

The Spirit of God Transforming Life

The Reformation and Theology of the Holy Spirit



Paul S. Chung



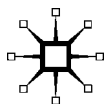
THE SPIRIT OF GOD TRANSFORMING LIFE

This page intentionally left blank

THE SPIRIT OF GOD
TRANSFORMING LIFE
THE REFORMATION AND THEOLOGY
OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Paul S. Chung

palgrave
macmillan



THE SPIRIT OF GOD TRANSFORMING LIFE

Copyright © Paul S. Chung, 2009

All rights reserved.

First published in 2009 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN® in the United States - a division of St. Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN: 978-0-230-62027-8

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data.

Chung, Paul S., 1958-

The spirit of God transforming life : the reformation and theology of the Holy Spirit / Paul S. Chung.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 0-230-62027-2

1. Holy Spirit—History of doctrines—16th century.

2. Reformed Church—Doctrines. I. Title.

BT121.3.C57 2009

231'.309031—dc22

2009013908

Design by Integra Software Services

First edition: December 2009

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America

In Gratitude to Jane, Beth, and Heidi, my life companions

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

Foreword by Craig L. Nesson	ix
Acknowledgements	xiii
Abbreviations	xv
Introduction	1
Spirit of Life: Spirituality and Ethical Life	5
Martin Luther	6
John Calvin	11
Organizational Themes in the Study of the Spirit of God: Spirituality and Ethical Life	17
1 The <i>Spiritus Creator</i>	21
The Spirit, Life-Giver	23
God Seen in Light of Natural Knowledge	27
Reformation and Natural Theology	29
2 The Spirit of the Triune God	37
Luther and the Doctrine of the Trinity	38
Calvin's Theology of the Trinity	44
Luther and Calvin: Hypostatic Union in Jesus Christ	46
Trinitarian Theology in Ecumenical Context	52
3 The Spirit and Christ-Union	71
Martin Luther and Union with Christ	74
John Calvin: Christian Life in Christ-Union	81
Calvin's View of Election	88
Karl Barth's View of Election in Luther and Calvin	90
4 The Spirit and Evangelical Freedom in the Law	97
Luther's Principle of Law and Gospel	97
Calvin's View of the Threefold Use of the Law	102

Critical Review of the Third Use of the Law	107
Theology of the Word of God in Luther and Barth	113
5 The Church in the Power of the Spirit	119
Luther: Church as Creature of the Gospel	119
Universal Priesthood and Social Economic <i>Diakonia</i>	124
Calvin: Church as Mother of Believers	132
Calvin and Economic Justice	137
Conclusion	143
Eucharistic Theology in Lutheran-Reformed Dialogue	143
Controversy on Real Presence	145
Luther in Dispute with Roman Catholicism and Zwingli	148
Luther: God's Promise in the Sacrament	150
Calvin's View of the Substance of Christ's Body	152
For Sacramental Unity: The Universal Church and Promise of Eschatology	155
Afterword: Max Weber's View of Reformation and Capitalism	159
Notes	169
Bibliography	187
Index	193

FOREWORD

The Spirit of God transforms life! This assertion is made emphatic on every page of this book. Whereas the heritage of the Reformation left many with the impression that the Holy Spirit had been ignored, necessitating Pentecostal revival, Paul Chung demonstrates how potent is the force of the Spirit already in the thought and writing of Luther and Calvin. What has been left too often implicit about the work of the Reformers is here made powerfully explicit. The Spirit stirs up flames of passion!

