear theme in sermon composition is contained within the pairing of "theme and goal" or "central thought" in Caemmerer.[87] Their major difference in delivery is that Pieper insists on the memorization of a manuscript as far superior to a more extemporaneous delivery, whereas Caemmerer is less insistent on a particular method of delivery while favoring essentially the same delivery as did Pieper.[88] One would have no sense from either writer that the normal Missouri Synod sermon would be about thirteen minutes of reading a manuscript. That has perhaps changed radically, but not because of our chief homileticians.

Difference is evident in the exegesis of the sermon text. Caemmerer's "theme and goal" presupposes a text's intention to apportion the word of God in a particular way for the hearer that should be reflected in the preacher's apportionment of his sermon's major divisions and applications. Inside the text of Scripture and inside the sermon, that "theme and goal" is also called a "central thought," defined also as "the area of chief accent, so that secondary materials recede and the persuasive thrust of the text appears."[89] The term of relative importance, "secondary," requires something primary, so how should the preacher determine what is primary and what is secondary in a text so that he can compose a sermon reflecting those grades of importance? There is some degree of activity on the preacher's part as he must remind himself according to Caemmerer that "I do what I can to get this text to speak to my people, speak the Word of God to them, to the goals of their life."[90] The preacher must "get this text to speak to [his] people" because the text is not per se active in Caemmerer's definition. The text should speak on its own terms without the crutches of commentaries read before reading the Bible, and if commentaries are read, they should not "sponsor the presuppositions of antisupernaturalism or comparative religion."[91] But those are hermeneutical rules for the preacher provided without further discussion by Caemmerer. He gives no more guidance on how to

[87] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 69–79; Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 85, 108, and 313–314, particularly for crafting and recrafting the central thought with greater specificity to the day's focus.

[88] Pieper on functional (but not verbatim!) memorization for delivery, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 423–426; Caemmerer on "functional memorization" (his own term), *Preaching for the Church*, 126–129.

[89] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 85.

[90] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 85.

[91] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 84.

read the Bible well or indication that his guidance is the Bible's own guidance. The text is less important than the theological questions brought to the text by the preacher. The text is inert unless the preacher is asking the right questions. Caemmerer's homiletic is full of questions that the preacher should ask himself:

> The best meditation on a text, the best grappling hook for holding the preacher's mind to the text until it speaks to him, functions as he ceaselessly says to himself: "What does this text have to say to me and to my hearer? How is he like the people in this text? How do his problems and handicaps compare with theirs? What does God have to say to him that he was trying to say to them?" These questions aim at the preaching values of the text. Those values are more than its exegetical difficulties, much more than its curiosities and novelties; they are the cues for the Word of God to the hearer.[92]

The word of God for Caemmerer here is not identical to the text of the Bible. It is instead something to which the text of the Bible can cue the preacher so that he can enact it in his preaching. The text is central, but one must ask it the right questions; it is a reluctant informer. Some of what the text says may be "secondary" or mere "curiosities and novelties." No way to determine those things is provided in the few pages of specifically exegetical discussion in *Preaching for the Church*. The ways to discern what is central and what is peripheral will be provided in the goal-malady-means formula. Caemmerer's method of application (*dispositio*) will govern his method of exegesis (*inventio*). The text lies inert until the Lutheran preacher asks it the right questions.

Pieper's homiletic provides two sets of hermeneutical rules, which overlap in his sections on "research (*Erforschung*) into the text and meditation on the same," that is, exegesis, and on the exposition of the text in the sermon.[93] Prayer and the discovery of the grammatical sense of the text are the preliminary steps of research, and should the preacher discover that the grammatical sense is not the one intended by the Holy Spirit (e.g., the leaven in Matt 16:6 is not physical leaven), then the one intended sense of the Holy Spirit—also called the "logical" sense in Pieper and the orthodox Lutherans whom he cites frequently in exegetical discussion—should prevail.[94] For this hermeneutical rule and for all the others he provides in the discussion of exegesis, Pieper adduces examples from Scripture, his expressed rules serving as a compendium of scriptural evidence. The presumption behind the rules and the examples is that the Holy Spirit is the author of Scripture, who desires to communicate directly with the reader through the Bible text, and hermeneutical

[92] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 83.

[93] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 39–68 (exegesis), 207–215 (hermeneutical guides for exposition).

[94] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 55.

rules provide keys to how the Spirit has chosen to reveal His will in Scripture.[95] Scripture is active, the reader of Scripture is passive, and the Scripture reveals itself in ways that are sufficiently coherent and consistent that rules can be derived from Scripture. The contents that are revealed are "truths" in the plural.[96] The best interpreter of those truths will be someone who prays, meditates on Scripture, and has spiritual experience—Pieper's recapitulation of Luther's threefold formula for the making of a theologian.[97]

The exposition of Scripture—clear explanation of its meaning apart from its application—was for Pieper the basis of each Christian sermon even as he understood the didactic use of Scripture (discussed below) as the most fundamental to the Christian faith.[98] If Scripture had to be explained according to its sense, the preacher's task was to discover that sense and relate it to the congregation. There is no further goal nor any further questions apart from discovery and proclamation of the sense of the text:

> Preaching worthy of the name must flow from the portion of the divine Word underlying it and must be built upon it. The text must be the material or afford the content of the same; only when this is really the case, can it [the sermon] be textual (*textgemäß*) and scriptural (*schriftgemäß*). Only then is it called a sermon.[99]

So Pieper's twelve hermeneutical rules for exposition cover topics such as a review of the distinction between grammatical and logical sense, the weightiness for Christian doctrine only of the logical sense where it differs from the grammatical sense, what the mystical sense is, how preachers should use it, and why the preacher must say what the Scripture *definitely* says, not what it *in all likelihood* says.[100]

Such exposition in its breadth and depth will serve on its own—before the question of application and its method has been discussed—to edify the hearer. Pieper asks how edification will happen, how the hearer individually and the church collectively will be built up in the faith. He says that the answer is clear: through the word of God, by which he means the Spirit-intended sense of the Scripture because the Lord has given no other means to His church.[101] God's word and only God's word must be taught and preached for edification, and its sense will enlighten the

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[95] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 42–44, 52.
[96] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 57.
[97] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 62–65.
[98] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 57–60, 293–295.
[99] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 215.
[100] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 212–222.
[101] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 215–217.

understanding, move the heart, and fortify the will.[102] The text itself does these things as it is relayed according to its sense in the sermon. The preacher's task is to discover what the Scripture means so that its meaning could be handed over, a humbler task than the discovery and existential questioning of Caemmerer's method.

III. Dispositio

The question of faithful disposition of a text's exposition and applications is according to Pieper the most difficult task in preaching because it must follow the text's logic rather than human wisdom.[103] This portion of what has changed in our preaching I have kept for now because (1) one has to comprehend the difference in meaning of the term "word of God" between Pieper and Caemmerer first before (2) one can understand how that affects their concept of what preaching is (*inventio*), because (3) this section on application (*dispositio*) has often startled those with whom I have discussed these things. An understanding of "law and gospel preaching" very familiar to us and to our hearers in modern preaching is absent from Pieper, whom Walther taught to preach, and something more familiar to us as "law and gospel preaching" is present in Caemmerer, whose ideal preacher was much less loosely attached to the text of Scripture than Pieper's. I do not want to trouble Israel, but Israel is sometimes prone to forget things about its past.

Applications for Pieper were either theoretical or practical. Theoretical applications occur when the preacher says that this or that miracle of Christ proves His divinity, for example, and Pieper's main burden in this uncomplicated affirmation is to discuss how that should be handled in the Old Testament.[104] His discussion of practical application is where his homiletic becomes unfamiliar to many of us. His understanding of application is governed (as are his hermeneutical rules) by the text of Scripture, which yields, according to him and many Lutheran homileticians before him, a fivefold use of Scripture, drawn from 2 Timothy 3:16 and Romans 15:4—namely, didactic (teaching the sense of Scripture), elenctic (refuting the opponents of Scripture), epanorthotic (exhorting the believer in the way of righteousness), paedeutic (training the Christian) (all from 2 Tim 3:16), and (uniquely from Rom 15:4) paracletic (comforting the Christian and the church).[105]

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[102] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 57. This multifaceted description of the hearer with his varying faculties aligns to some degree with Caemmerer's different "accents in preaching" according to differing human maladies. The distinction between the methods of application lie more in the uniform law-gospel dynamic Caemmerer describes as dynamite on one hand and Pieper's fivefold, more varied application described immediately after mention of the various human faculties.

[103] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 116–122.

[104] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 277.

[105] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 289.

Like David Schmitt's helpful cautions about how Caemmerer's homiletic was not intended to be a sermon outline[106] (about which Caemmerer himself is clear),[107] Pieper avers that it would be a piece of "pedantic schematism" to make a fivefold application of every text in every sermon.[108] So how does a preacher know which applications to make from which texts? Preaching makes intense claims on the human conscience, such that Pieper spends much of the chapter on application handling how and why severe warnings about the consequences of sin should accompany the elenctic, epanorthotic, and paedeutic uses in particular.[109] With such serious things in hand, what informs the preacher as to which applications to make, whether theoretical applications of which doctrines to discuss or practical applications of which parts of life to handle? The text itself. Both kinds of application are discerned from the "content of the text,"[110] such as a theoretical application concerning the divinity of Christ or a practical application concerning contentment or fleshly wrath taken up in the text. One need not guess. If it is in the text, one discusses it. If it is not, one does not, and Pieper's discussion of how the fivefold use should be handled is confined to the means of delivery, not the means of discovery, which he has made clear in the assertion that the applications are also found in the Spirit-inspired sense of the text.

The German words for *distinction*, *law*, and *gospel* do not appear in the index of topics in Pieper's homiletic, and the discussion of the distinction between law and gospel is confined to a page-and-a-third in a section on composing textually sound outlines.[111] Citing Walther,[112] Pieper insists that sermons should be logically well-built, rhetorically well-said, and above all, what he, Walther, and others call "biblical-psychological," that is, the major divisions of the sermon are ordered in accord with how human souls are and how the order of salvation works.[113] Pieper

[106] First in David Schmitt, "Freedom of Form: Law/Gospel and Sermon Structure in Contemporary Lutheran Proclamation," *Concordia Journal* (January 1999): 42–55, and comprehensively in David R. Schmitt, "Richard Caemmerer's Goal, Malady, Means: A Retrospective Glance," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 74, nos. 1–2 (January–April 2010): 23–38.

[107] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 96, "Isn't it true that the accent on persuasion, developed in the preceding chapter, will suggest the major division for every text: I. Goal, II. Malady, III. Means? No. . . . When the preacher can confront his hearers with Law and Gospel repeatedly in the same sermon without muddling his plan, then he is on the track of a good outline!"

[108] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 289.

[109] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 329–337.

[110] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 277.

[111] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 122–123.

[112] Walther, *Pastoraltheologie*, 109; *Pastoral Theology*, 128–129.

[113] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 122.

gives an example of a biblical-psychologically rightly ordered outline on the text "You were bought with a price" (1 Cor 6:20):

1. Awakening to repentance
2. Full of comfort for faith
3. Exhortation to sanctification

One could not put sanctification before repentance or repentance after faith. Pieper does not employ law and gospel to discuss either the meaning of Scripture or its application per se. Law and gospel order the sermon toward the salvation of the hearer but do not determine the sense of the text that must be delivered to the hearer. This resembles his teacher Walther's placement of the distinction between law and gospel within a discussion of pure doctrine as the first necessity of a sermon. The point is not that "law and gospel" are an outline or a hermeneutic overruling all others; rather, they keep the order of salvation clear in the sermon.[114] Walther maintains first that pure doctrine must be preached from the word of God, which also means that law and gospel must be distinguished,[115] but all of Walther's discussion of application is under the heading of the fivefold use of Scripture, as Pieper's is.[116] The disposition of the text in its exposition and application will happen according to Pieper by the text's own *fundamentum dividendi*—its own self-apportionment discovered through exegesis—on which he spends an extensive amount of time.[117] The text will make its own applications and have its own lessons to teach, things to encourage, things to discourage, comforts to bring. The preacher discovers those things in his meditation and then relays them to the congregation.

Caemmerer's method of application flows along the line of his goal-malady-means rubric in which the preacher discovers the divine goal for faith or prayer or family, the malady particular to that goal, and the divine means of righting what is wrong.[118] This meshes well with the terms of *law* and *gospel*, so that the process is summarized in Caemmerer's words as "the goals of preaching," "preaching God's

[114] One of Walther's most fervent pleas for studying the distinction between law and gospel is revealing about the distinction's place in early Missouri Synod practical theology. Walther speaks about the urgency of the distinction for pastoral practice generally, not in sermon construction: *Law & Gospel: How to Read and Apply the Bible*, 71–72. Walther's encouraging remarks in the twenty-eighth lecture (May 15, 1885) on difficulties in sermon writing and correct disposition (*Law & Gospel*, 328–332) concern the seriousness of preaching, humility about one's divine task, and the necessity of clear organization of one's material, not a dynamic particular to every sermon as found in Caemmerer's homiletic.

[115] Walther, *Pastoraltheologie*, 78–79; Pastoral Theology, 97–98.

[116] Walther, *Pastoraltheologie*, 80–95; *Pastoral Theology*, 98–109; Pieper, *Homiletik*, 289–318.

[117] Pieper, *Ev.-Luth. Homiletik*, 133–154.

[118] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 36–39, 177.

judgment," and "preaching God's rescue."[119] This will occur in more or less every sermon—not as a wooden outline but as a rubric for how to preach. To this end, various law-gospel pairings or complexes are provided in different parts of the text, especially in Appendix III with a list of law-gospel pairings that would multiply over the years.[120] Preaching is not organized around the text but around a predetermined law-gospel dynamic that works the hearer through the malady the law diagnoses by means of the gospel to the divinely defined goal. This dynamic affects how the text is interpreted and how the sermon is arranged and makes no specific claim such as Pieper made about the human soul's need for varied application according to the fivefold use of Scripture. Instead, a particular experience of condemnation or destruction followed by forgiveness or restoration is how Caemmerer describes what occurs in sermons:

> God wants to use the preacher as a rifle through which the projectile of the Spirit sinks deeps into the heart of the hearer to kill death and explode into life . . . [The preacher] is like an engineer, building a road through a rocky defile, standing at the plunger of a charge of dynamite, half afraid of the upheaval about to come, half expecting that the charge won't detonate at all. Let the preacher brace himself for his task with cheer. "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for it is the *dynamis Theou*" (Rom 1:16).[121]

If Pieper's homiletic is focused on the Spirit-given sense and application of Scripture, Caemmerer's has abandoned the notion of a Spirit-given sense or applications for the sake of a free-floating dynamic of law and gospel untethered from any particular Scripture. The "Word of God" is not Scripture for Caemmerer; it is God's address of law and gospel to man.

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[119] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 20.

[120] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 29–31, 330–331. Cf. similar ways of organizing law and gospel for preaching in Francis Rossow, *Preaching the Creative Gospel Creatively* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1983); Francis Rossow, *Gospel Handles: Finding New Connections in Biblical Texts* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2001); and Francis Rossow, *Gospel Handles: Old Testament Lessons* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2014). Rossow summarized the method and theology of preaching in this way in "Effective Biblical Proclamation of the Gospel," *Concordia Journal* (January 1978): 29–33; with reference to Caemmerer's *Preaching for the Church*, Gerhard Aho, *Sermon Theory I Notes* (Fort Wayne: CTS Press, n.d.), 1; and describing as "correlates" what Caemmerer called "complexes," Gerhard Aho, "Law and Gospel in Preaching," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 45, nos. 1–2 (January–April 1981): 1–4. Caemmerer's continuing influence in the Missouri Synod is recognized by at least one author, "Dozenten beider Concordia-Seminare der Missouri-Synode arbeiten heute in der homiletischen Linie von Caemmerer über Aho weiter," Daniel J. Schmidt, *Der Homiletische Entwurf von Gerhard Aho (1923–1987): Studie zur Rekonstruktion eines nordamerikanischen lutherischen Predigtkonzepts* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), 384.

[121] Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church*, 49–50.

You are likely familiar with the phrase "law and gospel preaching" but maybe not with the term *fundamentum dividendi* or many of the terms and concepts in Pieper's homiletic discussed in this article. This is because although the doctrine of verbal inspiration of Scripture is common to Pieper's homiletic and the modern LCMS, our common homiletical method is often quite different from his and resembles Caemmerer's more than Pieper's. Caemmerer's homiletic is based on a neoorthodox understanding of the phrase "word of God" that is emphatically not the same thing as Holy Scripture, and because the text is impotent without the preacher's law-gospel questions and dynamic, the preacher himself must make a law-gospel experience happen each time for his hearers. Sermons will inevitably sound the same because the same basic application of condemnation and absolution is occurring in every sermon. Caemmerer's homiletic and preaching, aligned with his prioritization of theological presupposition over exegesis, is out of line with Paul's affirmation that "all Scripture is God-breathed and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be equipped, ready for every good work" (2 Tim 3:16–17). Pieper's homiletic fits much better with Paul's teaching that it is not the preacher's ideas or questions that are God-breathed but the text of Scripture, whose meaning and applications it is our joy to communicate to His people.

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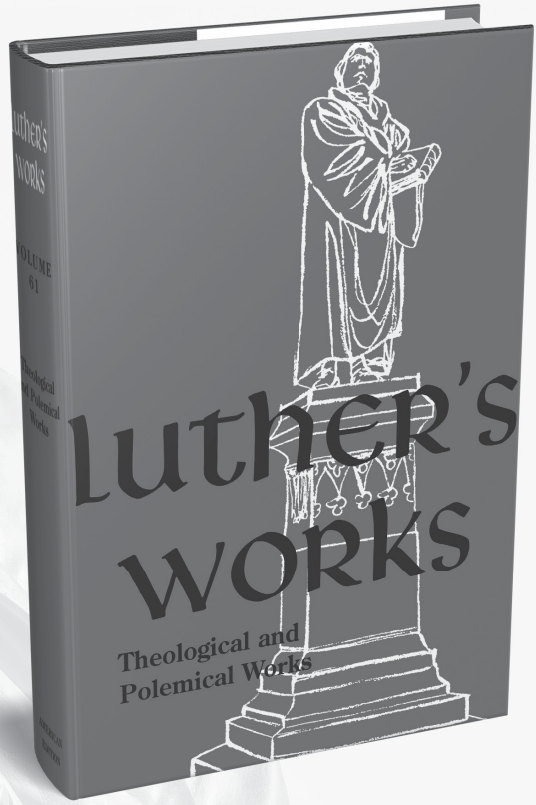

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The Role of the Seminaries in the LCMS, 1847–2001

John C. Wohlrabe Jr.

The primary function of our seminaries has been twofold: first, the education and formation of pastors, missionaries, and other church workers for the LCMS and her partner churches; and second, providing theological leadership or influence through continuing education, publications, *Gutachten* (opinions), and educational presentations. Breaking it down further, we can touch on the perceived purpose, influence, and then outcome of the seminaries, at least in a general way. I am dividing the history into periods: 1847–1887, the Walther-Craemer years, establishing the synod's doctrinal heritage; 1887–1932, the Pieper years, conserving the synod's doctrinal heritage; 1932–1974, the disruptive years, reshaping the synod's doctrinal heritage; and 1974–2001, resettling years, attempting to restore the synod's doctrinal heritage.

I. 1847–1887: The Walther-Craemer Years, Establishing the Synod's Doctrinal Heritage

Although Concordia Seminary was chronologically the first school established, Concordia Theological Seminary was the first educational institution of the newly formed Missouri Synod. Approximately six months before the Saxons arrived, in the summer of 1838, Friedrich Wyneken came to America from Germany, making his way to Fort Wayne, where he became pastor of St. Paul Lutheran Church. In 1841, Wyneken returned to Germany in order to make an appeal for more Lutheran pastors to come to the new world. This resulted in an association with Pastor Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, who began preparing and sending men to serve as pastors in America. One of these was Wilhelm Sihler, who then became pastor of St. Paul Lutheran Church, Fort Wayne, in 1845. In September 1846, eleven young men, sent by Loehe, arrived in Fort Wayne, and on the last week of October 1846, what became Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, officially initiated instructing these students under the tutelage of Sihler. During the first seven years of its existence, students would receive initial instruction under Wilhelm Loehe in Germany, and then complete their studies in Fort Wayne. By April 1847, Sihler and St. Paul Lutheran Church were instrumental in the formation of what became The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS), and the newly formed church body requested that the school in Fort Wayne be formally handed over. The

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document of transfer, issued by Loehe and dated September 7, 1847, stipulated the following conditions:

> 1. That it serve the Lutheran Church for all times and train pastors and shepherds for her only;
>
> 2. That the German language be and remain the sole and only medium of instruction.
>
> 3. That the seminary remain what it is, namely, an institution for the purpose of training, as rapidly but as thoroughly as possible, preachers and pastors for the innumerable orphaned German Lutherans and for the newly immigrating congregations of our race and confession. It should not be a theological institution in the usual German sense of the word, but a "*Pflanzschule*" of preachers and pastors, whose study would be a serious preparation for the holy office itself.[1]

This seminary was identified as the "practical" seminary, designed to equip students for the practical work of preaching and pastoral care in a congregation as quickly as possible. The course of instruction omitted wholly or in part the study of the original biblical languages.[2] Until 1852, studies included only two years of theology. A pro-seminary was added that year in which remedial preparatory courses were offered.[3] In 1855, a teachers' seminary was begun in Milwaukee by Friedrich Lochner, an early Loehe *Sendling* (sent one). This institution was transferred to Fort Wayne in 1857, then moved to Addison, Illinois, in 1864, and later to River Forest, Illinois.[4] But for a few years the institution in Fort Wayne contained a pro-seminary, practical seminary, and teachers' seminary.

From early on, some advocated the merging of the Fort Wayne and St. Louis schools, which was then precipitated by the Civil War. With Indiana not granting draft deferments for divinity students, and Union troops occupying the border state of Missouri, it was decided to move the St. Louis pre-seminary or *Gymnasium* to Fort Wayne, and move the "practical" seminary, together with its pro-seminary, to St. Louis where it shared a building with the theoretical seminary until it was moved

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[1] Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod 1847–1947* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 116.

[2] Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Blessing: 1846–1946* (Springfield, Ill.: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1946), 11–12.

[3] Baepler, *A Century of Blessing*, 16.

[4] Carl S. Meyer, ed., *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 216–217.

to Springfield, Illinois, in 1875.[5] The war was not the only reason for the move to St. Louis. It was felt that this would strengthen the theological education for both institutions with a broader faculty, and it was hoped that the older students of the "practical" seminary would have a positive impact on the younger students in the theoretical school. Also, the combined faculty would exert a greater influence in theological circles throughout the synod and beyond.[6]

By the time of the move to Springfield, the "practical" seminary was also conducting the formation of pastors for other Lutheran church bodies, including those from the Norwegian, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois Synods, along with the English Lutheran Conference of Missouri. Upon the move to Springfield, a press release stated:

> The only object of this school is to prepare and fit young men in the quinquennial course of instruction for the service of the Evangelical Lutheran church. All lessons are given only in German and Norwegian languages—a number of the students being Norwegian.[7]

The Saxon immigrants arrived in Missouri in the early months of 1839. By December 9, 1839, Pastor C. F. W. Walther and candidates Ottomar Fuerbringer, Theodor Brohm, and Johann Buenger erected a log cabin school in the newly established village of Dresden in Perry County, Missouri, with seven boys and four girls enrolled. The school was to be modeled after the German *Gymnasium*, similar to a high school and junior college with seminary education offered as well. However, a few of these early students were actually of elementary school grades. Four of the original seven boys would go on to become Lutheran pastors. When Walther, Fuerbringer, and Buenger took calls elsewhere, Brohm continued the teaching and then moved the school to the parsonage of Gotthold Loeber, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Altenburg, Missouri. When Candidate Brohm received

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[5] Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 194–195. W. G. Polack, *The Building of a Great Church: A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), 61. This was announced in *Der Lutheraner*. A. Craemer, *"Nachricht und Erinnerung," Der Lutheraner*, XVIII (September 3, 1861), 14. Carl S. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 44 note 2. It was later reported to the 1863 synodical convention. *Elfter Synodal Bericht der allgemeinen Deautschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1863* (St. Louis: Synodalbruckerei von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1864), 68-71.

[6] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower* , 41–42.

[7] "The objects of instruction are: In the Pro-Seminary: The German, English and Latin languages, history, theology (dogmatics), geography (modern), and arithmetic. In the Practical Seminary: Dogmatic, symbolic positive and comparative, practical exegesis of the Bible; ecclesiastical history; homiletics; catechetics; pastoral theology; reading of the Latin text of the Apology of the Augustana Confession; the Formula of Concordia; English grammar, reading of Shakespeare and theological casuistry." Erich H. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets: The Anatomy of a Seminary 1846–1976* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1989), 85–86.

a call to a congregation in New York, Pastor Loeber continued teaching until his death in 1849.[8] In 1845, Pastor Loeber wrote in *Der Lutheraner* that the Log Cabin College in Perry County, Missouri, was an "institution for the training of future teachers and ministers."[9] After his brother Otto's death, C. F. W. Walther accepted a call to serve as pastor of what became Trinity Lutheran Church in St. Louis. Both Trinity, Altenburg, and Trinity, St. Louis, supported the fledgling log cabin school. The maintenance of both the Indiana and Missouri schools was one factor in calling the synod into existence in April 1847.[10]

The founding convention desired that the seminary and *Gymnasium* in Altenburg be transferred to the synod. Walther, as the first synodical president, encouraged his congregation to do so. And so, Trinity, St. Louis, voted unanimously to give the school into the synod's hands as long as the school could be moved to St. Louis. Pastor Loeber and the congregation in Altenburg were reluctant to move the school to St. Louis. The transfer of the school and move to St. Louis occurred after Pastor Loeber's death in 1849, and under the following conditions:

> 1. That always it serve the Lutheran Church and train pastors and teachers only for it.
>
> 2. That as the only medium of instruction in the college the German language be adopted and continued without interruption. We grant, nevertheless, that the customary use of the Latin language in some lectures at the *Gymnasium* and universities in Germany may be adopted also in the Seminary.
>
> 3. That the institution remain what it is at present, namely a *Gymnasium* with a theological seminary.[11]

Upon the move to St. Louis in 1849, a building for the school was dedicated June 11, 1850, with another building added in 1852. At that dedication, Walther stated:

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[8] James M. Thomas, "A Bethlehem Built by Poverty," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 88 (Spring 2015): 23–46; Russell P. Baldner, "Institution, Structure, and Place: Revisiting the Historiographic Circumstances of the Saxon Lutheran *Lehranstalt*—Log Cabin College (Part One)," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 88 (Spring 2015): 47–64; Russell P. Baldner, "Institution, Structure, and Place: Revisiting the Historiographic Circumstances of the Saxon Lutheran *Lehranstalt*—Log Cabin College (Part Two)," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 88 (Summer 2015): 7–44.

[9] Warren R. Schmidt, "The Long Reach of the Log Cabin College: A Study of the Inaugural 1839–1840 Class of the Log Cabin College in Dresden, Missouri," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 88 (Summer 2015): 45.

[10] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 14.

[11] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 15–19.

> Out of this institution one day should come servants of the church and of the state, the teachers of the schools, and the craftsmen of industry, the publishers, merchants, heads of the home, in short, the heads and leaders in all stations of life.[12]

The school was incorporated in the state of Missouri as Concordia College in 1853.[13] By 1854, a clear delineation between the *Gymnasium* and the seminary was made, with a director of the *Gymnasium* named; yet Walther served as president of both institutions. While most of the students in the *Gymnasium* were preparing to be either pastors or teachers, there were a few general students.[14] So, although the Indiana school was initiated primarily for the training of pastors, the Missouri school with its German *Gymnasium* was broader in scope, at least until the *Gymnasium* was moved to Fort Wayne.

The St. Louis institution was referred to as the "theoretical" seminary, which required the students to have a basic grasp of both Hebrew and Greek, as well as German and Latin. At this time, it involved nine years of training beyond the elementary level. When the "practical" seminary and pro-seminary of Fort Wayne were moved to St. Louis in 1861, the distinction between the two forms of training continued, and during those years Walther was president of the two seminaries. While the "practical" seminary stressed functional theology, the "theoretical" seminary emphasized scholarly theology. Walther hoped that when the "practical seminary" moved to Springfield, this would be temporary and that eventually only the classical, scholarly theological education would be the norm for all pastors in the synod.[15]

Beginning in 1857, the Missouri Synod began making agreements with other Lutheran synods to train their pastors at its seminaries. Lauritz Larsen was the first Norwegian Synod professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and served there until the beginning of the Civil War.[16] Later Friedrich A. Schmidt would fill the Norwegian chair. Between 1874 and 1875, approximately one third of the students were members of either the Norwegian or the Wisconsin Synods.[17]

Although the Fort Wayne institution was started under the tutelage of Wilhelm Sihler, it was August Craemer who had the greater long-term impact.[18] "Onkel"

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[12] August R. Suelflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 90.

[13] Suelflow, *Servant of the Word*, 91.

[14] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 30.

[15] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 43.

[16] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 32.

[17] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 84.

[18] Erich Heintzen writes: "The coming of Craemer ushered in an era that spanned 41 years in the history of the practical seminary. During this time the influence of this one man chiefly

Craemer, as he was affectionately called, trained hundreds of pastors from 1850—when he took the call to serve the seminary and left the congregation he founded in Frankenmuth, Michigan—until his death in May 1891.[19] By the time of the move to St. Louis, Craemer had educated about eighty pastors. He not only followed the institution to the Gateway City, but then on to the land of Lincoln. He was known for his strict discipline, austerity, and diligent work ethic. But his students loved him, and he prepared them well for calls to far-flung, isolated, often harsh conditions in parishes across the American and Canadian frontier.[20] Between 1861 and 1875, 268 men completed their studies under Craemer in the "practical" branch at St. Louis, while 155 graduated from the theoretical section under Walther. For the next thirty years, the ministers who graduated from the practical seminary had a majority voice in the affairs of the synod. Yet, the confessional theology of the two schools was the same. Carl Meyer writes: "Walther and Craemer shared basic Lutheran convictions in 1861 as well as 1875. Purity of doctrine, Lutheran orthodoxy, and fidelity to Scriptural teachings received constant and recurring emphasis."[21] That was the confessional heritage established by Walther and Craemer.[22] These men believed that the character of the theological institutions would determine the future of the Lutheran Church in America.[23] While the emphasis of the theological seminary was on scholarly theological education, and the practical seminary stressed sermonizing and catechesis, both schools held up systematic theology as of primary importance.

The year following the move of the practical seminary to Springfield, Illinois (1876), Walther expressed himself to Pastor Carl M. Zorn regarding his personal views:

> Just between us, the greater share of the so-called "practical" preachers in our synod are always our weak side (since more and more become such). Not only did they lack almost all *Geistesbildung* (mental formation) before they entered, but they also were weak *an Gaben und Charakter* (gifts and character). They

determined the character of the institution, molded a large segment of the synod's clergy, and consequently affected the shape of the synod itself." Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 41.

[19] Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer, *Persons and Events: Reminiscences of Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 22.

[20] Fuerbringer, *Persons and Events*, 24–30.

[21] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 50.

[22] Meyer would also add, "There is no evidence that [the practical seminary graduates] formed a bloc in any sense of the word. However, they did determine the stance of Missouri, emphasizing orthodoxy rather than scholarship and orthodoxy, as Walther wished." Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 63.

[23] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 64.

> threaten to become our Achilles heel. In their narrow-mindedness they often see heresy where nothing of the kind exists.[24]

This is a rather ironic statement in view of the issues caused by several of the fully theologically trained men from Germany and the St. Louis institution. This would include Georg Schieferdecker, educated in Leipzig, who as both pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Altenburg and Western District President, put forth chiliastic views and then left the Missouri Synod to join the Iowa Synod.[25] It includes the Rev. Herman Baumstark, a graduate of Leipzig University, who then trained at Concordia Seminary. Baumstark afterward was called to teach at the St. Louis school, but then joined the Roman Catholic Church. Eduard Preuss—who had a PhD from the University of Koenigsberg, Prussia, and taught in Berlin—was called to teach at the St. Louis institution and then defected to the Roman Catholic Church as well.[26] Finally, this list includes a student of C. F. W. Walther, Friedrich A. Schmidt, who sat at his feet through confirmation instruction at Trinity Lutheran Church, St. Louis, then studied under Walther through the St. Louis *Gymnasium* and seminary, then served as the Norwegian professor at Concordia Seminary from 1872 to 1876 alongside Walther, and finally hoped to be called back to the St. Louis seminary when an understudy was selected to serve under Walther in 1878. That same F. A. Schmidt precipitated the Predestinarian Controversy, splintering the Synodical Conference. He later was instrumental in forming a group called the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood.[27] One does not see such issues arising out of the "practical" seminary.

Particularly during the years that both institutions resided in St. Louis and then following the move of the practical seminary to Springfield, faculties from both institutions were involved extensively in writing for *Der Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre,* in providing *Gutachten* or theological opinions,[28] and in publishing theological works, though those coming out of the practical seminary were directed more toward preaching and liturgics.[29] During this period, the practical seminary

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[24] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 43 n. 1.

[25] Erwin L. Lueker, ed., *Lutheran Cyclopedia* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, rev. ed., 1975), 699.

[26] Suelflow, *Servant of the Word*, 105.

[27] John C. Wohlrabe Jr., "The Election-by-Grace Doctrinal Controversy and the Doctrine of Justification," *Propter Christum: Christ at the Center* (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Luther Academy, 2013), 385–410.

[28] Wohlrabe, "The Election-by-Grace Doctrinal Controversy," 253. Fuerbringer, *Persons and Events*, 23.

[29] In 1875, Friedrich Lochner was called to Trinity Lutheran Church in Springfield, Illinois. He then taught liturgics and eventually wrote a book to guide the pastors of the Missouri Synod. Sadly, it was not translated into English when the synod underwent the language transition during the early part of the twentieth century. But it now has been translated by Matthew Carver and

produced the greater number of pastors for the synod, almost twice as many as the theoretical seminary.[30] Regardless of the institution from which they hailed, these pastors were known for their preaching, their purity of doctrine, and their pious character.[31]

II. 1887–1932: The Pieper Years, Conserving the Synod's Doctrinal Heritage

With the death of Walther on May 7, 1887, and the death of Craemer on May 3, 1891, both the theological and practical seminaries passed into the Pieper period. Franz Pieper was elected as Walther's understudy at the 1878 synodical convention, which in some ways precipitated the Predestinarian Controversy because Friedrich Schmidt wanted that position and soon started attacking Walther on the doctrine of election. Franz became president of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, upon Walther's death. His older brother, Reinhold Pieper, became president of Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, upon Craemer's death. Franz Pieper's presidency would continue until his death in 1931. Reinhold Pieper would serve as president at Springfield until 1914.[32] Conserving the doctrinal heritage established during the previous period was the emphasis at both institutions. Whereas the practical seminary far outpaced the theoretical seminary in the formation of pastors during its earlier period, the St. Louis institution would take the lead during this next time interval.

Several factors facilitated the St. Louis school overtaking its sister in Springfield. First, the synod went from having just one feeder school or *Gymnasium* in Fort Wayne to similar schools established across the continent.[33] Most of these included

published by Concordia Publishing House as *The Chief Divine Service*. Friedrich Lochner, *The Chief Divine Service of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church*, trans. Matthew Carver (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2020).

[30] By 1872, the practical seminary had graduated 298 men as missionaries and pastors to the 130 of the theoretical seminary. Baepler, *A Century of Grace*, 127. During the years that both seminaries were together, 1861 to 1875, 268 men completed the practical curriculum, while 155 graduated from the theoretical. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 63. The school year in which Walther died, 1886–1887, the enrollment at the St. Louis institution was 93, while the Springfield school had 176 students. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 84.

[31] C. C. Schmidt, "The Pastors of the Missouri Synod," *Ebenezer: Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century*, ed. W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922), 491, 493.

[32] He was followed by R. D. Biedermann (1915–1921) who was then followed by H. A. Klein (1922–1935) as presidents of the practical seminary.

[33] This actually began in 1881, before Walther's death, with Concordia Colleges in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Bronxville, New York, followed by St. Paul's College in Concordia, Missouri, in 1884; Concordia College in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1893; and St. John's College in Winfield, Kansas, in 1893. Concordia College in Conover, North Carolina, came to the German Synod from the

Lutheran high schools and junior colleges where Latin and biblical languages were taught in preparation for entrance to the St. Louis seminary. They made up what became known as "the system." Other factors that assisted the St. Louis institution in surpassing the Springfield school were the attempts by some in the synod to eliminate the Springfield school, and when that failed, to restrict the number of those completing this course of study.[34]

During the 1893–1894 school year, enrollment at Springfield was just under 300, while in St. Louis, there were 170 students. In 1896, the synod determined to limit the enrollment of the practical seminary to 170.[35] Attempts were also made to end the Springfield *Vorklasse* or pro-seminary. Prior to 1920, not even an eighth-grade education was required for admittance. So, the pro-seminary was very important, not only for those coming from the German Missouri Synod, but Norwegians, Finns, Slovaks, and students from the English Missouri Synod.[36]

By 1915, the Springfield enrollment dropped to 201 including the pro-seminary program, while the St. Louis seminary climbed to 328.[37] Around this time, the curriculum of the Springfield school was expanded to include educational subjects, enabling graduates to pass state examinations to serve as teachers.[38] The enrollment limit placed on the Springfield school was finally lifted in 1926. However, by that time, the St. Louis graduates significantly outnumbered their sister seminary.[39]

Under the leadership of Franz Pieper, conservation of the confessional doctrinal heritage passed on by Walther and Craemer was prominent.[40] At both schools, systematic theology was again given a greater emphasis over exegetical studies.[41] The doctrinal stance of the Missouri Synod passed on by the seminary

English Missouri Synod in 1911, followed by Concordia College in Portland, Oregon, in 1905; and Concordia College in Edmonton, Canada, in 1921.

[34] This had been the desire of Walther. It was furthered by Heinrich Schwan, who had studied in Germany under the theoretical model, as well as Franz Pieper, who was president of the synod after Schwan from 1899 to 1911, and then Friedrich Pfotenhauer, who was president of the synod from 1911 to 1935. Both Pieper and Pfotenhauer studied under Walther at the theoretical seminary.

[35] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets,* 173.

[36] Erich Heintzen noted: "The incident of the *Vorklasse* is of more than passing interest. It reveals something significant about the self-image of the institution. In contrast to its sister seminary in St. Louis, which viewed itself as a "learned" seminary aspiring to the pinnacle of German scholarship, the Springfield institution saw itself as a "pastoral" and "missionary" seminary. Its purpose was, in part, to provide training for men who for one reason or another were not suited to the synod's lockstep, classically oriented high school-junior college-seminary system." Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 113.

[37] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 114.

[38] Baepler, *A Century of Blessing*, 30. Baepler, *A Century of Grace*, 222.

[39] Baepler, *A Century of Grace*, 285.

[40] Carl S. Meyer put it this way: "Conserving and retaining the teachings of the early leaders of the Synod belonged to the tasks of the new generation." Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 91.

[41] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 98.

faculties was regarded by synodical leadership as a reason for the continued growth of the synod.[42]

The seminaries were a regular feature of reports and resolutions at the conventions of the synod, particularly addressing their growth and the need for facility expansion. During the Pieper years, two extensive building projects were undertaken for the St. Louis institution, including the 1883 structure on Jefferson Ave. and the 1926 campus on DeMun Ave. The question of closing Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield again came up in 1926. Instead, the convention voted to provide the institution with a new heating plant, a new dormitory, and an administration building.[43]

The influence that their professors had in the classrooms became stronger after the students entered the ministry. Faculty members, particularly from the St. Louis institution, were regularly invited to deliver essays at the various conventions and conferences throughout the synod.[44] Additionally, faculty members served on synodical committees, represented the synod on the Intersynodical Committees that attempted to achieve Lutheran unity from 1917 to 1929, and then worked on the Brief Statement, which was largely formulated by Franz Pieper. The faculties of both seminaries continued to publish articles in the synod's theological journals.[45] Significant publications during this period included the *Concordia Triglotta* with Gerhard Friedrich Bente's historical introduction, Franz Pieper's three volume *Christliche Dogmatik*, John H. C. Fritz's *The Practical Missionary* (1919), and his *Pastoral Theology* (1932). Yet, it was the initiation of a radio station—KFUO from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, which was dedicated December 14, 1924, that would have a far-reaching impact outside Lutheran circles. In conjunction with the Lutheran Laymen's League, the Lutheran Hour was started, with a seminary professor, Walter A. Maier, serving as speaker.[46]

Of particular interest is the role the seminaries played in the language and cultural transformation that took place in the years before and after World War I. While the Springfield "practical" seminary had pointed to the need for pastors capable of preaching in both German and English from early on,[47] the St. Louis "theoretical" faculty seemed more interested in maintaining the German culture,

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[42] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 95.

[43] Baepler, *A Century of Blessing*, 31.

[44] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 104.

[45] This included *Lehre und Wehre, The Theological Quarterly*, which became *The Theological Monthly*, *Der Lutheraner* and *The Lutheran Witness, Homiletik und Pastoraltheologie*, and *Magazin für Evangelische Lutherische Homiletik.*

[46] Erwin L. Lueker, ed., *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, 658; Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 243. .

[47] Baepler, *A Century of* Blessing, 11–12.

and not only with respect to language. This included some of the St. Louis faculty serving as active members of the American Neutrality League and speaking before the United States Congress to encourage American neutrality before the United States' declaration of war on April 6, 1917.[48] As anti-German attitudes grew across the country, President Pfotenhauer turned to the Springfield seminary in naming a Council of Defense to study the anti-German issue confronting the synod and provide advice to the congregations of the synod on how best to respond.[49]

Despite the growing number of seminary students during the latter years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, both seminaries could not fill all the calls to congregations.[50] But by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, the Great Depression would result in a marked decline in calls for candidates. Erich Heintzen noted: "The Springfield seminary feared that when calls were assigned, the 'practical' men would be eliminated. But the principle actually followed was that the best men should be placed, whether they came from Springfield or St. Louis."[51] The dire dearth of candidate calls continued well into the 1930s. In 1932, the studies of 160 young men were halted for a year.[52]

III. 1932–1974: The Disruptive Years, Reshaping the Synod's Doctrinal Heritage

During the next forty-two years, the role of both seminaries would change dramatically. This period would begin with the Springfield seminary fighting for its existence, while the St. Louis school began transforming into an agent for reshaping the synod's doctrinal heritage.

With the Great Depression bearing down on the nation and the synod facing a surplus of ministerial candidates graduating from its two seminaries, the 1935 synodical convention confronted overtures to dissolve the "practical" seminary.[53]

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[48] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 137, 235–238.

[49] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 120.

[50] In 1909, there were 180 requests for candidates but only 96 graduates. Of those, 61 were from St. Louis. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 96. Because of emergency needs, some students were asked to interrupt their studies to fill in at vacant congregations. It was also during the early years of the twentieth century that voluntary vicarages began. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 97. With the rise of Missouri Synod feeder schools, enrollment at the Springfield seminary declined, particularly during World War I. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 114. In 1923, the St. Louis seminary began issuing the bachelor of divinity degree to its graduates. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 266.

[51] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 145.

[52] It was then concluded that a mandatory vicarage be implemented after the second year at the seminary. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 155.

[53] The resolution to close the Springfield school first passed by one vote, 266 to 265. Two days later, a motion to reconsider carried. This time, 283 voted to retain the school while 256 voted to close.

After two votes over the span of three days, and by a margin of only twenty-seven votes, the synod resolved to retain the "practical" seminary.[54] Following that close call, a revised and expanded curriculum was introduced in Springfield during the 1936–1937 school year, which included a mandatory course in New Testament Greek. Entrance requirements were also raised, requiring at least two years of high school for admittance to the pro-seminary program, now called an "academy."[55] Beginning in 1941, the newly established Board for Higher Education again attempted to close the Springfield school. It was held that the "practical" seminary, due to increased academic requirements for entrance and completion, was not that different from the St. Louis institution. It was also observed by the BHE that the Springfield school produced pastors who were particularly known for their conservative Lutheranism.[56] Despite the recommendation of the BHE, the 1944 synodical convention voted to retain the Springfield school. A year later, this was the only synodical seminary equipped to receive a unique group of students: the returning GIs following World War II.[57]

After the death of Franz Pieper, Ludwig Fuerbringer became president of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, serving in that position until 1943, when Louis Sieck was installed. While Ludwig Fuerbringer maintained the conservative status of the seminary during his tenure, Sieck began extensive changes.[58] The intent was to improve theological scholarship toward the development of a more excellent ministry.[59] But it did not stop there. While the St. Louis seminary graduate program began in the 1923–1924 school year with a Master of Sacred Theology (STM) program, this was expanded in 1944 to include a Doctor of Theology (ThD) degree.[60] The 1950 seminary report to the synodical convention stressed that the school must train not only pastors and missionaries, but also scholars: "Our Seminary ought to aim to exert a greater influence in the theological world of today."[61] In 1952, Louis Sieck was followed by Alfred Fuerbringer, son of Ludwig

[54] The response was that Springfield continued to carry out its original purpose: "to train men who, because of their educational background or age, could not fit well into the preparatory school-St. Louis system." Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 177.

[55] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 150–151.

[56] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 180.

[57] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 183. Heintzen notes: "The simple principle of supply and demand after World War II turned the seminary into a 'blessed necessity' for the synod." Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 184.

[58] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 185.

[59] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 233.

[60] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 269–272.

[61] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 271.

Fuerbringer, as president of the St. Louis institution. Alfred continued the progressive changes at the St. Louis school.[62]

To support this striving for academic excellence, the synod decided to establish a Senior College on a new campus site in Fort Wayne and to sell the existing Fort Wayne junior college.[63] This institution would confer bachelor's degrees, which would now be required for enrollment at the St. Louis seminary. Meanwhile, students from non-synodical schools, including Valparaiso University, were to attend Springfield.[64]

The first overt sign that members of the St. Louis faculty sought to influence and even reshape the synod's doctrinal heritage occurred when five of them joined thirty-nine others in signing "A Statement" in 1945. The group that signed "A Statement" were brought together at a Chicago hotel by the Editorial Board for the American Lutheran Publicity Bureau (ALPB).[65] "A Statement" included twelve theses and was divided into a "We affirm" section and a "We therefore deplore" section. Primary among those things deplored were legalism, a loveless attitude, that Romans 16:17 was applied to all Christians who differ from the Missouri Synod in doctrine, and other matters regarding church fellowship. Daniel Preus summarized the consequences:

> Completely apart from the issues involved, the fact that a statement of faith and conviction which had been made and mailed to all LCMS clergy and was contrary to official church doctrine and practice was simply withdrawn from discussion without retraction was a very bright green light to those who wished to see Missouri embrace a more open fellowship practice. But the implications do not end there. When people were permitted to publish a position statement contrary to our doctrine, and were not disciplined or required to retract, it became apparent that people would be able to publish or set forth other statements contrary to our doctrine. To many who believed Missouri too rigid, the 44 became a heroic example of a new permissiveness which would slowly invade the synod and lead eventually to the deplorable positions held by the St.

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[62] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 271.

[63] Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 388.

[64] David P. Scaer, *Surviving the Storms: Memoirs of David P. Scaer* (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Luther Academy, 2018), 89.

[65] The five included Theodore Graebner, Richard Caemmerer, Paul Bretscher, W. Gustave Polack, and William Arndt. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 247. Richard R. Caemmerer, "Recollections of 'A Statement,'" *CHIQ* 43 (November 1970): 156. Thomas Coates, "'A Statement'—Some Reminiscences," *CHIQ* 43 (November 1970): 159. *Speaking the Truth in Love: Essays Related to A Statement, Chicago Nineteen Forty-Five* (Chicago: The Willow Press, n.d.), passim. Jack Tron Robinson, "The Spirit of Triumphalism in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod: The Role of the 'A Statement' of 1945 in the Missouri Synod" (unpublished PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1972), 132–150.

> Louis Seminary faculty majority in the early 1970s. . . . The fact remains that these men were able to flaunt the doctrinal practice of the church body to which they belonged with no significant consequences.[66]

Other changes began to occur at the St. Louis school following "A Statement." Several of the faculty members were involved in the Bad Boll Conferences beginning in 1948. Despite synodical President John Behnken being warned by Hermann Sasse that this could be theologically detrimental and would hurt relations with the German Free Church,[67] the Missouri Synod went forward with the conferences. The synod leadership who attended, including several St. Louis faculty members, were directly confronted with modern German scholarship, particularly in the area of contemporary neo-orthodox Luther studies and historical criticism from men like Werner Elert, Helmut Thielicke, Peter Brunner, Heinrich Bornkamm, Edmund Schlink, and Adolf Koeberle. Scott Murray notes three results of the Bad Boll Conferences:

> First, the Missouri Synod commissioners returned to the United States with an altered view of the place of Scripture in theological prolegomena. This has affected the course of Missouri Synod history to the present. Second, the commissioners encountered an ambivalence about the significance of the Formula of Concord for which they were unprepared. Third, the commissioners returned to their teaching posts eager to recommend these great Lutheran scholars to their students for graduate studies.[68]

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[66] Daniel Preus, "The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod: Holiday from History," https://web.archive.org/web/20020209135211/http:/www.confessionallutherans.org:80/papers/dantalk.htm, pp. 11, 13.

[67] Hermann Sasse, "Letter to J.W. Behnken from Hermann Sasse Regarding the Bad Boll Conferences—May 14, 1948," trans. Albert Collver and Charles Schaum, *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 93, no. 4 (Winter 2020): 25–40.

[68] Scott R. Murray, *Law, Life, and the Living God: The Third Use of the Law in Modern American Lutheranism* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2002), 67. Concerning the influence of Werner Elert, David Scaer has noted: "Werner Elert, who out of all the Bad Boll conferees on the German side would make the biggest impression on the Missourians, was part of the Erlangen tradition. He had been a pastor and professor in the Breslau Synod, a church body that has grown closer and closer to the Missouri Synod. He also appeared as a chief attacker of Karl Barth on the matter of Law and Gospel. Elert's essay 'Law and Gospel' was a direct reply to Barth's 'Gospel and Law.' All this endeared Elert to the Missourians. But the elevation of 'Law-Gospel' as the controlling theological theme was the weakness of Elert's position. The Missourians did not determine that Elert had provided no basis for his theology apart from a functional use of Scriptures and Luther. Elert like Barth had a Scripture divorced from history. Elert was in fact a 'Lutheran-Barthian.' His 'Law-Gospel' principle hung suspended in theological thin air, almost in the same fashion as the Erlangen theology a century before." David Scaer, "Law Gospel Debate in the Missouri Synod," *Springfielder* 36 (December 1972): 162–163.

Even before the Bad Boll Conferences began, Richard Caemmerer and Jaroslav Pelikan, both on the St. Louis faculty, questioned the third use of the law in Lutheran theology.[69] This led to the position which John Warwick Montgomery later identified as Gospel Reductionism, reducing the word of God to only the gospel and questioning the normative authority of Scripture together with other churchly authority.[70] While the Missouri Synod and the Synodical Conference affirmed the traditional position on the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture in 1959, Martin Scharlemann, director of the School for Graduate Studies at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, put forth a series of "exploratory" essays on the nature of inspiration and revelation. Throughout the Missouri Synod and the Synodical Conference, Scharlemann was severely criticized for what many perceived as a rejection of the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture. Scharlemann apologized before the 1962 synodical convention. But the doors had been opened for the further incursion of historical criticism.[71]

Another emphasis growing on the campus of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, was the push for Lutheran union.[72] Several members of the faculty, including President Alfred Fuerbringer, served on the synod's Committee for Doctrinal Unity.[73] Alfred Fuerbringer believed that a vital role of the institution was "informing a living church!"[74] Carl S. Meyer summarized it this way:

> Some men have seen their roles simply as transmitters of viewpoints handed down from one generation to the next. Others have been disturbed about the church's lack of involvement in the intellectual, social, and cultural milieu. Still others have conceived the role of a theological faculty as a leadership role, one which brings new insights into the Scriptures, new formulations of teachings, new programs for the church, new techniques for the proclamation of the church, and new approaches—perhaps even new avenues—for the services the church renders.[75]

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[69] Richard Caemmerer, "The Melanchthonian Blight," *CTM* 18 (May 1947): 321–338. See Murray, *Law, Life, and the Living God*, 46–50.

[70] Murray, *Law, Life, and the Living God*, 53.

[71] Beginning with the November 1959 issue, the Scharlemann controversy dominated the pages of *The Confessional Lutheran* until well after the 1962 convention. LCMS, *Reports and Memorials to the Forty-Fifth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod Meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, June 20–30, 1962* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), 164–165. Also see John Behnken, *This I Recall* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 106–107, 199.

[72] Carl Meyer asserted, "A genuine interest in Lutheran unity pervaded the campus." Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 229.

[73] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 246, 250.

[74] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, viii.

[75] Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 259.

The Springfield school did not share this latter view of a seminary's leadership role. It continued to strive toward the formation of faithful pastors for the synod.[76] During the 1950s, the Springfield seminary grew to be one of the largest Lutheran seminaries in the country, the largest seminary without a graduate school. More faculty were brought on during this time. However, instead of seeking more progressive scholars, President Baepler sought well-trained conservative theologians, including J. A. O. Preus in 1958. In 1962, Jacob Preus became president of the Springfield school. That year, it was determined that a bachelor's degree was required, although the seminary continued to enroll a certain percentage of qualified men who had no degrees.[77] Around this time, the Springfield seminary also achieved formal accreditation.[78] Then, in 1967, it was determined that graduates of the synod's Fort Wayne Senior College could choose to attend either the seminary in St. Louis or the seminary in Springfield, and the synod's Board for Higher Education stated: "In the United States, professional theological study is postbaccalaureate. Both seminaries do and should work at that level."[79] Additionally, the St. Louis seminary began accepting students who had not attended the synodical "system" schools.[80] At the 1969 Denver synodical convention, J. A. O. Preus was elected president of the synod. The next two synodical conventions, 1971 Milwaukee and 1973 New Orleans, had extensive business and numerous resolutions dealing with the St. Louis institution, while no resolutions referred specifically to the Springfield seminary.[81]

Just prior to the election of a new synodical president in 1969, Alfred Fuerbringer retired so that John Tietjen was elected president of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.[82] His doctoral dissertation from Union Seminary in New York was later published as *Which Way to Lutheran Unity?* where he maintained the following:

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[76] After the seminary was notified by the Veterans Administration in 1945 that it was approved for education under the GI Bill of Rights, the enrollment at the Springfield school went from 137 to 229, with 95 being veterans, including 26 married students. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 189.

[77] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 198.

[78] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 100.

[79] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 201–202.

[80] August R. Suelflow, ed., *Heritage in Motion* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1998), 400–414.

[81] Suelflow, *Heritage in Motion*, 208.

[82] He had served as the Executive Secretary of the Department of Public Relations for the Lutheran Council USA, a pan-Lutheran group striving for greater cooperation among American Lutherans.

> What should be the basis for uniting the Lutherans of America? I suggest that it should be consensus in recognizing the Holy Scriptures as the norm and standard of teaching and in regarding the Lutheran Confessions as the correct explanation of Scriptures—that much and nothing more.[83]

This minimalist view without discerning what such "recognition" might mean was basically the position of the Lutheran Church in America and not the long-held position of the Missouri Synod, which maintained that Lutheran union must be based on true unity: agreement in doctrine and practice. Concerning the changes that had been occurring at the St. Louis school, Tietjen writes in his memoirs:

> Under Fuerbringer's leadership CS had been undergoing a quiet revolution. Biblical studies were receiving major attention, replacing dogmatic theology. . . . Several members of the faculty were helping CS and the church body come to terms with contemporary issues of biblical criticism.[84]

A few faculty members expressed concerns about what was being taught at the seminary, including Robert Preus (brother of President Jacob Preus), Martin Scharlemann, and Ralph Bohlmann. On April 20, 1970, President Jacob Preus wrote the seminary Board of Control that he intended to appoint a Fact-Finding Committee to evaluate the teaching at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.[85] We do not have time to get into all the details of what led to the walkout and formation of the seminary-in-exile known as Seminex. The report of the Fact-Finding Committee found that false doctrine was taught by the faculty majority. The 1973 synodical convention adopted a resolution acknowledging deviations in doctrine by the faculty majority and charged the seminary Board of Control to deal with it. The seminary board then temporarily suspended John Tietjen on January 20, 1974. The next day, the majority of the Concordia Seminary students voted to declare a moratorium on all classes. These students and a majority of the faculty then began an outreach to the congregations and church workers of the synod. The board met February 17–18, 1974, and resolved that any faculty refusing to resume their teaching responsibilities on February 19 would be considered in breach of their contracts and thereby terminated. On the morning of February 19, 1974, the majority of faculty members and students made their exodus from Concordia Seminary and marched into self-imposed exile. They formed the seminary that became known as Christ Seminary-Seminex.[86] Approximately forty to sixty students

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[83] John H. Tietjen, *Which Way to Lutheran Unity?* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966, reprinted by Clayton Publishing House, 1975), 151.

[84] John H. Tietjen, *Memoirs in Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 6.

[85] Board of Control, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, *Exodus from Concordia: A Report on the 1974 Walkout* (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary Publicity Office, 1977), 22–25.

[86] *Exodus from Concordia*, 53–117.

on campus and five faculty did not participate in the "walkout" and continued as Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. The five professors who remained were Ralph Bohlmann, Richard Klann, Robert Preus, Martin Scharlemann, and Lorenz Wunderlich, although Bohlmann remained on a leave of absence serving the synod's Commission on Theology and Church Relations.[87] Martin Scharlemann was named Acting President, but he and his family were threatened and harassed, which led to nervous exhaustion. Robert Preus assumed these duties until Ralph Bohlmann was named Acting President May 20, 1974. He was formally called and installed as the St. Louis seminary's seventh president in May 1975.[88]

By 1969, the Springfield seminary was providing 40 percent of the candidates entering the pastoral ministry of the Missouri Synod.[89] After Jacob Preus became synodical president, Richard Schultz was chosen president of Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, in 1970. Some assert that he sympathized with the St. Louis faculty majority.[90] Schultz resigned in January 1974, taking a call to serve a parish, whereupon Robert Preus, brother of synodical president Jacob, was called to serve as president of the Springfield seminary May 24, 1974.[91]

IV. 1974–2001: Resettling Years, Attempting to Restore the Synod's Doctrinal Heritage

In May 1974, two men had the helm of the synod's two seminaries, attempting to restore the synod's doctrinal heritage after a tremendous disruption at the St. Louis institution and amidst further disruption taking place throughout the synod: Ralph Bohlmann and Robert Preus. Each man would have a different vision for the seminary under his charge, which would impact the role of each seminary even to the present.

After the walkout in February 1974, the St. Louis seminary continued providing classes and began to rebuild. The five professors who did not walk out and the 80 or so[92] students who remained were supported by faculty from the Springfield seminary who drove the 100 miles regularly to supplement the depleted theological

[87] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 154.

[88] *Exodus from Concordia*, 133, 147.

[89] About 90 percent of those who entered the Springfield institution had college degrees, and 70 percent of the student body were married.

[90] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 207, 209. Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 143–144, 153.

[91] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 209.

[92] In unpublished notes possessed by Concordia Historical Institute, Richard Warneck stated that there were about 50 students who remained at Concordia Seminary during the walkout, and they were joined by about 30 returning vicars in the fall of 1974.

faculty.[93] The 1974–1975 school year saw new faculty called from throughout the synod to restore the St. Louis school.

The 1975 Anaheim synodical convention made further changes that would impact both seminaries. Because many of the synod's former *Gymnasium* institutions had transitioned to four-year colleges, it was determined to close the Fort Wayne Senior College and move the Springfield institution back to Fort Wayne by June 1, 1977. Some believed this move was due to the apparent support of many on the Senior College faculty for the group that had walked out.[94] But the primary reason was that the "system" of training preministerial students and funneling them toward the St. Louis institution had come to an end. The walkout demonstrated the need for two seminaries; and so the old Springfield campus was swapped for the beautiful Eero Saarinen–designed campus in Fort Wayne.

Robert Preus set about enhancing the academic quality of the Springfield/Fort Wayne institution, adding to the conservative faculty established earlier under his brother.[95] Not only was understanding of biblical Greek required, but Hebrew was added to biblical studies. A strong confessional systematic program was given prominence. The upholding of traditional Lutheran liturgy and reverent worship practices were emphasized. A graduate program began, initially offering an STM degree. Robert Preus wanted to expand this to a program providing the ThD degree, but there was an agreement that St. Louis would continue offering the academic ThD while Fort Wayne could develop the professional Doctor of Ministry degree.[96] St. Louis soon also offered a DMin program. In addition to academic theology, Robert Preus had a strong interest in missions, and so the Fort Wayne school developed what was initially called the Doctor of Missiology (DMiss), which was eventually changed to a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Missiology.[97] Still, Robert Preus's main emphasis was on Lutheran confessional studies and the formation of confessional Lutheran pastors, missionaries, and theologians.[98]

I am convinced that following the walkout at the St. Louis seminary, Ralph Bohlmann wanted to restore the synod's doctrinal heritage. After all, he was the primary author of "A Statement of Scriptural and Confessional Principles," used by the Fact-Finding Committee to evaluate the doctrine of the St. Louis faculty prior to

[93] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 154.
[94] Suelflow, *Heritage in Motion*, 400–414.
[95] Consider Murray, *Law, Life, and the Living God*, 132–145, 192–200.
[96] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 203.
[97] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 204–205.
[98] His dream of a ThD program in Confessional Studies eventually came to fruition in 2018 with a PhD in Theological Studies offered at the Fort Wayne campus. Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 206.

the walkout.[99] However, he had a somewhat different view on what the doctrinal heritage of the synod was. In 1981, Bohlmann was elected as the president of the synod, and he served in that capacity until 1992. As synodical president, he continued to influence the shape of seminary formation in the synod.[100]

That Bohlmann's perspective on reshaping the synod's doctrinal heritage through seminary formation differed from that of Robert Preus can clearly be seen in a presentation he gave to the ALPB at the fiftieth anniversary of "A Statement" of the Forty-Four in 1995, which was then published in the February 1996 *Lutheran Forum*. First, he lamented that the Forty-Four and their Chicago Statement did not correct the "sins of Missouri."[101] He saw four areas where the synod needed changing: gospel versus law domination, members not seeking to deal with brothers and sisters through retribution or exclusion; scriptural interpretation, specifically whether Missouri's positions on women's ordination[102] or closed Communion were really based on *sola scriptura*; understanding of church, particularly with regard to the application of Romans 16:17 to other Christians, the closed Communion position of the synod, the nature and understanding of unionism, and the apparent rejection of some regarding "church growth" practices; and finally, love, in which he deplored the party spirit of some within the synod.[103]

In an effort to innovate and culturally contextualize theology and pastoral formation, Bohlmann sought to implement the practices of the church growth movement among the graduates of Concordia Seminary and elsewhere in the synod. He brought to the St. Louis faculty Elmer Matthias, who studied at Fuller Seminary in Pasadena, California, under Donald McGavran, C. Peter Wagner, Win Arn, and others, introducing sociological and business practices including "marketing the church," "contemporary worship," "seeker services," and more. He also had Pastor

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[99] LCMS, "A Statement of Scriptural and Confessional Principles," https://www.lcms.org/about/beliefs/doctrine/statement-of-scriptural-and-confessional-principles.

[100] I completed my active-duty enlistment in the Navy in August 1976 and was directed to attend Concordia College, Ann Arbor, Michigan, to finish the bachelor degree and fulfill the preministerial requirements since the Senior College was closing. I finished my studies at Ann Arbor February 1978, and I started spring quarter March 1978 at the reconstituted Concordia Seminary with Bohlmann serving as the seminary president. I completed the Master of Divinity and started the Master of Sacred Theology program under his seminary presidency. I completed the Doctor of Theology program at the St. Louis seminary under the presidency of Karl Barth.

[101] These so-called "sins" included perceived narrow fellowship practices, continued faulty biblical interpretation, and supposed legalism in synodical dealings.

[102] To that end, Ralph Bohlmann appointed a special Commission on Women in 1984 to review past and present aspects of women's service in the church. Suelflow, *Heritage in Motion*, 50, 52–56.

[103] Ralph A. Bohlmann, "Missouri Lutheranism, 1945 and 1995," *Lutheran Forum* 30, no. 1 (February 1996): 12–17.

Leroy Biesenthal, a synodical executive, teaching evangelism at the St. Louis school based on a revamping of James Kennedy's *Evangelism Explosion.*[104]

Under the leadership of Robert Preus, the majority of the Fort Wayne seminary faculty did not support these church growth practices and took a more conservative position with respect to closed Communion, unionism, women in the church, and traditional Lutheran liturgical practices. However, in building up the Doctor of Missiology program, new faculty were brought in, some of whom had studied at Fuller Seminary and who supported church growth and other aspects of Ralph Bohlmann's doctrinal emphasis. These included Eugene Bunkowske, Robert Newton, and Waldo Werning.[105] In 1984, President Bohlmann called for an investigation of the Fort Wayne seminary, which began in 1985.[106] Then, in 1988, efforts were undertaken to remove Robert Preus as president. On May 20, 1989, he was asked to step down. By September 1989, he was forced into retirement.[107] Concerning this sad situation, Preus later wrote:

> No, there is only one logical and charitable explanation for the radical and unprecedented action of forcing me out of my call as president of the Seminary. Although many of the majority Board members do not realize it and would not admit it, the reason I was put out of my office and the reason the leaders of the BOR persisted in their actions so intransigently is doctrinal. Again and again the Seminary faculty with me as its president opposed and even foiled the plans President Bohlmann had for the Synod in the area of doctrine. We opposed his new erroneous doctrine of church fellowship and his impossible theory of levels of fellowship or relationships. Our Exegetical Theology Department's position on the place of women in the church displeased him. We thoroughly disagreed with his views on the "ministry of laymen and women in the church," pushed forth at the Wichita Convention of the Synod. We were too aggressively critical of the "Church Growth Movement." Our doctrinal assessment of the newly formed Evangelical Lutheran Church in America interfered with his plans for the Missouri Synod posture toward the ELCA. In all the aforementioned doctrinal issues Bohlmann was overtly critical of the Seminary, and many district presidents and other leaders in the church agreed with him. By 1988 the majority of the Board decided it would be to the advantage of the seminary if I retire and am removed from the scene. I had

[104] This is based on personal experience as an MDiv student at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, during this time and as one who took these courses under Elmer Matthias and Leroy Biesenthal. If I remember correctly, the only "C" I received in a seminary course was in "Church Growth" because I disagreed with the principles put forward. Also consider Suelflow, *Heritage in Motion*, 322, 326–327.

[105] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 218.

[106] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 188, 232.

[107] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 262–263.

> always tried not to aggravate Bohlmann as I tried to lead the Seminary to remain faithful to our confessional Lutheran heritage, but in retrospect I see I could not please him.[108]

The next several years were very difficult for Robert Preus, the Fort Wayne seminary faculty, the students, and the synod. Preus used the synod's appeal process to be eventually reinstated, although he was no longer permitted to teach under the new seminary administration.[109] Norbert Mueller served as interim president for nearly three years, and during that time it is reported that he and others determined that those students who showed outward support for Robert Preus and who were classified as "Those Confessional Guys" would not receive calls. In 1992, thirty-two students not only did not receive calls, but were not allowed to process with those students receiving calls during the spring call service. Although later that summer those thirty-two received calls, a message had been sent.[110] On April 18, 1993, David Schmiel was named as the seminary president, and it is maintained that he saw his election as a mandate to close the Fort Wayne seminary and sell the campus.[111] This did not happen, of course. Ralph Bohlmann was not reelected as synodical president in 1992, a response to his actions in removing Robert Preus from Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne. Following his defeat, Bohlmann sent what many saw as a bitter letter to all Missouri Synod pastors, condemning the very church politics in which he himself had engaged. In that letter, he also tried to explain that the reason he sought to remove Robert Preus was doctrinal. Referring to a "highly organized network" which had opposed his presidency, Bohlmann said:

> A few comments about its theological focus might be helpful. . . . In fact, many in the political network hold positions to the right of the Synod's in such key areas as women in the church, inter-Christian relationships, the pastoral office, and the manner of exercising Christian discipline. They have labeled their own position as "confessional" or "conservative."[112]

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[108] Robert Preus, "A Report by Robert Preus Delivered at a Conference in St. Louis" (October 15, 1993), 8. This can also be substantiated by Mr. Robert Doggett, who served on the Missouri Synod Commission on Appeals, which, in 1992, exonerated Robert Preus of the charges pressed against him by Ralph Bohlmann, August Mennicke, Robert King, Robert Sauer, Eugene Bunkowske, and Walter Maier (the Praesidium of the LCMS). The reason for this was characterized as "a wholesale reorganization of the seminary administration that would lead it away from its conservative direction that Preus had attempted to put in place." Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 272.

[109] Robert Preus died November 4, 1995. Many believe that the events surrounding his removal from office aged him dramatically and led to his untimely death. Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 164–165.

[110] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 313–323.

[111] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 329, 347.

[112] Ralph Bohlmann, "Letter to Pastors" (August 1992), 3.

Alvin Barry served as synodical president from 1992 until his untimely death in April 2001. Concerns about what was transpiring at the Fort Wayne seminary were raised at the 1995 synodical convention, and President Barry was asked to appoint a committee to look into the situation. Shortly thereafter, David Schmiel announced his retirement.[113] In 1996, Dean Wenthe was elected and called as president of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, and served in that position for fifteen years. He was followed by Lawrence Rast in 2011. From 1996 on, the Fort Wayne Seminary continued in the confessional, conservative course set under Robert Preus.

In my opinion, this course is well illustrated by "A Pastoral Response to the Events of September 11, 2001," adopted by the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, on December 14, 2001. In the classic form of a *Gutachten*, the faculty analyzed the prayer service at Yankee Stadium that involved the participation of LCMS Atlantic District President David Benke, and which had been authorized by newly elected Synodical President Gerald Kieschnick. The faculty found that this service evidenced both unionism and syncretism in opposition to Scripture, the Lutheran Confessions, and the Constitution of the LCMS.[114]

After the 1974 walkout, the St. Louis seminary followed a somewhat different path in both pastoral formation and theological leadership, which was more along the lines of the pattern established by Ralph Bohlmann. Concordia Seminary has aspired "to be the world leader in Lutheran ministerial formation, scholarship and theological resources" (CSL Vision Statement).[115] But, this leadership has involved striving to contextualize theology and adapt pastoral formation and theological education to emerging and ever-shifting cultural trends. While the Fort Wayne school now seems to be the more theologically focused seminary, the St. Louis school has shifted to emphasizing practical theology through contemporary practices. While it is beyond the scope of this study to explore this observation, one example will suffice here as evidence of this trend. In order to train and equip pastors

[113] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 344–345.

[114] Formerly, at http://www.ctsfw.edu/pastoralresponse.htm. As an aside, after Robert Preus was removed from office, and while he was fighting this through synodical adjudication and other legal means, he helped establish two confessional organizations that further confessional Lutheran theology here and around the globe. Through the Luther Academy, support for the training of Lutheran pastors and establishment of Lutheran congregations occurs throughout the world. Additionally, the Luther Academy has published numerous confessional works, including a dogmatic series and the publication of the journal *Logia*, all initiated by Robert Preus (Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 197). Also established under his guidance was the Lutheran Heritage Foundation, which translates confessional Lutheran works into numerous languages. These works are then used in Lutheran missions to train Lutheran pastors and catechize Lutheran congregations around the globe. Robert L. Rahn, *Jesus Never Fails* (Macomb, Mich.: Lutheran Heritage Foundation, 2012), passim.

[115] "Strategic Plan," https://www.csl.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/StrategicPlan2018PDF.pdf.

in church growth practices and other means for developing and leading large congregations, even so-called "mega" churches, the Pastoral Leadership Institute (PLI) was established in 1996.[116] PLI applied for Recognized Service Organization (RSO) status, but this was denied by the synod's Board for Higher Education January 18, 2001. The synod's Commission on Constitutional Matters also determined that PLI was not eligible to receive funds from the Lutheran Church Extension Fund (LCEF). Yet, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, was willing to give eighteen credit hours toward a DMin degree to those pastors attending PLI.[117]

Much more could be said and should be said. For example, despite the differing paths that each of our seminaries have taken since 1974, thanks be to God that we have had confessional, conservative, faithful pastors formed at both institutions. Unfortunately, there have also been a few pastors from both institutions who have deviated from the confessional vows which they made at their ordinations. As Concordia Theological Seminary now celebrates her 175th anniversary, and as my alma mater recently called and installed a new president, Thomas Egger, it is my prayer that both seminaries remain committed to doctrinally sound theological education and leadership directed toward the formation and support of confessional Lutheran pastors, missionaries, deaconesses, scholars, and leaders. Hopefully, we learn from our history that the synod is well served by having two seminaries, that there is no room for the deceptive doublespeak found in neo-orthodoxy, that contextualizing theology to meet social changes has inherent dangers, and that there is no room for "rivalry or conceit" (Phil 2:3)[118] at either institution. I pray that by the grace of God and the working of the Holy Spirit, we seek the formation of humble, orthodox ministers of the gospel, sharing the mind of Christ (Phil 2:5–8)

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[116] It was formally incorporated in the State of Missouri in 1998 by Pastors Greg Smith, Stephen Hower, and Vernon Gundermann.

[117] On February 18, 1998, when Norb Oesch announced his call as Executive Director of PLI to the congregation he was serving (St. John's Lutheran Church, Orange, California), he stated the following about PLI: "I want to say a word about the Pastoral Leadership Institute. It is to create an in-service training program for 300 of the top pastors, the most promising pastors in our Synod, trying to get them equipped with leadership skills, to be able to lead large and very large or mega church congregations, like ours is . . . to try to engage in the task that is set before me, it takes something that is only in a creative mind, on paper, and bring it to reality. And maybe the picture that will help you to see that more clearly is like creating a seminary without walls." Georgann McKee, "Presentation to the Lutheran Concerns Association on the Pastoral Leadership Institute," http://www.concordtx.org/cpapers/mckee.htm. Other PLI officers include John Kuddes, Ron Burcham, Michelle J. Chaffee, Carol Reineck, and Karen Soeken. Advisory members include John Johnson (former president of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis) and William Meyer (Executive Director of the BHE). See also Florence Misseldine and Georgeann McKee, "Update on PLI Investigation," *Consensus* 1 (October 2002): 3.

[118] All Scripture quotations are the author's translation.

and a willingness to go into all the world with the gospel (Matt 28:19–20; Rom 1:16). May our seminaries together strive to be of "the same mind, having the same love" (Phil 2:2), working toward the same confessional Lutheran formational goals.

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Secondhand Memories: The Springfield Class of 1942

Cameron A. MacKenzie II

My father—the original Cameron A. MacKenzie—was a great storyteller, and one of his favorite subjects was Concordia Theological Seminary, which he attended from 1935 to 1942 when it was located in Springfield, Illinois. So when ideas for celebrating the seminary's 175th anniversary (2021) were being solicited, I thought it would be entertaining and perhaps instructive to resurrect his stories along with recollections from other offspring of members of the class of '42. My fellow recollectors are the children of my father's classmates: Charles Looker,[1] Frank Pies,[2] and Edward Werner,[3] as well as my own brother and sister.[4] Without them, this project would have been impossible.

Moreover, it is also important here at the outset to realize that the stories related here are just that—stories, and secondhand ones at that. They are not just made up, of course, but memories are fallible. Moreover, I have not tried to establish the accuracy of each and every one of them, although from time to time I have run across primary sources that confirm the things that our fathers told us. More importantly, I have provided historical background to the stories, or, to put it another way, I have used our memories of their stories as a stage upon which to present the seminary's story during the same period of time.[5]

First of all, there is the year that it all began, 1935. And one of my father's stories about the seminary during that year turned out to be completely accurate; namely, that at its convention in the summer of that year, the Missouri Synod decided to close the Springfield seminary. But the vote was so close—266 in favor, 265 opposed—that two days later, they took up the question again and reopened the seminary, this time by a vote of 283 to 256. Springfield was back in business—at least

[1] David and Mark Looker.

[2] Frank Pies II.

[3] Kathy Werner Graumann, Rachel Werner Little (niece), Priscilla Werner Jurkovich, Timothy Werner, Dan Werner, Ruth Werner Stuhr, Paul Werner (deceased), and Rhoda Werner Thorell.

[4] Ross and Jean MacKenzie.

[5] In what follows, I have distinguished between what is a "story" and what is based on either primary or reliable secondary sources.

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for a while. Serious efforts to close the school occurred again at the synodical conventions of 1941 and 1944. So the class that entered in the fall of 1935 spent their seminary years at an institution that might not make it to their graduation.[6] But it did.

So what was going on? Why was Springfield's future so uncertain? From one perspective, the answer was rather simple: the Depression. The economic situation of these years affected the seminary in many different ways. Salaries were cut,[7] funds for a new administration building kept failing to arrive, and, worst of all, graduates could not find calls. And that was true of St. Louis, too.

In the first couple of years of the Depression, the synod did all right in placing the candidates produced by the seminaries. Although there had been a surplus of twelve (out of 136) in 1930,[8] the very next year, *The Lutheran Witness* reported that of the candidates available (including those from the previous year), all had been taken care of but one.[9] But in 1932, the bottom dropped out: There were no calls for 110 candidates (out of 167 graduates). And it got worse. The synodical convention of that year made it mandatory that after completing their second year, all seminary students had to give up their studies for a year in order to get some experience in church work. While it may have slowed down the accumulation of excess candidates, that decision certainly did not end it. By 1935, there were about 300 of them,[10] and about 350 by 1939.[11]

At that time, St. Louis Seminary President Ludwig Fuerbringer, writing in *Der Lutheraner*, the synod's German-language counterpart to *The Lutheran Witness*, bemoaned not only the glut of candidates but also the breakdown of the system used before the Depression. Calls would be gathered throughout the year and then each spring candidates would be matched up with places according to abilities and needs. Now, complained Fuerbringer, men were graduating without calls and then working at jobs in the church, for example, teaching or assisting pastors, until a pastoral position arose to which they were then called because they were locally available

[6] For the numerous attempts to close the seminary through the course of its more than one hundred years in Springfield, see Erich H. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets: The Anatomy of a Seminary 1846–1976* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1989), 168–183.

[7] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 144–145; Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod 1847–1947* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 307–308, who indicates that in 1932, the Board of Directors imposed a 25 percent reduction in salaries for all synodical employees, including professors. Nonetheless, in spite of this and other cost-saving measures, the synodical debt was well over a million dollars by October of that year.

[8] *The Lutheran Witness* 49 (June 10, 1930): 199.

[9] *The Lutheran Witness* 50 (June 9, 1931): 203.

[10] Baepler, *A Century of Grace*, 277.

[11] Ludwig Fuerbringer, *Der Lutheraner* 95 (September 26, 1939): 327–329.

and/or someone knew them.[12] This was still pretty much the case in 1942, when after graduation, my father returned to his home in Detroit. At first, he did supply preaching, and then he taught school at a parish which, a few months later, called him to assist a much-his-senior pastor. He was ordained in February 1943.[13]

Given the excess number of seminary graduates already accumulating by 1935, a decision to close Springfield made some sense. But there were also reasons not to do so, and one of these was maintaining a way into the ministry for men who were "more mature" and had a "distinctive life experience,"[14] presumably different from the typical seminary student of the time who had begun to study for the ministry when just thirteen or fourteen years old. It is important to remember that by 1935, the great majority of those who were entering the ministry of the Missouri Synod began their preparation with six years of pre-seminary education (equivalent today to high school and two years of college) at one of several prep schools that stretched from Bronxville, New York, to Portland, Oregon, before attending the seminary in St. Louis for three years (plus, of course, that mandatory year off in the middle).[15]

But Springfield was different. It accepted older students[16] into a seven-year program (three pre-seminary and three seminary years, plus that one year off doing church work that today we call "vicarage")—and it survived the crisis of 1935. Therefore, my father and eleven others entered the seminary in the fall of that year.[17]

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[12] Fuerbringer, *Der Lutheraner* 95: 327–329.