“I believe that by my own understanding or strength I cannot believe in Jesus Christ my Lord or come to him, but instead the Holy Spirit has called me through the gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, made me holy and kept me in the true faith, just as he calls, gathers, enlightens, and makes holy the whole Christian church on earth and keeps it with Jesus Christ in the one common, true faith.” Luther’s explanation of the Third Article from his *Small Catechism* concisely names several strong dynamics of the Spirit’s work within Reformation theology. This book can serve well as a primer or refresher course on the central themes of Reformation theology. Chung considers the energy of the Spirit as the *Spiritus Creator* within the natural world, the Spirit’s place in the Trinity, the role of the Spirit in election, the controversial question of the third use of the law, and the effects of the Spirit for the life of the world. In addressing these and many other issues, the author clearly and carefully describes the fundamental shape of Reformation thinking. The main concepts of Reformation theology are outlined deftly and consequentially. Thus the book contributes admirably to the purpose of introducing the reader to what was and is at stake in the Reformation’s insistence on the centrality of the gospel.

It was this commitment to the gospel of justification by grace through faith that united Luther and Calvin in a shared Reformation theological perspective. Many discussions of the relationship of Calvin to Luther have emphasized those aspects of their thought that appear to diverge, for example, on the third use of the law or the nature of Christ’s presence in the Lord’s Supper. Chung’s research

demonstrates how compatible the views of Luther and Calvin are when sufficient attention is paid to their respective understandings of the Spirit's work. Not only does tending to the Spirit bring theologies of these two Reformers ever closer together, but even more the task of making the work of the Spirit explicit in their thought helps to remediate perennial theological controversies, such as the question of the possibility of a natural theology, the process of election, the meaning of a third use of the law, or the nature of Christ's sacramental presence. By focusing on the role of the Spirit in their theological reasoning, Luther and Calvin are drawn ever closer to one another as the central representatives of sixteenth-century Protestant theology.

Another surprise in this book: Karl Barth, often stereotyped as a "Reformed" (i.e., *not* Lutheran) theologian, emerges as one of the foremost interpreters and guardians of Luther's own theological perspective. Barth functions as one of the primary interlocutors for Chung's own theological discourse. Furthermore, Chung demonstrates that Barth is a careful reader and interpreter of Luther's theological heritage. Dare we claim, contrary to conventional readings, that Barth was the premier preserver of Luther's theology among the major theologians of the twentieth century?

If this book is situated at the intersection of Luther and Calvin in their shared commitments to the Spirit's activity, then it is also located in relationship to the theological currents of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Several of Moltmann's theological formulations (for example, on the question of the *filioque*) become the basis for spirited discussion and critique. Chung's trenchant theological acumen, in dialogue with other contemporary theologians, contributes to ever more precise formulations that open the way to future ecumenical understanding.

Even more important for the North American context is Chung's referencing the lesser-known theological perspectives of Hans Joachim Iwand, Helmut Gollwitzer, and Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt. These theologians were each significant representatives of the theology of the Confessing Church in Nazi Germany, but their writings have been relatively unknown in the English-speaking world. Chung draws upon the radical implications of their thought for the meaning of Christian *diakonia* and especially for contemporary economic relations. Luther's writings against the practice of usury in the sixteenth century become the foundation for a consequential critique of twenty-first century capitalism. Freedom for the neighbor by the power of the gospel means freedom for engagement on behalf of "the least of these." Here Chung's *minjung* commitments merge with Luther's

advocacy for the poor in a prophetic cry for a *diakonia* of elementary and thoroughgoing economic justice for all. The book's afterword favorably incorporates Weber's analysis of the Protestant work ethic to reinforce the connection between Reformation theology and economic justice. Following the Spirit's trail means entering into the places where hungry neighbors await bread.

Paul Chung's theological perspective ranges from the *minjung* theology of his Korean homeland through the theological forest of twentieth-century Germany to the ecumenical and interreligious terrain of today's global theological scene. Deeply grounded in Lutheran and Reformation categories, these come to living expression in dialogue with the most pressing issues facing the church and society at the present time, particularly the question about economic justice. For the last three years, I have been privileged to serve as colleague to Paul Chung and learn from his ever-ready theological insights at Wartburg Theological Seminary prior to his current teaching position at Luther Seminary. I thank God to call him my colleague and friend. And I look forward to the theological conversations and reactions his spirited voice will evoke in others. Come, Holy Spirit, come!