[13] The October 1942 issue of *The Springfielder* reported that five men had permanent calls and three more were either "stationed at" or "had charge of" congregations, six had temporary assignments as assistants or teachers, two were preparing for mission work in China, and one was doing supply work in Detroit. The last mentioned was my father. See "Class of 1942," *The Springfielder* 6, no. 1 (October 1942): 11. According to *Personnel Records of the Clergy of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Both Active and Inactive* (St. Louis: The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod Statistical Bureau, 1964) Microfilm 474 in CTSFW library, Charles Looker was ordained on June 27, 1943; Frank Pies in June 1942 (at the Convention of the Finnish National Ev. Lutheran Church); and Edward Werner on August 16, 1942.

[14] Ludwig Fuerbringer, reporting in *Der Lutheraner* 91 (1935): 232, said that among the arguments in favor of Springfield was that it was "jetzt noch wünschenswert und nötig sei, namentlich für Studenten in reiferem Alter und mit besonderer Lebensführung."

[15] You can see just how "regular" the St. Louis way was into the ministry from the number of graduates at each seminary—1930: SL 111, Sp 26; 1931: SL 141, Sp 22; 1932: SL 138, Sp 29; 1933: SL 63, Sp 20; 1934: SL 110, Sp 23; and 1935: SL 153, Sp 11. These numbers come from the *Statistical Year-Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States*, 1930: 176; 1931: 178; 1933: 168; *The Lutheran Witness* 51: 212, 230; 52: 216; 53: 245; 54: 220, 258; and *Der Lutheraner* 89: 214.

[16] The 1935–1936 *Catalog*, 14–15, says applicants must be between 18 and 25 and must have completed two years of high school or else otherwise demonstrate "mental maturity sufficient to meet this standard."

[17] According to Charles Looker's "Retrospect," *The Springfielder* 5, no. 8 (May–June 1942): 12. The 1935–1936 *Catalog*, 7, lists two additional students but footnotes one as "Left the institution." The other is missing from the listing published in the 1936–1937 *Catalog*, 16.

Of those twelve, seven graduated in 1942 along with ten additional men who had joined the class along the way. They came from different parts of the country, of course, but apparently all were raised as Lutherans[18] with the exception of my father, who was only partly raised as a Lutheran. His father was a nominal Presbyterian and his mother a Roman Catholic who, however, sent her son to a Lutheran day school in Detroit. He persisted in his Catholicism all through grade school, but with his mother dead, his father indifferent, and the Lutherans basing their teachings on the Bible while the Catholics did not even try to, he formally joined the Lutheran Church in June 1935,[19] and within a few months, upon the advice of his pastor, was off to Springfield.

Well, not quite. One of his stories was that he spent a week at the prep school in Fort Wayne, where he was supposed to start high school all over again but this time learn the necessary languages. This meant that my father, who turned nineteen in the summer of '35, was going to classes with youngsters just out of grade school. Furthermore, Fort Wayne was organized as a military academy so that Dad was supposed to take orders from the "officer" who ran their dorm room—a lad some years younger. And he could not take it. The president of Fort Wayne suggested he go to Springfield, so he did. Two of the three others whose secondhand memories I am depending on also had brief encounters with prep schools—one with Winfield, Kansas, but being away from home as a young ninth grader was a bit too much[20]; and another with Milwaukee, but being taught in German was way too much.[21] Nevertheless, prompted by their pastors, they still hoped to become pastors, and the Springfield system let them try.

Another member of the class of 1942 entered the seminary in 1937. This was Joseph Werner, the cousin of Edward. The story of how he decided to come is quite extraordinary but again demonstrates the capacity of Springfield to accept men as prospective pastors whose path to the seminary was an unusual one. According to the Werner recollections, Joe Werner was fixing his car one day when the jack gave way and he was pinned under the car for hours, hardly able to breathe. He prayed

[18] This is an argument from silence. During the school year 1941–1942, the student journal *The Springfielder* published a paragraph or so on each of that year's prospective graduates. Only with respect to my father (5, no. 4 [January, 1942]: 4)do the descriptions include anything about a non-Lutheran background.

[19] According to his diary, my father's confirmation took place on June 6, 1935. He kept a small pocket diary for some of his seminary years. It is now in the possession of my brother, Ross MacKenzie, of Dearborn, Michigan. The entries are brief and only occasional; nonetheless, they sometimes give us a little insight into what was going on in his life at the seminary as will become evident later in this paper.

[20] Werner recollections.

[21] Pies recollections.

fervently and ended up making a promise that if God would help him, Joe would dedicate the rest of his life in service to him. Right after that prayer was uttered, Joe's sister found him, and immediately after being rescued, he called his cousin to ask about getting into the seminary. Springfield was open to men like Joe, and after graduation, he accepted a call to a small church bordering the Winnebago Indian Reservation in Walthill, Nebraska, where he served his Lord all forty-three years of his ministry.[22]

The Springfield years were good ones for my father. He spent six years on campus and formed several fast friendships.[23] The Lutheranism that he took into his ministry of thirty-two years was that which he learned at Springfield. But it was a much different institution from what it has now become. For example, both students and teachers spent much more time in the classroom than they do today. For first-year students, the 1935–1936 *Catalog* prescribed twenty-four contact hours a week.[24] More than six years later, the 1941–1942 student journal *The Springfielder* reported that second-year seminary students were still spending twenty-three hours in class each week (down from twenty-four in the first semester) and post-vicarage students only eighteen (but with lots of term papers).[25]

My father had a rather strange story about the seminary curriculum in his second year. The school changed its program. Now students had to have two years of high school before they could enter.[26] They would no longer have three years of pre-seminary and three of seminary. They would now have four years (freshman through senior), a year of vicarage, and then a graduate year. As my father remembered it, however, the changes meant that *his* class had to do both the new and the old curriculum in their second year. Personally, I was never clear as to what exactly this meant. Even so, the May–June issue of the 1942 *Springfielder* included a

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[22] In addition to the Werner recollections, see also Joseph Werner's obituary online: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/13034400/joseph-george-werner. Accessed November 22, 2020.

[23] The Werner recollections included this comment and anecdote (in which I played an unwitting role), "Friendships forged at the seminary were cherished throughout life. On our parents' honeymoon in April 1947, our father stopped to visit his good seminary friend, Cameron MacKenzie, and to introduce to him his beautiful and talented new bride, Luetta Grotelueschen Werner. At the time of their visit, Pastor MacKenzie's wife was pregnant with their son, Cameron, who is now professor at the seminary."

The offspring of all four of my "storytellers" have made the same observation about friendships forged at Springfield. But my own father also remembered that one member of his class told him on graduation day that he hoped he would never see any of his classmates again!

[24] 1935–1936 *Catalog*, 11–14. This figure does not include choral singing or Missionary Society, both of which were also required.

[25] *The Springfielder* 5, no. 5 (February 1942): 5.

[26] That would change again in 1941 when high school graduation or its equivalent were required for admission. See Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Blessing, 1846–1946* (Springfield, Ill: Concordia Theological Seminary, n.d.), 35.

"Retrospect" by Charles Looker on the experience of his class during that year that verified what my father had recalled: "1937 found the class still intact . . . despite the rigors of having taken two years in one."[27]

But not only the students were kept busy attending class. Faculty likewise spent many hours in the classroom. In 1936–1937, for example, the regular faculty averaged nineteen or twenty classroom hours a week, except for the homiletics professor who averaged only sixteen. Even the president was scheduled to teach eight hours a week.[28]

Remember, too, that professors were covering many subjects, both pre-seminary and seminary, and that there were far fewer teachers than would be true today. The 1935–1936 *Catalog* lists eight professors, including the president, plus one assistant.[29] The May–June 1942 issue of *The Springfielder* pictures *nine* faculty, now including a Finnish professor, plus one assistant. Of the eight from 1935, only two were different—H. B. Hemmeter had replaced H. A. Klein as president, and Clarence Spiegel[30] had replaced F. E. Mayer.[31] The 1938–1939 *Catalog* indicates the variety of subjects being taught by various professors. Walter Baepler,[32] for example, taught all the undergraduate English courses and the Humanities course, and at the seminary level, all the church history courses. Martin Coyner[33] taught all the undergraduate science courses, but Greek and exegesis at the seminary level. The

[27] C. M. Looker, "Retrospect," *The Springfielder* 5, no. 8 (May–June 1942): 13.

[28] "Courses Taught 1936–37," 1937–1938 *Catalog*, 14.

[29] 1935–1936 *Catalog*, 5.

[30] Spiegel served at Springfield as a professor and (later) counselor to married students from 1938 to 1975. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 218. According to the Pies recollections, Spiegel taught the Lutheran Confessions to Frank Pies and about thirty years later to Frank Pies II and recalled to the latter his "pleasant associations with your devout father." Like Pies, Spiegel was very concerned about Christian outreach, communicating the gospel to those who had not yet heard it. Pies himself was quite active in the seminary's Mission Society.

[31] *The Springfielder* 5, no. 8 (May–June 1942): 28.

[32] Baepler came to Springfield in 1936, was chosen president in 1953, and died while still in office in 1958. *Christian Cyclopedia*, s.v. "Baepler, Walter August," http://cyclopedia.lcms.org/display.asp?t1=B&word=BAEPLER.WALTERAUGUST. Accessed March 12, 2021. He was one of my father's favorite teachers. They had a common interest in history, and Baepler had served many years in Canada before coming to Springfield. Baepler was also faculty advisor for *The Springfielder*, in which my father was heavily involved. My father's diary also indicates that Baepler was friendly and considerate. All this made a powerful impression on him when Baepler joined the faculty early in 1936. See MacKenzie diary entries for January 20, January 21, March 13, March 19, April 16, 1936; and April 29, 1937.

[33] Coyner taught at Springfield from 1928 to 1960. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 218. See his obituary at https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/123096222/martin-henry-coyner. Accessed March 12, 2021.

other exegete, Frederick Wenger,[34] taught German to the undergraduates. This was also true of Walter Albrecht,[35] who taught dogmatics as well as German. The homiletics professor, Richard Neitzel,[36] taught only at the seminary level, but in addition to preaching he also taught catechetics, methods, philosophy, logic, psychology, and missions.[37]

The quality of instruction was not always the best. This was unfortunate since one goal of the curriculum was to equip students for teaching, because, as the Catalog put it, "many of our graduates must teach school also."[38] One professor was remembered for conducting class simply by reading the textbook during the entire period, pausing from time to time only to say, "Underline that last sentence I read."[39] Another man (or was it the same?) was so oblivious to what was going on in the classroom that students in the back got away with cooking and consuming an entire meal.[40]

Still, there were several professors whom the men clearly respected. One of them was Professor Richard Neitzel, the homiletics professor. These Springfield men became good preachers, and Neitzel was responsible for their training. My father's diary for 1939 records what may have been his first experience at preaching publicly. In January, the men drew lots to determine the order in which they would preach. Werner and Looker drew lots one and two respectively; my father was number sixteen and did not get his turn until May 10 (Pies's turn came in April). Apparently, the men would be preaching not only in front of Neitzel and their own class but also the "senior" class[41] since my father comments in his diary that the preaching of one of his classmates had been criticized too harshly by the seniors.

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[34] Wenger taught at Springfield from 1923 to 1960. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 218. See his obituary at https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/61037221/frederick-samuel-wenger. Accessed March 12, 2021.

[35] Albrecht joined the faculty in 1927 and remained active until his death in 1961. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 218. See his obituary at https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/139811196/walter-william_frederick-albrecht. Accessed March 12, 2021.

[36] Neitzel taught at Springfield from 1918 until his death in 1951. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 218. See his obituary at https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/83465793/richard-c.-neitzel. Accessed March 12, 2021.

[37] 1938–1939 *Catalog*, 14.

[38] 1935–1936 *Catalog*, 3. By the time the seminary was celebrating its hundredth anniversary, its Catalog was stating that its graduates met the requirements for an Illinois elementary school certificate (1945–1946 *Catalog*, 10–11). See also Baepler, *A Century of Blessing*, 36.

[39] My father's *Triglotta* (the Book of Concord in three languages that was a synodical standard for many years) from his seminary years is heavily underlined. In fact, he himself used that same technique (along with a lot of discussion, however) when teaching catechism class to prospective confirmands.

[40] Looker recollections.

[41] In 1938–1939, the senior class would be the graduating class of 1941. My father's class was the "junior" class in 1938–1939.

The day before it was his turn, my father submitted his manuscript to Neitzel. At this point, his diary records the following, "Practised [*sic*] sermon twice. Gave copy to Prof. Neitzel. Preached to Riedel. (heard his) *et* later to Charlie Looker, Schmiege, et Winter." Then, on the day of, "Arose at 6:30 a.m.[42] Preached sermon to Rodenbeck at 7:30 a.m. At 10:15 A.M. prepared to preach. Classmates wished me well. Mounted rostrum at 10:20, preached, finished at 10:37." Apparently all that practice paid off, for the entry goes on to record what look like favorable comments from his listeners, "Good sermon, interesting, conversational delivery, pleasant voice."[43] He was off to a good start.

Edward Werner recalled a quirk in the professor's own homiletical style that provoked an amusing response from his students.[44] It seems that Neitzel began a demonstration of good homiletical style with the words, "This is how you preach a sermon." But before he actually began, he took out his handkerchief and blew his nose. So, when it was their turn, every man in the class dutifully mimicked his professor by taking out his handkerchief and blowing his nose before proceeding. Obviously a prank, but the professor got a chuckle out of it, too.

Neitzel could also be tough, especially with unethical behavior. One recollection concerned a student who feigned fainting in the midst of his sermon in order to conceal his lack of preparation. It did not work, and Neitzel had him removed from class.[45] On another occasion, a student stunned his classmates by preaching a really good sermon. Unfortunately for the student, he stunned Professor Neitzel also. The professor recognized it as one that had been written by someone else. That student, too, was removed from class.[46]

It is not exactly clear to me under what conditions the seminary would expel a student, but they did do so, at least in 1935–1936. The catalog for that year footnotes a student's name with "expelled." Still another was listed as "dismissed."[47] Speaking of discipline, one of my father's earliest memories of Springfield had to do with a school assembly in which one of the students made a public apology for violating the rule against getting engaged or married before graduation. I do not recall, however, my father's commenting on what happened next. Perhaps he did not

[42] That in itself shows how important the event was to him. He was notorious for staying up late and *not* getting up early. Another of my recollections is that he once received a standing ovation from his fellow students for showing up in the dining hall for breakfast.

[43] MacKenzie diary entries for January 6, April 19, April 27, May 9, and May 10, 1939.

[44] Werner recollections. The recollection did not include the name of the homiletics professor, but since Neitzel was the only regular teacher of the subject, it was most likely he.

[45] Pies recollections.

[46] MacKenzie recollections.

[47] 1935–1936 *Catalog*, 6–7.

know. But, on the basis of what I came across in the seminary archives, it is possible that he may have been permitted to graduate but was not recommended for a call.[48]

In a case like this, the faculty clearly took the initiative, but apparently, lesser infractions of the rules were punished by a student disciplinary committee. In March 1939, my father's diary records a prank that went awry, as a result of which he had to wash dishes for a week.[49] A disciplinary council consisting of three fellow students imposed the penalty. I remember my father saying that such punishments were known as *Strafarbeit* ("punishment-work").[50]

Going away to school is challenging for young people for many reasons, including roommates. Although my father did not have a lot to say about his roommates in the first year, it certainly was an odd mix: my father, an anglophile with strong family ties to Canada, a native German, born in Budapest, and, as my father used to put it, "a full-blooded Winnebago Indian." The student body was, of course, mostly German American,[51] but there were also a few Slovaks and Finns, each group from a church body with which the Missouri Synod was in fellowship. In fact, in 1938, in agreement with the Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Church, Springfield added a Finnish professor to the faculty, Alexander Monto. But it was not only his ethnicity that distinguished him from his colleagues. He was also a layman with academic degrees from the University of Chicago and had been a superintendent of schools in the Philippines before coming to Springfield.[52]

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[48] The Looker recollections contain essentially the same story. In looking through the correspondence of seminary President H. B. Hemmeter in 1936, I came across what might be the "rest of the story"—the case of a student who had apologized for getting married and had graduated, but had not been recommended for a call. He wanted to be recommended for a call and his home pastors were pleading his case, but Hemmeter reported that the faculty said no. The pastors then asked to talk personally with the faculty about it, but unfortunately, I did not come across any additional material pertaining to this case. However, the *Personnel Records of the Clergy of the LCMS* indicate that the student was later ordained (March 20, 1938) at his home church almost four years after graduating. Apparently, the faculty changed their mind. Of course, it is possible that this student and the one remembered by my father and Charles Looker were not the same man. See letter from M. Wagner and Alvin E. Wagner (Forest Park, Illinois) to H. B. Hemmeter, October 1, 1936, and Hemmeter's two responses of October 17 and December 2, 1936.

[49] March 2, 1939.

[50] My father's diary has several references to doing work around campus (most from his first year), and, as I recall it, such labor was a routine part of student life and not punishment for infractions of the rules. See his entries for January 6, January 15, January 18, January 22, February 8, March 20, May 16, and June 6, 1936; February 6 and March 20, 1937; and February 8, 1939.

[51] Technically, that was not true of Frank Pies. Biologically, he was Polish and Irish, but when very young, he had been adopted and raised by German Lutherans.

[52] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 149; and H. B. Hemmeter, *The Springfielder* 2, no. 1 (October 1938): 9. Monto taught at Springfield from 1938 to 1960. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 218. See also https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/183041216/alexander-monto. Accessed March 12, 2021.

As it turned out, the presence of Finnish students proved especially providential for Frank Pies, who became friends with the Finns. In fact, as an upperclassman he helped Gerhard Aho (class of 1945) with sermon outlining. Years later, Gerhard Aho would join the faculty as a professor of homiletics.[53] More importantly, after graduating, Pies was invited by Gerhard's father, Gustaf Aho, then president of the Finnish Church, to serve in that church body. Of course, it meant mastering Finnish, but he did it. His wife probably helped because she was a Finnish woman from Calumet, Michigan.[54]

Perhaps the biggest challenge for my father and many of his fellow entering students in 1935 was language, the German language. In 1937, *The Springfielder* reported that "few students here today have a speaking knowledge of German; hence, English is now the principal medium used for all instruction."[55] But two years earlier, German was still the primary language in several classes even though many (most?) did not really understand it. Perhaps it was the class of 1935 that finally provoked the change. Of the four students whose memories I am relying on, only Edward Werner was fluent in German—reading, writing, and speaking. He used it extensively and effectively for many years ministering to Missouri Synod Lutherans for whom it was still their mother tongue.

The others were not so fortunate, although by the end of their Springfield years, they, too, were capable of preaching and praying in German. That was one of the things they had *learned* by the time they graduated, but that first year was pretty bad. Charles Looker used to say that if the seminary had not changed to English the next year, he would have left.[56] These students would sit through classes in which they understood little or nothing. Then later in the day or evening, upperclassmen would tutor them in English. My father recalled especially his experience of learning Latin

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In November 1941, *The Springfielder* (5, no. 2:10–11) indicated that a few students were meeting regularly to develop their skills in Spanish and others in Finnish.

[53] Gerhard Aho taught at the seminary from 1960 to 1987. See Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 218; and David P. Scaer, "Gerhard Aho," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (October 1987): 243–244.

[54] Pies recollections. Pies was pastor at Salem National Evangelical Lutheran Church in Detroit from 1943 until his death in 1978. Salem was a congregation in the Finnish Synod that merged with the Missouri Synod in 1964. See the *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, s.v. "Finnish Lutherans in America," online edition. http://cyclopedia.lcms.org/display.asp?t1=f&word=FINNISH LUTHERANSINAMERICA. Accessed November 23, 2020.

[55] "Our Modern Curriculum," *The Springfielder* 1, no. 1 (November 1937): 4.

[56] Looker recollections. In spite of his challenges with the German language during that first year, Charles Looker actually ministered to German prisoners of war at the end of World War II when he was pastor of St. Mark Lutheran Church in Provo, Utah. One of those prisoners returned home and became a pastor himself. He wrote a letter of thanks to Charles Looker for his pastoral care during his internment.

by means of German when he understood neither. After Latin class had met a few times, one of his classmates told him that the professor was getting upset with him for never responding when called on. But when my father protested that he never had been called on, his friend answered, "Well, who do you think he means when he says, 'Herr Máckenzie'?" So the next day, when the professor said, "Herr Máckenzie," my father did respond, but his answer was incorrect. The professor said, "Nein," so he responded by reciting #9 and was promptly thrown out of class.[57]

In fact, my father became infamous for his struggles with the German language, and even I can remember his friends from Springfield days recalling his speech on "Die Katze" that was so simplistic that even Professor Baepler was doubled up from laughing so hard.[58] Nonetheless, as I said before, my father and his classmates who entered the seminary not knowing the language ended up being able to use German in their ministries.[59]

The change to English was not a simple one for the professors. In 1938, President Hemmeter felt the need to remind them that the Board of Control had mandated the move to English, so they needed to implement it fully.[60] Earlier in that school year, one student described what was happening in some classes, "Where the German texts are still in use, the . . . professor usually begins his lecture in German, but when he sees the blank look on our faces, he hastens to translate his statements into English." Of course, a full solution to the language problem included providing English-language texts, and this was beginning to happen. That same student, for example, reported that Frederick Wenger was providing his students with English notes on Isaiah and 1 Corinthians.[61]

In systematic theology, Walter Albrecht rose to the challenge by becoming the first to translate Pieper's *Christliche Dogmatik* into English. By 1941, his work was being mimeographed and sold by the student-run Concordia Supply Company,[62]

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[57] MacKenzie recollections.

[58] MacKenzie diary entries for March 19, April 29, and May 1, 1936.

[59] Even so, German was definitely on its way out at Springfield in the 1930s. One student remarked on how cheaply German classics were selling at the book auctions: sixty cents for "a twenty-eight volume set of Luther's Volksbibliothek." See "E[mil]. G. J[aech]. Meditates," *The Springfielder* 1, no. 4 (February 1938): 3.

[60] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 129–130.

[61] W. Hintz, "A Junior Seminarian's View of 'Our Modern Curriculum,'" *The Springfielder* 1, no. 2 (December 1937): 10.

[62] Each year, students assembled as the "Coetus" to choose their officers and to select colleagues whom they would pay to run the Concordia Supply Company. Vernon Harley, the manager of the company in 1937–1938, provided a brief overview of the operation in the February 1938 issue of *The Springfielder* 1, no. 4 (pp. 9–10). The company regularly advertised its wares in that journal as well. In the very first issue (November 1937, p. 14), they summarized their offerings as "typewriters, fountain pens, jewelry [!]" and listed a number of books. They also solicited books for book auctions, which they apparently held quite often. Four years later, their ad in the same

where you could buy books, snacks, and sundries as well as play ping-pong. Theodore Engelder from the St. Louis faculty purchased copies for his classes.[63] A few years later, however, when the synod's Centennial Anniversary Committee decided to sponsor an "official" translation, Albrecht's version was consulted but did not become the version that Concordia Publishing House still sells today. Albrecht, however, did contribute volume four of the work, the index.[64]

Besides the German language, the entering class of 1935 also had to deal with the tragic death of the president—or "director," as the seminary head was frequently called—in December 1935. After thirteen years in office, Henry Klein and his wife were both killed in a traffic accident.[65] A moving tribute to him appeared in the January 14, 1938, issue of *The Lutheran Witness*. Written by his longtime colleague at the seminary, William H. Behrens,[66] it described Klein as "unassuming, likable, and unaffected," a gifted churchman but one who "hated vanity and self-aggrandizement." Behrens described Klein's attitude toward the students as that "of an amiable and affectionate father" who "tried ever to bear in mind that the students were his fellow-Christians, and he would often emphasize the necessity of so considering them."[67] My own father, of course, had just a couple of months' acquaintance with him; but in his diary, he described him as "beloved."[68] I do not recall his ever saying too much about him, but I do recall his telling me that Klein's

journal (5, no. 1 [October 1941]: 16) still listed typewriters and jewelry along with books, but now added, "toilet articles, sporting goods, confections, cold drinks, pastries, hamburgers, cigarettes, and tobacco." Nevertheless, they were selling sandwiches, hamburgers, and hot dogs in 1938, at least in connection with their book auctions. See *The Springfielder* 1, no. 4 (February 1938): 2.

[63] The article "Two German Classics in English," *The Springfielder* 1, no. 4 (February 1938): 2 reported that Albrecht had been working on his translation of Pieper for a year and a half. In November of 1941 (5, no. 2: 10), it commented on Engelder's order; and in December (5, no. 3: 12) of that same year, it indicated that the second edition of volume 1 was now available as well. In *The Springfielder* 5, no. 5 (February 1942): 15, the Concordia Supply Company advertised that all three volumes were available for $3.50 a volume. Professor Albrecht, *The Springfielder* 4, no. 5 (February 1941): 10–11, himself described the work that went into it and the help he received from Professor Behrens regarding the English idiom and from students who helped with typing and proofreading (among them my father).

[64] "Preface" in Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 4 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950–1957), vol. 4: *Index*. Another professor who was involved in preparing materials for the quickly Americanizing Missouri Synod was Richard Neitzel. In 1938, *The Springfielder* 1, no. 5 (March 1938): 11, reported that six students were proofreading and another was helping the professor deal with correspondence having to do with the "new" catechism.

[65] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 145.

[66] Behrens taught at Springfield from 1924 until his death in 1943. *Christian Cyclopedia*, s.v., Behrens, William Henry, http://cyclopedia.lcms.org/display.asp?t1=B&t2=e. Accessed March 12, 2021.

[67] *The Lutheran Witness* 55 (January 14, 1936): 13.

[68] His diary entry for January 6, 1936, reads in part, "Memorial Day for our beloved president, the late director Klein."

nickname among the students was "Daddy," and in a brief editorial published in *The Springfielder* the year after his death, the writer refers to him as "Daddy Klein."[69]

Klein's successor was H. B. Hemmeter. In September 1936, he was installed and remained in office until his retirement at the end of the 1944–1945 school year. Hemmeter also had a nickname among the students, but it wasn't "Daddy." It was "Blimp." Apparently, he did not inspire the same affection as did his predecessor.[70] Now, of course, the students never called him "Blimp" to his face, but my father came close. He did so over the phone. Here's the story. When the students returned after Christmas break in January 1938, they found something new in their dormitory, a phone—part of a seminary system that connected their dorm directly to Hemmeter's office.[71] So a bunch of them started fooling around in the hallway, mimicking Hemmeter (mimicking professors is, I believe, still a staple of student behavior). And my father was going right along but decided to add a new twist. He picked up the new phone and said, "Hello, Blimp. How's it going, you old . . . ?" To their surprise and to my father's horror, Hemmeter's voice rang out in response, "Who said that? What's going on there, men?" Immediately, they all scattered to their rooms; and when the president himself arrived promptly to investigate, no one seemed to know anything about it.[72]

Incidentally, this episode occurred in the seminary dormitory, Craemer Hall. Compared to almost all the other buildings on campus, it was practically brand new. According to Heintzen, eight of the thirteen seminary buildings in use in 1935 dated back to the nineteenth century.[73] But Craemer Hall had been completed just six years earlier in 1929 at a cost of $95,000. It consisted of three stories and a basement. There were nine rooms to a floor, and four students to a room with showers and lavatories on each floor, thus providing housing for 108 students in all. The

[69] *The Springfielder* 1, no. 2 (December 1937): 14.

[70] My father's diary (January 15, 1939) records an incident in which fellow "students made a gigantic snow replica of 'Blimp.'"

[71] The dormitory was Craemer Hall. When I took a couple of summer classes at Springfield in 1975 and was staying in Craemer Hall, my father sent me a floor plan of the dormitory along with the names of his classmates written into the rooms in which they lived! The phone system is described in "Late Flashes," *The Springfielder* 1, no. 3 (January 1938): 16.

[72] Pies recollections. My father used to tell a slightly less colorful version.

[73] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 144, 151. My father called the Springfield campus "a dump." It was in bad shape. In his reminiscences, Clarence Spiegel recalled that when he began teaching in 1938, he "dreaded . . . to bring any of his visitors out there to show them the campus. It was just too sad of a place." He goes on to describe deplorable conditions in some of the oldest buildings. See the transcript of *Rev. Clarence W. Spiegel Memoir* SP43 in the Archives/Special Collections in the Norris L. Brookens Library of the University of Illinois at Springfield. This is based on an interview of Spiegel conducted by Norman Langhoff in 1981.

basement included meeting rooms, a faculty and board room, a recreation room, a lecture room, piano rooms, an orchestra room, and storage space.[74]

Now, of course, when that many mostly young men live together, pranks and hijinks are bound to happen. Some are mainly funny. Charles Looker recalled a fellow student (probably underage) who somehow managed, at great pains and expense, to buy a bottle of whiskey. He entered the dorm with the bottle tucked into the waist of his trousers, but on his way up the stairs slipped and fell forward. When he felt something wet, he looked up and said aloud, "Please Lord, let it be blood!"[75]

Others pranks were not quite so funny. Frank Pies used to tell the story of one student's playing a trick on another in the dining hall. When they all stood for the prayer, the one removed the chair of the other so that when he sat down, he landed on the floor. Everyone was laughing, that is, until the man started crying out in pain. The injury was serious; he was paralyzed for life. The perpetrator was extremely grieved and begged forgiveness from his classmates. It was granted, but all learned a powerful life lesson.[76]

It wasn't only the students who recognized that President Hemmeter was a strong personality. Shortly after his retirement, Neitzel wrote to the man who became Hemmeter's successor as president, G. Christian Barth: "We knew that we could not get anywhere as long as our former president [Hemmeter] sat in his armchair and ruled with an iron hand."[77] This confirms an anecdote involving the Finnish professor, Monto, who was overheard by Frank Pies confronting the director. "Who do you think you are, God?" To which Hemmeter immediately responded, "That's right. Around here, I am God." So much for collegiality.[78]

On the basis of these scattered remarks, one should not conclude that Hemmeter's administration was deemed a failure by either students or faculty. Quite the contrary. In 1942, when the seminary celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of Hemmeter's ordination, the faculty thanked him for the energy with which he tackled problems, especially having to do with the physical plant: "You were always looking into the future. When one task was nearing completion you were already planning other improvements."[79] They went on to mention things large and small: the reconstruction and renovation of the old administration building into a new one

[74] B. Selcke, "Dormitory Dedicated at Springfield Seminary," *The Lutheran Witness* 48 (June 11, 1929): 203.

[75] Looker recollections.

[76] Pies recollections.

[77] R. C. Neitzel to G. Chr. Barth, October 27, 1945.

[78] Pies recollections.

[79] "Congratulatory Messages," *The Springfielder* 5, no. 7 (April 1942): 3.

"with pleasant classrooms and a beautiful chapel," as well as "the removal of unsightly barns and shacks."[80]

Another of Hemmeter's achievements was his establishment of Donation Day in 1937. Each fall, the seminary invited the women of the Central Illinois District to campus with their gifts of food and cash for the school. The turnout for the first one was about a thousand women with enormous amounts of food. *The Springfielder* reported 4,000 quarts of canned fruit; "an almost endless row" of jellies and preserves; bushels of apples, pears, and potatoes; bags of sugar and flour; sacks of vegetables and nuts; pumpkins and squashes; and over $400 in cash. In appreciation for such generous support, the faculty wives and the women of the Springfield congregations put on a lunch for the seminary guests, and afterwards the seminary prepared a program of edifying messages, musical performances, and humorous skits. It was an enormous success and was repeated every year thereafter.[81]

But this also brings up the issue of food. What did the students have to say about the food? This was one of my father's great grievances—not so much for what was donated by the ladies each year—although the dining hall served stewed tomatoes so often that he ended up hating them for the rest of his life. In *The Springfielder* (December 1936), President Hemmeter himself answered complaints about the quantity of meat being allotted to students. The director insisted that those with a sedentary lifestyle should eat less meat, not more.[82]

This ties in with one of my father's criticisms—one day of the week, they had no meat at all. Instead they consumed their protein in the form of cottage cheese, made all the more "palatable" by drenching it in Karo syrup. But they did have pork roast regularly, so that should have been all right; but it was cooked and served with

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[80] "Congratulatory Messages," *The Springfielder* 5, no. 7 (April 1942): 3. The entire April issue was dedicated to Hemmeter. The renovation of the administration building was quite an achievement. The synod appropriated $179,000 at both the 1926 and 1929 conventions for a new building, but the money never arrived. The Depression arrived instead. See the 1926 *Proceedings of the Synodical Convention*, p. 38; and 1929 *Proceedings*, p. 39. Also Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 151–152.

According to Raymond Witt, "The Administration Building," *The Springfielder* 3, no. 8 (May–June 1940), 21–22, Hemmeter finally succeeded in obtaining $30,000 for a major remodeling of the old building, which included lopping off the entire third floor and cupola but also making significant improvements in the classrooms and the chapel, including a new organ that was the responsibility of the students. For details on the organ, see the article by Frank J. Schultz in that same issue of *The Springfielder*, pp. 18–19. Earlier in 1940, Witt wrote a description of "The Chapel," *The Springfielder* 3, no. 5 (February 1940): 3–4, that described the wretched condition of the chapel and organ before the remodeling.

[81] *The Springfielder* 1, no. 1 (1937–1938): 6–7. According to *The Springfielder* 5, no. 2 (November 1941): 7, my father was the chairman of that year's Donation Day general committee.

[82] President Hemmeter's statement also reprimanded students who bolted their food or gorged themselves, presumably at the expense of others. H. B. Hemmeter, "Gossip and Grub," *The Springfielder* 1, no. 2 (December 1937): 6.

the skin, bristles and all. But my father's greatest grievance was the complete lack of variety. There was one menu for each day of the week, and that's what they had week by week for the entire year and, I suppose, year after year. But my father also recalled that at least once in response to students' requests for a little variety, Hemmeter inquired of the railroad to see if they had salvaged any canned goods that the seminary could get at a discount, and they had—hot tamales, canned hot tamales. They were terrible, but at least they added some spice to the menu.[83]

All four of the men whose stories I have collected had part-time jobs. Given the era, that seems natural and probably typical. In July 1935, *The Lutheran Witness* printed an announcement from the seminary that included the amount that students would have to pay for the year.[84] Apparently, there was no tuition, but room and board was $104. Additional fees in the amount of $12.50 were due at the beginning of the year (for a total of about $2,235 in 2020 dollars).[85] Six years later when my father's class was beginning its final year, the expenses were $140 for room and board and $12.50 for additional fees. This time Hemmeter's announcement in *The Lutheran Witness* also included "sundry expenses, including books," approximately $100 for a total of $252.50 (or about $4,603 in 2020 dollars).[86] Still no tuition, and still quite reasonable by today's standards.[87] My father's job was quite prosaic—stock boy at the A&P grocery store. Charles Looker worked at the Illinois State Library.[88] Both Frank Pies and Edward Werner worked on campus—Pies as a gardener/groundskeeper and sometime chauffeur for Hemmeter, and Werner, turning a hobby into a job, as seminary photographer.[89]

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[83] MacKenzie recollections, confirmed in part by references to "hot tamales," "for which even Esau would not have sold his birthright." Diogenes Dimwit [!], "The Weather," *The Springfielder* 5, no. 4 (January 1942): 12.

[84] *The Lutheran Witness* 54 (July 30, 1935): 274.

[85] This figure is based on taking $1.00 in 1935 being equal to $19.18 in 2020 according to the online source DollarTimes. https://www.dollartimes.com/inflation/inflation.php?amount=1&year=1935. Accessed November 23, 2020.

[86] According to the DollarTimes, $1.00 in 1941 would equal $18.23 today.

[87] *The Lutheran Witness* 60 (July 22, 1941): 258–259.

[88] H. H. Rogers, the Assistant State Librarian, included a brief piece in *The Springfielder* 3, no. 3 (December 1939): 5–6 that offered the resources of the Illinois State Library for students who "were digging up material for debates, talks, or sermons."

[89] According to the Werner recollections, Edward Werner made enough at his job to pay his seminary expenses. He also recommended photography to others in a brief article under "Our Hobbies," *The Springfielder* 1, no. 6 (April 1938): 14. My father took it up some years later in connection with his vicarage at Gethsemane Lutheran Church in Detroit.

For a small student body (109 resident students in 1935–1936; 115 in 1941–1942),[90] there were all kinds of groups and activities, from forensics[91] to fencing,[92] from ping-pong[93] to music appreciation.[94] There were Slovak and Finnish language clubs,[95] and a Student Lyceum Association.[96] There was also student government that involved many students and discharged numerous responsibilities.[97] A major

[90] The 1935–1936 figures are from that year's catalog, 6–7. The figures for 1941–1942 are from *The Springfielder* 5, no. 8 (May–June 1941–1942): 23–28.

[91] In October 1939, *The Springfielder* (3, no. 1:9–10) reported that the Extemporaneous Club had organized and that "debates" were "often high points of their meetings." But in the next two school years, the reports indicate a Forensics Club (or Rostrum Club) organized for debate, especially on the national college question for the year, and looking forward to an All-Concordia Tournament in St. Louis in March. See *The Springfielder* 4, no. 3 (December 1940): 13; 5, no. 2 (November 1941): 13; and 5, no. 3 (December 1941): 15.

[92] Fencing was announced in the very first issue of *The Springfielder* (1, no. 1 [November 1937]:11), apparently for the first time. It was again encouraged in *The Springfielder* 2, no. 6 (March 1939): 16.

[93] In *The Springfielder* 1, no. 4 (February 1938): 10, the manager of the Supply Company wondered "what the students would do after meals without that ping pong table?" But in 1941, *The Springfielder* 5, no. 2 (November 1941): 13–14, refers to a tournament played on ping-pong "tables." It looks like interest had grown. See also *Springfielder* 3, no. 2 (November 1939): 12–13.

[94] The Music Appreciation Club was organized in November 1940 in order to meet weekly and listen to classical music recordings. Professor Behrens, who himself had a collection of such records, commented on the composer and the piece listened to. D. Schumm, "Music Club," *The Springfielder* 4, no. 3 (December 1940): 13.

[95] For the Slovaks, see *The Springfielder* 5, no. 1 (October 1941): 14; for the Finns, see *The Springfielder* 5, no. 2 (November 1941): 11.

[96] The March issue of the 1938 *Springfielder* 1, no. 5 (March 1938): 6 mentioned the creation of an Open Forum group that was meeting biweekly for presentations, lectures, and conversation on subjects of interest to the students. On one occasion, Pastor Paul Schulz talked about participation in civic groups and about praying with non-Lutherans or other Lutherans without unionism. Professor Behrens talked about religious conditions in Germany and Spain. A few years later, C. Schleicher reported in *The Springfielder* 4, no. 2 (November 1940): 11 about the student government's appointment of a Lyceum committee to set up a program of presentations by synodical representatives and local professionals (doctors, journalists, radio men, and the like) as well as educational films. In 1941–1942, my father was chairman of what was then called the Student Lyceum Association. *The Springfielder* 5, no. 2 (November 1941): 10. That year they put on a musical Christmas service that included Slovak and Finnish vocalists. *The Springfielder* 5, no. 4 (January 1942): 5.

[97] From reading *The Springfielder*, volumes 1–5 (1937–1942), supplemented by entries from my father's diaries (slim as they are), one can easily see that student government was responsible for much more than is true today. Officers and student council members were elected by the student body annually (assembled as the Coetus). There is a description of the election process for the student council in a letter by C. W. Brueggemann in *The Springfielder* 1, no. 7 (May 1938): 14–15. Student government was in charge of *The Springfielder* and the Concordia Supply Company; student discipline (of course, not for the most serious infractions); tending sick students; on-campus mail delivery; managing the dining hall, library, and reading room; providing an organist for chapel; organizing work details on campus; appointing managers for different sports; and raising and lowering the flag. The names of students who were filling the various offices for the school year appear on the masthead of the first issue of *The Springfielder* in 1937 and 1938 but, unfortunately, not in subsequent years. Charles Looker was on the student council in 1938. In

source of information about all the activities was the student journal *The Springfielder*, itself an important student activity.[98] "Published monthly by the students" of the seminary, its first issue arrived November 1937. It is not clear to me how it was funded, but my guess is that it did so fully apart from the seminary budget. It carried many advertisements from local businesses[99] and sold subscriptions for $1.00 a year, directed especially to alumni. Accordingly, it regularly covered alumni news along with seminary news and bits of gossip, usually humorous. Articles and editorials covered a wide range of subjects,[100] and Hemmeter himself used it to share concerns and ideas with the students.[101] Baepler was the faculty advisor or "consulting editor" during this period. At some point during each year, the journal published pictures and biographies of the graduating class. Besides all this, issues included poetry and art, often by the students themselves.

The Springfielder reported extensively on extracurricular activities. As one might expect at a seminary, the Mission Society was a very active student group. According to the 1935–1936 *Catalog*, its purpose was "to fill the students with the proper missionary zeal and enthusiasm." Meeting every Friday afternoon, it sponsored lectures and discussions on missionary work. Students themselves were encouraged to do mission work in and around Springfield. For example, the November 1937 issue of the journal reported that students were bringing the word to people at two sanitariums, the county poor farm, two homes for the aged, and the local jail. They had also canvassed Waverly, Illinois, and later two upperclassmen were holding services there. At meetings of the society, they would then discuss their experiences and talk about methods and challenges. The Mission Society also produced a half-hour radio program on the local station each Sunday evening that included a homily by faculty, pastors, or upperclassmen, and music provided by students—organ, choral, instrumental, and solo. A group that sang regularly was

1941–1942, he was secretary-treasurer of his class. See *The Springfielder* 5, no. 3 (December 1941): 4–5. Frank Pies was class president in 1937. See *The Springfielder* 5, no. 4 (January 1942): 4.

[98] The masthead of the first issue (November 1937) included eight students; by May–June of 1942, that number had grown to eleven. My father was actively engaged with *The Springfielder* throughout his seminary career. He had a meditation on Christmas in its second issue, and he became news editor in 1939 and editor-in-chief in 1941.

[99] It carried twenty-five ads in the first issue and eighteen in the May–June issue of 1942.

[100] Volume 3, 1939–1940, ran a very interesting series of "biographical glimpses" on each of the faculty members.

[101] Hemmeter did not write in every issue of *The Springfielder* but often enough on a variety of topics. So, for example, in January 1938 (1, no. 3: 8–9), he had a list of complaints about students—everything from bad manners to skipping church. In November 1941 (5, no. 2: 3), he refuted the idea that somehow Luther was responsible for Hitler. In the last issue of every year, he included some final thoughts and a parting word to the graduating class.

called the Radio Choristers (in 1941 consisting of a dozen men and another student who directed them).[102]

Music was a major extracurricular activity. Besides the Choristers, there were also a seminary band and a chorus, as well as many individuals who sang or played instruments.[103] In the descriptions of the seventeen graduates of 1941–1942, eleven of them included some form of music in their activities. In 1941–1942, all four of my "sources" were connected with the Seminary Chorus, three of them as first tenors (Looker, Pies, and Werner[104]) and my father as "Publicity-Director." By that time, Fred Precht[105] was in his second year at the seminary and had the chorus practicing three nights a week. Under his direction, the forty-man ensemble made several appearances round and about Springfield (including three in Chicago). In April 1942, they traveled 1,700 miles from Springfield to North Tonawanda, New York, and back again in order to present twelve concerts in eleven days. Earlier that year, the chorus performed on the Lutheran Hour, the first time ever for the chorus on a national radio station. H. W. Gockel, Assistant Executive Secretary of the Lutheran Hour, called their rendition of "Softly and Tenderly Jesus Is Calling" one of "the highlights" of that year's Lutheran Hour.[106]

Sports were also popular among the students, and the seminary provided many opportunities for competition both within the institution and with other schools and groups (e.g., the Walther League or the St. Louis seminary).[107] At two extremes were boxing and ping-pong, but there were students enough for each.[108] Students organized in different ways to play touch football.[109] Track is also mentioned in the

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[102] 1935–1936 *Catalog*, 5, and *The Springfielder* 1, no. 1 (November 1937): 5 and 5, no. 3 (December 1941): 6–7. In 1941–1942, Frank Pies was the treasurer of the Mission Society.

[103] In the first two volumes of *The Springfielder*, a student was listed as "organist." Thereafter, students continued to appear prominently as organists for special occasions and services. The journal discontinued that listing, but one student, Frank J. Schulz, was the organist for special occasions at the end of 1940.

[104] Edward Werner also played both piano and organ. In one of his diary entries (May 5, 1936), my father recorded that he "played violin with Werner" (presumably playing the piano).

[105] Precht served the seminary 1940–1943, 1944–1968, and 1972–1976. LCMS Board for Communications, February 7, 2003, https://archive.wfn.org/2003/02/msg00098.html. Accessed March 12, 2021.

[106] *The Springfielder* 5, no. 1 (October 1941): 13; 5, no. 3 (December 1941): 7; 5, no. 5 (February 1942): 7; 5, no. 6 (March 1942): 7; and 6, no. 6 (March 1943): 10.

[107] In October 1939, *The Springfielder* 3, no. 1 (October 1939): 13–14 reported on softball games played among the students and between the seminary and the Central Illinois Public Service Co. In *The Springfielder* 4, no. 7 (April 1941): 14, the reporter promoted the upcoming baseball game against St. Louis by recalling the very narrow loss of the year before (in which "Eddie" Werner scored a run).

[108] According to the Werner recollections, Edward Werner was an excellent boxer. Before entering the seminary, he won the district championship in Norfolk, Nebraska, and then went on to participate in the regional tournament in Sioux City.

[109] See *The Springfielder* 2 (November 1938): 13; 3 (November 1939): 12; 5 (October 1941): 14.

pages of *The Springfielder*.[110] Some sports were taken more seriously than others in that student government took responsibility for them and appointed a manager for each. But which ones could change from year to year. Baseball, basketball, softball, and tennis continued to have managers year after year, but in 1937 so did swimming and fencing, while the very next year, both of those were gone, replaced by track and horseshoes.[111]

My father was not especially athletic, but his diary records his taking part in fencing a couple of times and boxing at least once.[112] Frank Pies was the player/manager of the softball team in his final year.[113] Edward Werner was an excellent athlete, and his children remember his telling them how he used to train himself on Nebraska farm roads, where running uphill made running on a level track or court very easy. On the seminary baseball team, Werner was known for his skill in stealing bases, and in basketball, he easily outran many taller players on the way to the basket. He was also on the tennis team at Springfield.[114]

The seminary had tennis courts and fields for softball and baseball; but they had to rent a swimming pool,[115] and they had no gymnasium at all. So to play basketball, participants had to scurry all over the city to find space, but somehow they managed. In 1941, for example, twenty to twenty-five students turned out for daily practice. The manager arranged with the Knights of Columbus to use their gym for four games scheduled with other schools, but for practices they looked for "any place large enough to accommodate the boys."[116]

So the seminary needed a gymnasium and, indeed, this was one of Hemmeter's goals. The first issue of *The Springfielder* cried out, "How much we miss a gym of our own!" and the next issue reported that the Board of Control had tasked the director with moving forward on the project, at an approximate cost of $20,000. But this was one ambition for the school that Hemmeter could not achieve. Although in March of 1938 he reported optimistically about gifts and pledges of over $5,000, he

[110] According to *The Springfielder* 2, no. 1 (October 1938): 12, and 5, no. 1 (October 1941): 14, the student government appointed "managers" for track in 1938 and 1941. According to *The Springfielder* 1, no. 6 (April 1938): 6, the seminary hosted the Central Illinois District Walther League on May 30, 1938, for a field day.

[111] *The Springfielder* 1, no. 1 (November 1937): 11, and 2, no. 1 (October 1938): 12. For other years, see also 4, no. 1 (October 1940): 4, and 5, no. 1 (October 1941): 14.

[112] MacKenzie diary entries from January 18, 19, and 20, 1939.

[113] *The Springfielder* 5, no. 1 (October 1941): 14. From *The Springfielder* 1, no. 1 (November 1937): 11, it looks as if student government was responsible for renting such facilities.

[114] Werner recollections.

[115] At least in 1939–1940, from the Knights of Columbus (*cooperatio in externis*). See "Swimming," *The Springfielder* 3, no. 3 (December 1939): 9–10.

[116] "The Athlete," *The Springfielder* 5, no. 1 (October 1941): 14.

also told of a synodical rule that prohibited the seminary's soliciting funds from anyone except its alumni and three of the synod's districts (Central Illinois and the two Iowa districts).[117] For at least a couple of years, the seminary catalog included a picture of the proposed gymnasium on the back cover.[118] But in 1941, they were still far short of the goal. *The Springfielder* reported that alumni and students were trying to raise money again. They had $7,000, and the students had acquired pledges of $1,500. But the gym had a new name, the Student Center Building, and a new price tag, $50,000. It was still a long way from becoming a reality.[119]

When Hemmeter retired (1945) and then died (1948), it still hadn't been built. A gymnasium—the first in the seminary's more than one-hundred-year history—was finally dedicated on September 10, 1950.[120]

In the summer of 1935, my father had written to President Klein for information about the seminary and, in particular, whether the education there would equip him to "become a minister" or would he also have to go to St. Louis! In his response, Klein assured my father that the Springfield "course [of studies] is so arranged as to give our boys [!] all they must have in order to make them successful pastors" [emphasis original].[121]

And that was exactly the reason—the only reason—for the synod's establishing and maintaining Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield, Illinois: to prepare pastors. Buildings, whether new or old, were not the main thing, nor were student activities or even classroom learning, and certainly not pranks and hijinks, even if fun to recall over and over again to your offspring. No, what mattered was ministry, pastoral ministry, faithfully preaching and teaching the gospel that people needed to hear and believe. And that was the end result of the Springfield experience for Looker, Pies, MacKenzie, and Werner, to each one of whom our Lord has already said, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

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[117] *The Springfielder* 1, no. 1 (November 1937): 11; 1, no. 2 (December 1937): 13; and 1, no. 5 (March 1938): 6.

[118] The 1937–1938 *Catalog* and 1938–1939 *Catalog*. There may have been more, but they are not in my possession.

[119] Cameron A. MacKenzie, "Re: Student Center," *The Springfielder* 5, no. 4 (January 1942): 2–3.

[120] Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets*, 165.

[121] Cameron A. MacKenzie to President H. A. Klein, August 8, 1935, and H. A. Klein to C. MacKenzie, August 10, 1935. Originals in seminary archives.

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The Move to Fort Wayne: The "How," the "What," and the "Why"

David P. Scaer

I. Why Two Seminaries?

Both seminaries of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) can trace their origins back to the synod's founding.[1] Thus, there has never been a time when the LCMS has been without two seminaries. Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, modeled more closely what the first LCMS leaders experienced in Germany (a "theoretical seminary"), and Concordia Theological Seminary, which would be associated with the city of Springfield, Illinois, for a century (1875–1976), was driven not by a prior model of education but by a desire to find an efficient way to provide pastors as quickly as possible (a "practical seminary").[2] It was not that their teachings and goals to prepare pastors made them different, but that each seminary had taken root in different contexts. This shaped how they saw themselves and how they were seen in the LCMS, which supported both. Attempts at resolving differences between how pastors were prepared in Germany and how higher education evolved in America was another factor in how our seminaries would grow and change over time. Germany and America had parallel but not identical systems of education.

II. Education in America

American education has three layers: elementary or grammar school, high school, and college. Post-baccalaureate education appeared in the nineteenth century. Though the goal of some of our governmental leaders now is to assure everyone an opportunity for a college education, it was not so long ago that most of the population attended no more than an elementary or grammar school. Upon completion, people in the cities went out to seek their fortunes and those in

[1] Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Blessing: Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, Illinois, 1846–1946* (Springfield, Ill.: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1946), 11–12.

[2] Erich H. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets: The Anatomy of a Seminary, 1846–1976* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1989), 54–56; Herbert George Bredemeier, *Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1839–1957* (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Fort Wayne Public Library, 1978), 315–322.

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agricultural areas took over the family farm. In the prairie states in which the LCMS established congregations, elementary education was often provided by the church. Where it was provided by local government, one-room schoolhouses accommodated children of all grades living within walking distance of these schools. Later, high schools were established and their diplomas were regarded as the passports to success, and still are in some places. Some of us may have grandparents who had no more than an elementary education and went on to live contented and successful lives. With the population shifting to the larger cities and then the more affluent suburbs, not only is a college education seen as a key to success but almost as a constitutional right to which all are entitled. Whereas post-baccalaureate education was rare at the beginning of the twentieth century, in some cases it is now required to maintain professional status. This would have an influence on seminary and college education in the LCMS.

Things have changed since the two seminaries were founded. Post-graduate programs are now in place at all LCMS colleges and its two seminaries. What may be less obvious is how they have changed in the last eighty years. These changes, as small as they might have appeared when they happened, were factors leading Concordia Theological Seminary to return to Fort Wayne in 1976 and relating to the seminary course offerings and its confessional image in the LCMS.

III. How Pastors Were Prepared in Germany

Germany, the homeland of the forefathers of the LCMS, had a structured system of education in which only students who had finished a level of education called the *Gymnasium* would be admitted to the university, where students for the ministry were prepared by the theological faculty. This faculty existed alongside of faculties for other disciplines, such as philosophy, history, and medicine; together they constituted the university. A student studying in the theological faculty could simultaneously study at another faculty and be accredited by it. Only students from a *Gymnasium*, where they learned Latin and the biblical languages of Hebrew and Greek, were admitted to the university. Even now the diploma from the *Gymnasium* known as the *Abitur* is highly prized. The *Abitur* certificate was not quite an equivalent to the American high school diploma, since German *Gymnasia* spanned not only the four years of the American high school, but five years, and so resembles the American junior college. Entrance requirements for enrollment in the *Gymnasium* were stringent, and so at the beginning of adolescence academically gifted students who would eventually attend the university had already been identified. In entering the German university, a student did not hear lectures in a

smattering of general topics but began taking courses and hearing lectures in his chosen discipline, as for example, philosophy and medicine. In America, academic preparations for these professions are generally reserved to graduate schools. Students preparing for the ministry would hear lectures from the university's theology faculty.

IV. Papering over Discrepancies

From its establishment in St. Louis, Concordia Seminary followed the German university model with this seminary's last two years, which when measured against the American model would be equivalent to two years of graduate school. It was inevitable that the German model would have to be adjusted to the American one, and for this purpose Concordia Senior College, Fort Wayne, Indiana, was established by the LCMS in 1957. Even before this, there was a "paper" adjustment for students who had entered Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, without the required baccalaureate degree required by nearly all American seminaries. After their second year at the seminary, students received the bachelor of arts degree. In October 1971, the faculty under its president John Tietjen awarded the Master of Divinity degree to all alumni who had graduated with the Bachelor of Divinity degree. Before this, seminary students who had attended an LCMS junior college were awarded the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

For those from the outside looking in, this could be confusing. Facing the same discrepancy, Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, awarded the Master of Divinity degree to students who graduated with a Bachelor of Divinity degree with the stipulation they enroll for two additional courses. The academic maneuvering that provided Master of Divinity degrees to those who had long since finished their programs may not have been all that necessary, since standards at both seminaries were so high that its graduates were often, with rare exception, accepted into other institutions of higher learning. Doctoral degrees in America are relatively new phenomena taken over from Germany in the early twentieth century and today are awarded by both seminaries.

V. A Confessional Lutheran Seminary

At its founding, the LCMS had no universities in which a theological faculty could be established, as could be done in Germany, so its seminaries as freestanding educational institutions were owned by the synod, whose congregations nominated candidates for professorships. The founders of the LCMS did not want to replicate the German university model, in which the particular provincial governments had the final word over who could teach. There the knife could cut both ways. The

radical New Testament scholar David Friedrich Strauss was not allowed a university post, and confessional G. C. A. von Harless was removed from his. Provincial governments had a say on who could join the faculty and who could stay. It was in the academic environment of university theological faculties that the founders of the LCMS had confronted Enlightenment Rationalism and the God-conscious theology of Friedrich Ernst Schleiermacher, which was taken over into the faculty of the University of Erlangen, where C. F. W. Walther and Francis Pieper found their theological nemeses. In America, the church and not the government would determine the confessional character of its theological faculties.

VI. The Transformation of the Gymnasium into the Concordia University System

Most of what is now the Concordia University System was modeled after the German *Gymnasium* that was transplanted onto American soil to prepare students for Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.[3] The first and flagship *Gymnasium* began in St. Louis as a part of the seminary there. It moved to the former practical seminary campus in Fort Wayne early in the Civil War. That campus is now home to Indiana Tech.[4] There are LCMS pastors still active who learned German, Greek, and Latin (and in some cases Hebrew) at these *Gymnasia*, which were established in nerve centers of Lutheran populations from California to New York.

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, was referred to by the synod's leaders on the pages of the synod's official paper, *Der Lutheraner*, as "our seminary," since all its entering students had academic pedigrees of the *Gymnasium*, and LCMS presidents and vice-presidents were inevitably St. Louis graduates. It was not that Springfield did not count, but the St. Louis seminary with its academic tradition and a campus architecture modeled from Princeton University had a prestige that the "other" seminary, which moved in its first quarter century from Fort Wayne to St. Louis and then to Springfield, did not match. It could not develop the tradition that a school with a permanent campus has.

Until the 1930s, German was a language of instruction at both seminaries. One major difference between the two seminaries must be singled out. Students entering Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, had to be graduates of the LCMS schools that were modeled after the *Gymnasium*, with their stringent language requirements. Students who intended to enroll by going to a *Gymnasium* of the LCMS had to submit in

[3] Franz Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, trans. Walter William Frederick Albrecht, 4 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950–1957).

[4] David P. Scaer, *Surviving the Storms: Memoirs of David P. Scaer*, ed. Robert Ernest Smith (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Luther Academy, 2018), 88–89.

writing every year their intention to study for the ministry and obtain the signatures of their pastors and of the appropriate district president to attest to the sincerity of their intent. This contributed to the *esprit de corps* of graduates of the St. Louis seminary. Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, would be known for its exclusively recruited student body with high academic requirements. Whatever fame Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, had, it was preparing pastors who would faithfully serve LCMS congregations. However, things did not stay this way.

VII. Houston, 1953

In the 1950s, the LCMS would take actions that were not directly related to Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, but that would lead to enhancing its academic program, upgrading its faculty, and replanting it in Fort Wayne, where it had been established in 1846. At its 1953 Houston convention, the LCMS voted to close Concordia College in Fort Wayne and establish Concordia Senior College on farmland to the north of the same city. Thus even with the closing of one school, the Fort Wayne tradition that began with the founding of the LCMS would remain in place.

This decision would have widespread repercussions for the LCMS educational system and its theology that could not have been envisioned then, the first of which was a restructuring of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, which from its founding had accepted students from all LCMS junior colleges, in which students studied from their freshman year in high school through the sophomore years of college. This model was out of sync with the American model, in which a college degree was required for graduate schools. In order to keep the *Gymnasium* system of its schools intact, at least partially, students finishing their college sophomore year would then transfer for their junior and senior college years to Concordia Senior College. This was a hybrid solution that let the *Gymnasium* concept remain in place at the synod schools, which were well established throughout the nation, and would allow the introduction of the American model: the seminary, like graduate schools, would admit graduates of accredited colleges with baccalaureate degrees. The direct link that Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, had with *Gymnasium*-modeled schools would be cut. Whatever academic and theological value these schools had was compromised, and they would soon have to repurpose their curricula, in which the pre-theological programs would lose their prominence.

VIII. Concordia Senior College, 1957

To prepare students for a world that was seen at that time as more academically and educationally advanced, Concordia Senior College would offer a broader

curriculum with courses in the sciences, history, philosophy, and classical languages. Students majoring in these disciplines would have to wait an additional two years to get into the serious theology offered at a seminary. For students with serious intent for the ministry, this could have only been frustrating. Theology was not the queen of the disciplines as it was in the junior colleges. Only a fraction of the students continued in undergraduate theological studies. With interests developed in other areas besides theology—what was called "religion" then—some students after graduation fell between the cracks and pursued other professions and did not go on to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

In an attempt to maintain previously assured high enrollments with students coming from the LCMS schools, this seminary would soon begin admitting students from non-synodical private colleges and state-owned universities. All well and good, but this would disrupt the previous arrangement, that students graduating from non-synodical schools, including Valparaiso University, would go to Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield. Taking students from outside of the synod system would soon change the complexion of the St. Louis student body, which before this time came from the synod schools exclusively. Lost would be the bonds of a common heritage that all its students shared. This would have a major effect on the LCMS junior colleges in that those desiring to enter seminary to study for the ministry did not have to obtain a pre-theological education at one of these schools. Their survival required offering more expansive programs to attract students who were planning to go neither to a seminary nor a teachers college. To remain financially viable institutions, these schools dispensed with their programs of four years of high school and advanced their college programs to four years. Without high school programs, they were then hardly different from other American colleges.

Eventually, in all these schools non-Lutheran students would outnumber Lutheran ones, and soon the pre-theological curriculum once offered by these schools would be overshadowed almost to the point of being eliminated by programs preparing students for positions more lucrative than the ministry. Nowhere to be found were schools following the German *Gymnasium* model, in which students preparing for Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, had to know German, Latin, Greek, and, in former years, Hebrew before entering. The Lutheran climate and character of these schools would be compromised. With students no longer going directly from the junior colleges to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and with graduates from Concordia Senior College pursuing other professional and academic goals, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, had to compete for students from non-

synodical colleges who until that time would have gone to Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield.

IX. The Emergence of Co-Equal Seminaries

Shuffling the LCMS system of higher learning might seem at first unrelated to Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, but it provides the groundwork for why Concordia Theological Seminary is now in Fort Wayne. Eventually both seminaries would be competing for the same students. Graduates of Concordia Senior College, whom the LCMS had intended for enrollment at St. Louis, had the option of going to Springfield, and some took it. What the forefathers of the LCMS had wanted to keep in place had been dissolved.

From its beginning, the senior college was an anomaly in that it disrupted the older *Gymnasium* system and did not correspond to American four-year college. Students intent on studying for the ministry would soon have the option of completing their third and fourth years of college at the schools where they were already studying. For some, an all-male college environment would not be appealing. In establishing Concordia Senior College, leaders of the LCMS did not consider the affects this hybrid institution would have.

X. An Underappreciated Theological Achievement

For most, it would be difficult to locate published theological contributions to the LCMS by faculty members of Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, but there was an outstanding one. Professor Walter W. F. Albrecht, uncle to Professor Eugene F. Klug, translated Francis Pieper's *Christliche Dogmatik*[5] into English as *Christian Dogmatics*,[6] which on its own merits and not just as a translation was a significant theological contribution. After completing the translation which appeared in 1953, Albrecht prepared as a fourth volume a thousand-page *Index to Christian Dogmatics*. These volumes made their way to the shelves of students of both seminaries and eventually all LCMS pastors. Long before the publication in 1957 of Pieper's *Christian Dogmatics*, this *Christliche Dogmatik* was no longer accessible to a ministerium who was less likely to be competent in German. Publication of Pieper's *Christian Dogmatics* was a monumental theological and literary achievement and has played a crucial role in making the LCMS's classical Lutheran theology available at a time when it was being questioned by some on the St. Louis faculty. With continued publication by Concordia Publishing House, it is

[5] Franz Pieper and Ernest Eckhardt, *Christliche Dogmatik* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917–1924).

[6] Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*.

positioned to play this key role for future generations. Albrecht's preparation of the index and fourth volume in itself without the benefit of a computer for cross-referencing and accuracy was an equally great achievement. For his effort, Albrecht received a well-earned honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Luther Theological Seminary in Australia, which would have been better conferred by Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, to whose students its president Franz Pieper delivered the lectures that would be published as *Christian Dogmatics*.

XI. A Change in the Wind

Until the 1950s, the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, was regarded as the primary institution for educating the synod's pastors and providing its leadership. Its presidents and professors served as the editors of its theological journal, *Lehre und Wehre*, from which emerged *Concordia Theological Monthly*, and *Der Lutheraner*, a periodical intended for the laity, which later merged with *The Lutheran Witness* and *Reporter*. In many aspects, synod and seminary worked together and were regarded as one.

Concerns about newer theologies taking hold in the St. Louis faculty in the 1950s would eventually deprive this seminary of its roles of theological leadership and the synod's theological watchdog. Responsibility for theological supervision was transferred to a newly created Commission on Theology and Church Relations, which was organized to represent broader aspects of the synod membership. In it, the Springfield seminary was given equal standing with the St. Louis seminary.

What signaled a change at Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, and would lead to its taking a leading theological role in the LCMS was the role of its journal *The Springfielder* in calling attention to neoorthodox theology[7] and the drive to wider ecumenical participation that had made a foothold at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. It originated as a student publication around the year 1936.

How the name was chosen is not known, and the name itself, *The Springfielder*, has a kind of folksy flavor without definition of the place of its publication origin or its theology. "Springfield" may be the most popular name for an American city and could refer to any number of cities, all of which could be seen as typically American. For fans of the TV show *The Simpsons*, Springfield is where Homer and his family live. Springfield in the neighboring state of Ohio was once the home of Hamma

[7] Exemplified by the theology of Karl Barth, neoorthodox theology accepted the higher critical view of the Bible but also attempted to maintain certain aspects of traditional Christian theology over against previous liberal theologies.

School of Theology, which was later merged into Trinity Seminary, and later into Capital University as its theological faculty.

Not many years passed before it became a faculty journal. *The Springfielder* became a synonym for the confessional Lutheran theology on which the LCMS was founded. From its inception in 1936 until 1958, *The Springfielder* resembled other college student publications in having a student editor, a faculty advisor, articles from both faculty and students, and information about forthcoming campus events. Almost since its founding, the seminary was as much a college as it was a seminary and had an athletic program to match.

The Springfielder's last appearance as a student publication came in 1958 and featured one article by Professor Fred Kramer on the danger of neoorthodoxy and another by Professor Martin Naumann on the lack of commitment to the Confessions by the Lutheran World Federation. Acting seminary president Clarence Spiegel and *The Springfielder* were alerting students and faculty to troubling theological developments at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, that would disrupt the LCMS in the next three decades. Changes were in the wind, and the big change would come when George Beto came from Concordia in Austin, Texas, to be seminary president in 1959.

This new president of Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, was politically astute. He was well positioned within the state of Illinois's political world. His height matched his prestige and stature in church and state, and he was rightfully known as "Big George." A well-credentialed man and a Texan in the classical sense, Beto was ambitious for the seminary he now headed and called several academically credentialed men to the faculty.

The editorial of the December 1958 issue of *The Springfielder* began this way: "To many readers this journal will doubtless come as a stranger, but a stranger who is eager to make your acquaintance." It went on: "Therefore, the faculty recently resolved that THE SPRINGFIELDER should be altered to serve as a theological voice of the seminary, placed in charge of the president, to appear four times a year, and to reach a wider circulation." All theological disciplines would be covered, and along with book reviews and homiletical studies, it would offer "editorial comment on questions and issues confronting the Church." Besides preparing men for the ministry, which was the seminary's original purpose, Beto was intent that his seminary have a major role in the LCMS's theological arena in addressing issues troubling the synod. He made this clear by saying the following: "There must also be the freedom to discuss these [allowable] differences among brethren," which is followed by this caveat, "An author who is compelled to disguise or betray his true confession simply cannot write with that integrity demanded of a Christian scholar." This *coup d'état* of a student journal that was published at most once a year, turning

it into a theological journal published by the faculty, was a decision by a recently chosen seminary president who said he would be responsible for its content.

In coming to the seminary, Beto already had his troops in place. One year before Beto became president, J. A. O. Preus Jr. had joined the faculty and was listed as one of *The Springfielder*'s associate editors, with the lead post going to historian Erich Heintzen, from whom I would inherit the post in 1968. Mark J. Steege was put in charge of preparing homiletical studies. Whereas *The Springfielder* as a student publication appeared what seems to be once a year, as the faculty publication it was to appear five times a year with the fifth one as the seminary's catalog. If the LCMS did not know much about the Concordia Theological Seminary that was located in not-often-visited Springfield, Illinois, it would now.

Beto came to Springfield as president in 1959 and left to head the Texas state prison system in 1962, but in three years he made the seminary's confessional commitment clear. In the April 1960 issue of *The Springfielder*, he wrote an editorial entitled "Unrest in Synod" centered around inspiration, revelation, and the doctrine of the word generally.[8] Questionable is his assessment that there were some in the LCMS who esteemed the King James Version of the Bible as authoritative and that the distinction between *antilegomena* and *homolegoumena* was a problem for some. The real problems were with those who held that the Scriptures were not the word of God but only contained it. Neoorthodoxy "would ultimately denude the Scriptures of the miraculous." Beto wrote:

> Luther, who never developed a locus on the Scriptures, is quoted as a champion by any and all who would write or speak on the subject.
>
> The seriousness of this unrest—we hesitate to use the word controversy—must not be minimized. The foundation of the Christian faith is involved. The basis for authority in faith and life is at stake.
>
> In our opinion, a part of the difficulty arises from the fact that we are living on "borrowed theological capital" in the Missouri Synod. To paraphrase Goethe, we have never really apprehended the theological heritage of our fathers.[9]

After saying that people should recognize that these problems are real, Beto goes on to make what might sound like a radical proposal: pastoral conferences should give less time to practical problems and synod reports and give more time "to a thorough study of the doctrine of the Word" and he "caution[s] against the use of 'canned materials.' Guidelines prepared by joint-faculty committees are not the solution.

[8] George J. Beto, "Unrest in Synod," *The Springfielder* 24, no. 2 (April 1960): 1.
[9] Beto, "Unrest in Synod," 1.

Only intensive study by the brethren themselves will enable them to heed the counsel."[10]

In the collective memory of the LCMS, the Preus brothers—Jack as seminary and then LCMS president and Robert as both seminary president and prominent twentieth-century classical Lutheran theologian—have a firm place and remain the object of research by church historians, yet the memory of George Beto has fallen by the wayside. His name does not often come to mind, and he along with his achievements will probably continue to be overlooked. It might not be going too far to say that if it were not for George Beto's initiatives, Concordia Theological Seminary would not have developed into an academically credentialed seminary with a confessional reputation that would be enhanced through the seminary presidencies of Jack (1962–1969) and Robert Preus (1974–1989), and less attention would have been given to the academic excellence of future faculty members.

Changes in the educational system of the LCMS came together in 1960 to shape the future of the Springfield seminary. Some junior colleges had become four-year colleges and competed with Concordia Senior College to send students directly to either seminary. The structure of the LCMS's colleges and seminaries and how they understood their roles evolved. Such leading theologians as Martin Naumann and Walter Albrecht had served brilliantly without advanced academic degrees. In the same issue of *The Springfielder* in which Beto provided remedies for dangers he saw facing the LCMS, Martin Naumann wrote an article entitled "Notes on European Lutheranism" in which he gave an overview of the sad state of Lutheranism in Germany.[11] The United Lutheran Church in Germany (VELKD) had enticed established Lutheran churches into its membership to expedite their later entry into the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD), which was an association of Lutheran, Union, and Reformed churches and in which distinctive Lutheran doctrines were compromised. Maybe Naumann wrote with prophetic vision. In the summer of 1970, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, awarded several honorary doctorates to Lutheran World Federation theologians, who were meeting in St. Louis.

Subsidies from the LCMS to its seminaries diminished and had to be complemented by federal government benefits to students, which were only available at academically accredited educational schools (e.g., G.I. Bill support and federal student loans). This required that nearly all the instructors have earned doctorates. Among the professors called to Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, there were some men with outstanding academic credentials but who

[10] Beto, "Unrest in Synod," 1.

[11] Martin J. Naumann, "Notes on European Lutheranism," *The Springfielder* 24, no. 2 (April 1960): 15–24.

also were sympathetic to the new theology emerging at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

XII. Faculty Transformation

Through his association with Beto, J. A. O. (Jack) Preus Jr. became academic dean and then, upon Beto's departure, became acting president. He was called to be its full-time president in 1962. Fred Kramer followed Jack Preus as academic dean in 1962. When the seminary moved to Fort Wayne, Kramer chose to remain in Springfield to finish translating the remaining three volumes of Martin Chemnitz's four-volume *Examination of the Council of Trent*.[12] The importance of Kramer's work can never be overestimated in making sixteenth-century confessional Lutheran theology available to the LCMS.

In 1966, four new men were called to the seminary, and three accepted. John Frederick Johnson, Kenneth Ballas, and I were installed at the opening service on the Sunday following Labor Day in 1966 by the Central Illinois District President Lewis Niemoeller. Documents accompanying my call to the seminary gave me a primary responsibility in teaching dogmatics with a secondary one in the New Testament.[13]

When Jack Preus was elected president of the Missouri Synod, to the surprise of many, including the man chosen for the job, the electors chose Richard J. Schultz, an articulate professor in Christian education with a fine mind for philosophical issues, to be the next president of the Springfield seminary. His election took place around December 1969. Though Schultz was elected as president in December, he wanted to finish his academic work toward a doctorate degree at the University of Illinois before assuming the presidential duties on July 1, 1970.[14] Around 1972, three new additions to the faculty were made: William Wickenkamp in speech, Milton Sernett in ethics, and Jon Diefenthaler in historical theology, who later was Southeastern District president.[15]

Forty-five out of fifty faculty members left Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in February 1974. Robert Preus's election as president of Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield left only four members around whom to reconstruct that faculty.

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[12] Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Fred Kramer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971).

[13] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 88–89.

[14] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 143.

[15] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, 150.

XIII. The Move to Fort Wayne[16]

Moving a seminary with close to four hundred students and about twenty faculty members was a logistical challenge that was carried out without a hitch. Students enrolling in the fall of 1976 moved directly to Fort Wayne from their homes or colleges. Third-year students went on vicarage and did not return to Fort Wayne until the following year. Students returning from their vicarage for their fourth year went directly to Fort Wayne. Vicarage moving expenses of these two classes were assumed by the congregations they served. Only students completing their first year in Springfield had to be financially assisted in moving to Fort Wayne for their second year. Faculty members were provided large shipping boxes in the Springfield seminary fieldhouse, and all were required to pack their own belongings in them. The Springfield campus was soon sold for four million dollars to an elected Illinois official, who leased it to the state department of corrections for officer training for one million dollars annually under a six-year contract. An urban legend circulated that in moving the seminary to Fort Wayne, the synod had gone in the red. It did not. Since leaving Springfield in June 1976, I have visited the campus twice, and after forty years the campus looks as it did when the seminary occupied it.

A handful of faculty members did not move with the seminary to Fort Wayne. These were William Meyer, Jon Diefenthaler, John Costello, Milton Sernett, John Frederick Johnson, William Wickenkamp, Lorman Petersen, Victor Bohlmann, and James Weis, who continued his residence in Springfield. Staff librarian Dale Hartmann went to Christ College (now Concordia University) at Irvine, California. Added to faculty during this transitional period were Alvin Schmidt, C. George Fry, William C. Weinrich, Kurt Marquart, Norbert Mueller, William Houser, and James Voelz.

Concordia Theological Seminary moved onto a campus that was still occupied by the faculty, staff, and students of Concordia Senior College. Students in their fourth and final year of the two-year senior college program would be graduating in May 1977. Herbert Bredemeier, the college's last president, remained in charge of the campus and occupied what is still the president's office in the administration building. He had previously served as the last president of Concordia Junior College in Fort Wayne. At both institutions, he had served one year.

Seminary president Robert Preus had his office in what became the registrar's office on the upper level of Loehe Hall. With two educational institutions on one campus, assigning classrooms was masterfully accomplished. Senior college faculty were absorbed in finding new places of service, and seminary faculty were arranging housing and locating churches to join and schools for their children. Melvin Zilz, a

[16] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms,* 173ff.

physics professor who later qualified for the ministry through colloquy, was retained at the seminary as business manager and later professor of pastoral theology. Edgar Walz served as an administrator and offered courses in church administration. Senior college students continued with a wide variety of extracurricular campus activities to which the seminary community was invited.

The final graduation ceremony of the senior college was conducted outdoors along the north side of the chapel with its sharply sloping roof as the backdrop. Some senior college graduates, upon the recommendation of its faculty, enrolled at "Concordia Seminary in Exile" (Seminex), which was established in 1974 by professors who had walked out in protest from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.[17] Others made their way to the newly reorganized Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and a few chose to remain in Fort Wayne to study at Concordia Theological Seminary.

Students of both the senior college and the seminary ate their meals together in the dining room and worshiped together, with the seminary responsible for three mornings each week and the senior college for two. At the time of the seminary's arrival in Fort Wayne, Martin Bertram—a translator of Luther's writings who had been a professor of German at the junior college and then the senior college—continued to live in Fort Wayne. He was a link from the *Gymnasium* through the senior college to the seminary. Now none of the surviving senior college professors reside in Fort Wayne.

Senior college faculty members were well established in the Fort Wayne Lutheran community, and there was a reluctance by parishes to absorb the seminary personnel. This was soon overcome by its field work program, which placed first- and second-year students in congregations to assist with the liturgy and Bible classes. It was not long before Fort Wayne Lutheran congregations and their members began serving the needs of students by providing low-rent housing. Some students lived in unused parsonages. Food and clothing banks were reestablished, providing students and their families with clothing and food, including fresh fruits and vegetables and meat products. Congregations from throughout Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan made frequent and generous contributions. Off-campus employment was available to students and their wives with their diverse talents. A gymnasium allowed for seminary students to engage in intercollegiate basketball with educational institutions of similar size. Students also used the fields around the gym for soccer and had an intercollegiate team for several years. A Christian radio station was located in one of the dorms.

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[17] See Kurt E. Marquart, *Anatomy of an Explosion: Missouri in Lutheran Perspective*, Concordia Seminary Monograph Series 3 (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1977).

Sleeping and eating accommodations on the Fort Wayne campus and nearby allowed for the first annual Symposium on the Lutheran Confessions to take place in 1978.[18] Robert Preus provided the idea for the occasion. This type of gathering would have been difficult if not impossible on the Springfield campus. After a slow start, the annual gathering continues to attract hundreds of guests to the campus each January, and in some years it has become a rallying point for pastors with a commitment to the Lutheran Confessions. These annual gatherings are held in the campus auditorium and feature lecturers from other Lutheran synods and Catholic, Reformed, Episcopalian, and Orthodox churches. In 1986, the annual exegetical symposium came into being and both bring world-renowned scholars to speak. Concordia Theological Seminary was demonstrating that a confessional Lutheran seminary could be scholarly and ecumenically engaged.

While the seminary was in Springfield, morning chapel services were sometimes held at Immanuel Lutheran Church, at that time on the east edge of the campus, and sometimes in the second floor chapel of the major classroom building. Now in Fort Wayne, the seminary had a chapel that could seat close to five hundred, a world-class organ, and a marble altar in the chancel that grabbed the attention of those entering the chapel. A crucifix that was once used in the Springfield chapel was recovered and placed on the altar of Kramer Chapel.

The bell that was rung by each student in Springfield when he completed his last examination before graduation was placed in a belfry to the east of the chapel, where the tradition is continued. The statue of Martin Luther holding an open Bible facing outwards was set on a pedestal on the road leading into the seminary at the point where the campus buildings come into view. This statue remains symbolic of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, as it was in Springfield.

Buildings that were known at the senior college by a succession of letters in the alphabet (*A*, *B*, etc.) were given names. One cluster of dormitories was named for the early church fathers, another for former professors, and another for the Lutheran orthodox fathers. Luther was commemorated as the seminary's formal gathering place and Melanchthon by an extensive book depository. Main classroom wings were named for Friedrich Wyneken, the seminary's founder, and for Wilhelm Löhe, the German pastor who first took steps to provide pastors for Lutheran immigrants who settled in America. Sihler Hall, the auditorium, carries the name of the seminary's first president.

The youngest graduates of the senior college are now in their mid-sixties, and when they return to visit the campus of their alma mater, little has changed. Startlingly new is a world-class library rivaling any similar building at any Lutheran

[18] Scaer, *Surviving the Storms,* 199–202.

institution. The tennis courts have become a parking lot for parents of community youth soccer. Remaining plaques are reminders of the senior college days. One on the pulpit side of the chapel lists those senior college students who lost their lives in the Vietnam War. Another plaque on the wall of the first staircase leading to the second floor of Wyneken Hall lists members of the LCMS Board of Higher Education and the senior college's first board of control at the time of its founding.