Craig L. Nesson
Dubuque, Iowa
Holy Cross Day, 2009

This page intentionally left blank

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During my postdoctoral studies at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, I began to take issue with Reformation theology in regard to its ecumenical fellowship. Karl Barth once acknowledged his learning from two Reformers in terms of the humanity of God (Luther) and the transcendence of God (Calvin), and did not view himself as a prisoner to either theologian.

At issue in my study is how to hermeneutically revive the forgotten theology of the third article (Holy Spirit) in Reformation theology from an ecumenical point of view. Ecumenical study of the Reformation traditions of Lutheranism and Calvinism means explicitly revealing commonalities and differences between the two Reformers and critically clarifying their limitations in engagement with our own life context. For this ecumenical task it is essential to undertake a process of interpretation through appropriating important insights of the Reformers and distancing oneself from their limitations. Therefore, an ecumenical study entails respect for the tradition of the Reformation and critical dialogue with it in the context of our contemporary life.

In my previous position, teaching Lutheran Confessions at Wartburg Theological Seminary, and also in my current position at Luther Seminary, I have been privileged to develop my understanding of Reformation theology in lively interaction with my students. The questions they critically and creatively raise about Reformation theology in their existential, ecumenical, and global perspectives continually surprise, challenge, and inspire me.

Great master Confucius in ancient China is right in this regard. According to him, the great delight and betterment of the teacher comes genuinely from students' commitment to learning with critical and creative minds. I dedicate this study to my students and colleagues at Luther Seminary who have helped me navigate my theological journey as a hybrid thinker in engagement with constructive theology and Asian Christianity.

I also would like to thank the following for permission to use selected texts. From Luther, *Martin Luther's Basic Theological*

Writings, ed. Timothy F. Lull: Used by permission of Fortress Press, 1989. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, eds. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert: Used by permission of Fortress Press, 2000. From Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Library of Christian Classics), edited by John T. McNeil: Used by permission of Westminster John Knox Press and T&T Clark Ltd. Publishers. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, I/1, I/2. II/2. IV/3.1, eds. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance, 2006: and by the permission of T&T Clark. The Bible quotations and references are based on the New Revised Standard Version.

Advent 2009
St. Paul, Minneapolis

ABBREVIATIONS

BC	<i>The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Church</i> , trans. and eds. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2000).
CD	Karl Barth, <i>Church Dogmatics</i> , 13 vols. eds. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance (New York/London: T & T Clark, 2004).
Comm	<i>The Commentaries of John Calvin</i> , 46 vols. Calvin Translation Society, 1843–55. Reprint, 22 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1979).
CR	<i>Iohannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia</i> (<i>Opera</i>), eds. W. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Ruetz, 59 vols. Corpus Reformatorium (CR). (Brunswick: C. A. Schewtschke, 1863–1900).
Inst.	John Calvin, <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> , ed. John T. McNeil (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960).
LS	<i>Luther's Spirituality</i> , ed. and trans. Philip D. W. Krey and Peter D. S. Krey (Mahwah: Paulist, 2007).
LW	<i>Luther's Works</i> , American edition, vols. 1–30, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–67); vols. 31–55, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955–86).
MLBTW	<i>Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings</i> , ed. Timothy F. Lull (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989).
OS	<i>Iohannis Calvini Opera Selecta</i> , eds. P. Barth and W. Niesel, 5 vols. (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1926–62).
WA	<i>Martin Luthers Werke</i> , Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 61 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1912–21).