When the seminary came to Fort Wayne, the title of the faculty's theological publication was changed from *The Springfielder* to *Concordia Theological Quarterly*. The word *theological* did not carry that much weight and did not really distinguish one seminary from the other. Stationery sold to students at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, had the heading "Concordia Theological Seminary," referring to that school.

Now that the seminary was located in Fort Wayne, whatever meaning was attached to the name *The Springfielder* was lost. Professor Eugene Klug among others saw that a tradition had been established in the name; however, when the seminary left Springfield for Fort Wayne this was a tradition of barely twenty years. Since the official name of the institution in Fort Wayne was "Concordia Theological Seminary," it was as natural as it was convenient simply to call the periodical the *Concordia Theological Quarterly*. One name suggests the other, and as the word "Springfielder" brought to mind a certain type of confessional theology, so does the word "Fort Wayne" now.

The transition of Concordia Theological Seminary from Springfield was done with such surgical precision that it seems that the institution has been in Fort Wayne since its inception. How can one explain this? It may be that Concordia Theological Seminary and Fort Wayne were meant for each other as the founders of the LCMS and the seminary intended 175 years ago.[19]

It remains to others to trace the past theology of its faculty for the benefit of future generations. The names of Kurt Marquart and Robert Preus are likely to remain prominent for some time. Mention must be made of the successful Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics series initiated and at first edited by the seminary's still well-recognized former president Robert D. Preus.

This is not a full narrative of how events in the LCMS and its institutions gave form to Concordia Theological Seminary and its theology. But to combine and rephrase several passages from the books of Kings and Chronicles in the Old Testament: what is not written here is written somewhere else.

[19] Other related topics not mentioned in this essay can be found in Scaer, *Surviving the Storms*, chs. 7–12.

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Concordia Theological Seminary 1985–2010: A Story of Decline and Revival

William C. Weinrich

Dates are at times arbitrary. They may merely bracket a period of time in which important events occurred which are descriptive of an institution's history. In the case of our present interest, however, 1985–2010 possesses a real accuracy. In 1985, President Ralph Bohlmann sent a team to investigate the alleged "unrest" at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne (CTS). This visitation may serve as the marker for what would become a decade of difficulties and decline at CTS. Not until the election of Dean Wenthe as seminary president would normalcy and growth return to the school, culminating in 2010 when for the first time in its history CTS received a ten-year accreditation from both of its accreditors.

As Concordia Theological Seminary entered into the decade of the '90s, the period of any effective leadership under Robert Preus was over. He had been removed from office by the Board of Regents in 1989, although by synodical resolution he would be reinstated in 1992. Yet, this was meaningless for the seminary, for the real administration was given to Michael Stelmachowicz as CEO. In spring of 1993, David Schmiel was installed as president. The years 1990–1995 would see institutional stagnation, steep declines in student enrollment, fiscal weakness, and a real threat that accreditation would be revoked. In April 1996, Dean O. Wenthe assumed the presidency, and under his guidance a truly remarkable turnaround began, culminating in 2010, when, as I noted, for the first time in its history CTS received a ten-year accreditation from both of its accreditors.

The following is a personal reflection on those years and the events which defined them. I attempt to give an accurate presentation of what was often tumultuous and contentious. The early 1990s were not easy years, but they were formative, and for me (and others) they were a cauldron in which not only institutional questions but also theological issues came to greater clarity. For much of the following, I was an active participant. Personal perspective will be evident, and space demands a certain selectivity. Moreover, I will not attempt to evade evaluations and judgments which, yet today, seem to me justified.

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I. Some Background

In the mid-1980s, the faculty and students were hardly aware that we were entering into a very contentious period in our seminary's history. Obviously, in many ways life and learning on the campus went on, and it remains my opinion that in the main there was a very high degree of satisfaction among both faculty and students. Nonetheless, we must mention two developments that would play a huge role in the near future and in their own way would contribute to the ruffled relationship which CTS would have with certain synodical authorities. The first is the deepening hostility between President Preus and the synodical president, Ralph Bohlmann. Preus was a much-beloved president and wildly popular with the students, and he had a significant portion of the faculty who were deeply loyal to him personally. But his great strength was his total commitment to confessional Lutheranism and his palpable love for the vocation of theologian. He relished theological discussion, and this aspect of his *persona* gave to CTS a particular edge—theology was queen, and the vocation of the Lutheran pastor was to do dutiful honor to that regent. Yet, theology was a *habitus practicus*, and the pastoral office was the natural home of the theologian. CTS students gained from Preus this attitude, and when later certain cultural attitudes were thought to be eroding Lutheran habits and disciplines, our students at times found themselves at odds with various church officials who were promoting practices and liturgies they viewed as more creative.

With a certain inevitability, the hard feelings between Preus and Bohlmann, along with CTS critique of certain synodical postures,[1] embroiled the seminary in various disputes which were then agitating the synod as a whole. In 1985, President Bohlmann sent a team to investigate "unrest" on the campus. It was a typical attempt of central government to manage affairs in its favor by uncovering a crisis which required solution. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the legacy of the final years of Preus's presidency—namely, the latter years of the 1980s and the early years of the 1990s—was to leave the seminary in a relation of unhelpful antagonism with various synodical offices and a sizeable number of district presidents, as well as a ruptured trust in CTS graduates in many congregations, however unfair and undeserved that was. This troubled position of CTS within the wider context of the

[1] For example, as the LCMS was faced with an increasingly liberal ELCA, the question arose whether various cooperative endeavors, such as military chaplaincy and human disaster response, should be continued. To give a positive answer to this issue, the idea of "levels of fellowship" was developed. No one was more critical of this idea than Kurt Marquart, who articulated the theological problems in such an idea. There is one and only one true church fellowship, namely, that of unity in the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The idea of "levels" is incoherent and nonsensical. Of course, Marquart was correct. But his opposition was not appreciated by synodical officialdom.

synod would shed its shade upon the institutional and pedagogical aspects of the seminary throughout the next ten years. Only with the presidency of Dean Wenthe would more normal relations return.

However, the drama surrounding the last years of Robert Preus was intimately bound up with the ascendency of a theological emphasis that came to be recognized as most characteristic of CTS. In brief, this emphasis was on the flesh of the incarnated Son as the *locus* and the *form* of theological thought and church practice. Just as in the person of Jesus his human nature was the form and instrument of his redemptive deity, so in the life of the church there are human instantiations of Christ's redemptive activity. These are primarily the pastor as the image and representative of Christ among his flock, the historic liturgy as the proper and most robust form of Christian worship, and the necessity of care for the body and the soul through ministries of mercy and spiritual care. At the beginning, the rise of the conviction that the truth of Christ could not remain merely noetic and propositional but had to be realized in the concrete patterns of ecclesial life was rather willy-nilly—at least as a common conviction within a segment of faculty. There was no organized attempt to define a theological program with the above emphases. Rather, the individual academic interests of several faculty, as it were, combined to give CTS a theological trajectory in which Truth was held to assume form and in which Truth was held to be experienced within the forms Truth assumed. Here, as illustrative of this conviction, several professors may be especially mentioned: David Scaer, who was increasingly thinking dogma through the Gospel narratives (especially Matthew). Hermeneutically, this was important, for it placed the life of Christ as the proper lens for thinking through the claims of Christian dogma. Arthur Just, who brought an informed understanding of liturgy as "primary discourse," that is, liturgy as arising out of the redemptive work of Christ and so providing the church with its proper language. One may also recall Just's development of a course entitled "Liturgy as Pastoral Care." Dean Wenthe, whose Old Testament studies centered on the institutional realities of ancient Israel as the concrete and particular *forms* which bound Israel to the promises of God (Torah, temple, altar, priesthood). And, if I might, William Weinrich, who brought his interest in patristic theology and in that way reinforced the "high" Christology which was the conceptual basis of all of these.

Nor, as it happened, did this theological perspective develop within a vacuum. During the 1980s and into the 1990s, the LCMS was not immune from various cultural persuasions which confronted it with theological and practical questions. Two movements may be mentioned as of most significance. The first was the movement toward the ordination of women, which did not leave the LCMS unaffected. The collapse of some conservative and evangelical churches on this issue revealed the fact that the mere appeal to certain Pauline prohibitions was not

sufficient to argue for an all-male clergy.[2] Indeed, the question of the ordination of women demanded a response that articulated the "why" a man and not a woman might be pastor and bishop. Some of us in the faculty of CTS undertook to articulate this "why." In this question, too, the importance of the flesh of Christ—that is, the concrete and particular form of his own humanity—was taken as an essential *datum* for reflecting on the issues arising from the debate on women's ordination. The masculine form of Christ's humanity was not incidental to the question of whether a man, and only a man, ought be pastor or bishop. The office of pastor, therefore, could not be thought of in merely functional terms. It entailed a particular human form, that of a man, who was and could be the *icon* of Christ within the flock to which he was bound as pastor. There was, then, a certain "ontological" aspect to the question of an all-male clergy. [3] The person and vocation of pastor was to be thought through the person of Christ himself. He was not merely the agent of a certain set of functions "distinctive" to the pastoral office.

Opposition in the synod to this way of responding to the issue of the ordination of women was broad and fierce. Such ideas, so it was claimed, threatened the idea of the pastor as servant and would give rise to authoritarian pastoral behaviors. Or, as some also claimed, such a "christological" concept of the pastor moved toward a Catholic idea of the priest possessing an "indelible" mark of the priesthood.[4]

The second movement was the rapid rise and strong enthusiasm for church growth. I must simplify. But characteristic of the church growth movement was the loss of confidence that traditional forms—such as liturgy, the received creeds, traditional hymnody, and the centrality of a sacramental piety—were effective in gaining new adherents to the Christian faith and in the growing of our

[2] An incident within our own context of this point is instructive. During one of the faculty's discussions on the office of pastor and the ordination of women, Professor Eugene Klug offered the opinion that there was no reason not to ordain women other than the fact that Paul had prohibited it. Such a comment revealed to me that some of the LCMS had no real concept of the pastoral office that meaningfully responded to the arguments adduced for women's ordination. Moreover, that a mere apostolic prohibition could sufficiently ground the boundaries of a dominically instituted office was theologically inept. Arguments, even from within evangelical circles, were debunking Paul as culturally determined. More ominously, the specificity of Christ's humanity as that of a man was similarly being sidelined as a divine accommodation to cultural patriarchy. Evidently, the appeal to various verses in the Pauline *corpus* required a deeper grounding for those verses themselves! Refer to William C. Weinrich, *"It Is Not Given to Women to Teach": A Lex in Search of a Ratio* (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1993).

[3] Weinrich, *"It Is Not Given to Women to Teach*," 19ff.

[4] On two occasions, President Bohlmann, in personal conversation, advanced this evaluation of my attempt to ground the ordination of men in the fact that they thereby imaged the person of Christ. I was struck by the reluctance to confront the actual nature of the question: why men only and not women. Obviously, the question is difficult, but to declare off-limits the very point of contention seemed to me then, and now still, a failure of theological awareness.

congregations. The theological emphasis I have mentioned above opposed the methods and the new structures of the church growth movement and advocated for the theological integrity and missiological strength of the historic and traditional forms of pastoral leadership, historic liturgy, and the central importance of sacramental piety and the disciplines it entails (closed Communion). In these issues as well, the Fort Wayne faculty often found itself at odds with synodical and district officials, as well as with many pastors and congregations which struggled with declining expectations and were enticed by the promises of success through church growth methodologies.

The point of this extended preamble is to outline the fact that as we moved into the 1990s there was a mix of institutional as well as theological issues which embroiled the seminary in controversy with certain segments of the synod and the wider church. It was wholly impossible to disentangle these elements. And I should mention that divisions on these items reached into the faculty and student body of CTS itself.

II. 1990–1995: The Years of Norbert Mueller and David Schmiel

I find it difficult to characterize in general terms these years at CTS. There was, to begin with, a certain institutional instability. In 1989, Robert Preus was removed from the office of president by the Board of Regents. For three years, 1989–1992, the role of acting president was given to Norbert Mueller. In 1992, Preus was reinstated by synodical resolution, but the real administrative authority was given to Michael Stelmachowicz. In April 1993, David Schmiel assumed the office of president. From 1989–1993, therefore, the seminary possessed no real administrative face. With Schmiel, administrative leadership returned. However, overall CTS continued to face institutional and fiscal weakness.

Yet, during the early 1990s there were positives that may be noted. Classes were taught without interruption, and with one major exception, which I will mention below, graduates were placed into the pastoral office. Moreover, there were curricular initiatives which intended to serve certain special needs within the synod. I will briefly mention three. (1) CTS, which since 1988 was offering an accredited Doctor of Ministry program at Christ College in Irvine, California, in 1990 received permission from its accreditors to offer the DMin also at Concordia Lutheran Seminary in St. Catharines, Ontario, and at Concordia Lutheran Seminary in Edmonton, Alberta. These sites continued with varying degrees of success until 2010 when President Wenthe officially notified our accreditors that DMin work at Irvine, Edmonton, and St. Catharines was discontinued.

(2) CTS established and initiated the "Distance Education Leading to Ordination" (DELTO) program. This program responded to calls for theological education of laymen who were working and preaching in very small congregations. These laymen were otherwise employed and had no intention of residential pastoral education. Moreover, were they to leave for seminary, so it was feared, the congregations might altogether dissolve. Although this was a valiant attempt to address a real need in small contexts, from the beginning of the program the discipline to accept *only* men in such fragile contexts proved impossible. As it happened, DELTO became a certain prototype for various attempts to develop alternate routes into the pastoral ministry, which now has taken the form of the SMP program. Given contemporary concerns, it is not unimportant to note that the DELTO program was one way by which, it was hoped, black men might study for the ministry.

(3) CTS did, however, initiate a program which was specifically intended to recruit black men for the Lutheran ministry. Several times a year, courses, for which MDiv credit was given, would be offered at Concordia College, Selma, Alabama. The Board of Regents minutes in January 1994 report that three such courses were given during the academic year of 1994–1995, and that four such courses would be offered during the 1995–1996 academic year. The intent was to offer four courses on a continuing basis each year. Each course required that a professor travel to Selma for three consecutive weekends, usually teaching two hours on a Friday evening and eight hours on the following Saturday: ten hours of class each weekend for a total of thirty hours for the course. Although this program did achieve some success in bringing black men to our campus, the program was labor-intensive and involved considerable fiscal commitment for the seminary. Moreover, CTS had ongoing difficulty justifying to our accreditors that the courses offered in Selma met their accreditation standards. For example, in January 2005 the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) voted to extend approval of the Selma site for one year. Yet, it also required a report, due November 1, 2005, which was to document "how the programming at the Selma extension site meets the criteria for accreditation." This report specifically demanded, among other things, that CTS address the following: (1) to "demonstrate that the courses offered at Selma are clearly graduate level courses, comparable in academic rigor to those offered at Fort Wayne"; (2) to "demonstrate that the classes offered at Selma have enrollment sufficient to constitute a community of inquiry among the students"; and (3) to "make explicit" how much financial subsidy CTS intended to expend on the Selma project and to explain "how this decision is consonant with the fiscal health of the institution as a whole." The difficulties of sustaining that program were, unfortunately, evident. At

its February 2009 meeting, the ATS voted "to receive notification of the closure of the Selma, Alabama, extension site effective immediately."

In June 1991, the ATS voted "to reaffirm accreditation for five years." In August, the North Central Association (NCA) followed suit.[5] The next accreditation visitation would be March 1996. Yet, already here future issues were evident. The ATS continued the notation that "the governing board does not exercise sufficient control," and imposed a new notation, that the "library facilities are inadequate."

Yet, despite these initiatives and much that was good and routine at the seminary, the years 1990–1995 were not especially happy years at CTS. Faculty and student body were not free from the discussions and disagreements concerning the issues of pastoral office and worship forms, nor from the attitudes and theological commitments attendant to them. Moreover, there was a common, albeit indistinct, suspicion that Schmiel's presidency was a bureaucratic prelude to attempts either to close Fort Wayne or to transform it to a "practical" seminary similar to what Springfield had once been, or perhaps to something other like a training school for lay leadership. More evident at times was a heavy-handed attempt to bring the student body of Fort Wayne into line with certain attitudes and opinions dominant in the synodical bureaucracy and certain districts. The employment of the National Council of Churches "Profiles of Ministry" instrument for evaluating the suitability of a student for the pastoral office was part of this attempt. Charges of inflexibility and arrogance were at times cast toward students who represented a desire to maintain the traditional liturgy or practice "closed Communion."

I will not dwell further on this facet of our seminary's life at the time, but mention must be made of the scandalous fact that in the spring of 1992 thirty-two of our fourth-year students did not receive calls. It remains difficult to evaluate this other than as an intentional act by certain district officials, abetted by seminary administrators, to send a signal that certain views toward the pastoral office, toward pastoral oversight of Communion practice, and toward the fate of Robert Preus were not to be tolerated (in 1992, the saga of Preus had not been concluded). Be that as it may, the fact that a full thirty-two students did not receive calls elicited understandable suspicions and anger. Fortunately, some church leaders recognized that this scandal had to be rectified. As I remember it, the Council of Presidents (COP) representative on our Board of Regents, David Buegler of Ohio, was instrumental, along with others, in bringing this sad episode to a happy conclusion. By the end of the summer, all CTS graduates eligible for a call had received one.

[5] During much of the time covered by this article, CTS was accredited by the ATS and the North Central Association (NCA). This latter organization is now the Higher Learning Commission (HLC).

Faculty discussions were dominated by the twin issues of the nature of the pastoral office and what came to be called the "worship wars." At times, faculty exchanges were highly partisan and unfriendly. In any case, faculty discussions on these issues were largely unfruitful, and at times approached farce. On one occasion, President Schmiel formed a committee composed of Bunkowske and Lane Burgland on one side, and myself and Arthur Just on the other. The task as given by Schmiel: To develop one sentence or two on the issue of worship on which the faculty could unite and which could be reported to the church as enjoying faculty consensus. After two or three meetings, the effort was abandoned.

At the same time, the seminary was experiencing increasing financial weakness, falling enrollment, and a general institutional stagnation. For example, for the year 1984–1985 CTS enrolled 154 first-year students. After years of up-and-down enrollment, the year 1991–1992 saw 103 students come to the seminary. By 1994–1995, that number had fallen to 63 (according to the LCMS *Statistical Yearbook*).

With all of this said, perhaps the most important event for the seminary during the early 1990s was not directly related to the seminary at all. Quite unexpectedly at the synodical convention of summer 1992, Alvin Barry, President of the East Iowa District, was elected to be President of the Synod. With Al Barry, CTS had a friend and an advocate at the top of the synodical bureaucratic structure. How important that was would be demonstrated in the next few years!

III. The Transition: From David Schmiel to Dean O. Wenthe

The summer of 1995 was a turning point for CTS. During the July 7–8 meeting of the Board of Regents, David Schmiel formally announced his intention to retire from the office of president, effective January 1, 1996. It was a strange time to retire. Not only had he been president for only two years, Schmiel determined to leave the seminary in the midst of its preparation for an accreditation visit scheduled for March 1996. More strange still was the request by Schmiel that the Board for Higher Education (BHE) conduct a "Transition Audit" of the seminary. The seminary Board of Regents correspondingly approved a resolution "that the Board of Regents ask the Board for Higher Education to conduct such a transition audit during the Fall of 1995." Supporting whereases claimed that "the Concordia University System routinely provides a transition audit to an institution of the system whenever a vacancy occurs in the position of president," and noted that Schmiel had requested such an audit to include "management matters" both "to affirm his own stewardship of the office and to provide a clear slate for his successor." Finally, in its July 7–8 meeting the Board of Regents began the process for choosing a successor president

and as its own nominations for the post put forth the following three men: Richard Kapfer, president of Iowa West; Donald Mattson, Board for Mission Services; and Robert Newton, Supervisor of Certification and Placement, CTS.

As I noted, it was thought by many that intentions existed to change the nature of the Fort Wayne seminary. Were that the case, it failed. At the synodical convention of summer 1995, a new Board of Regents was elected which gave a majority vote to "conservative" members. New to the board were Mark Grunst, Walter Dissen, Louis Herring, and Robert Kuhn, representing the synodical president. Raymond Mueller was elected chairman of the board.

At its October 6–7 meeting in 1995, the new Board of Regents took the following actions. It appointed William Weinrich to be acting president of the seminary, effective January 1, 1996. It reinstated Daniel Reuning as Dean of Chapel. Finally, it set February 16–17, 1996, as the date for interviewing the final candidates for the office of president and the electing of a new president.

The Transition Audit requested by Schmiel occurred during October 25–27, 1995. I wish to spend some little time on this event, not only because, despite claims to the contrary, there was no policy that demanded such a visitation, but also because the extreme negativism of the report placed considerable additional burden on the seminary's quest for extension of its certification. The visitation team consisted of William Meyer, Executive Director of the BHE; Ralph Reinke, past president of Concordia College, Seward, Nebraska; Eugene Krentz, past president of Concordia College, River Forest; and Ed Trapp, member of the synod's Board of Directors. A cover letter, dated December 1, 1995, indicated that the audit was sent to the seminary Board of Regents, to the Board of Directors of the BHE, to the synodical Board of Directors, and to the Council of Presidents. Hence, what was at first a request by Schmiel that an audit affirm his administrative and fiscal stewardship had become a full-scale evaluation of the seminary, its students, its faculty, and its future, and this in the most negative tones. In addition, this critique of the seminary was to receive the widest possible dissemination among the synod's governing bodies.

What were the findings of the Transition Audit? Having praised the Administrative Council for its "effective leadership and competency" and having noted that Schmiel had stimulated his team to "high levels of performance," the audit proceeded to discuss their achievements. Enrollment decline was a pressing problem. Apart from the vicarage classes, the Full Time Equivalence for 1990–1995 had dropped from 240 to 185. The probability of significant increase in enrollment did "not appear to be realistic in the near term." The student body was largely married and had a mean age of 35.5 years. Such a demographic had a "negative impact" on the sense of community (since they lived off campus) and negatively

affected the use of facilities. Although tuition costs to the student had increased, the shrinking of the student population had resulted in declining tuition income. Third-source income had not equaled inflation over the last five years. Indeed, about $500,000 of gift pledges had been withdrawn in the past six months. The seminary had operated at a loss for the past five years, the loss totaling over two million dollars. Occupancy of dorm space and utilization of the food service was significantly down. More achievements were mentioned. But this gives an idea.

What about the faculty? Was there any mention of their aptitude to teach, of their publications, of their various activities in local churches or among the clergy? No, not a word of commendation or praise. However, there was this:

> An acknowledged deep division within the faculty resulting from theological personal, political, and "party line" differences appears to be irreconcilable. There was ample evidence of elitism and lack of respect for fellow faculty on the part of some members of the faculty. This reality, which permeates the fabric of the Seminary community, impedes the ability of administrators, faculty and staff to move the Seminary community forward effectively and efficiently. Students, though they express satisfaction with their academic experience at the Seminary, . . . in some cases, are intentionally drawn into [existing divisions] by faculty members through special group activities in faculty homes. [Later the same claim is made: "The manipulation of students into the 'party system' was reported to be taking place in the homes of some faculty."]

Under its section entitled "Concerns," the audit made certain reasonable suggestions: the need for greater ownership of regents and faculty in the Strategic Plan and the need for greater stability in presidential leadership, for example. Then, acknowledging the upcoming accreditation visit, the seminary was exhorted to show unity to the visitation teams, with this observation: "The Visitation Team coming to the campus will be aware of the Seminary's past difficulties and will not be 'taken in' by superficial and insincere statements about the condition of the Seminary." Then the final paragraph of the Transition Audit:

> There is a need to give serious consideration to an alternate site for the operation of the Seminary in view of the staggering cost of maintaining and operating a campus ill-suited to the character of the current and future student population.

I do not wish to be overly dramatic. But the Transition Audit was a totally unnecessary and, yes, shameful attempt by a synodical commission to weaken the standing of the seminary before a crucial accreditation visitation.

IV. Revival

On November 4, 1995, Robert Preus unexpectedly died. The shadow of his enormous influence as an icon of Lutheran confessional thinking made the following weeks unto the symposium week of January 1996 increasingly electric. At its December 14, 1995, telephone conference call, the BOR moved to establish the Robert D. Preus Chair of Systematic Theology and also the Robert D. Preus Student Aid Fund. It was thought that in the wake of Robert's death the funding of these initiatives would be rather quick and easy. It did not happen that way. But that is another story. In addition, the board moved to request that both the ATS and the NCA delay their accreditation visitations for one year. Such a delay would allow the new administration to develop responses to real challenges facing the seminary and to rewrite accordingly the seminary's Self-Study which, as it stood, was regarded as excessively self-deprecating and negative.

During a January 1, 1996, telephone conference call, as acting president, Weinrich replaced Schmiel's administrative council with new people. Dean Wenthe became Vice-President of Academic Affairs; Daniel Gard became Vice-President of Student Personnel Services; and James Bollhagen became Director of Certification and Placement.

On January 19–20, 1996, the BOR met with the new administrative team. Significant actions were the following: the board finalized the slate of nominees for the office of CTS president (William Weinrich, Dean Wenthe, James Voelz, Dale Meyer) and formally set February 16–17 as the date for final interviews and the election proper. The board further invited William Meyer, Executive Director of the BHE, and John Meyer, Chairman of the Board, to discuss the Transition Audit. I was present for that discussion and will only say, in the language of international diplomacy, that the discussions were frank and open. The net result was that the BHE representatives averred that they had "no intent to harm the Seminary nor to urge its closing or relocating." The BOR thereupon formally requested that by the end of the month the BHE "make the same explanation in writing to those entities to which the report was addressed." Finally, the board instructed me to "make public statements that the Board of Regents favors two seminaries and desires to keep Concordia Theological Seminary functioning at a high level."

Some few comments should be made concerning the symposium of January 1996. Given recent developments, including the recent death of the honored Robert Preus, the atmosphere was electric. Not completely unexpectedly, registrations for the symposium and for the banquet skyrocketed. It quickly became clear that our dining hall would not be able to accommodate all those who wished a banquet ticket. In the circumstance, I visited the event director at the Coliseum and was shown the newly renovated Johnny Appleseed Room, beautifully appointed with new carpet

and hanging chandeliers. The symposia banquets of 1996 and 1997 were catered by the Coliseum banquet staff. For the 1996 banquet, more than 550 people were in attendance. Highlighting the banquet program was the conferral of an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree upon the Reverend Martin Taddey, a longtime mentor to our vicars and supporter of the seminary. At the time, Martin was lying in a San Mateo, California, hospital dying of cancer. The conferral occurred by special telephone hookup so that all present could hear. Before reading the citation which would confer the degree, I told Martin Taddey that he must sing for us a song he would always sing during gatherings with friends. The song was "Chattanooga Choo Choo." From his deathbed in California, Martin Taddey sang that song for the 500 guests gathered in Fort Wayne. He died days later. For those who were there, the event remains a treasured memory.

On February 16–17, the electors met for the choosing of a new seminary president. There were four electors: Alvin Barry, president of the LCMS; John Meyer, chairman of the BHE; David Buegler, president of the Ohio District and representative for the COP; and the members of the seminary's BOR, who together cast one vote. One after the other, the four finalists were interviewed: in order, Dale Meyer, James Voelz, William Weinrich, and Dean Wenthe. On Saturday, February 17, the balloting took place. On the first ballot, Dale Meyer received two votes and William Weinrich two votes. A second ballot gave the same result: two for Meyer; two for Weinrich. A third ballot was taken, with William Weinrich receiving one vote and Dean O. Wenthe three votes. Dean O. Wenthe would be the new president of Concordia Theological Seminary. What had happened between the second and third ballot, bringing Wenthe from zero votes to the electing three? On the first and second ballots, the electors voted the same way: Al Barry and the seminary's BOR for Weinrich, the representatives of the BHE and COP (John Meyer and David Buegler) for Dale Meyer. It was evident that John Meyer and David Buegler would never agree to cast their votes for Weinrich. Al Barry, wishing the new president to come from within, advanced the name of Wenthe, and with some arm-twisting brought Meyer and Buegler to agreement. Final vote: Barry, John Meyer, Buegler for Wenthe, the seminary's BOR for Weinrich.

A personal reflection: Many assumed that I would be elected president of CTS. In the event, I was relieved and overjoyed that I was not elected. I was ill-suited to be a school president, my personality was too prone to express my thoughts and opinions at inopportune times, and my interests and strengths were academic and curricular and not administrative and bureaucratic. As one student expressed to me, they elected the priest, not the prophet. How true! I would have made a terrible president. As it happened, Dean Wenthe enjoyed a long tenure as president and

became one of the most, if not the most, successful and important presidents this seminary ever had. It was with genuine gladness that I congratulated my good friend later that Saturday in the seminary commons. One of his first acts was to make me his Vice-President for Academic Affairs. I am bold to say, I had discovered my niche!

President Wenthe would have serious challenges to overcome. We may follow his success by a quick tour through our accreditation history from 1996 to 2010. On January 23, 1996, I along with Dean Wenthe and First Vice-President of the Synod, Robert Kuhn, met with the governing board of the North Central Association at the O'Hare Hilton Hotel in Chicago. It was a long and brutal meeting. Kuhn was there to reinforce the synod's determination to continue to support CTS as a seminary for the training of her clergy. From the outset, it was evident that the NCA had no intention of postponing its March visit for one year. Its evaluation would be in view of the negative, unedited Self-Study and the Transition Audit of the BHE. The big question was whether CTS would continue to be accredited by the NCA or not. In the event, CTS received a continued accreditation of two years, however, on probation (August 9, 1996). Problematic was the seminary's inability to demonstrate fiscal viability; failure to demonstrate effective organization of human, financial, and physical resources; and inability to demonstrate that "the institution can continue to accomplish its purposes and strengthen its educational effectiveness," a direct echo of the claims made by the BHE and the seminary's own Self-Study.

What of the ATS? In a bold move, Wenthe requested a personal meeting with the ATS Commission on Accrediting. That being allowed, he flew to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for the ATS meeting in May 1996. His intent was to plead for continuing accreditation and that accreditation be granted without the additional burden of probation. Here we must credit the positive influence and advocacy of Mr. Michael Gilligan, who had been the primary ATS staff member working with CTS. Together, Wenthe's presentation and Gilligan's support worked their way. CTS was given a two-year extension without probation, but with the addition of three notations: undercapitalization and deficit budgeting threaten to weaken the seminary; future financial planning is not demonstrated; the general tone of the seminary impairs its purpose to provide ministerial training. Later, in a reflection of his experiences with Missouri Synod leadership, Daniel Aleshire, chief administrator of the ATS, describes Dean Wenthe's meeting with the Commission on Accrediting:

> He explained how the school was resolving its conflict, addressing wounds, and why he thought that it had the necessary pieces in place to be able to move into the future. He spoke thoughtfully and carefully, and was fully honest about

what all the seminary had been through. I remember that he asked the Commission to give the school one more chance, which it did.

V. Renaissance

The results of subsequent accreditation visits may be quickly summarized. The compromised situation in which CTS stood is evident in the language of the ATS, even as it extended accreditation for two years: "To continue accreditation for two years and to authorize a focused visit for spring 1998, to enable the Commission to determine whether to reaffirm accreditation, place the institution on probation, or withdraw accreditation." The accreditation visit occurred on May 4–6, 1998, and was obviously crucial for the future of CTS. Yet, the visit attested to considerable progress and stabilization of the seminary. The result: The ATS reaffirmed accreditation for five years; approved the MDiv, STM, DMin, DMiss, and MA programs; and removed six notations! The NCA likewise extended accreditation for five years and removed the seminary's probation status.[6] The next visitation occurred in spring of 2003. The result was again very positive. Both ATS and NCA reaffirmed the seminary's accreditation and extended it for five years.[7] The next visitation was on March 15–18, 2010, resulting for the first time in the seminary's history with an accreditation of ten years.[8]

In the introduction of the ATS "Report of a Comprehensive Visit," March 15–18, 2010, the evaluation team briefly summarizes the past woes of the seminary: "The early and mid 1990's witnessed a period marked by significant financial concerns, several transitions in leadership in a short period of time, and serious questions about the institution's future viability. In addition, the Seminary has had a history of beginning a number of extension programs that have not lasted long." Then there is this assessment of the seminary in 2010:

> That said, the Seminary has made significant progress since the last visit in 2003 and the turmoil of the early 1990's. Much of that progress is due, no doubt, to a new leadership team, beginning with a new president called in 1996. Since

[6] Crucial was the 1998 visitation. Here one must acknowledge the wonderful leadership of Cameron MacKenzie, who led the development of the seminary's Self-Study. One should add that throughout this process the seminary was asked to give various interim reports on progress, all of which was done successfully.

[7] At this visit, approval was given to accredit the seminary's PhD in Missiology degree.

[8] I was not involved in this latest and most successful visit. In January 2007, I had moved to Riga, Latvia, where I served as Rector of the Luther Academy, the theological school for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia. However, I remember well, when on a bitterly cold day in Riga, I received a telephone call from President Dean Wenthe, informing me of the ten-year extension. We reviewed the recent past with a great deal of satisfaction!

2003, the Seminary has stabilized enrollment, doubled the endowment, hired a number of faculty, revised its MDiv program, added new programs, and broken ground on a long-awaited library expansion that will quadruple its current capacity. The Self-Study Report is a candid and comprehensive analysis of where the Seminary now stands and demonstrates every potential for a strong and healthy future that seems increasingly removed from its more turbulent past.[9]

VI. How Did This Happen?

Obviously, this story has many components, including rising student enrollment and Wenthe's studied intention to reform the Board of Regents into a more professional advisory council.[10] However, five things deserve special mention.

First, it was felicitous that several members of Schmiel's council early on received and accepted calls and positions elsewhere.[11] While this removed those most disaffected, it also gave opportunity to acquire additional new faculty. Already at its May 17–18 meeting in 1996, the BOR determined to call Lawrence Rast and Charles Gieschen. The official vote to call was taken at the August 12, 1996, session. Timothy Quill had been approved at the May 17–18 meeting to oversee the seminary's Russian Project.[12] At the meeting of November 7–8, 1997, the BOR officially called Detlev Schulz and Richard Nuffer, and retained the services of David Coles. The solidification of the faculty with pastorally minded, academically outstanding faculty was underway.

A special comment on the calling of Robert Roethemeyer is needed. From the outset, Wenthe determined to upgrade the library facilities of CTS. The minutes of the May 23–24, 1997, BOR meeting report that Wenthe was authorized "to analyze the necessity and feasibility of a new library/communications building." For that, we needed not only a librarian, but someone with outstanding technical knowledge of

[9] This first ten-year accreditation period ended in 2010 when CTS underwent another comprehensive visit by the ATS and HLC. The progress achieved under Dean Wenthe continued under President Lawrence Rast. In February 2021, the seminary was officially notified that it had received another ten-year accreditation!

[10] This was not an unimportant aspect of the seminary's recovery. From very early on, Wenthe enlisted the expertise available through the ATS to instruct the board on its duties and responsibilities. This initiative had the additional benefit of solidifying the seminary's reputation with its accrediting agencies.

[11] Alan Borcherding left to become assistant to William Meyer at the BHE; Robert Newton accepted a call into the parish in California; and Gary Satterfield, Business Manager, accepted that position at Concordia College, Selma, Alabama. Somewhat later, Randall Schroeder left the faculty to devote himself full time to his private family counseling service. Al Wingfield replaced Satterfield as Business Manager.

[12] At the BOR meeting of September 12–13, 1997, Quill was called as Assistant Professor of Pastoral Ministry and Missions, thus becoming a member of the faculty.

library science and structures. In November 1996, Wenthe and I met with Robert at the Howard Johnson's restaurant opposite the International Center and discussed our intentions to expand significantly our library facilities. The BOR extended a call to Robert at its January 24–25, 1997, meeting.[13] Looking back, the acquisition of Robert Roethemeyer was one of the most significant events of that early period. His oversight and guidance during the construction of the new library facilities were of the highest excellence. Of that, the library of CTS is itself testimony and demonstration![14]

Second, when Wenthe became president in April 1996, the financial status of the seminary was weak, and the donor base was rather small. However, the seminary was blessed with a remarkable increase of giving. In this brief account, two sets of donors deserve mention. The Schwan Foundation, led by Larry Burgdorf, was very generous to CTS, subsidizing not only the Russian Project, but also contributing to capital needs of the seminary. Secondly, Walter Dissen, together with Arnold Kemmerle, established the Concordia Theological Foundation, Inc., whose sole purpose was to give financial support to CTS. That foundation continues to grow in value, and its annual distribution to the seminary is significant.

Third, it would be hard to overestimate the importance of the Russian Project for the early revitalization of CTS. The presence of around twenty students from Russia on our campus not only infused a missiological intensity to our campus, but their presence supported the seminary's on-campus student census, dormitory use, and cafeteria use.

How did this occur? I was acting president, and in early March 1996 I received a telephone call from Wallace Schulz. I had never met Wally, but this was my introduction: "Hey, Weinrich, this is Wallace Schulz. How would you like to have more students on campus?" That was the beginning of the Russian Project! Wenthe and I traveled to St. Louis to visit with Wallace, who informed us that Larry Burgdorf of the Schwan Foundation was willing to subsidize the travel and education costs of Russian students at CTS.[15] Prophetically, Schulz warned us that should we agree to

[13] The BOR minutes of June 20, 1998, report the motion to construct a new library. At its September 11–12 meeting in 1998, the BOR allocated $80,000 to initiate the library project.

[14] Concerning faculty, I should mention also the service for some few years of Roger Pittelko. For twelve years, he had been president of the English District and was a most respected member of the Council of Presidents. He had a pastorally conditioned theological mind and taught in our Department of Pastoral Ministry and served also as Supervisor of the Doctor of Ministry Program. In addition, the presence of Roger on our faculty served to improve relations between some sectors of the COP and CTS. He was a great ambassador for the seminary.

[15] The BOR minutes of March 11, 1996, report: "Acting President Weinrich informed the Board of Regents that he, President-Elect Wenthe and Professor Marquart had just been to St. Louis for a meeting with a grantor which would result in a grant of $1,000,000 to the Seminary over the

go forward with the project, synodical bureaucracy would oppose and object. The future would more than verify his warning![16]

At the April 17–18 BOR meeting in 1996, Wenthe was able to report that fifteen Russians were expected in the fall. For some few years, CTS trained persons from Russia, both men and women, on our campus. Some qualified for master's degrees; most received a certificate testifying to their studies. With some very few exceptions, all of our Russian students returned to their native homes and served as pastors, deacons, and deaconesses. Of course, the goal of the Russian Project was to enable the Russians to have their own seminary in Novosibirsk, Siberia. CTS was instrumental in assisting Bishop Lytkin and Alexey Streltsov in establishing their seminary. Early on, faculty of CTS as well as non-faculty were sent to Novosibirsk to give theological instruction. At the BOR meeting of September 11–12, 1998, Alan Ludwig was called as Assistant Director of the Russian Project. Ludwig would dedicate the remainder of his professional life to the Russians in Novosibirsk, becoming fluent in Russian and a beloved teacher and mentor.

The success of the Russian Project is demonstrated by the fact that the LCMS and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Siberia are in full church fellowship.

Fourth, at the beginning of this article, I noted the commitment to the flesh of Jesus, the Incarnate Word, as the central *datum* for theological thought and practice. The gospel proclaims the redemption of fallen man which will find its goal in the sanctification and beatitude of the human person, body and soul. The caritative aspect of Jesus' ministry was integral to this economy of human salvation (Matt 9:35; 10:1). Early on, our agenda included the establishment of a program of diaconal studies for women. We were aware of programs elsewhere. However, we wanted to

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next two (2) years that would enable students from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to study at this Seminary."

[16] Perhaps this story ought to be fully told, but I have not the space here to do it. Given the concerted and heavy-handed opposition of certain synodical officials to CTS's work with the Russians, in Russia and at CTS itself, it is quite doubtful that the Russian Project would have proceeded were not Alvin Barry president of the synod. From the beginning, and regularly, Wenthe and I met with President Barry, usually in person, and kept him fully informed of everything we were doing and planned to do. At no time did Barry object to our work or in what manner we were doing it! That requires emphasis! The BOR minutes of November 1–2, 1996, summarize President Wenthe's report to the board. Included is this item: "He [Wenthe] observed that the Russian program was progressing nicely and the Seminary is in fact providing Seminary education in Russia. The Board for Mission Services, however, has a different view on what role the Seminary is playing and should be playing." What a wonderful example of a Wenthe understatement! In fact, Wenthe and I were, with frequency, accused of transgressing the *Handbook* of the synod and insubordination. In one particularly nasty meeting at the International Center at which representatives from the Board for Mission Services, the Commission on Theology and Church Relations, and the Board for Higher Education were present, Wenthe and I were accused of money laundering! Not one person present objected to that over-the-top slander or ever apologized to us for it.

give the women in such studies a high profile in church service. To that end, our program for the training of deaconesses would be (a) a full seminary-based theological program of study earning a master's-level degree; and (b) guided by a member of the faculty. The success of our program has been truly remarkable, and the high quality of our graduates a wondrous resource for the church. As of May 2020, 143 women have graduated from the deaconess program at CTS.

Fifth, the curriculum gives form to the theological/pastoral *habitus* of the aspiring pastor. With the Fall Faculty Forum of September 1998, the faculty undertook what would become a seven-year curriculum review and revision process. That first forum was dedicated to the discussion of Edward Farley's *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education*. Other books that were crucial in guiding our reflection were David Kelsey's *To Understand God Truly: What's Theological about a Theological School?* and Reinhard Hütter's *Suffering Divine Things: Theology as Church Practice*. These books reinforced the following ideas: (a) whatever the strengths of the four-fold disciplinary structure of theological education, its origins lie in the university and not in the church, and it may, and often does, lead to a fragmentation of theological study (Farley); (b) the proper object of theological education is God (Kelsey); and (c) to study the work of God is to study those practices in which and by which God works his way and will (Hütter). Among the aspects of the resulting "new" curriculum were (a) an emphasis on primary texts, most especially the Scriptures; (b) an emphasis on class structures which invite more intentionally the student to speak (small groups); (c) an emphasis on preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper as instantiations of God's manifesting work (*Theologia* courses); and (d) an understanding of the person of the pastor as an image of the truth he preaches.[17]

[17] For a statement by the faculty that presents the characteristics of this curriculum which has been in place since 2005–2006, see "Christ Offers His Life through the Church's Pastors to a Confused World: An Introduction to the Seminary Curriculum," CTQ 85 (2021): 171–179.

CTQ 85 (2021): 297–311

The Expectation of Advent: Acclamations of Hope

Paul J. Grime

The season of Advent is often referred to as a penitential season. True enough. How else are we to characterize the preaching of John the Baptist, who proclaimed a Baptism of repentance? He minced no words condemming the unrepentance of the religious leaders, warning that the axe was already laid at the root of the tree (Matt 3:10) and calling for lives that displayed the fruits of repentance (Matt 3:8; Luke 3:8–14). Quite appropriately, the Proper Preface for the season speaks of "calling sinners to repentance that they might escape from the wrath to be revealed when He comes again in glory."[1]

That same Proper Preface, however, points in a very different direction when it speaks of John the Baptist as the one who proclaimed Jesus "the promised Messiah, the very Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world."[2] The propers for the season quickly move beyond the penitential accents to set before the Church the hopeful expectation that permeates the four Sundays leading up to our celebration of the birth of the Savior.

In this brief study, I will consider two acclamations: "Hosanna," from the Hebrew language, and "Maranatha," from the Aramaic. Both are firmly established in our Advent observance, with the latter in particular giving voice to the expectation that is uniquely characteristic of Adventtide.

I. Hosanna

The acclamation "hosanna" passes over our lips quite frequently. In the Divine Service, we sing this acclamation as our voices are joined with the seraphim—indeed, with the whole company of heaven—declaring that heaven and earth are full of God's glory. Likewise, each year during the Procession of Palms on the Sunday of the Passion, we take up the cries of the people as they greeted Jesus during his entrance into Jerusalem: "Hosanna in the highest" (Matt 21:9).[3]

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[1] *Lutheran Service Book: Altar Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006), 145.

[2] LSB Altar Book, 145.

[3] All Scripture quotations are from the ESV® Bible (The Holy Bible, English Standard Version®), copyright © 2001 by Crossway, a publishing ministry of Good News Publishers. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

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The origins of the word *hosanna*, however, have little association with the jubilance we typically associate with the word. Consider, for example, the siege of Samaria by the Syrian king Ben-hadad (2 Kgs 6:24–33). The situation had become so dire in Israel that parents were killing their children for food. In this account, a woman complains to the Israelite king that she and another woman had agreed to kill their sons for food. Having kept her part of the bargain by sacrificing her son, this woman found herself double-crossed, with the other woman now refusing to offer up her own son for the second meal. As the king passed by, the woman who had been wronged cried out, "*Help*, my lord, O king!" (v. 26; emphasis added).

Another more familiar example is found in the prayer that Hezekiah prayed in the face of what appeared to be Judah's imminent destruction at the hand of the Assyrian king Sennacherib. First, we hear Hezekiah's clear confession of the true God: "O LORD, the God of Israel, enthroned above the cherubim, you are the God, you alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; you have made heaven and earth" (2 Kgs 19:15; cf. Isa 37:16). Then, after describing Sennacherib's taunting of the true God, Hezekiah issues this plea: "So now, O LORD our God, *save us*, please, from his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that you, O LORD, are God alone" (v. 19; emphasis added; cf. Isa 37:20). The key plea here is "Save us, please"! Finally, consider this passage from Psalm 118: "Save us, we pray, O LORD! O LORD, we pray, give us success!" (Ps 118:25). In all of these examples, the expression that is used is a form of a word that is well known among us: *Hosanna!* הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּה. It is best translated as "Save us!"[4]

These examples suggest that the Old Testament usage of *hosanna* is primarily one of supplication for deliverance with a clear note of urgency attached to it. Whether the appeal was made by a lowly subject to an earthly ruler[5] or, in the case of Hezekiah, by an earthly ruler to God, the ruler of all creation, the supplicant demonstrated a degree of confidence that genuine assistance was available.

The example of the word *hosanna* from Psalm 118 is of particular significance. The last in the grouping of the Hallel Psalms (113–118)—which were sung at the major Jewish festivals, including Passover—it is this particular text from Psalm 118 that will serve as the source for the use of the word *hosanna* during Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Before examining that usage, however, a brief examination of the Hallel Psalms will provide significant context for our understanding.

The central theme of the Passover observance was the annual rehearsal of the mighty acts of God by which he rescued his people from bondage in Egypt. This was

[4] A thorough study of the word is found in Donald McIlhagga, "Hosanna: Supplication and Acclamation," *Studia Liturgica* 5, no. 3 (1966): 129–150.

[5] In addition to 2 Kings 6:24–33 (discussed above), another example is found at 2 Samuel 14:4.

deliverance by the hand of God *par excellence*. Twice in Exodus 12, God commanded the Israelites to keep this feast as a memorial (vv. 14, 24). Later, he provided the answer they were to give to their children when asked about the meaning of this observance: "You shall say, 'It is the sacrifice of the LORD's Passover, for he passed over the houses of the people of Israel in Egypt, when he struck the Egyptians but spared our houses'" (v. 27).

That theme of rescue was central to the celebration of the Passover and permeates the Hallel Psalms. For example, Psalm 113 makes clear that the true God alone sits in the heavens (vv. 4–6). The remainder of the psalm then provides specific examples of what this God can do for his people:

> [7]He raises the poor from the dust
> and lifts the needy from the ash heap,
> [8]to make them sit with princes,
> with the princes of his people.
> [9]He gives the barren woman a home,
> making her the joyous mother of children.
> Praise the LORD!

This is the God with whom nothing is impossible. Similarities are easily seen with the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:5, 8) and the Magnificat (Luke 1:52).

Psalm 114, which follows immediately, provides direct context for the celebration of the Passover. Reference is made not only to the waters of the Red Sea fleeing before the Israelites but also the Jordan River as its waters ceased to flow so that the Israelites could cross over to enter the Promised Land (Joshua 3).

It was after the praying of these two psalms that the Israelites ate the Passover meal. When the meal was concluded, they then sang the remainder of the Hallel Psalms.[6] Psalm 115 provides a stark contrast between the God of Israel and the false gods of the world, which are made of silver and gold but are not living (vv. 2–8). The psalm concludes with a threefold call to trust in God for he alone "is their help and their shield" (vv. 9–11).

This language of confident trust that God will provide rescue for his people continues in Psalm 116:

> [3]The snares of death encompassed me;
> the pangs of Sheol laid hold on me;
> I suffered distress and anguish.

[6] In all likelihood, the "hymn" that Jesus and the disciples sang before proceeding to the Mount of Olives would have been these four psalms (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:26). Jeffrey Gibbs rightly points out, however, the caution one must employ in assigning later Jewish practice to the first century. See Jeffrey A. Gibbs, *Matthew 21:1–28:20* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2018), 1416.

[4]Then I called on the name of the LORD:
"O LORD, I pray, deliver my soul!" . . .
[8]For you have delivered my soul from death,
my eyes from tears,
my feet from stumbling.

Psalm 117, the shortest of all the psalms, does not use the language of supplication; rather, it articulates the reason for all our praise of God:

[2]For great is his steadfast love toward us,
and the faithfulness of the LORD endures forever.

The last of the Hallel Psalms, Psalm 118, brings this collection of songs to its culmination. The psalm begins with a continuation of the confession of God's faithfulness heard in the previous psalm, with the psalmist proclaiming four times, "his steadfast love endures forever" (vv. 1–4). An extended confession of God's deliverance is then set forth:

[5]Out of my distress I called on the LORD;
the LORD answered me and set me free.
[6]The LORD is on my side; I will not fear.
What can man do to me?
[7]The LORD is on my side as my helper;
I shall look in triumph on those who hate me.

Not in princes but in the Lord do God's people take refuge (vv. 8–9). When surrounded by enemies on every side, the psalmist declares no less than three times, "In the name of the LORD I cut them off" (vv. 10–12). The confession of God's defense of his people proclaims:

[13]I was pushed hard, so that I was falling,
but the LORD helped me.

Two times the psalmist declares, "The right hand of the LORD does valiantly" (vv. 15–16), culminating in this exquisite confession, a favorite of Luther's,[7]

[17]I shall not die, but I shall live,
and recount the deeds of the LORD.

Though the psalmist acknowledges that the struggles of life may be a result of the Lord's discipline, he lives in the confidence that God will not give him over to death (v. 18). Rather, he can rejoice in the truth that the Lord is his salvation (vv. 14, 21).

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[7] Martin Luther, "I Shall Not Die, But Live" (1545): 53, 337 in *Luther's Works, American Edition*, vols. 1–30, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–76); vols. 31–55, ed. Helmut Lehmann (Philadelphia/Minneapolis: Muhlenberg/Fortress, 1957–86); vols. 56–82, ed. Christopher Boyd Brown and Benjamin T.G. Mayes (St. Louis: Concordia, 2009–).

The psalmist continues with the readily familiar passage regarding the "stone that the builders rejected" that Jesus would apply to himself in predicting his own death (vv. 22–23; cf. Matt 21:42). And then there is the glorious acclamation,

> [24]This is the day that the LORD has made;
> let us rejoice and be glad in it.

that already in the early church was identified with the day of salvation, that is, Easter, and its weekly celebration on the Lord's Day—Sunday.[8]

Finally, we come to the reason for this examination of the Hallel Psalms:

> [25]Save us, we pray, O LORD!
> O LORD, we pray, give us success!
> [26]Blessed is he who comes in the name of the LORD!
> We bless you from the house of the LORD.

The phrase "save us" is none other than a translation of our word of supplication—*hosanna*, הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּה—that we noted in other places in the Old Testament. One last time the psalmist pleads with God to do as he has promised and come to the aid of his faithful servants: "O LORD, we pray: help us!" In the context of the entire psalm, as well as the five preceding psalms, this supplication to God acknowledges that our rescue from calamity and death is found in no one else. The first and last verses of the psalm reframe our assessment of life in this world. Confident that God can and will come to our aid, our petition is one of joy:

> [1, 29]Oh give thanks to the LORD, for he is good;
> for his steadfast love endures forever!

It is important to note that the Septuagint consistently uses the word σῴζω to translate הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּה. The common translation, which is found in most English Bibles, is the obvious choice: "to save." Of some interest is the fact that the name *Jesus* comes from the same root word in Hebrew: ישע. Its first appearance in the New Testament provides us with an unmistakable connection between the Old Testament plea for help—for salvation—and the name the angel told Joseph in the dream to give to the child who would be born of Mary: "She will bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins" (Matt 1:21). Thus, when the crowds would later greet Jesus during his triumphal entry into Jerusalem with shouts of hosanna—"save us"—they were only making plain what the name *Jesus* already proclaimed: that this was the one who could accomplish the salvation of God's people. He alone could rescue and save them.

When the Gospel writers penned their accounts of Jesus' triumphal entry, it is somewhat surprising to discover that they did not follow the Septuagint by using the

[8] John Mason Neale and Richard Frederick Littledale, *A Commentary on the Psalms: From Primitive and Medieval Writers*, 4 vols. (London: Joseph Masters and Co., 1887), 3:527–528.

word σῴζω to translate the Hebrew; rather, they simply transliterated the word in each of its six occurrences, using Greek letters to arrive at ὡσαννά.[9] Because this bears no resemblance to the name of Jesus—Ἰησοῦς—it is not clear whether the meaning of the word *hosanna*, and particularly its association with the name *Jesus*, would have been apparent to later generations.

While it is impossible to say with certainty why the Gospel writers chose to transliterate the Hebrew for *hosanna* into Greek, it is likely by that time that the actual meaning of the word had become secondary to its function as a general acclamation of praise.[10] The reality is that this acclamatory function was already evident in the Old Testament. The prophet Jeremiah, for example, calls on God to save in a manner very different than the woman who appealed to the king in 2 Kings 6:

> Sing aloud with gladness for Jacob,
> and raise shouts for the chief of the nations;
> proclaim, give praise, and say,
> "O LORD, save [הוֹשַׁע] your people,
> the remnant of Israel."
>
> (Jer 31:7)

There is still an appeal for God to come to the aid of his people, but the gist is more that of an appeal for the king to do his kingly duty. One could liken it, for example, to the acclamation "God save the queen!" As much as a cry for help, it portrays a sense of joyful anticipation as the king makes his entrance.[11] Such would have likely been the case as Jesus made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem to shouts of "Hosanna in the highest!"

The question remains regarding how later generations would have understood the transliterated word ὡσαννά. Its full meaning may not have been readily apparent, just as may have been the case with the transliteration of the Hebrew words *alleluia* and *amen* in other places in the New Testament. Context, of course, would have been of some help. The four occurrences of *alleluia* in Revelation 19, for example, can hardly be understood as anything other than a cry of exuberance. In all likelihood, the church's catechesis would have played a role. Consider, for example,

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[9] This is no different than the use of the word *alleluia* in Revelation 19. Here also, the Greek letters simply produce the sound of the Hebrew words that mean "praise the Lord."

[10] *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Exegesis*, s.v. ὡσαννὰ, revision ed., Moisés Silva, 5 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2014), 4:745–746.

[11] *The New International Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Colin Brown, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1975), 1:99–100.

the explanation Justin Martyr quite casually gives in his *First Apology* regarding the meaning of the word *amen*: "When the presider has concluded these prayers and the thanksgiving, all present express their consent by saying 'Amen.' In Hebrew this word means 'so be it.'"[12] One can imagine similar catechesis regarding the word *hosanna*.[13]

Whether the word was fully understood or not, it clearly became associated early in the church's practice with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The acclamation of *hosanna* appears, for example, already in the *Didache*, that manual of church practice that dates perhaps to the final years of the first century. Here the word occurs in the context of the eucharistic celebration, bearing in particular an eschatological focus: "May grace come, and may this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David."[14] Though not tied to the "holy, holy, holy" of Isaiah 6 at this point, that pairing was only a few centuries from becoming the common practice in nearly the entire church, even to the present day. The Lutheran reformers retained the hosanna for the same reason we do, for there is no better way to confess the truth that our God is not some king in a distant land or a higher being locked away in heaven; rather, he comes to us here and now, giving his very body and blood that was shed for our salvation.

There is no better time to emphasize the meaning of the *hosanna* than during the season of Advent. On account of the traditional reading of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem on the First Sunday in Advent, it should not be surprising to find hosannas on our tongues, and no more so than in the Advent hymns. Two examples in particular demonstrate the varying meanings of the word already apparent in the Old Testament. In the hymn "O Bride of Christ, Rejoice," the word functions in the refrain more as an acclamation:

> Hosanna, praise, and glory!
> Our King, we bow before Thee. (*LSB* 335)

In the hymn "Lift Up Your Heads, You Everlasting Doors," however, we find a clear example of the supplication that corresponds to the literal meaning of the word:

> Hosanna, Lord! Messiah, come and save
> From sin and grave. (*LSB* 339:2)

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[12] Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 65 in Lawrence J. Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, 4 vols. (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2009), 1:68.

[13] A similar form of catechesis is found in *Lutheran Service Book*, where all three transliterated words are defined, in addition to footnotes explaining the meaning of *hosanna* where it occurs in the *Sanctus*. See *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006), xxiv, 161, 178, 195, 208 [hereafter, *LSB*]. Note that another transliteration, *Sabaoth*, is defined in the two places where it occurs; see 195 and 208.

[14] *Didache* 10.6 in Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church*, 1:38.

This season, more than any other, invites us to appropriate both uses of the word, as the church not only continues to issue her call for God to save his people but also acclaims her coming king, who graciously brings life for all.

II. Maranatha

There is another ancient word that gives voice to the deep longing of the faithful and is especially fitting during Adventtide. Unlike the word *hosanna*, this is not so much a plea for immediate help and deliverance as it is an appeal for the Lord to keep his promise and make his final return. I speak here of the word *maranatha*—"our Lord, come." The word occurs once in the New Testament, at the end of 1 Corinthians (16:22) where the transliterated form of the Aramaic appears. However, a Greek translation of the word also appears at the very end of the Revelation to St. John (22:20). The significance of this expression cannot be emphasized enough and deserves, I would suggest, more attention than it has typically received.

Studies of the occurrence of the word *maranatha* in 1 Corinthians 16 point out the ambiguity of the Aramaic word, raising the question of how it should be interpreted.[15] Actually consisting of two words, *maranatha* can be divided in two different ways. The preponderance of evidence lies with the division *marana tha*, which is literally translated: "our Lord, come!" This imperatival form corresponds to its occurrence at the end of Revelation, "Come, Lord Jesus!" [ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ] (22:20). There is, however, also the possibility that the Aramaic could be divided as *maran atha*, which would change the imperative to an indicative: "the Lord has come," thus functioning not as a plea but as a confession of faith. The difference between these two forms is not that great in that the church's constant plea for the Lord to come would be an empty appeal were it not the case that he has already come. Because the Lord has come, we are thus able to pray, "Come, Lord Jesus."

The appearance of the phrase in Revelation 22, here in Greek translation, leaves little doubt of a strongly eschatological focus. Already in verse 17, we hear the cry: "The Spirit and the Bride say, 'Come.'" Even more pointed are the words of Jesus that immediately precede the maranatha: "Surely I am coming soon" (v. 20). Some scholars have suggested that these final verses of Revelation are actually a liturgical dialogue. Thus, the words of Jesus, "Surely I am coming soon," might have been spoken by the pastor, with the congregation replying, "Come, Lord Jesus!"[16] While

[15] See Gregory J. Lockwood, *1 Corinthians* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 626–627, 632–633; Louis A. Brighton, *Revelation* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999), 657–658; and Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church*, 1:38 n. c.

[16] See David E. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, World Biblical Commentary 52C (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), 1206–1208, where Aune summarizes various proposals.

such proposals cannot be proven, they do raise an interesting prospect concerning the relationship of the *maranatha* to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, a topic addressed below.

It is beneficial, first of all, to return to the use of the *maranatha* at the end of 1 Corinthians. Given the unambiguous understanding of the term in Revelation—the plea for Jesus to come—it makes sense to go with the same interpretation in this context: "our Lord, come!" That is in fact how nearly all English Bibles translate the word. This interpretation in turn corroborates a similar emphasis throughout 1 Corinthians. For example, Paul's thanksgiving at the very beginning of the letter speaks of waiting "for the revealing of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1:7). Similarly, near the end Paul urges the Corinthians: "Be watchful, stand firm in the faith" (16:13). Most significant of all is Paul's reference in his account of the Lord's Supper that those who partake of the Lord's body and blood are proclaiming the Lord's death "until he comes" (11:26).

This reference to the Lord's coming in the context of the Eucharist leads to another, and rather significant, occurrence of the *maranatha* that appears in the *Didache*, just two lines after the *hosanna* that was mentioned earlier.[17] The general opinion in earlier scholarship was that this occurrence in the *Didache* argued rather strongly for the *maranatha* as a eucharistic liturgical formula, especially given its appearance in Aramaic, which suggested a very ancient formula.[18] Other scholars, however, have disputed this theory, suggesting that the *maranatha* is tied to the anathema in 1 Corinthians 16 and not the Eucharist.[19]

When comparing all three occurrences of the word, two in Aramaic and one in Greek, an interesting parallel is revealed:

1 Corinthians 16

[17] *Didache* 10.6, Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church*, 1:38; the quotation appears in the chart nearby. For a survey of the interpretative difficulty surrounding chapters 9 and 10 of the *Didache*, see Paul F. Bradshaw, "Yet Another Explanation of Didache 9–10," *Studia Liturgica* 36, no. 1 (2006): 124–128.

[18] See the discussion in C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1968; reprint New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 398; also *The New International Dictionary of the New Testament*, 2:896; and Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy*, trans. Dorothea H. G. Reeve (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 193–194.

[19] This perspective was first introduced by C. F. D. Moule, "A Reconsideration of the Context of *Maranatha*," *New Testament Studies* 6, no. 4 (1960): 307–310. Colin Brown restates this view by adding his own section to the original entry on the term *maranatha* in the *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament*. See *The New International Dictionary of the New Testament*, 2:896–898.

> [22]*If anyone has no love for the Lord, let him be accursed.* **Our Lord, come! [Maranatha!]**

Revelation 22

> [18]**I warn everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book:** *if anyone adds to them, God will add to him the plagues described in this book,* [19]*and if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away his share in the tree of life and in the holy city, which are described in this book.* [20]*He who testifies to these things says, "Surely I am coming soon." Amen.* **Come, Lord Jesus!**

***Didache* 10.6**

> **May grace come, and may this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If anyone is holy, let him come;** *if anyone is not, let him do penance.* **Maranatha.**

What this comparison reveals is that in all three occurrences of the *maranatha* (words appearing in boldface) some form of an anathema (words appearing in italics) also occurs. Far from ruling out any eucharistic connection, one can see a natural connection, as C. K. Barrett explains:

> The prayer of thanksgiving in the *Didache* . . . seeks the coming of the Lord that he may gather together the church, and bring it into the kingdom; this gathering together will naturally involve the exclusion of those who do not belong to God's people. So here: the Lord's coming, for which the elect long as their salvation, would confirm the ban on those who do not *love the Lord.*[20]

Thus, the gathering of the faithful at the altar to receive the Lord as he comes to us now gives a foretaste of the final messianic banquet in more ways than one. The plea for the Lord to come must always be in the context of the judgment that exists between those who love the Lord and those who do not. That judgment, which will be plain to all at the last day, is in a sense enacted even now when the church judges either the conduct or the confession of the individual. That judgment finds its expression most acutely at the altar rail, where, with a heavy heart, we admit only those who can truthfully pray, "Come, Lord Jesus!" in all its fullness.

The eucharistic use of the *maranatha*, however, requires further attention. Hermann Sasse, more than anyone else in our Lutheran circles, has championed the significance of this acclamation in providing a rich understanding of the Lord's

[20] Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 398.

Supper.[21] In his celebrated book on the Lord's Supper, *This Is My Body*, he writes at length:

> The petition 'Come, Lord Jesus!' is already fulfilled in his Real Presence in the Sacrament. This coming of the Lord in the Real Presence makes the Lord's Day a day of unspeakable joy, a day of praise and thanksgiving. It makes the Eucharist not only an anticipation of the blessed future, but also a participation in the eternal worship in heaven. . . .
>
> It is this Sacrament that made it possible for the church to survive what in the eyes of the world must have been the greatest disappointment, the delay of his *parousia*. This Sacrament has accompanied the Church throughout the centuries, and will accompany her to the end of the world, even to the Last Day when he will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead.[22]

Elsewhere, Sasse addresses the question of how the ancient church, not to mention the church in every age, was able to face the disappointment that understandably resulted from the delay of Christ's return. The answer lies in the *maranatha*, which, Sasse contends, is, "next to the Words of Institution . . . the most ancient portion of the eucharistic liturgy" and properly "belongs on account of its content to every celebration of the Lord's Supper." How can the church continue to pray "Come, Lord Jesus!" while the waiting goes on and on? On account of the Lord's Supper! "Because the Church possesses this Sacrament, she can wait for centuries and millennia on end. The Supper bridges the space of time between Jesus' days on earth and his return." Thus, "each eucharistic celebration of the church is a repetition of the first Supper and a prolepsis of the final supper."[23]

It was this insistence and encouragement of Sasse, more than anything else, that led to the liturgical recovery of the *maranatha* as an option in Settings One and Two in *Lutheran Service Book*. Immediately following the Words of Our Lord, the pastor continues with the words with which St. Paul concludes the *Verba*: "As often as we eat this bread and drink this cup, we proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (see 1 Cor 11:26). The eschatological dimension that runs through Paul's entire letter reaches a significant inflection point here at his discussion of the Supper. At the heart of the celebration is the reality that the death of Christ—and all that that

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[21] Martin Franzmann makes a brief reference to the *maranatha* in 1 Corinthians 16:20 as the "eucharistic cry." Martin H. Franzmann, *The Revelation to John* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1976), 146.

[22] Hermann Sasse, *This Is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Adelaide, South Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1959, 1977), 325, 326.

[23] Hermann Sasse, "Church and Lord's Supper: An Essay on the Understanding of the Sacrament of the Altar," in *The Lonely Way: Selected Essays and Letters*, vol. 1, trans. Matthew C. Harrison et al. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), 393, 394.

entails—is made evident in the eating and drinking. Yet, this feasting is not merely a looking-back-in-time moment, because it is always done with an eye to the future—to his final coming.

The fitting congregational response to Paul's "until he comes," then, is a hearty amen followed by the *maranatha*: "Come, Lord Jesus."[24] Placed in the mouths of the communicants, these words bring to our attention a significant aspect of this sacred meal that we find nowhere else in the Divine Service. While the catechism rightly draws our attention to the chief thing in the sacrament—the forgiveness of sins, along with the eating and drinking—the *maranatha* broadens our confession in order to give us necessary perspective regarding the Lord's promise—namely, that the one who comes to us now is the one who will surely come again.

This perspective concerning the Lord's Supper is one that is ready-made for special emphasis during the season of Advent. The sacrament is, to be sure, all about the forgiveness of sins; Jesus says so himself! Likewise, it is the meal of consolation and peace, of cleansing and healing, of strength and eternal repose. It is, however, to our detriment when we fail to take note that it is just as much the banquet of hope, setting before us with absolute certainty the promise that the Lord will indeed come again. We know this because he comes to us now, again and again, feeding us his life-giving body and his death-destroying blood.

Like the season of Advent, the Lord's Supper is punctuated by the hope of the Lord's return. And where there is hope, there is most certainly joy. In the context of the Supper, this joy is most suitably expressed through the imagery of the messianic banquet, of which the sacrament is a "foretaste of the feast to come." Similarly, in the Prayer of Thanksgiving in Settings One and Two of *LSB* we make our plea to God:

> Gather us together, we pray, from the ends of the earth to celebrate with all the faithful the marriage feast of the Lamb in His kingdom, which has no end. (*LSB*, 161, 178)

In Setting Four, the Preface takes us through the order of salvation, culminating with the resurrection of Christ and the implication for our own resurrection:

> Because He is now risen from the dead and lives and reigns to all eternity, all who believe in Him will overcome sin and death and will rise again to new life. (*LSB*, 208)

[24] See *LSB*, 162, 179. Note how both the amen and maranatha follow the pattern in Revelation 22:20.

Similar to the presence of the maranatha in the Proclamation of Christ in Settings One and Two, Setting Four incorporates the actual words in the seasonal Prayer of Thanksgiving for Advent, linking our heightened expectation of the coming Messiah with his coming in the Holy Supper:

> In Your boundless mercy You sent Your servant, John the Baptist, to proclaim that in Christ the kingdom of heaven draws near.
>
> With thankful hearts we pray, "Come, Lord Jesus," confident that in His body and blood, given us to eat and drink, we receive the forgiveness of sins and so proclaim His death until He comes again in glory.[25]

Moving beyond the ordinary of the service, there are two sets of Advent propers that seemingly take their cue from the maranatha: the Collects of the Day and the Great "O" Antiphons. The collects for the First, Second, and Fourth Sundays in Advent, often referred to as the "stir up" collects, break the classic collect form with their bold plea for God to come to the rescue:

> Stir up Your power, O Lord, and come, that by Your protection we may be rescued from the threatening perils of our sins and saved by Your mighty deliverance. . . . [Advent 1]
>
> Stir up Your power, O Lord, and come and help us by Your might, that the sins which weigh us down may be quickly lifted by Your grace and mercy. [Advent 4][26]

These two collects in particular not only draw upon the fervent plea for the Lord to come but also incorporate the meaning of the hosanna, using words like "rescued" and "help."

The Great "O" Antiphons, based on Old Testament names for the preincarnate Christ, each conclude with the same plea, "Come."[27] As Advent draws to a close, the last seven days are punctuated by this incessant plea. Of note, again, is the incorporation of the hosanna theme in more than half of the antiphons:

> Come quickly to deliver us. (December 19)
>
> Come and rescue the prisoners. (December 20)
>
> Come and save us all. (December 22)
>
> Come and save us, O Lord our God. (December 23)

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[25] *LSB Altar Book*, 266.

[26] *LSB Altar Book*, 649, 653.

[27] The antiphons are printed opposite the hymn "O Come, O Come, Emmanuel" (*LSB* 357), which is based on the antiphons.

Finally, the cry of the maranatha appears in a number of hymns for both Advent and the end times. Perhaps the most obvious is the direct quotation of Revelation 22:20 in the hymn "Christ Is Surely Coming":

> "Surely I come quickly!
> Come, Lord Jesus, come!" (*LSB* 509:3)

Likewise, the final stanza of "Once He Came in Blessing" makes a similar plea:

> Come, then, O Lord Jesus,
> From our sins release us. (*LSB* 333:4)

The hymn "O Savior, Rend the Heavens Wide," drawing on the vivid imagery of Isaiah 64:1, nicely echoes the maranatha:

> O Savior, rend the heavens wide;
> Come down, come down with mighty stride;
> Unlock the gates, the doors break down;
> Unbar the way to heaven's crown. (*LSB* 355:1)

Drawing on Genesis 3, the hymn "What Hope! An Eden Prophesied" portrays the *telos* of the church's maranatha:

> Come, Jesus, come, Messiah Lord,
> Lost Paradise restore;
> Lead past the angel's flaming sword—
> Come, open heaven's door. (*LSB* 342:4)

The urgency of the Lord's return is beautifully depicted in the concluding lines of "The King Shall Come When Morning Dawns":

> Hail, Christ the Lord! Your people pray:
> Come quickly, King of kings! (*LSB* 348:5)

Other hymns that echo the plea for the Lord to come include *LSB* 334:6; 511 (refrain), 338:1; and 515:4. Though not in the Advent section, the last stanza of "Come, Ye Thankful People, Come" paints a similar picture: "Even so, Lord, quickly come" (*LSB* 892:4).

To conclude our discussion, we turn, finally, to the king and queen of the chorales, both written by Philipp Nicolai. In the latter, "O Morning Star, How Fair and Bright," the deep yearning of the faithful is given voice through the maranatha:

> Amen! Amen!
> Come, Lord Jesus!
> Crown of gladness!
> We are yearning
> For the day of Your returning! (*LSB* 395:6)

Though traditionally associated with Epiphany, this hymn, or at least selected stanzas of it, is fitting at almost any time of the year. In the king of the chorales, "Wake, Awake, for Night Is Flying," the imagery of the parable of the ten virgins from Matthew 25 is used to its full potential as we are placed in the story:

> Now come, Thou Blessèd One,
> Lord Jesus, God's own Son,
> Hail! Hosanna!
> We enter all
> The wedding hall
> To eat the Supper at Thy call. (*LSB* 516:2)

The clear sacramental language, missing in the translations that appeared in *The Lutheran Hymnal* and *Lutheran Worship*, perfectly aligns the maranatha with the Supper around which we gather each Lord's Day, all the while pointing us toward the final marriage feast.

The "prayer of unshakable Christian hope"—that was Hermann Sasse's pithy yet compelling description of the maranatha.[28] From her earliest beginnings, the church has clung to that expectant plea, arising from the confident confession that the Lord who has come in the flesh will come again. Thus do we begin our annual rehearsal of our Lord's saving deeds each Advent, greeting him who comes into our midst with shouts of "Hosanna!" in the sure and certain hope that the one who has rescued us from death and the grave will come quickly.

[28] Sasse, "Church and Lord's Supper," 394.

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"You Are My Beloved Son": The Foundations of a "Son of God" Christology in the Second Psalm

Christopher A. Maronde

That the authors of the New Testament received the Psalter as a book about Christ requires little argument. By one count, there are 196 different citations of the psalms in the New Testament, from 35 different psalms—a number which does not contain the numerous allusions to the Psalter.[1] While these citations include direct messianic prophecies which the New Testament authors applied to Jesus of Nazareth, the broader interpretation of the Psalter proved to be vital to the development of New Testament theology in general and Christology in particular. As Richard Bauckham asserts, "Early Christian theology, like other Jewish theology of the period, proceeded primarily by exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures."[2] Central to the expressions of Christology found in the New Testament documents are two psalms in particular, Psalm 2 and Psalm 110. Jesus himself uses Psalm 110 in the Gospels to argue for the divinity of the Messiah, who is David's son according to the flesh, yet David's Lord (Matt 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42–43). This psalm is also utilized throughout the New Testament to assert Jesus' divinity and particularly in Hebrews 5–7 to argue for his possession of the "priesthood of Melchizedek."[3] While never found on the lips of Jesus, Psalm 2 holds a similarly high place in the Christology of the New Testament, and in several texts, as discussed below, it is linked directly with Psalm 110. These two "royal" psalms are thus pillars of New Testament Christology.

There are four direct citations of Psalm 2 in the New Testament, found in both Acts (4:25–26; 13:32–33) and Hebrews (1:5; 5:5), and numerous allusions have been posited, both in the synoptic accounts of Jesus' Baptism (Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke

[1] William Lee Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 115.

[2] Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 21.

[3] The definitive study of Psalm 110 in the New Testament remains David M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1973).

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3:22) and transfiguration (Matt 17:5; Mark 9:7; Luke 9:35; 2 Pet 1:17), as well as in Revelation (2:27; 11:18; 12:5; 19:15). Each of these citations and allusions holds christological implications, but most notable in this regard is the presumed use of Psalm 2:7 as one of the texts in the background of the voice from heaven in the accounts of Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration. The next step for some is to connect the voice from heaven, Psalm 2:7, or both to the title "Son of God."[4] If Psalm 2:7, through its use by the voice from heaven, is one of the primary sources of this vitally important title, then the place of Psalm 2 in the theology of the New Testament should not be understated.

What is that place? A number of scholars claim that the theological understanding of Christ's death and exaltation, and even the very narrative structure of the retelling of those events in the Gospels or in early Christian preaching, is dependent upon Psalm 2. Mary Huie-Jolly argues that the "divine warrior myth," as embodied in Psalm 2, where the king is enthroned in response to threats, is a major theme in early Christian preaching and perhaps even helps to form the structure of the Passion Narratives themselves.[5] A number of authors similarly connect the "narrative" of Psalm 2 with the passion accounts of the Gospels.[6] Steven Nash joins these ideas to a canonical argument, positing that the New Testament uses Psalm 2 conscious of its place as an introduction to the Psalter as a whole. Therefore, the New Testament authors use Psalm 2 to read the entire Psalter as messianic. More specifically, he asserts that New Testament authors desire us to view the Psalter's pattern of the rejected and suffering, yet enthroned, king as referring to Christ. Psalm 2, then, acts as a kind of "hermeneutical bridge" to the lament psalms.[7] Neither Huie-Jolly nor Nash apply their theses directly to the Baptism or

[4] Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2016), 47–49; Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 103, 362.

[5] Mary R. Huie-Jolly, "Threats Answered by Enthronement: Death/Resurrection and the Divine Warrior Myth in John 5.17–29, Psalm 2 and Daniel 7," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 193–194, 200.

[6] To see this argument made with regard to Matthew, see Tucker Ferda, "Matthew's ***Titulus*** and Psalm 2's King on Mount Zion," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133, no. 3 (2014): 561–581; for a similar argument with regard to Luke, see Wilhelmus Weren, "Psalm 2 in Luke-Acts: An Intertextual Study," in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (Kampen, Netherlands: J. H. Kok, 1989), 189–203; for the same kind of argument made with regard to the extra-canonical *Gospel of Peter*, see John Dominic Crossan, *The Cross That Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).

[7] Steven B. Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality, 2: Exegetical Studies*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), 86, 102.

transfiguration of Jesus, as they each work with Johannine texts. Nash does, however, assert in a footnote that Psalm 2:7 is alluded to at Jesus' Baptism, "providing the literary and theological basis for the title 'Son of God' in the Synoptic Gospels."[8]

While the assertion that Psalm 2:7 (among other texts) stands in the background of declaration of the voice from heaven is nearly universal, the significance of a reference to Psalm 2 in this context has rarely been explored. The investigations cited above have hinted that the theological and "narrative" structure of Psalm 2 may be vitally important to the New Testament's proclamation of Jesus' death and exaltation. They have, however, limited their work to certain books. This current study intends to look more broadly, examining the explicit usage of Psalm 2 (allusions will be dealt with as well, but the focus will be on the more explicit citations) throughout the New Testament. If this psalm lies behind the declarations from heaven at Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration and thus the title "Son of God" (and both points need to be argued rather than simply asserted), then an understanding of how the entire psalm is used in the New Testament will help to understand the significance of this declaration *and* title. If Psalm 2 is the background for both the voice from heaven and the title "Son of God," what does this mean for the Christology of the New Testament? What does Psalm 2 specifically teach us about Christ? How does the New Testament's other uses of Psalm 2 shed light upon its use in the baptismal and transfiguration accounts?

This study argues that the divine voice from heaven at both Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration draws directly from Psalm 2:7, joining it to several other texts in a rich christological declaration. This is more than the use of a text with language convenient to indicate that the eschatological messianic king, who is thus identified with Jesus of Nazareth, is more than a mere human, but truly (according to substance and nature) God's Son. Psalm 2 provided more than a place to find a title. Instead, the evidence from the entirety of the New Testament's use of Psalm 2 indicates that the voice from heaven utilized the language of Psalm 2:7 because of the theology and "narrative" structure of the psalm as a whole. Connected to this, Psalm 2 had such importance because of its canonical place as the introduction to the Psalter's royal/messianic theology to interpret the enthronement of Jesus as coming only after opposition and suffering.[9] This deeper theological matrix for understanding Jesus stands behind every citation and allusion to Psalm 2, particularly at Jesus' Baptism. Further, if the "Son of God" title is rooted in the declaration of the Father's voice from heaven, and if that declaration is rooted in

[8] Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," 92n.
[9] Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," 86.

Psalm 2, then this title is a royal title, indicating the Psalter's rejected but enthroned king, who passes through suffering and opposition to his glorification. Psalm 2 is thus the key which links together the "Son of God" with a royal Christology that particularly manifests itself at the cross. Portions of Psalm 2 are invoked to set a framework for understanding how the one declared at the river and on the mountain to be God's "Son" will be opposed, then exalted.

Nash provocatively asks, but only partially answers, this question: "Is it coincidental that [Psalm 2], which was arguably purposely placed at the beginning of the Psalter, is evoked near the beginning of all four Gospels, as it is at the beginning of Hebrews?"[10] This study will assert that it is no coincidence, but an indication that the entirety of Psalm 2, not only certain verses, helps shape the New Testament's understanding and proclamation of the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, declared by the voice from heaven to be God's beloved Son.