INTRODUCTION

In the ecumenical and global discussion of Christian theology, we experience a revival of the Spirit, especially in Asia and Africa. In the Western theological tradition, the doctrine of the Spirit is often treated as an appendage by implying that rational thinking steps around the spiritual dimension of Christian theology. As despiritualization reaches a climax in the Western Church, we observe a rebirth of the Spirit in charismatic-Pentecostal movements in the emergence of World Christianity, in particular in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The theme of the 1991 Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Canberra, Australia (“Come, Holy Spirit—Renew the Whole Creation”) demonstrated the signs of the times that the Protestant mainline Churches face the challenge of World Christianity. A proposal of constructive theology takes into account human experience of the Spirit as the one who gives rise to faith. A revelatory experience has God as its source and referent.¹

In the constructive proposal of emphasis on the relationship between God and the world, Reformation Protestantism is frequently critiqued as representing the monarchical model because of its strictly asymmetrical, one-way relation of God with the world. For instance, Calvin’s emphasis on God’s sovereignty and predestination causes the view that God affects the world without recognizing that the world also affects God. Thus Ian Barbour argues that classical theism (including Reformation Protestantism) confines the Holy Spirit to the incarnation, the sacraments, and the church’s life.²

This critical view of Reformation Protestantism, however, lacks the theological endeavor to explore the role of the Spirit in the two reformers, namely Martin Luther and John Calvin. In a general characterization of Luther and Calvin, the former is called a theologian of justification, while the latter is called a theologian of sanctification. Subsequent studies of Reformation theology have focused excessively on Luther’s teaching of justification in a forensic sense. Likewise, Calvin’s theology of sanctification is seen only in light of Calvin’s concept of God’s election and ethical practice of the law. This scholarly situation characterizes the paucity of studies on the

reformers' theology of the Spirit, which tend to set the two reformers in opposition.

The Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, becomes a major topic of inquiry in the era of World Christianity. A scholarly investigation of the person and work of the Holy Spirit is greatly appreciated and demanded in a broader theological spectrum. We must not reduce the creative work of the Spirit to merely individualist, pietistic, and ecclesial-sacramental spheres. In dealing with the topic of pneumatology, it is essential to view and understand the work of the Spirit in a broader and more holistic manner in regard to creation, Trinity, ecclesial life, spiritual experience, and ethical responsibility in the public sphere.

In this light, the reformers' view of the Spirit can provide a good example and a theological insight for us to reframe a theology of the Spirit in our ecumenical and global horizon. As a matter of fact, Luther and Calvin have a distinctive and unique understanding of the Spirit, relating the Spirit not only to individual experience but to all aspects of life. Unfortunately, this pneumatological aspect in the reformers' theology has been underdeveloped and even forgotten.

In the recent study of Martin Luther some scholars certainly articulate an interest in Luther's theology of the Holy Spirit in connection with the Trinity and Christian spirituality. Luther's theology of the Holy Spirit is embedded with the traditional theology of the Trinity as Luther understands the Trinity in light of biblical revelation. Luther accentuates certain operations of the Spirit by using a theory of Trinitarian appropriations.³

In the narrative of Trinitarian revelation Luther is understood as a theologian of divine narrative who combines Trinity with the revelatory speech of the Spirit. In light of the hermeneutical model of research about Luther, Luther describes the Spirit as the third person who reveals the immanent Trinity through its economic role. Therefore, in the Spirit, God speaks from God.⁴ However, Trinitarian study of the Spirit tends to remain in a dogmatic framework, having little to do with dynamic involvement of the Spirit in our faith journey. Thus, a dogmatic study of the Holy Spirit tends to discourage our participatory discipleship following in the initiative role of the Spirit in the public sphere.

So, the aim of our investigation is to promote a study of how the two reformers view the Spirit in connection with spirituality and ethical life, as seen from an ecumenical, global point of view. In order to approach the subject matter of the Spirit who transforms life, this study will also hermeneutically and systematically integrate and involve a study of Christian spirituality and ethical life as seen in reference to

creation, the Trinity, law and gospel, and the church. Along this line, it is significant to explore and discuss the Spirit of God and a theology of life, by considering the commonalities and differences between Luther and Calvin.