Psalm 2

In the ancient near East, the succession of a new king to the throne was often the opportunity for both vassal states and external enemies to attack a kingdom at a vulnerable time.[11] While the nations gather around YHWH's nation, YHWH himself installs his "anointed," who tells his enemies what was told to him, namely that he is God's "son." This king is given authority over the nations who opposed them, and the psalm concludes with a call for the enemies to render homage to YHWH's king. Scholars have long noted the connection between Psalm 2 and Nathan's prophecy to David in 2 Samuel 7:14.[12] In that text, the prophet Nathan delivers to David a promise concerning his son and successor.

> (12) When your days are completed and you lie with your fathers, and your offspring arises after you which go out from your loins and I will establish his kingdom, (13) he will build a house for my name and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. (14) I will be for him a father and he will be for me a son [ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν]; when he goes astray, I will discipline him with the rod [בְּשֵׁבֶט] of men and with the blows of the sons of men. (15) My steadfast love will not depart from him like I departed from Saul whom I turned away from before you. (16) And your house and your

[10] Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," 92.

[11] Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years*, 115.

[12] Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years*, 23. Holladay even theorizes, based on the linkage between the two texts, that Psalm 2 was sung by Nathan at David's own coronation.

kingdom will be established forever before you, your throne will be established forever.[13]

The father-son language applied to YHWH and David's son, here specifically his son Solomon, is connected with Israel's king in Psalm 2. Regardless of whether Psalm 2 was composed before 2 Samuel 7 or not, the presumption of the Psalter is the Davidic monarchy (Ps 89:3–4; 132:11–12), and thus this text, in its current canonical position, can be considered the application of the promise given to David by Nathan to every subsequent Davidic king, culminating with the eschatological Messiah.[14]

(1) Why do the nations [גּוֹיִם] conspire,
and the people plot vainly?
(2) The kings of the earth stand
and the rulers take council together
against YHWH and against his Messiah [מְשִׁיחוֹ/χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ].
(3) Let us burst their bonds
and let us send away from us their ropes.
(4) The one dwelling in the heavens laughs
Adonai [κύριος] mocks them.
(5) Then he will speak to them in his anger
and in his wrath he will terrify them.
(6) And I have set/consecrated [נָסַכְתִּי/κατεστάθην] my king
upon Zion my holy mountain.
(7) I will recount the decree [LXX adds κυρίου],
YHWH says to me, "My son you are [υἱός μου εἶ σύ], I this day beget you."
(8) Ask from me, and I will give the nations [גּוֹיִם] your inheritance
and your property the ends of the earth.
(9) You will smash [LXX ποιμανεῖς] them with a rod [בְּשֵׁבֶט][15] of iron
like the vessel of the potter you will shatter them.
(10) And now kings, be wise,

[13] All Scripture quotations are the author's translation.

[14] Eric Mason briefly summarizes the position that Psalm 2 was used at the coronation of the Davidic monarchs or at an annual "enthronement ritual." See Eric Farrel Mason, "Interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4QFlorilegium and in the New Testament," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2009), 69.

[15] The same Hebrew word for "rod," בְּשֵׁבֶט, is found in the messianic prophecy of Numbers 24:17, where it is commonly understood as the king's scepter (the LXX translates שֵׁבֶט in Ps 2:9 as ῥάβδῳ, in Num 24:17 as ἄνθρωπος), providing a link to the messianic theology of the Old Testament.

be instructed, judges of the earth.
(11) Serve YHWH in fear
and tremble in fright.
(12) Kiss the son [בַּר /παιδείας],
lest he [LXX adds κύριος] will be angry and you perish on the way
because his anger burns quickly.
Blessed are all who take refuge in him!

Several points should be noted. First, there is a close connection throughout the text between YHWH and his king. Verse 2 links them together as the common enemy of the kings of the earth, and in verse 3, the bonds are "their" bonds. The use of the possessive pronoun also emphasizes that this king is "my" king, in other words, intimately tied up with YHWH. In Psalm 2, YHWH's own reign cannot be separated from the reign of the anointed king.[16] Second, there is in this psalm a convergence of three titles: "anointed one," "king," and "son." However, in verse 12, there is not a repetition of υἱός, but instead παιδείας is found, a translation of the Hebrew בַּר. The LXX thus reads, "seize discipline," and the MT, "kiss the son."[17] Antecedents for the language of "son" have been sought in Egyptian enthronement rituals, but it more likely has its roots in the Old Testament itself.[18] The nation is called God's "son" (Exod 4:22; Deut 14:1; Hos 11:1) as well as "angels" (Gen 6:2–4; cf. Ps 29:1). Psalm 2 and 2 Samuel 7:14 are the most significant texts where the king is called "son," although the language of "firstborn" for the Davidic king in Psalm 89:26–27 can be directly tied to Psalm 2. Third, the "narrative structure" of Psalm 2 should be noted. The rulers of the earth are set in battle against both YHWH and his anointed king. YHWH responds by declaring that his king has been enthroned upon Zion. The king himself recounts what God has said of and to him—namely, his identity as YHWH's "son" and his commission to rule over his enemies. Finally, those enemies are warned and exhorted to be obedient to that "son." Thus, opposition to YHWH and his king leads to enthronement and the declaration that the king is God's "son." The anointed king is then given authority to rule over those same kings who had opposed him, and those rulers are called upon to give obedience to the "son." The pattern is opposition by the enemies—enthronement of the "son"—subservience of the enemies.

[16] Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," 90.

[17] For a discussion of this difficult verse and Luther's own solution (following the MT against the LXX and the Vulgate), see Brian German, "Sola Scriptura in Luther's Translations," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 82, no. 3 (2018): 201–204.

[18] Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 103; Martin Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 21–23.

The Function of Psalm 2 in the Psalter

In the wake of form criticism's search for the (usually cultic) setting of each individual psalm[19] has come a renewed interest in the structure of the Psalter as a whole.[20] Replacing the relation of individual psalms to one another on the basis of genre is a focus on seeing how the psalms relate to one another in their present canonical position.[21] Where does Psalm 2 potentially fit in such a schema? Patrick Miller has noted that Psalm 2 appears to be joined together with Psalm 1 in an intimate way.[22] First, Psalm 2 lacks a superscription. While the superscriptions are viewed with suspicion by many commentators as to their historical accuracy, their use in the editing of the Psalter is more universally accepted. The lack of a superscription between Psalm 1 and Psalm 2 may indicate that they were to be understood as one unit. There is also a verbal *inclusio* that surrounds the two psalms in the use of the verb אשׁר, "blessed." This is the first word of the Psalter, and it begins the concluding phrase of Psalm 2. Finally, there is evidence in rabbinic sources that the first two psalms were combined together, a tradition perhaps reflected in the textual history of Acts 13:33.[23]

The theological linkage between the two may be even more significant. If Psalm 1 asserts a theology, the theology of the "two ways," then Psalm 2 introduces a figure, the king. He is explicitly identified as the "anointed one," and we see him exalted yet challenged. YHWH asserts that his king has been set on the hill, yet enemies gather around him. In the midst of this opposition, the king reminds his enemies of the promise given to him, and the psalm concludes with a call to be obedient to the king, the son. This is the pattern of the lament psalms: the assertion of God's promises is challenged by suffering, but the one praying clings to the word declared by God, and deliverance is promised. Thus, Psalm 2 already indicates opposition to the one who follows Psalm 1's way of the righteous, a challenge with which the psalms of lament will wrestle. Psalm 2 also moves from the abstract theology of Psalm 1 to a much

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[19] The fountainhead of this effort was Hermann Gunkel, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*, trans. Joachim Begrich (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998).

[20] Brevard Childs suggested this more canonical approach, but others carried it forward, applying it to the Psalter. See Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 505–525; J. Clinton McCann, *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter* (Sheffield, UK: JSOT Press, 1993); Gerald Henry Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985).

[21] Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," 90. Nash puts it well: "It can be argued that in the Psalter we have not only a collection of canonical psalms, but a canonical collection of psalms."

[22] Patrick D. Miller, *Interpreting the Psalms* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 87.

[23] G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2007), 585. See below, p. 26.

more concrete "narrative," and a figure, a character, who inhabits that narrative. Psalm 1 opens the Psalter with a beatitude for the one who follows the way of the righteous, while Psalm 2 closes with a beatitude for the one who takes refuge in God's "son," the anointed king. It is perhaps the voice of this king that we are to hear throughout the Psalter. Psalm 2 thus indicates that the Psalter's righteous sufferer and enthroned king are the same figure, and that all who put their trust in him are "blessed," unlike the opposing nations, which will be destroyed. Both figures are of course associated with David, and the New Testament associates both with Jesus.[24]

Psalm 2 in Second-Temple Judaism

For many decades, biblical scholarship asserted that the language of "son" was not used for the eschatological Messiah in Jewish literature. Targumim could be cited that expended considerable effort to distance texts such as 2 Samuel 7:14 and Psalm 2:7 from literal sonship, claiming that the designation was simply a figure of speech. As with many other assumptions in biblical scholarship, this one was challenged with the discoveries at Qumran.[25] Among the texts discovered in cave 4 was a fragment, 4Q174 (4QFlor).[26] This fragment is a midrash on 2 Samuel 7:14, followed by a broken-off midrash on Psalms 1–2. The connection between 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 is thus strengthened in this fragment, although it is debated what relationship the author intended there to be between the two texts.[27] The text is concerned with interpreting Nathan's promises to David as eschatological and messianic.

Fragments 1–2 and 21, Column 1

(11) "**I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me."** He (is) the Shoot of David who will arise with the interpreter of the Torah who

[24] As one example, see the use of Psalm 22 in Matthew 27:46 juxtaposed in the Passion Narrative with the ironic use of the title "king" in 27:11, 29, 37.

[25] For a brief recounting of this history of interpretation, see Donald H. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 78.

[26] For the background of 4QFlor, see James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6B, Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 248–263. All translations of 4QFlor are from this volume.

[27] John J. Collins, "The Interpretation of Psalm 2," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 49–66.

(12) [...] in Zi[on in the] latter days, as it is written, **And I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen.** He (is) the booth of

(13) David that is falle[n w]ho will arise to save Israel.[28]

While the fragmentary nature of 4QFlor makes interpretation controversial, this text indicates that Nathan's prophecy was interpreted as messianic before the New Testament and that the father-son imagery was similarly interpreted.[29] The "son" of 2 Samuel 7 is identified as the Shoot of David who will appear in the latter days to "save Israel." However, whether this understanding of 2 Samuel 7 has any bearing on the interpretation of Psalm 2:7 is more tenuous.

Only Psalm 2:1–2 is cited in 4QFlor, and when the interpretation of that section is considered, it appears that the author has moved from an interpretation of the Messiah as an individual in his discussion of 2 Samuel 7 to the Messiah as a corporate reality in Psalm 2.

Fragments 1–2 and 21, Column 1

(18) **[Why] do the nations [rag]e and the peoples plo[t in vain? Kings of the earth r]ise up [and r]egents intrigue together against Yahweh and against**

(19) **[his anointed.** The in]terpretation of the passage[...nati]ons and the [...] the chosen ones of Israel in the latter days.[30]

Fragments 1 and 3, Column 2

(1) This (is) the time of refining com[ing on the house of J]udah to perfect [...]

(2) Belial and a remnant of [the peo]ple of [Isra]el will remain and they will observe the entire Torah [...]

(3) Moses.[31]

It is clear that the declarations made to the messianic king as an individual in Psalm 2 are interpreted by the 4QFlor as collective, that is, as applying to the community as a whole.[32] God's people as a whole, not the Messiah as an individual, are those

[28] Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 253.
[29] Juel, Messianic Exegesis, 67–68.
[30] Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 253.
[31] Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 255.
[32] Mason, "Interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4QFlorilegium and in the New Testament," 78–80; Tze-Ming Quek, "'I Will Give Authority over the Nations': Psalm 2.8–9 in Revelation 2.26–27," in

who are opposed in the latter days. Despite this, John Collins still argues that the juxtaposition of the two texts in this fragment is no accident, especially with the common language of "son" in both, and that even if "Messiah" is interpreted collectively when discussing Psalm 2:1–2, the concept of the Messiah as God's Son could be drawn from both texts.[33]

Occasionally mentioned[34] but rarely discussed as an antecedent to the New Testament use of Psalm 2 (a contrast with the extensive use of 4QFlor[35]) is the first-century BC document the *Psalms of Solomon*.[36] This collection, dated at the end of the first century BC, describes in vivid terms both the conquest of Judea by the Roman general Pompey in 63 BC (*Psalms of Solomon* 2 and 8) and the siege of Jerusalem by Herod the Great in 37 BC (*Psalms of Solomon* 17).[37] The seventeenth of these psalms contains a messianic theology shaped in part by Psalm 2, and is one of the most developed messianic texts prior to the New Testament.[38] This psalm declares first that YHWH is himself the king of his people, then discusses the political situation, which in the eyes of the author was quite dire. The non-Davidic Hasmonean kings are declared illegitimate and wicked, and therefore must be eliminated. To do so, God sends a foreigner, who slaughters the Hasmoneans but whose wickedness is evident. The author then pleads for God to send a legitimate Davidic king, and as part of this plea, utilizes the language of Psalm 2:

> (21) Look, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, a son of David, to rule over your servant Israel in the time that you know, O God. (22) Undergird him with the strength to destroy the unrighteous rulers, to purge Jerusalem from the Gentiles who trample her down to destruction. (23) In wisdom and in righteousness to drive out the sinners from the inheritance, **to smash** [ἐκτρῖψαι **(Psalm 2:9** συντρίψεις**)**] the arrogance of sinners **like a potter's jar** [ὡς σκεύη

Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality, 2: Exegetical Studies, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), 178–183.

[33] Collins, "The Interpretation of Psalm 2," 66.

[34] Quek, "I Will Give Authority over the Nations," 186; Beale and Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 128, 552, 585, 926.

[35] Joseph Trafton bemoans the lack of interest in the *Psalms of Solomon* and surmises that the discoveries at Qumran played a significant role in overshadowing this important document. See Joseph L. Trafton, "What Would David Do? Messianic Expectation and Surprise in Ps. Sol. 17," in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2015), 156–158.

[36] The translation of the *Psalms of Solomon* that will be utilized in this section is that of Robert B. Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (New York: T&T Clark, 2007).

[37] Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon*, 6.

[38] Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon*, 1.

> **(Psalm 2:9** σκεῦος**) κεραμέως**]; (24) **to demolish** [**συντρῖψαι**] all their resources **with an iron rod** [**ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ**]; to destroy the lawbreaking Gentiles with the word of his mouth; (25) to scatter the Gentiles from his presence at his threat; to condemn sinners by their own conscience.[39]

This is not a direct citation, but a use of the language of Psalm 2:9 to describe the Davidic king's actions against the enemies of God's people (similar to what will be observed below with regard to the book of Revelation). Scholars have noted how the "rod of iron" of Psalm 2 has been combined with the "word of his mouth" from Isaiah 11:4 LXX. It should be noted that the MT of Isaiah 11:4 has instead the same word as Psalm 2:9, שֵׁבֶט, "rod."[40] The Messiah will violently overthrow his enemies, destroying them both with the word of his mouth and the rod of iron.[41]

Psalms of Solomon 17 has a strong polemical edge against Herod the Great, calling the king "a man alien to our race" (17:7) and the "lawless one" (17:11).[42] The legitimate king is both YHWH, whose ultimate kingship forms an antiphonal frame for the psalm (17:1, 46; see also 17:34), and the Davidic king. This individual is often called the "king," and the "son of David," but one of the more interesting titles given is "Lord Messiah [χριστὸς κύριος]" (17:32).[43] Other striking features of this figure include the assertion that "he himself will be free [καθαρός] from sin" (17:36), and that "God will make him powerful by a holy spirit [ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ]" (17:37). The Messiah of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 thus has several critical characteristics: he is descended from David, cleansed from sin, anointed by God, and given the Holy Spirit.[44] He is intimately tied to YHWH, as the title "Lord Messiah" indicates, however it is interpreted. The entire psalm strikes a very militaristic and anti-Gentile tone, portraying the Messiah as one who will violently expel the enemies of God's people.[45] The application of Psalm 2 is a vitally important part of this militaristic,

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[39] Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon*, 187–189.

[40] Kenneth Atkinson, *An Intertextual Study of the Psalms of Solomon: Pseudepigrapha* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2001), 347–348.

[41] Kenneth Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2004), 142–143.

[42] Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon*, 6. Contra Wright, Atkinson argues that Pompey is in view here. See Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 135–136.

[43] The interpretation of this phrase is a crux in *Psalms of Solomon* scholarship. Many believe that the title should be χρίστος κυρίου, "the Messiah of the Lord," and that the title found in every Greek manuscript is an error introduced by Christian scribes. For a summary of the state of the question, see Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 131–132. The possibility that the title could represent the application of the divine name to the Messiah seems to be dismissed out of hand.

[44] Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 140.

[45] Atkinson, *An Intertextual Study of the Psalms of Solomon*, 334.

violent portrayal of the Messiah.[46] On the other hand, the Messiah is described as bringing an end to war and even being merciful to Gentiles (17:33–34).

In the literature of Second Temple Judaism, the imagery of Psalm 2 and even the language of God's "son" from 2 Samuel 7 is clearly used to describe the coming of a messianic figure who will cast away the enemies of God's people. He is undeniably royal, associated with the Davidic dynasty, and *Psalms of Solomon* 17 may even indicate that this figure is more than a mere human. When the New Testament authors grapple with the identity and work of Jesus of Nazareth, it is probable that they, too, will turn to Psalm 2, carrying forth the same themes.

Psalm 2 in the New Testament

In the canonical structure of the New Testament, the first explicit quotation of Psalm 2 comes in Acts 4:

> (25) Our father David your servant [παιδός σου] through the mouth of the Holy Spirit was saying, "Why do the nations rage and the peoples plot vainly? (26) The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers gathered together upon it against the Lord and against his Christ." (27) For truly they gathered together in this city against your holy servant [ἅγιον Παῖδά σου] Jesus whom you anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel.

Peter and John join with the believers in a prayer of thanksgiving following release from prison, and in their prayer they cite the first two verses of Psalm 2. In so doing, they give a particular christological interpretation of these words. The opposition that Jesus himself faced from Herod and Pilate (an opposition that Peter and John themselves experienced) was the very opposition to God's anointed king spoken of in Psalm 2. All the elements of Psalm 2:1–2 are there in chiastic order: the anointed Jesus is opposed by kings and rulers, namely Herod and Pilate. The nations who rage are the Gentiles and the peoples who plot vainly are the people of Israel.[47] Thus, the "peoples" (גּוֹיִם / λαοί) of Psalm 2:1 are surprisingly interpreted as the Jewish opponents of Jesus, who are linked with the Romans in their opposition to Jesus and his church.[48] This is a remarkably specific application of Psalm 2 to the passion of Jesus. By quoting a portion of Psalm 2, the apostles declare Jesus to be the enthroned Davidic king who was opposed by the nations. Moreover, as Christ was himself enthroned and vindicated (Ps 2:6–9), the people praying this psalm express

[46] Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 141–142.
[47] Weren, "Psalm 2 in Luke-Acts: An Intertextual Study," 197.
[48] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 269.

confidence that their opponents will not triumph. The "narrative" of the psalm declares that the opposition of the nations against God's anointed is futile, at which God himself laughs in derision.[49] Acts 4 indicates that the early Christians saw the passion and exaltation of Jesus, and thus their own suffering and eventual victory, in terms of Psalm 2.[50]

The introduction to the citation of Psalm 2:7 also contains significant clues. First, the psalm is attributed to David, when, as has been noted above,[51] Psalm 2 contains no superscription. That the psalm is taken as written by David emphasizes that Psalm 2 is a psalm of the Davidic monarchy and Messiah. Moreover, David is called "your servant," just as they call Jesus "your servant," using the same term for David and Jesus as we find in Isaiah 42:1 (and 52:13), thus linking together the royal messianic tradition of the Psalter with the servant tradition of Isaiah. One further point can be made. Herod is mentioned in connection with Christ's passion only in Luke and Acts, here in Acts 4 and when Jesus is brought before Herod during his Sanhedrin trial (Luke 23:7–12). While establishing a direct relationship is difficult, it must be noted that a document speaking of the Messiah in terms of Psalm 2 that also refers to Herod has already been discussed: the *Psalms of Solomon*. In that text as well, opposition to the Messiah comes from a Herod, namely Herod the Great.

In Acts 13, Paul preaches in the synagogue of Antioch of Pisidia. After recounting the life and death of Jesus, Paul then gives scriptural evidence that Jesus (and particularly his resurrection) is the fulfillment of Scripture. The first text to which he turns is Psalm 2:7.

> (32) And we proclaim to you good news which was the promise to the fathers, (33) because this [promise] he has fulfilled to their children, to us, raising Jesus as also in the second Psalm it has been written, "My son are you, I today have begotten you."

Paul connects the enthronement words of Psalm 2:7 to the resurrection. Even though the wording matches the LXX exactly, several New Testament textual issues are worth noting. First, while the overwhelming external evidence points to the phrasing "second Psalm" in verse 33, there are minority traditions that take it as the "first Psalm" (codex D) or simply "the psalms" (P45). This most likely reflects the tradition, mentioned above,[52] that linked the first two psalms together as an introduction to the Psalter. As it stands, this is the most specific reference to an Old

[49] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 269.
[50] Huie-Jolly, "Threats Answered by Enthronement," 206–207.
[51] See discussion on 319 above.
[52] See discussion on 319 above.

Testament passage found in the New Testament. This specific reference most likely intends to emphasize that the entire psalm is in view,[53] although referencing its canonical place may highlight Psalm 2's status as the introduction to the Psalter.[54] Also, in some manuscripts (again represented by codex D), Psalm 2:8 is also quoted.[55] Both of these text-critical issues indicate that when Psalm 2:7 is quoted here, the entire Psalm is in view. Particularly in this context, the enthronement and exaltation of Jesus, described both before and after the declaration that the king is God's "son," are implied.

The exalted Christology of the book of Hebrews draws heavily from two texts, Psalm 2 and Psalm 110. Both are linked together in the christological arguments of chapter 1 and chapter 5. Already in the opening exordium that precedes the scriptural argument, there are allusions to the language of Psalm 2. "In these last days, he spoke to us by the Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the world" (Heb 1:2). The language of "Son," joined with the concept of inheritance, strongly hints at Psalm 2:7–8.[56] Thus, it is no surprise that Psalm 2 begins the chain of quotations that the author uses to bolster his case as to Christ's superiority to all powers and authorities, including the angels:

> (5) For to which of the angels did [God] say ever, "My son are you, I today have begotten you"; and again, "I will be to him for a father, and he will be to me for a son."

Here Psalm 2:7 is linked to 2 Samuel 7:14, as the author of Hebrews interprets both texts as referring ultimately to Jesus. The link between the two texts has been discussed above,[57] and was also made in 4QFlor.[58] Both are cited as evidence of verse 3 and 4's assertion that "(3) Having made cleansing for sins, he sat on the right hand of the Majesty on high, (4) becoming as much superior to angels as the name he has inherited is more excellent than theirs." This argument will culminate with the exaltation of Christ based on Psalm 110:1 (Heb 1:13). This exaltation of Christ, as fulfillment of the promises given to the Davidic dynasty, is connected with the "name" which Christ inherited. It is tempting, based on the above discussion, to

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[53] Weren, "Psalm 2 in Luke-Acts: An Intertextual Study," 198.

[54] Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," 92.

[55] Beale and Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 584; Ronald H. Van der Bergh, "A Note on the Addition of Psalm 2,8 to Acts 13,33 in Codex Bezae," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 90, no. 3 (September 2014): 557–568.

[56] David Wallace, "The Use of Psalms in the Shaping of a Text: Psalm 2:7 and Psalm 110:1 in Hebrews 1," *Restoration Quarterly* 45, nos. 1–2 (2003): 45.

[57] See above, n. 12.

[58] Gert Jacobus Steyn, "Psalm 2 in Hebrews," *Neotestamentica* 37, no. 2 (2003): 263–264.

posit that this "name" is the title "Son of God"[59]—but more likely in the theology of the New Testament as a whole, this name is the divine name YHWH.[60] It is nonetheless significant to see the Name tradition connected here with the exaltation of Jesus and the title "Son of God." We must consider the possibility that the author to the Hebrews is referring to the Baptism or transfiguration of Jesus here—although more likely is that he, like Paul in Acts 13, refers to the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus.[61] The use of "today" in this context appears disconnected from any precise moment in time, and could refer to all of these events at once.[62]

In Hebrews chapter 5, Psalm 2 is brought into the argument for Jesus' identification as high priest. Even though Psalm 2 has no priestly language, the author links the declaration of YHWH with Psalm 110:4, and uses this coronation text as an ordination text.[63]

> (5) Thus also Christ did not glorify himself to become high priest, but the one who said to him, "My son are you, I today have begotten you." (6) Just as also in another place he says, "You are a priest into eternity according to the order of Melchizedek."

Psalm 2 is joined with Psalm 110 and its portrayal of Melchizedek to make the connection between the Davidic Messiah and the high priest, already asserted in Psalm 110, even stronger. It also stresses the superiority of Christ's priesthood precisely because of his divine origin. This high priest is begotten of God himself.[64] The eternal origins of the Son of God set the pattern that Melchizedek follows, as the author stresses in 7:3: "He is without father or mother or genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the Son of God he continues a priest forever." Melchizedek follows the pattern of the eternal Son of God, who then became incarnate as an occupant of Melchizedek's kingly priesthood.[65] Only from Psalm 2 can the author to the Hebrews emphasize that this

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[59] Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand*, 109; Wallace, "The Use of Psalms in the Shaping of a Text," 46. Wallace argues that the prominence of Psalm 2:7 in the first chapter of Hebrews points to this conclusion.

[60] Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2017), 296–298; Charles A. Gieschen, "The Divine Name in Ante-Nicene Christology," *Vigiliae Christianae* 57, no. 2 (2003): 142.

[61] Wallace, "The Use of Psalms in the Shaping of a Text," 50.

[62] Michael Straus, "Psalm 2:7 and the Concept of Περιχώρησις," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 67, no. 2 (2014): 221.

[63] Steyn, "Psalm 2 in Hebrews," 264–265. Steyn argues that based on a lack of precedent for linking the two texts in Jewish or other Christian literature, this was a unique exegetical move by the author to the Hebrews.

[64] Straus, "Psalm 2:7 and the Concept of Περιχώρησις," 220.

[65] Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 309–311.

high priest is eternally God's Son. The use of Psalm 2 drives home the point that Melchizedek and thus Jesus is the priest-king. It also links all three titles together: Jesus is therefore not only Son and king, but also priest. From Psalm 2 comes the language of son and king (as well as χριστός), from Psalm 110 the language of king and priest (as well as κύριος). This linkage of Psalm 2 with Psalm 110 shows how they complement each other,[66] and it joins together the unique content of both in a powerful christological confession.

In its depiction of the exalted, victorious Christ, the book of Revelation draws on the language of Psalm 2, particularly one poignant image:

> (2:26) And the one who overcomes and who keeps until the end my works, I will give to him authority over the nations (2:27) and he will shepherd them with an iron rod [ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ] as the earthen pots are broken in pieces [ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται], (2:28) as also I received from my Father, and I will give to him the morning star.
>
> (12:5) And she bore a male child who is about to shepherd all the nations with an iron rod [ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ]. And her child was taken to God and to his throne.
>
> (19:15) And from his mouth will come out a sharp sword, in order that he might rule the nations, and he will shepherd them with an iron rod [ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ], and he will tread the winepress of the wrath of the anger of God the Almighty.
>
> (Psalm 2:9) You will shepherd them with a rod of iron [ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ] as a vessel of a potter you will dash them [ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς].

The language of Psalm 2:9, with striking verbal parallels, is used to describe the reign of the enthroned Christ, as he fulfills what was promised to the Davidic Messiah. The imagery of chapter 12 seems especially reminiscent of the pattern or "narrative" of Psalm 2, especially as it is used in the *Psalms of Solomon*. The child is born who will shepherd/rule the nations with an iron rod, and he is placed on the throne after having been threatened by the dragon. The primary difference is that this throne is not Zion but the throne of God himself. The letter to Thyatira in chapter 2 requires further comment. Each of the seven letters begins with an appellation of Jesus that is a reference to the opening vision from chapter 1. The letter to Thyatira begins similarly, but with one addition: the title "Son of God." Thus, this title appears in a text where Psalm 2:9 is explicitly referenced. In addition, some see an allusion to

[66] Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand*, 82.

Psalm 2:7 in the language of authority given to Jesus and then to those who overcome. Therefore, here the title "Son of God" is used in a letter suffused with the imagery of Psalm 2.[67] There is a significant difference from the original context of Psalm 2, however. In the letter to the church at Thyatira, there is a collective sense. The text clearly indicates that those who overcome will have the kind of rule envisioned in Psalm 2 and thus given to Christ. They will rule as he did. We have already observed this collective interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4QFlor.[68]

Revelation also possibly uses the language of Psalm 2:1 to describe the opposition of the nations of the earth to Christ.

(11:18) And the nations raged and your wrath came . . . .

The imagery of the nations' opposition to the Father and the Son throughout Revelation is certainly reminiscent of Psalm 2, but 11:18 uses a different verb for anger (ὠργίσθησαν) than Psalm 2:1 LXX (ἐφρύαξαν). Whether or not this is a direct allusion to Psalm 2, the book of Revelation understands the rule of the glorified Christ in terms of Psalm 2, particularly as Psalm 2 was interpreted by the *Psalms of Solomon*, as the warrior-king conquering his enemies. The portrayal of the victorious Christ is the very image and pattern that Psalm 2 has set: the opposed king now enthroned, ruling over his enemies. The nations are portrayed as coming to the Son and offering him homage in exactly the way that Psalm 2 describes.

In Acts, Hebrews, and Revelation, selected portions of Psalm 2 are used in ways that evoke the whole, particularly the "narrative structure" of the psalm. This is set up by the prayer of the believers in Acts 4, where opposition to YHWH and his anointed king are interpreted as the opposition against Jesus that led to his death. But, as the entirety of Psalm 2 indicates, the opposition of the king's enemies will prove futile. This is borne out in the other citations of Psalm 2 in the New Testament. In Acts 13, Paul cites Psalm 2:7 as a reference to Jesus' resurrection and subsequent glorification, and in Hebrews 1 and 5, Jesus is described as the glorified Son, who bears both the divine name and the priesthood of Melchizedek. The exaltation of Psalm 2:5–8 is thus applied directly to Jesus. The book of Revelation takes the final step, applying Psalm 2:9 to Jesus, in a way similar to *Psalms of Solomon* 17, as triumphant over the enemies who once opposed him. The concluding beatitude of Psalm 2 is thus implied: "Blessed are all who take refuge in him!" Psalm 2 thus plays a significant role in the framework of the New Testament. How does this inform our reading of the other texts often associated with Psalm 2, namely Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration? If Psalm 2:7 is the text quoted by the voice from heaven, how does

[67] Quek, "I Will Give Authority over the Nations," 185.
[68] Quek, "I Will Give Authority over the Nations," 186–187.

the larger usage of Psalm 2 in the New Testament inform those heavenly declarations? Does the Father also use the part to evoke the whole?

The Voice from Heaven

There are only three incidents recounted in the Gospels where the voice of the Father is heard. In all three, the Father is speaking to or about Jesus, disclosing his identity to the crowd, to the disciples, or to the hearers/readers of the Gospels. The third of these is unique to John.[69] The other two times that a voice from heaven sounds forth, testifying to Jesus, are at events recounted in all three Synoptic Gospels and even in an epistle: namely, the Baptism of Jesus and his transfiguration.

Matthew

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα (**3:**17, Baptism)
Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ (17:5, transfiguration)

Mark

Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα (1:11, Baptism)
Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ (9:7, transfiguration)

Luke

Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα (3:22, Baptism)
Οὗτός ἐστιν **ὁ υἱός μου** ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε (9:35, transfiguration)

2 Peter

Ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου οὗτός ἐστιν, εἰς ὃν ἐγὼ εὐδόκησα (1:17, transfiguration)

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[69] Because the context of this occurrence of the voice from heaven is different than the other texts, it will be given in full here: "'Now my soul has been troubled, and what do I say, "Father, save me from this hour?" But because of this I came into this hour. Father, glorify your name.' Therefore a voice came from heaven, 'Also I have glorified and again I will glorify.' Therefore the crowd who was standing and hearing was saying that thunder had happened, others were saying, 'An angel has spoken to him.' Jesus answered and said, 'Not because of me has this voice come but because of you. Now is the judgment of this world, now the ruler of this world will be cast outside. And I, whenever I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all to myself'" (John 12:27–32).

John

κἀγὼ ἑώρακα, καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν **ὁ υἱὸς** τοῦ θεοῦ (1:34, words of John the Baptist)

Καὶ ἐδόξασα καὶ πάλιν δοξάσω (12:28, words of the Father)

Several observations can initially be made. First, the contribution of John's account is significant. It cannot be ruled out that the voice from heaven in John 12 is meant to reference or refer back to the Baptism and the transfiguration (while of course pointing forward to the cross). Indeed, the voice from heaven here serves the same function as the voice from heaven at the transfiguration: in a sense, this is the "transfiguration according to John," apart from the visible glory of Jesus. The glorifying of the Father's name is, as the context indicates, to happen in Jesus' being lifted up on the cross. The Baptist's statement in John 1 clearly references his own hearing of the voice at Jesus' Baptism, as the verbal parallels indicate. Second, it is remarkable how consistent the language is between the various accounts. Two differences stand out. In Mark and Luke's baptismal account, the voice from heaven speaks directly to Jesus, while in Matthew, the address is directed more toward the crowd and the hearers/readers of the Gospel. At the transfiguration, this ambiguity is removed, and in every text, the voice is addressing the audience. Finally, there is some variation in the descriptions given. In Luke's transfiguration account, the language of "chosen" (ἐκλελεγμένος) is used. Mark omits εὐδόκησα in both his baptismal and transfiguration account.

What is the background of this statement by the Father? Even though some scholars call this a "citation" of Psalm 2:7,[70] most assert that a number of Old Testament texts form the background of these declarations. Oscar Cullmann points to Isaiah 42:1 and the concept of the Servant of the Lord as the source of these words.[71] Richard Hays does assert that Psalm 2:7 stands behind this declaration in Mark, and that "echoes" of that text and Isaiah 42:1 stand behind the other accounts. However, in his discussion of Matthew and Luke's baptismal and transfiguration accounts, he posits that the background is actually Genesis 22 and the designation of Isaac as the "beloved son" (22:2, 12).[72]

[70] Among others, see Huie-Jolly, "Threats Answered by Enthronement," 206; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, trans. Keith R. Crim, Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986), 180.

[71] Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), 276. Cullmann makes no reference to Psalm 2, but asserts that at the Baptism of Jesus, the concept of the Son is linked with the concept of the Servant, and thus with Jesus' death.

[72] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 140, 245.

Contrary to most scholars, Jeffrey Gibbs argues that this statement makes no allusion to Psalm 2:7, at least in Matthew.[73] In keeping with his interpretation of the entirety of the first chapters of Matthew, where he posits a Jesus-Israel typology, Gibbs sees here Jesus as Israel reduced to one, and in that sense God's beloved Son. Against Psalm 2:7 he argues that there is no royal Christology in Matthew chapter 3, and that the addition of "beloved" is a critical difference. Finally, he makes the theological argument that the language of "today I have begotten you" in Psalm 2 could suggest adoptionism if it is the basis of the words from heaven. He instead points to Jeremiah 31:20 as the source: "Is Ephraim my dear son?" There are thus four texts primarily put forward as the source of words spoken from heaven at both Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration.

Mark 1:11 Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα

Matthew 17:5 Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ

Psalm 2:7 LXX υἱός μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε

Isaiah 42:1 LXX Ιακωβ ὁ παῖς μου ἀντιλήμψομαι αὐτοῦ Ισραηλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή μου ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν

Matthew 12:18 Ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ᾑρέτισα, ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ‹εἰς› ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου· θήσω τὸ Πνεῦμά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν

Jeremiah 38:20 LXX [31:20 MT] υἱὸς ἀγαπητὸς Εφραιμ ἐμοί

Genesis 22:2 λαβὲ τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν

Genesis 22:12 τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ

Gibbs notes that Jeremiah 38:20 LXX and Genesis 22 LXX are the only places where the adjective ἀγαπητός modifies υἱός.[74] No doubt Jesus-Isaac and Jesus-Israel typology is present in the New Testament,[75] but the verbal connection between these texts and the voice from heaven is limited to these two words. Certainly Isaiah 42:1, which announces and presents the servant figure who will dominate the chapters to come, has affinity in content with the New Testament texts. The bestowal of the Spirit in the second half of the verse is particularly reminiscent of the baptismal accounts: "I have put my Spirit upon him." This language is also reminiscent of *Psalms of Solomon* 17:37, where "God will make him powerful by a holy spirit." The LXX of Isaiah 42:1, however, has almost no verbal parallels. The citation of Isaiah 42:1 in Matthew 12:18, on the other hand, has strong verbal parallels with the

[73] Jeffrey A. Gibbs, *Matthew 1:1–11:1* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006), 183.

[74] Gibbs, *Matthew 1:1–11:1*, 183.

[75] Hays mentions the designation of Jesus as "son of Abraham" in Matthew 1:1 and the stress on his obedience as supporting evidence of a Jesus-Isaac typology at the Baptism and transfiguration. See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 140.

language of both the Baptism and the transfiguration, supplying the descriptors ἀγαπητός and ὃν εὐδόκησεν.[76] This translation by Matthew certainly would strengthen the argument that he sees Isaiah 42:1 as lying behind the Father's words. Matthew may have provided his own translation to accord with the voice from heaven. Understanding clearly that the voice from heaven wished to echo Isaiah 42:1, Matthew was compelled to abandon the LXX when it came time for him to cite that same text.[77] It also must be noted that the descriptor "chosen" (ἐκλελεγμένος), found in Luke's transfiguration account, may have its background in the LXX of Isaiah 42:1, where Israel is called "my chosen one" (ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου).[78] Certainly, the language of Isaac and Israel as beloved sons is also an important background, but not as pivotal as Isaiah 42:1.

If Matthew intends us to see Isaiah 42:1 as the source of the descriptors, what about the direct address? The closest verbal parallel, as demonstrated in the chart above, is the text most often proposed, Psalm 2:7. How can the objections of Gibbs be addressed? First, there may not be an explicit royal theme in Matthew 3, but there certainly is in Matthew 2. In the account of the magi, Jesus is called the "king of the Jews" (2:2), and the quotation from Micah calls him a "ruler" (ἡγούμενος; 2:6). In that same quotation from Micah, the verb used for the rule of the anointed king in Psalm 2:9, ποιμανεῖ, is also used, indicating a faint link with Psalm 2. Moreover, as Oscar Cullmann points out, there is not a distinction, but rather an intimate connection between the people of Israel as "son" and the king of Israel as "son."[79] The language of Isaac as the beloved son and the language of "son" or "firstborn son" applied to Israel in texts such as Jeremiah 38:20 LXX and others (e.g., Exod 4:22–23; Hos 11:1) therefore most likely stands behind the designation of the king as "son" in Psalm 2:7. We have already observed the linkage between the corporate people Israel and the anointed king hinted at in 4QFlor, and Isaiah 40–55 also demonstrates an interplay between the servant as individual and the servant as the nation.

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[76] CNTOT summarizes the scholarly discussion concerning this quotation. See Beale and Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 43. While Matthew does have several key words from the LXX, instead it appears that he has made his own translation of the MT, using "the most natural Greek words that anyone would use to translate the Hebrew."

[77] Jeffrey A. Gibbs, *Matthew 11:2–20:34* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2010), 627. Gibbs also sees Matthew's quotation of Isaiah 42:1 as a direct translation from the MT and influenced by the words from heaven at Jesus' Baptism. However, he does not see this phenomenon working in the other direction (i.e., he does not see Isa 42:1 as the likely provenance of the descriptions of Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration).

[78] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 245.

[79] Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 273–274. "The king is son because the nation is."

To the theological point, there are two responses. First, the voice from heaven deliberately avoids any adoptionism by omitting the phrase, "today I have begotten you."[80] There is no hint that the Baptism or transfiguration of Jesus was when he became God's Son, but instead it is a public declaration of that reality. The Baptism and transfiguration of Jesus is not an enthronement like any other king, but a declaration of divine identity in the messianic language of the Old Testament.[81] Second, as has already been demonstrated, other citations of Psalm 2 in the New Testament have no issue with those words, quoting verse 7 in full, particularly in connection with his resurrection. Those texts use Psalm 2:7 in its entirety to declare emphatically Jesus' unique relationship with the Father. There is no hint in those latter texts that the resurrection is when Jesus becomes God's Son. In any case, whether the remainder of Psalm 2:7 is quoted or not, the New Testament evidences no embarrassment about them, as if they promote an adoptionistic Christology. An additional piece of evidence, at least as a witness to the early church's understanding of this passage, is seen in its transmission. There is a minor textual tradition, found in the fifth century codex D, that replaces the words at Jesus' Baptism in Luke with the LXX of Psalm 2:7. Codex D also changes Οὗτος to σύ in Matthew 3:17, another change to bring Matthew's text into conformity with Psalm 2.[82] Finally, our study has demonstrated that Psalm 2 plays a significant role in the Christology of the New Testament, much more prominent than Jeremiah 38:20 LXX or even Genesis 22. In particular, the link between Psalm 2 and the servant language of Isaiah 40–55 was made by the praying believers in Acts 4, as has been demonstrated above.[83] The language of Jesus as God's "son" via Psalm 2:7 has been observed in Acts 13, Hebrews 1 and 5, and Revelation.

The perspective is important in the baptismal and transfiguration accounts as well as in Psalm 2. In Psalm 2, the "anointed one" is telling his audience (presumably his enemies gathered against him) that YHWH (κύριος) said to him, "You are my son." This language is echoed in Mark and Luke's accounts, where the voice of the Father speaks to Jesus, with the hearers/readers of the Gospel listening in, but not

[80] Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 181; Samuel E. Balentine, "The Royal Psalms and the New Testament: From 'messiah' to 'Messiah,'" *The Theological Educator* 29 (1984): 60.

[81] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 247. "The acclamation of Jesus as God's Son includes this kingly role, but something still greater is here. For Jesus' origins are mysteriously divine, and his personal identity is closely bound with God's own being in a way that transcends the God-relation of any of Israel's past kings or prophets."

[82] See discussion in Beale and Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 280. Several scholars have actually preferred this Western reading, but CNTOT rejects it on the basis of a lack of external evidence and evidence of harmonization with the LXX elsewhere in the Western text. The textual issues with Acts 13 mentioned above also involve codex D.

[83] See above, p. 23.

necessarily those gathered at the Jordan that day. However, if the voice directly addressed the audience, the phrasing would obviously be, "This is my son," and that is the import of the address with regard to the enemies gathering against the anointed one. That is exactly what we see in the transfiguration accounts, as well as Matthew's baptismal narrative. The grammatical construction is the same as in Psalm 2, only the perspective has changed, and thus the language has to shift slightly.

The background for the declaration of the voice from heaven, recounted four times each for the Baptism of Jesus and his transfiguration, cannot be sought in a single Old Testament text. In pointing to Jesus at the river and upon the mountain, the Father combines the direct address to the Davidic anointed king of Psalm 2 with the descriptors of the servant found in Isaiah 42:1. Standing in the background of those texts is the designation of Isaac and Israel as God's beloved "sons." This is therefore a declaration of incredible theological depth, carrying the full weight of Psalm 2:7's language of the "son," with all of its royal connotations, and combining it with the servant language of Isaiah 40–55. In this declaration, Jesus is proclaimed to be the Davidic anointed king of the Psalter and YHWH's servant of Isaiah. One further step can be taken. Does the title "Son of God," found throughout the New Testament as a fundamental Christian confession, have its roots in the declaration of the voice from heaven, and thus, Psalm 2:7? If so, how does this title fit into the larger matrix of the New Testament's use of Psalm 2?

The Son of God

While the Baptism of Jesus is not the first time the title "Son of God"[84] is used in Luke or Mark,[85] and the language of "son" is already found in Matthew 2:15,[86] there are significant indications that the use of this title in the Gospels is rooted in that incident. First, in all three Synoptic Gospels, the Baptism of Jesus is immediately followed by his temptation. In Matthew and Luke, Satan prefaces his temptation with the words, "If you are the Son of God" (Matt 4:3; Luke 4:3).[87] This use of the title "Son of God" is thus linked to the immediately preceding incident. The voice from heaven calls Jesus "my son," and Satan responds with "if you are the Son of God." Similarly, while in Mark's brief temptation account Satan's words are not

[84] The two most influential studies of the title "Son of God" remain Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 270–305, and Hengel, *The Son of God*.

[85] Most manuscripts of Mark have "Son of God" as the conclusion of 1:1, linked, as in Psalm 2, with the title Χριστός. In Luke, Gabriel says that due to his conception by the Holy Spirit, "therefore the child to be born will be called holy—the Son of God" (Luke 1:35).

[86] Matthew quotes Hosea 11:1, "out of Egypt I called my son," to interpret the flight of Mary, Joseph, and Jesus to Egypt.

[87] Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 284.

recounted, the demons address Jesus as "Son of God" later in the narrative (Mark 3:11; 5:7). The only human being to address Jesus as "Son of God" in Mark's narrative is the centurion at the cross (Mark 15:39).[88] The title thus forms an *inclusio* over the entire narrative, and is strongly tied to the death of Jesus.

As already indicated, in the Gospel of John, the Baptist recounts the Baptism of Jesus and gives his own confession as a witness of that event: "And I have seen and have witnessed that this one is the Son of God" (1:34). Here the title is directly tied with the Baptism of Jesus. Furthermore, later in John's first chapter, the earliest confessions of Jesus' initial disciples contain the three titles found in Psalm 2. First, Andrew tells Peter, "We have found the Messiah" (1:41), then Nathanael exclaims, "Rabbi, you are the Son of God! You are the king of Israel!" (1:49). Here, in the aftermath of John's recounting of Jesus' Baptism, we find all three titles for the individual in Psalm 2, including, prominently, the title "Son of God."[89] Moreover, Nathanael, in the fashion of Psalm 2, combines the language of sonship with royal language, forming an important background in John's Gospel (as in the Synoptics) for that title.[90] Finally the evangelist, in a way similar to Mark, uses this confession to frame his narrative witness to Jesus with the title "Son of God": "But these things have been written in order that you might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and in order that believing you might have life in his name" (John 20:31). Here "Christ" and the "Son of God" are linked together, again two titles found in Psalm 2 (and Mark 1:1). Despite the prominent place thus afforded to the title "Son of God," in John's Gospel, Jesus often refers to himself simply as the "Son" (e.g., 5:19–27; 17:1–3).[91] The simpler self-designation of Jesus as "Son" expresses the intimacy of the relationship between Jesus and the Father, an intimacy that he expresses in these more informal terms, but on which others reflect using the formal title. This is perhaps the very pattern that we observe with Psalm 2 and the declarations from heaven. The Father calls Jesus "my Son," which others confess as the title "Son of God."

In the Gospels, this title is particularly associated with opposition to Jesus, in other words, with his suffering. It is the title thrown in Jesus' face at his trial (Matt 26:63; Luke 22:70; John 19:7) and at the cross (Matt 27:40, 43). As already mentioned, it is the title declared by the centurion after Jesus' death (Matt 27:54; Mark 15:39). If the giving of the title is to be associated with Psalm 2, then it is also

[88] Hays points out that this declaration points back to Jesus' Baptism and thus echoes the wording of Psalm 2:7, where the futility of the nations setting themselves against the Lord's anointed king is proclaimed. See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 96.

[89] Nash, "Psalm 2 and the Son of God in the Fourth Gospel," 95–97.

[90] Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 362.

[91] Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 363.

a royal moniker, and the royal Christology comes to no greater expression than at the cross, particularly with the *titulus* (Matt 27:37; Mark 15:26; Luke 23:38; John 19:19). It was asserted by some in the early church that the *titulus* was a fulfillment of Psalm 2:6, "And I have set/consecrated my king upon Zion my holy mountain."[92] The title itself indicates obedience, submission to the Father's will and the task to which Jesus has been assigned.[93]

It must be noted that the title is most often not a self-designation, but a confession, particularly in the Epistles (e.g., Rom 1:4; 1 John 5:5, 9–13). In the Synoptics, Jesus never uses the title himself, although there are three texts in John (and a possible fourth, 3:18, which may also be the voice of the evangelist), where Jesus does refer to himself as the "Son of God" (5:25; 10:36; 11:4). Above all, the stress of the title is on his unique relationship with the Father, connecting him with God.[94] Calling Jesus "Son of God" is no mere honorific title, as it was for Israel's kings. It indicates that Jesus truly is God.[95] Paul in Romans 1 stresses that the resurrection declares Jesus to be the "Son of God":

> (2) Who was announced beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures (3) about his Son, who was begotten from the seed of David according to the flesh, (4) who was designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness from the resurrection of the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord. (Rom 1:2–4)

In this text, the human descent of Jesus from the royal line of David is juxtaposed with the declaration of Jesus as the "Son of God" by his resurrection. The latter part of this argument is very similar to Paul's sermon in Acts 13, which explicitly cites Psalm 2:7.[96] Similar in some respects is 1 John 5:10, where explicit reference is made to the witness that God bore concerning his Son:

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[92] Ferda, "Matthew's *Titulus* and Psalm 2's King on Mount Zion," 563.

[93] Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, 279.

[94] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 63.

[95] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 247, 324. The assertion that the title "Son of God" is a divine title has often been challenged. For a summary of the situation at his time, including the accusation that Paul took an honorific title and made it an ontological reality, or the assertion that the concept of the "Son of God" is a Hellenistic influence on the New Testament, see Hengel, *The Son of God*, 3–6. For a more recent protest, see J. R. Daniel Kirk, *A Man Attested by God: The Human Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016).

[96] Hengel asserts that 2 Samuel 7, which is then linked with Psalm 2:7, lies behind these words of Paul. See Hengel, *The Son of God*, 64.

> Whoever believes in the Son of God has this witness in him; whoever does not believe in God has made him a liar, because he has not believed the witness which God has witnessed about his Son.

Again, based on the evidence discussed throughout this study, it is apparent that the witness of God concerning his Son is rooted in Psalm 2:7, applied to Jesus at his Baptism and transfiguration, and confirmed at his resurrection. The title indicates two realities: the oneness of Jesus with the Father, proclaimed at the river, on the mountain, and then by means of the resurrection, and his divine commission which culminates at the cross.[97]

There is thus significant evidence that the title "Son of God," or even Jesus' self-designation in John's Gospel as the "Son," is rooted in both the declaration of the voice from heaven and Psalm 2:7. Jesus is acclaimed as the Son of God because the Father said of him, "This is/You are my son" using Psalm 2. This title is thus royal and linked with "Christ," a title that also possesses royal roots. Moreover, the usage of the title "Son of God" follows the larger narrative pattern of Psalm 2. It is particularly associated with the opposition to Jesus, and it is the accusation of his trial that results in the capital charge of blasphemy. The "Son of God" is the Psalter's rejected yet enthroned king.

Conclusion

The authors of the New Testament did not consider Psalm 2:7 to be simply a place to find a convenient title. They instead heard Psalm 2:7 in the voice from heaven, and used it in their own exegesis, as part of a whole. The Psalter's call in Psalm 2 to trust in a figure, a person, an anointed king called God's "son," was directly applied to Jesus, with all the content of the psalm as a whole packed into that title. Certainly, the author's found Psalm 2 to be a significant text declaring Jesus' unique relationship with the Father. Unlike the Davidic kings, who were God's "sons" in an adopted sense, the voice from heaven, quoting Psalm 2:7, declared that Jesus is the Son of God according to substance and nature—that is, the messianic king was God's Son in a way that no other "son of David" ever had been. Indeed, the New Testament assumes this was what Psalm 2 was always about. The figure of Psalm 2, of whom it is said, "Blessed are all who take refuge in him," is the Davidic Messiah, who is truly God's Son. The authors of the New Testament take up the strong identification between YHWH and his king in this text and tie him more closely to YHWH himself than any other heir of David.

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[97] Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 284.

But the usage of Psalm 2 did not end with an argument about Jesus' identity. When the Father's voice quoted Psalm 2:7 and Isaiah 42:1 at the Baptism and transfiguration of Jesus, the New Testament considered him to evoke the whole by quoting a part. In saying, "This is/You are my son," the Father brought to mind the entire "narrative" of Psalm 2, where the kings of the earth gathered against his anointed king to destroy him. But as in the psalm, the Father laughs at their futile rebellion, and sets up his Son on a high hill. The Son will be enthroned, but only after having been opposed. God would set his Son, the anointed king, upon a high hill, and there the nations would attempt to overcome him, but would themselves be overcome, and finally ruled by his rod of iron. The New Testament, in broad strokes, follows this pattern, the "narrative" of Psalm 2, rooted in the Father's use of Psalm 2:7 at Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration. The quotation of Psalm 2 by the voice from heaven anticipates the opposition that this Son of God will face, and looking back, the earliest Christians see that opposition at the cross (Acts 4). It is especially the use of Psalm 2 in Acts 4 that indicates the connection between this psalm and Christ's passion, a link that has been observed also in the other Gospels. Paul in Acts 13 then hears the voice from heaven quoting Psalm 2:7 at Jesus' resurrection, and the book of Hebrews sees the exalted and enthroned Christ in glory and splendor also in terms of Psalm 2:7. As the New Testament comes to a close, the book of Revelation sees the triumph of Jesus, the anointed king of Psalm 2, over all of his foes, and he will rule over them with his rod of iron. This was anticipated by *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and follows the trajectory set at Jesus' Baptism and transfiguration. The New Testament, following the voice of the Father, declares that Jesus is the Psalter's rejected yet enthroned king, God's Son in a way that no other Davidic king ever was. Psalm 2 is a psalm of divine identity, but also a psalm of the passion and subsequent exaltation of Christ. In every use of Psalm 2 in the New Testament—from the Father's voice to the picture of the triumphant warrior-king Christ in Revelation—there is the implied but never quoted declaration of Psalm 2:12: "Blessed are all who take refuge in him!"

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Theological Observer

Pastoral Formation at the Seminary: A View from the Parish

People have different ideas about the Office of the Ministry. Conversations between individuals can be cordial or heated. Regarding seminary exposure, one need not attend seminary to have an impression of what transpires there. One who has attended, however, should have a better ability to assess the seminary experience and reflect on the process. The ability to assess and describe is useful for engaging in conversation with others who are looking for or needing clarity on the issues of seminary and "ministry."

Though challenging, the seminary experience is wide-ranging and most helpful. Those who have not experienced it often operate with some false impressions. One who has completed the process is in a position to offer insight and guidance.

What follows is a revision of remarks composed in response to a layperson many moons ago, who asked why seminary pastoral formation was needed.

What the disciples learned with Jesus, pastors-in-training now learn at seminary. Jesus was the professor, and the disciples were the seminarians. It took a long time to complete the process, and when they were done they still did not understand everything (or even most things).

Enrolling in seminary is, on the one hand, like a tour: you see and hear a lot, but you can't go through it all, since there isn't enough time. It is also like cultural immersion; you live in an "exotic country" for a limited time. There is also "apprenticeship" occurring: field-work assignments from a local pastor, adopting congregations through which you may work with the host pastor, a yearlong vicarage under a supervising pastor, seminary student leadership roles, and numerous class assignments in which you complete a practical component, often in conjunction or cooperation with other individuals. Along with all that, there is your relationship to professors who guide and influence.

"Attending seminary" might be considered the beginning of the call process to the ministry. The seminary environment is a crucible, or pressure cooker, shaping, molding, and refining seminarians in the midst of chapel, coursework, casual banter, or heated discussion over a prolonged exposure in a fixed theological setting,

something like a three-year tour with Jesus. It is, obviously, more than school and education. The seminarian is being tenderized, like a chunk of meat. His faith is put on the precipice, in any number of ways. He must get a sense of himself—of who he is, what he does, and where he's going. Men are observed, tested, and examined, both morally and doctrinally, as they try to stay afloat in a cauldron of conflict, especially when they have entered seminary with a bag of ideas that are wrong—just as the Twelve experienced under Jesus. At minimum, seminary formation does one good thing in that it deconstructs the urban theological legends that we have stored in our minds, gathered from whatever sources. This is just as true for synodically trained commissioned ministers, such as the DCE, or the schoolteacher, of which I was one. Then a new hard drive is installed, presumably pure in doctrine. With that should also come a compassionate spirit. A seminary is only as good as the instructors; the design of the courses, curriculum, and chapel; and the diligence of the seminarian. But there is a much harder and exacting teacher out there: that of the congregation. When you have to read, write, preach, teach, exhort, console, correct, admonish, and "get called out on the carpet" on a regular basis, Christology naturally becomes an organic part of you. And eventually you feel no need to put a Bible reference at the end of every other sentence.

You will have to suggest a suitable alternative, if you are not in favor of the seminary campus model. To be sure, the seminary experience, like anything, could be refined, but the devil will always find (and create more) kinks and burrs in the machinery. Any alternate route leaves much to be desired. The call to seminary is a full-time pursuit. Similarly, Jesus called two handfuls of men to leave everything to follow him. They were together—a lot. They learned by imitation. Competition was a factor. Seminary is a protracted, intense process for a reason. If medical schools (for health care) and law schools (for the practice of justice) have high standards, so should the ministry (for soul care). Pack up your family if need be, but do not put your hand to the plow and look back.

Jody A. Rinas
Clifford, Ontario

Does God Have Female Characteristics? Not Really

The *Journal of Biblical Literature* (*JBL*) is standard fare for biblical scholars. Membership in the Society of Biblical Literature, the parent organization, gives readers access to the online book reviews, which in some cases are adequate substitutes for reading the book itself. *JBL* is well worth the subscription price.

Volume 140, no. 2 offers several intriguing titles, such as "The Ending of Luke Revisited" and "*Imitatio Dei* and the Formation of the Subject in Ancient Judaism." As obscure as some subjects may first appear, they often uncover overlooked items and can provide a wealth of preaching and Bible class material not available in the usual manuals. At the top of the list in this issue is "Alleged Female Language about the Deity in the Hebrew Bible" by David J. A. Clines of the University of Sheffield (d.clines@sheffield.ac.uk). This title might otherwise go unnoticed, but if a reciprocal relationship exists between understanding God as having feminine characteristics and arguments for the ordination of women as used by some of its proponents, an issue at which Clines hints, it should indeed be noticed.

So now for some background. When women pastors were proposed for the German churches in the 1950s, then Heidelberg University professor and confessional Lutheran scholar Peter Brunner predicted that this would lead to a feminine view of God. Now about seventy years later some mainline Protestant clergy pray to God as "Our Father and Our Mother." In their churches, women clergy and seminary students are common and may soon constitute the majority. The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) presumes that its members ordain women who in some cases serve as bishops and presidents, as now is the case of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA). Ordaining women is established, uncontroverted practice and no longer a topic for discussion in its journals or conferences. If one recognizable issue would be singled out separating the International Lutheran Council (ILC), to which The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) belongs, and LWF, it would be the ordination of women. Ever since the ordination of women was adopted in the predecessor synods of the ELCA, there has been no lack of essays coming from the LCMS opposing the practice.

This makes the appearance of an essay in the *JBL* entitled "Alleged Female Language about the Deity in the Hebrew Bible" all the more intriguing. Clines references scholars who in the last decades have suggested "that the deity is, at least sometimes, viewed as 'female' or that in some respect or to some degree this deity is 'female' or 'feminine'" (229). Some of *CTQ*'s more senior readers may recognize the name of Norman Habel, onetime professor at the St. Louis seminary and leading figure in the Lutheran Church of Australia, as one who has argued that a female clergy corresponds to feminine aspects in God. In an extensive footnote, Clines provides a lengthy bibliography of articles and books promoting God as feminine, among which is the book *Till the Heart Sings: A Biblical Theology of Manhood and Womanhood* from the Old Testament scholar Samuel Terrien (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

In an introductory summary required for *JBL* articles, Clines says that those who argue for feminine characteristics in God cite

> passages where the deity Yahweh is said to be described as a human or animal mother, and other passages where language that seems appropriate only to women (e.g., of birth and midwifery) is used as reference to the deity. Twenty-two such passages are assessed here, with the conclusion that there is not a single instance of such feminine language. There are indeed two cases where the deity may be *compared* to a woman, but they do not mean the deity itself is viewed as in any sense female. (Emphasis original)

Arguments for the ordination of women are not of one kind: the universal priesthood of believers; Junias and other women were apostles or pastors; Paul's prohibitions are law and no longer applicable in gospel-centered churches; or they applied only to unruly women. And the most profound argument: that God is in some sense feminine. It is unlikely that Clines's article will lead to discontinuing the ordination of women where it is practiced, but his research knocks over one of the foundational pillars: that God can be thought of in feminine terms. Expect a counterargument in an upcoming issue of the *JBL*. That's how the game is played.

David P. Scaer

Gerd Lüdemann Dies

The German publisher Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage announced on May 23, 2021, that one of its authors, Gerd Lüdemann, passed away at age 74. Along with Robert Price, John Dominic Crossan, and Bart Ehrman, he was well known for his radical views, which included the denial of the resurrection of Jesus. He was an ordained Lutheran pastor, at least until he was removed from the ministerium of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover. A scholar who served in American and German universities, he was a recognized authority on ancient gnosticism. At the University of Göttingen, the institution at which he last served, he established the *Archiv Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* [Archive for the School of History of Religions] in 1987 for the purpose of preserving the writings of German liberal theology with which he identified. *Religionsgeschichte*, a word that is more often left untranslated, is a method of comparing Christianity to other religions and philosophies to determine common elements and so Christianity is not recognized as a unique revelation of God. According to the death notice sent out by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Lüdemann felt an attachment with the German liberal theology.

Holding positions at Duke University, McMaster University, and Vanderbilt University, he was known in the English-speaking theological world and frequently attended annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature and was as much admired on this side of the ocean as he was on the other. The well-known British scholar N. T. Wright in his *The Resurrection of the Son of God* has at least ten references to Lüdemann and places him on the same level as John Dominic Crossan in doing theology on a foundation of unproven hypotheses.

Philosophical theories rather than substantive evidences lay at the foundation of Lüdemann's scholarship. He contested that the tomb of Jesus was empty in a book translated into English in 1994 as *The Resurrection of Jesus: History, Experience, Theology*. For Lüdemann, the origin of the resurrection of Jesus is located in Peter's psychological experience in which the disciple overcame his guilt for denying Jesus and then remembered the transfiguration, which was a matter of the sun getting into his eyes. From Peter's experience emerged the resurrection belief. Here the German in describing the resurrection is too precious to be omitted: *psychologisch erklärbare Phänomene* [psychologically explainable phenomena]. This approach to the resurrection of Jesus is hardly new as it was typical of late eighteenth-century Rationalism and was standard fare for the now long-debunked nineteenth-century quest for the historical Jesus that came to a dead end at the turn of the twentieth century.

Though German universities allow their professors to speak their minds, Lüdemann was suspended by his theological faculty and, after much controversy, was reinstated in 2008. For some, Lüdemann had taken one step too far in speaking of *die Unglaubwürdigkeit des christlichen Glaubens*. This might be translated as "the Christian faith is not worthy of belief." His death notice did not say whether, before he died, Lüdemann reevaluated what he said.

David P. Scaer

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Research Notes

Chronological Bibliography of the Works of Robert D. Preus

Introduction

As early as the 1990s, seminary instructors were somewhat startled to discover that entering students were no longer familiar with the names of J. A. O. ("Jack") Preus and his brother, Robert. From the time they joined The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in the 1950s, the Preus brothers had become household names. Everyone knew or knew of them and referred to them as Jack and Robert. Those not "in the know" called Robert "Bob." The Preus brothers were also known in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), in one of whose predecessor synods (the Norwegian Synod) they received their seminary education and in which Jack served as pastor. Their cousin David Preus was president of the American Lutheran Church (ALC). They were well connected.

The Preus brothers succeeded in maintaining stability in the synod when forty-five out of fifty professors at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, walked out of their positions in February 1974. Both brothers had been presidents of Concordia Theological Seminary: Jack from 1962 to 1969 and Robert from 1974 to 1992. In the spring of 1974, when the acting president of the St. Louis seminary could no longer carry out the functions of his office, Robert, as academic dean, assumed the role of acting president. Due to the efforts of these brothers, the synod and the St. Louis seminary survived and the Springfield, Illinois, seminary moved to Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1976, where it had been founded in 1846. The lower plaza bordering the lake at the seminary is named in their memory.

By the time readers come across this bibliography, Robert D. Preus, like his brother J. A. O. Preus, will have been dead for more than a quarter of a century. Their names and achievements are no longer paramount in the consciousness of most of the synod's ministerium. So the pastors of the Missouri Synod are less likely to be aware that without Jack and Robert, our synod would have looked differently. In the year 2024, we will be coming upon the semicentennial anniversary of the 1974 St. Louis seminary faculty majority walkout. Nearly all the faculty involved have gone to their eternal rewards. Fewer and fewer pastors have a living memory of those momentous days. Just as incoming students are unaware of the achievements of

Robert, so also fewer and fewer of those who teach theology at our colleges and seminaries knew them and how they shaped the theological direction of our synod.

When he joined the synod in 1957, Robert D. Preus's doctoral dissertation, published under the title *The Inspiration of Scripture*, brought the attention of the synod to how seventeenth-century Lutheran Orthodoxy viewed the Bible at the time it was confronting neo-orthodoxy. Robert Preus further developed his research with a more extensive volume on the Scriptures and a second one on God and creation. His essays on the doctrine of justification matched, and may have even exceeded, what he had written on biblical inspiration, which mainly appeared in articles in *Concordia Theological Quarterly*.

Robert Preus was more than a professional theologian. He breathed, worked, and slept theology, as was evident in his sermons. They could be easily grasped by his hearers. In doing theology or preaching, Robert Preus was never obscure but always interesting. He was one everyone listened to and recordings of his sermons found their way into the homes of the laity.

To secure Preus's theological contributions in the memory of the church, this issue of *CTQ* publishes a new bibliography of his published writings. The bibliography was first assembled by Robert E. Smith. Roland Ziegler developed the plan to expand it with previously omitted publications and to put it in chronological order with indications of reprintings and translations. Nathaniel Jensen did much of the work, including archival work at Concordia Historical Institute, and Benjamin Mayes and Emily Hatesohl edited the bibliography into its final form.

David P. Scaer

All articles and reviews in *Concordia Theological Monthly* and *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, as well as chapel sermons, can be accessed online at media.ctsfw.edu. For the unpublished manuscripts of Robert Preus, see the Robert Preus materials at Concordia Historical Institute [Identifier: MAR-2019–#8].

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Book Reviews

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***Figuring Resurrection: Joseph as a Death and Resurrection Figure in the Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism*. By Jeffrey Pulse. Bellingham: Lexham Press, 2021. 288 pages. Paperback. $30.00.**

I remember when it first dawned on me that the largest sustained story in Genesis was about a figure through whom the Messiah *would not* come. When seen as a whole, the Book of Genesis invites the reader to follow God's promises—always in apparent danger or threat of thwarting. From Adam to Seth, Enoch to Noah, the flood to the tower of Babel, and then particularly located in Abraham, a wandering Aramean, we are always looking for the Seed of the woman to crush the serpent's head. On the macro level, the first eleven chapters establish the cosmos, fallen creation, and our Lord's mercy. Chapters 12–25 locate this gracious promise to Abraham. Chapters 26–36 track the promise from Isaac to Jacob. And then from chapter 37 to the end, it is almost entirely centered on Joseph, where one might expect to seek the fulfillment of God's promise. As it turns out, the promised Seed comes *not* through Joseph but Judah, another unlikely figure (see Genesis 38). It is this strange (anti-)climax that Professor Jeffrey Pulse puts his finger on, trying to make sense of what the Lord is doing with Joseph (and, in part, Judah) in his *Figuring Resurrection*.

Largely adapting his doctoral dissertation through the University of Durham for popular consumption, Pulse seeks to recapture the particular characteristic of death and resurrection in the figure of Joseph. By way of the Masoretic Text in its final form, he seeks to rescue the narrative and character of Joseph from the overt moralism found in the Targumim, the overly dramatic savior of the Septuagint, and the hopelessly atomized decomposition left by the historical critics. Running with Brevard Childs's canonical approach and informed by the literary insights of Robert Alter and Jon Levenson, Pulse appeals to a unified theological narrative of the text that reveals Joseph as the source of Israel's hope in the resurrection. So as not to miss the forest for the trees, he favors a synchronic, rather than diachronic reading of the text, always calling us back to the whole from the part.

To accomplish this, he appeals to various motifs laden within the text, which he believes are essential threads that weave together the tapestry (or garment?) of the whole (7–8). Cumulatively, these invite a "deeper sense" to the narrative. With particular focus on chapters 37–50, Pulse notes an abrupt shift in literary style—one that includes "inordinate doubling" (6) and a preponderance of "downward/upward" movements. Lingering is the question: why? Why is this section set apart? Is it merely transitional from a patriarchal to a tribal era? Why the concentrated motifs? And what does such a shift in style and substance do to the reader and hearer of the Masoretic Text?

Pulse sees an intentional, christological meaning to the text. Surprisingly though, as the death-and-resurrection figure of the Old Testament *par excellence*, Joseph functions more like an Esther figure, playing a supporting role, albeit of great magnitude. In Pulse's estimation, he is neither the savior nor the morally unscathed; rather, through the Joseph story, Judah finds an unexpected restoration and resurrection, guarding the promised Seed from being snatched by the birds, scorched by the sun, or suffocated by the thorns. In fact, it seems to be for Judah's sake that Joseph's character finds little defense. Whether Pulse makes more of it than is actually there, he is troubled by Joseph's refusal to leave Egypt, his apparently boastful dreams, what may be his spying on his brothers, and why he was home alone with Potiphar's wife in the first place. Cumulatively, Joseph offers a poor resume for ethical exaltation, which suggests that this may not be the point.

In the end, Pulse leads us out of the entrapments of historical criticism and more deeply into the theological thrust of the holy authors. It is as much a hermeneutical defense of a unified theological narrative as an analysis of the latter portion of Genesis—in theme, structure, and character. While Part III may have been necessary for a dissertation—comparing other translations and extrabiblical texts to the Masoretic Text—it adds little to the average reader. Instead of tracing the trends of biblical interpretation since 1980 in general, it would have been more interesting to see how this section of Genesis was particularly received and understood across the generations from the early church fathers until today. Of course, asking a book for something other than it sets out to do is asking for a different book. The one we have nicely adorns an early confession of our Lord's death and resurrection—extolling divine authorship, critiquing undue moralism, and providing hope for Israel of old, as well as hope for us.

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***1 Kings 12–22.* By Walter A. Maier III. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2019. 752 pages. Hardcover. $59.99.**

Maier's second volume on the Book(s) of the Kings picks up where the first left off with no lapse in scholarship, theology, or accessibility. It is an unfortunate reality of publishing that the introductory chapters from the first volume are not included here in the second. All this is to say, take up volume one along with volume two.

Maier's interaction with the Hebrew language is again comprehensive. The textual notes are thorough, perhaps too much so for the average reader. This is in part because he does not shy away from translational or interpretational difficulties. Rather he gives each possibility its due and explains why he takes the position he does. This open dialogue with the text and the scholarship is helpful in giving a wide variety of views, though some may find it overwhelming. Indeed, Maier does seem hesitant at times to take any position, which may create further confusion.

But the commentary is certainly not an exercise purely in grammar. Though his textual work is thorough, his commentary rises to match it. Maier strives to keep Christ at the center of his reading of the Scriptures. A fine example is found in his discussion on the contest at Mount Carmel in 1 Kings 18 (1359–1415), where Maier shows Elijah as a foreshadowing of Christ and pointing to the ultimate victory in the contest between God and Satan (1414–1415).

Nor should we consider this work as purely exegetical or systematic. One excursus is in fact a homily on Luke 18, which encourages persistent prayer in the life of the believer (1416–1418). Some readers may find certain portions of the commentary to be "sermonic"; the commentary on 1 Kings 17 (1316–1336) is one example of this. Nevertheless, Maier makes helpful connections between explication and application. Exegesis must ultimately serve the work of the church.

The many excursus included throughout the work are excellent. They are concise but not lacking. Here the work expands to include not only the Books of the Kings but the Old Testament and the Scriptures as a whole. He uses these excursus to build a cultural backdrop ("Baal and the Canaanite Religion," 1299–1303); discuss Luther's exegesis of 1 Kings and the Old Testament as a whole ("Luther and 1 Kings 17–19," 1568–1576); and explore related topics that encourage the reader to consider Old Testament theology on a broader scale ("The Old Testament and the Efficaciousness of the Word of God," 1477–1479).

Maier delivers with his second volume on 1 Kings. Students, scholars, pastors, and laity will find helpful discussion and insight into the often-overlooked historical Books of the Kings. It is a well-rounded volume which, while certainly focused on 1 Kings, also offers valuable insights on exegetical principles, Old Testament theology, and even preaching and pastoral care.

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***Evidence That the Bible Is True: The Apologetics of Biblical Reliability*. By Allen Quist. Kendallville, Indiana: Self-published, 2020. 181 pages. Softcover. $11.95.**

Allen Quist—Adjunct Professor of Christian Apologetics at Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary and member of the Committee on Doctrine for the Evangelical Lutheran Synod—is no newcomer to evidentialist apologetics. In this self-published book (his ninth), the author answers the question, "What is the evidence for believing the Bible is true?" by "describing some of the most recent and important evidence verifying the Bible's claims" (7).

The introductory chapter shows the need for defending the Bible's reliability against the ongoing attacks of our secular age. Congregation members should be familiar with the evidence supporting the Bible as true against the ever-encroaching skepticism of naturalism—both to uphold younger members in their faith and "to provide evidence to the world that the message of Christ is true" (9). The next twelve chapters deal with specific topics: creation (how the complexity of DNA or a single-celled organism undermine the evolutionist worldview), Sodom and Gomorrah and the crossing of the Red Sea (archaeological evidence best explained by the biblical accounts), Job's *behemoth* and *leviathan* (a dinosaur and a Super Croc that fit all of the evidence), various lists of reliability criteria (for true and false prophets, New Testament authenticity, and eyewitnesses), the Shroud of Turin (evidence supports its authenticity), and answering skeptics (responding to Bart Ehrman's arguments against the reliability of the Bible). In each case, the author provides sufficient evidence to conclude in favor of biblical reliability.

Throughout the work, Quist presents a balanced position of apologetics vis-à-vis evangelism and faith. The inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture (ch. 14) are a matter of faith: "It is possible to prove reliability; it is not possible to prove inerrancy" (146). Nevertheless, inspiration and inerrancy have a solid foundation in the observable evidence Quist has presented.

The book seems to be written to educate congregation members regarding the evidence that supports the reliability of Scripture for use in apologetics. He ends chapter 15 with the petition, "God grant that we defend [the Bible's] authenticity, . . . power, . . . inspiration of God, and . . . inerrancy" so that "we speak that which is true" (151). However, in the closing chapter, Quist notes that "countless people" admit that Jesus was a real person crucified under Pontius Pilate and that his

eyewitness followers claim Jesus rose from the dead; sadly, they "do not take the next step and acknowledge that it is true" (155). "To confess these truths is to cross the Rubicon" and enter the kingdom of Christ—such confession that can only happen by the power of the Holy Spirit (156). Moreover, the rest of the chapter seems like an invitation for the skeptic to believe. Perhaps Quist does so to motivate congregation members to engage in apologetics. But that purpose for the chapter is unclear.

There are other less-than-satisfying aspects of the book. First, to substantiate many of his claims, Quist cites websites and non-credentialed "experts"—like Stephen Meyer quoting Bill Gates on YouTube regarding the complexity of DNA (14). These might be sufficient authority for the *believer* assaulted by secularism to accept the evidence presented, but the educated and the steeped skeptic will find the sources lacking authority. An apologist will need to research peer-reviewed journals and books for verification to use the evidence presented. Lastly, while the book is inexpensive, the quality of the publication could be improved: many images are pushed to the next page, leaving large blank spaces in the text, and the review copy came with excess glue across the bottom edge (causing pages to stick).

This book would provide a starting place to begin preparing to defend the Bible against some of the current attacks regarding its reliability. It would serve well for casual use because it is an easy read and inexpensive.

Don C. Wiley

***A Commentary on 1 & 2 Thessalonians*. By David P. Kuske. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2019. 326 pages. Hardcover. $41.99.**

With this book, Rev. Kuske adds yet another volume to Northwestern's newest biblical commentary series. It is easy to see why the publisher repeatedly relies on Kuske. His style is clear and direct. His explanations of the Greek grammar and its effect on proper translation are straightforward and easy to understand, even for those whose Greek is rusty. His interpretation of the text falls squarely within the boundaries of traditional, confessional Lutheranism, even when it comes to the identity of the Antichrist in 2 Thessalonians 2 (spoiler: it is the Roman papacy, 280). The ease with which he unfolds the nuances of meaning and sentence structure reveals his experience as a Lutheran educator, while the usefulness of his application of the text to parish ministry reveals his experience as a Lutheran pastor.

The book is divided into two parts, with each part corresponding to each epistle in the title. The introductory chapter of each part begins with the standard isagogic

information, presented in a most matter-of-fact manner. He spends little ink on debating the many opinions of scholars throughout history; instead, he gets right to the point and delivers the facts as he understands them. He then presents a clear outline of the whole epistle. In the first part of the book, Kuske explains his method of interpretation, which he calls "exegesis-based" (9); others call it "historical-grammatical." He also explains his method of choosing which textual variant best represents the original autograph. This information is useful for understanding Kuske's perspective and the exegetical choices he makes throughout the commentary.

After the introductory chapter of each part, each chapter of the commentary treats a chapter of the epistle. Kuske begins each textual unit with a diagram of the Greek sentence. He then gives the Greek text with his translation, followed by a clear elucidation of important ideas in the text in a bullet-point format. This is the meat of his commentary. He concludes each textual unit with a "Summary and Application," where his pastoral demeanor shines in a more conversational tone.

Northwestern markets this commentary especially to pastors, calling it a resource for personal study, sermon writing, and Bible-study preparation. This book hits that bull's-eye. It is neither too scholarly nor too "popular." In some sense, this commentary gives the underlying exegetical foundation to Kuske's earlier work for The People's Bible, also a commentary on 1 and 2 Thessalonians. This reviewer found the sentence diagrams distracting; some took up more than a full page. Kuske's bullet-point explanations did a better job of describing the sentence structure. But on the whole, this commentary does a good job of connecting the modern reader of 1 and 2 Thessalonians to the meaning of the Greek text. It is a useful and practical addition to the parish pastor's study.

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Books Received

Allen, Michael, and R. David Nelson, eds. *A Companion to the Theology of John Webster*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2021. 366 pages. Hardcover. $50.00.

Jobes, Karen H. *John Through Old Testament Eyes: A Background and Application Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2021. 400 pages. Softcover. $29.99.

Magee, Gregory S., and Jeffrey D. Arthurs. *Ephesians: A Commentary for Biblical Preaching and Teaching*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Ministry. 288 pages. Hardcover. $29.99.

Massey, John D., Mike Morris, and W. Madison Grace II, eds. *Make Disciples of All Nations: A History of Southern Baptist International Missions*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2021. 360 pages. Softcover. $22.99

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Indices to Volume 85 (2021)

Articles, Research Notes (RN), and Theological Observers (TO)

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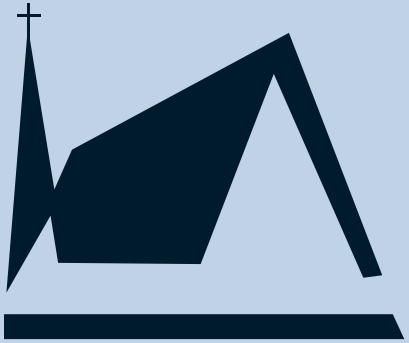

Forming servants in Jesus Christ who
teach the faithful, reach the lost, and care for all.