In the discussion of Christian spirituality and the ethical life we need to focus on the Holy Spirit, since God's Trinitarian reality relates to the church, humanity, and the world. The Spirit as giver of life is the Spirit of renewal, reconciliation, and transformation, quickening, justifying, and sanctifying human life. Christian life in a genuine sense exists in the communication with the life-giving Spirit. If theology can be realized and fulfilled in the realm of the Holy Spirit, theology should not be a mere intellectual exercise. If the Holy Spirit confirms and verifies the truth of the Word of God, the Spirit becomes the driving force for us to participate in divine life, grace, and love. Here, human experience with divine reality becomes possible so that a one-sided alternative of either "divine revelation" or "human experience" can be overcome in light of the Holy Spirit.

The concept of the Holy Spirit permeates Luther's theological discussion of justification, sacraments, Christian ethics, and the fundamental teaching of law and gospel and the church. Luther's view of the Holy Spirit was first investigated by Regin Prenter, Professor of Systematic Theology at Aarhus University, Denmark, in his seminal volume, *Spiritus Creator*.

In this systematic study Prenter pays attention to Luther's theologically unique emphasis on the Spirit in contrast to Augustinian and scholastic *caritas* idealism. Prenter's main focus is on Luther's genuine biblical realism, which also contradicts the enthusiasts of Luther's time. According to Prenter, Luther's realism of revelation is different from *caritas* idealism in a medieval-Augustinian framework. The concept of realm of revelation stresses the active and real presence of God among the curse and death of humanity, while in *caritas* idealism the Spirit appears to be a transcendental and undynamic way to human life.

In fact, Luther articulates the Spirit as the means of conforming us to Christ and his benefits. Different from the Augustinian and scholastic concept of the imitation of Christ, Luther's concept of conformity to Christ can be properly understood in light of his teaching of the Spirit. In Prenter's appreciation of Luther's theology of the Spirit, however, we are aware that the interdisciplinary connection between pneumatology and spirituality is not fully discussed and thus remains insufficient and inadequate.⁵

Bernhard Lohse, in his study of Luther, articulates Luther's concept of the work of the Holy Spirit in a brief, yet systematic way

in reference to creation, Christ, justification, sacraments, and faith. He characterizes Luther's teaching of justification through the Holy Spirit alone (*solo Spiritu Sancto*).⁶ Luther's teaching of the Holy Spirit is bound to the teaching of justification. However, Lohse has not managed to delve more comprehensively and coherently into pneumatological relatedness of the Spirit regarding other theological themes in Luther's thought. An experiential horizon of the Spirit is left behind.

In the recent ecumenical study of the theology of the third article (Holy Spirit), Moltmann attempts to overcome the dichotomy between the Spirit and human experience and further to construct a new paradigm in the investigation of pneumatology.⁷ This attempt challenges Neo-orthodox theology, especially the Christocentrism of Karl Barth.

In such an attempt, however, we see also a lack of profound exploration of Karl Barth's theology of the Holy Spirit. There is no doubt that in Barth's Christological framework, the Holy Spirit, as the second form of Christ's *parousia*, plays a significant role. Barth's understanding of vocation (in relation to justification and sanctification) demonstrates an important connection between Christian spirituality and socioethical life, while including a proper Pietistic concern about regeneration or conversion (*CD* IV/3.2:71). In light of the Christian faith Barth fully appreciates and embraces human experience (*CD* I/1:6.3).

For the theological development of the Holy Spirit, Karl Barth appreciates John Calvin as a theologian of the Spirit. According to Barth, the pneumatological doctrine of creation is a special doctrine in Calvin's theology. The research has thus far shed little light on Calvin's striking doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the principle of life "which rules not merely in the history of the saved community but also in the whole created cosmos as such" (*CD* IV/3.2:756).

In addition to Barth's appreciation of Calvin as a theologian of the Spirit, we are aware that the current ecumenical study of the Spirit is inspired by the dialogue of the mainstream Protestant and Catholic traditions with the Orthodox Church. It is certain that an ecumenical dialogue between the mainline Church and Pentecostal-charismatic Church is in progress, pointing to the new terrain that denotes the inquiry of the Holy Spirit in an era of World Christianity.

As one involved in the ecumenical dialogue and in the Pentecostal-charismatic Church, Moltmann proposes a Trinitarian theology of the Spirit, critically dealing with the relationship between the Trinity and the kingdom of God. He attempts to overcome a problem

that has remained unresolved since the councils of the early church: a monarchical and subordinationist pneumatology.⁸

Moltmann's social doctrine of the Trinity attempts to replace a monarchical concept of the Spirit. Emphasizing the independence of the Holy Spirit as a Person in relation to the Father and the Son, Moltmann proposes "the direct working of the Holy Spirit, the inspiration, feelings, visions and dreams of the Spirit."⁹

In taking issue with Barth's 1929 lecture "The Holy Spirit and Christian Life," Moltmann argues that Barth's eschatology is still not directed toward the future of the new creation of all things. Moltmann charges Barth with undervaluing eschatology in the theology of the Spirit. However, different from Moltmann's evaluation, eschatology plays an indispensable role in Barth's theology of the Spirit. The time between the Christian Church and the *parousia* of Christ is filled with the power of the Holy Spirit, inspiring the church in expectation and hope of God's promise and future, which is fully revealed in Christ.

The work of the Spirit between "already" and "not-yet" leads the church on the way toward God's future and brings unbelievers to life and faith. According to Barth, God had elected humanity in Christ from eternity, and in historical time God is reconciled to the world. Even the unbeliever is positively seen in light of divine grace and in the promise of the Spirit (*CD* IV/3.2:73).

Unlike Barth, however, Moltmann encompasses the historical experience of the Spirit. Christian spirituality means a "living relationship with God's Spirit."¹⁰ Moltmann attacks the separation of body and soul in Western Christian thought since Augustine, who downplayed the body and nature in favor of an inward experience of God. Moltmann's concern becomes clear in questioning how to relate spirituality to a vitality of life (i.e., love of life).¹¹ Spirituality should involve the "liberation of the body from the repressions imposed by the soul, and the suppressions of morality, and the humiliations caused by self-hate."¹²

In this light Moltmann, like Barth, sees John Calvin as a theologian of the Spirit and spirituality. Moltmann argues that following the biblical tradition, Calvin distinguishes the image of God in creation from that in redemption. Human beings are redeemed in the image of the incarnate God. In the process of redemption and consummation, believers become the image of God in body and soul.¹³

SPIRIT OF LIFE: SPIRITUALITY AND ETHICAL LIFE

Given the ecumenical discussion of the Holy Spirit, the two reformers' teaching of the Holy Spirit can be further actualized and deepened in

reference to spirituality and ethical life. In a discussion of the Holy Spirit that involves spirituality and ethical life it is necessary to scrutinize and investigate spiritual experience, not only in terms of the individual religious dimension, but in terms of integrating a religious dimension with the social, political, and cultural realms. Pneumatology, within systematic and dogmatic theology, has often remained rational, confessional, and categorical so that it tends to ignore human experience with God.

A study of spiritual theology tends to highlight union with God while leaving behind a confessional, dogmatic deliberation of God. To overcome such a dichotomy, it is crucial to hermeneutically integrate a dogmatic-systematic understanding of the Spirit into the spiritual experience of God in the presence of the Spirit. By doing this, a socioethical component can be fully explored in light of theological and spiritual complexities.

A theology of Christian life that is based on the Spirit of God assumes an interdisciplinary character involving human social life and cultural orientation embracing the individual, spiritual, or ecclesial sphere. Thus it is essential to discuss the Reformation theology of the Spirit in reference to Christian spirituality and social, ethical life.

MARTIN LUTHER

Luther's spiritual longing for a gracious God found solace in Paul's words in Romans 1, which speak of the gospel and the righteousness of God. Reading this, it was as if the gates of paradise had been opened. Luther writes in *The Freedom of a Christian*, regarding the question of what is the Word of God: "The Word is the gospel of God concerning his Son, who was made flesh, suffered, rose from the dead, and was glorified through the Spirit who sanctifies . . ." ¹⁴

Martin Luther is a theologian fundamentally committed to the Word of God in the presence of the Holy Spirit. Where the Word of God is, the Spirit is there too. Only by the Spirit can we hear in faith God's Word coming to us. In the alien righteousness of Jesus Christ God's justifying grace implies an effective and transformative dimension. The word-event takes place in the gospel, which is the living voice of God. The gospel as oral cry should be shouted out and screamed. Thus, the speech-character of God's word is not identical with the transmitted text as God's word.

Rather, there is a distinction between the mystery of God in Scripture and the verbal expression of it. In Scripture, the Word of God becomes written. Scripture is a witness to the Word of God, setting

forth Christ, that is, for Luther it is “what urges and promotes Christ” (*was Christum treibt*). Jesus Christ as the Word of God is at the heart of Scripture: the “canon within canon.” As Luther states in his declaration at Worms in 1521; “Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture or by clear reason . . . , I am bound by the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word[s] of God.”¹⁵

Along this line, Gerhard Ebeling retrieves the Word of God as a theology of hermeneutics: “Scripture contains or witnesses to the Word of God.”¹⁶ If hermeneutics refers to the theory of understanding, it has to do with the word-event or divine speech, leading from the text of the scripture toward proclamation. The Word of God in the presence of the Holy Spirit poses the problem of understanding in connection with proclamation, opening up and bringing human existence to the reality of divine speech in the action of proclamation.

Based on the Spirit in proclamation, Luther’s theology of the third article is intertwined with his other theological themes. Luther’s understanding of the Spirit is conceptualized in Trinitarian terms. Wherever the church is, there one finds God the Creator, God the Redeemer, and God the Holy Spirit. Here we have much to think about concerning all the things that the Holy Spirit practices in the church.¹⁷

The Holy Spirit works in faith, sanctifying us through Christ’s grace by forgiveness of sin on a daily basis through the Word and sacrament. Christ is present in our faith through the work of the Holy Spirit so that the presence of Christ is crucial to understanding the Spirit and Christian faith. For instance, Luther’s tower experience (between 1512 and 1515) convinced him that God offers justification and righteousness through faith in Christ rather than through human works. This aspect suggests an experiential dimension of God’s grace of justification in Luther.

Along this line, Luther appreciates the mystical tradition, while favoring Augustine’s anti-Pelagian writings and Bernard’s on the passive role of the soul before God. Luther was familiar with the mysticism of those such as Dionysius the Areopagite, Bernard of Clairvaux, Jean Gerson, and Johann Tauler. His appreciation of the mystical tradition of Tauler can be seen in his edited publication of the *Theologica Germanica* (1518), an anonymous treatise from the previous century; writing in the preface, he said: “Next to the Bible and Saint Augustine, no other book has come to my attention from which I have learned—and desired to learn—more concerning God, Christ, man, and what all things are.”¹⁸

This was the first of Luther's accomplishments in edifying mystical literature. In his 1518 edition of *Theologia Germanica*, Luther found that this spiritual theology confirmed his experience of justification by faith in Christ. Luther's experience of justification as a *sapientia experimentalis* finds a kinship with Johann Tauler and some other mystics of the late Middle Ages.

The spirituality of German mysticism accents human dependence upon God as the prerequisite. In view of Luther's theology between 1516 and 1520, mystical thought plays a significant role in understanding the relationship between the human being and God. Through German mysticism, Luther learns how to articulate the proper human position before God in light of Augustine, while offering a corrective to scholastic theology. Luther integrates insights of German mysticism into human passivity and humility before God as a constituent element for the development of his Reformation theology.¹⁹

Luther's metaphor "happy exchange" denotes our union with Christ through faith in the presence of the Holy Spirit. The soul becomes the property of Christ. This implies that faith unites the soul with Christ, as a bride is united with her bridegroom. The Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, dwells in Christian life and works constantly through word, sacrament, and mutual colloquium and consolation among brothers and sisters. The Spirit sighs in us in the midst of the terrors of the law. The Holy Spirit begins to cry in our heart: Abba! Father!²⁰ The Holy Spirit helps us in our weakness, intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words, and bears witness that we are children of God.

Luther's spirituality is based on the gospel and is directed and renewed through the gift of the Holy Spirit. Sacramentally, it is expressed and renewed through baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Word and sacrament-centered spirituality is concretized in a discipleship that serves the neighbor in trouble or in need. Christian life is lived by faith in God's justifying grace and in conformity to Christ.

Luther's own words describing his eucharistic theology of compassion and solidarity for the innocent victim are moving: "You must feel with sorrow all the dishonor done to Christ in his holy word, all the misery of Christendom, *all the unjust suffering of the innocent, with which the world is everywhere filled to overflowing. You must fight, work, pray—if you cannot do more—have heartfelt sympathy . . .*" (Italics mine).²¹ Anyone who is justified and incorporated into the body of Christ is called to fight against all the unjust suffering of the innocent,

and to work and pray with heartfelt sympathy for the poor and the needy in the world.

When we speak of faith and sanctification, we find that the Spirit enables us to have faith in Christ and to do good before God and in the presence of our neighbor. Renewal and sanctification are an indispensable and integral part of Luther's theology of justification, shaping and underlining evangelical freedom and delight in doing what God commands. Faith makes love complete and perfect. To be led by the Spirit of God is to put to death our flesh. This is a work of the Spirit of God in us.²² The Spirit intercedes and carries the death of the old Adam into new life. Conversion is accompanied by a testimony of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer. In this regard, Karl Barth holds that prior to John Calvin, Martin Luther was the first reformer who introduced the concept of the testimony of the Holy Spirit in the experience of the believer.²³

Christ comes to us as grace and gift. The grace denotes forgiveness of sin while the gift means benefit and blessing, including the internal change and renewal. Luther recommends that discipline of the body and other reasonable disciplines enable the believer to be subject to the Spirit. The inner person, who by faith is created in the image of God, is both joyful and happy. Christ confers so many benefits upon him or her. It is one's occupation to serve God joyfully and without thought of gain. This is done in love that is not constrained.²⁴

Christians are passive recipients of God's grace of justification, but active participants in the gift by becoming active disciples. Good works spring from a genuine faith. Sanctification, or our response to God, is summed up by the spirituality of gratitude, hope, and compassion for our fellow neighbors in need. When we are justified by faith in the grace of Christ, we proceed to active life. Human cooperation with God should be done in solidarity with the innocent victims in social and economic realms. Thus, the grace of justification becomes an encouragement for the justified to become faithful to God's justice in the public realm.²⁵

Luther's spirituality, grounded in his understanding of justification, does not belittle trial or temptation (*Anfechtungen*). Luther profoundly experienced *Anfechtungen*, which means spiritual attacks, deep despair, the abyss of guilt, and taunts of hell. Luther taught that the church, as the community of the faithful, remains a community afflicted by the devil.²⁶

Obermann, in his study of Luther, explains that "the Devil's assaults are well aimed," "striking the victim down robbing him of all joy in God and man, producing temporary loathing for God and

himself.”²⁷ Luther does not minimize this evil to which human nature is captive as a result of the fall. In the midst of *Anfechtungen*, God’s power and grace becomes manifest in performing God’s alien work.²⁸

The sacramental side of Luther’s faith, especially his baptismal theology of Christian identity and conviction, came to him as liberation in the midst of spiritual agony. The Christian rises from the waters of baptism as *simul justus et peccator*. Christians are simultaneously saints and sinners, incomplete under the law of God, while at the same time perfectly righteous seen under the atonement of Christ. Luther’s spirituality becomes manifest and finds assurance in the concentration on Christ.

In *A Sermon on Preparing to Die*, Luther highlights this point of view. “So then, gaze at the heavenly picture of Christ, who . . . was forsaken by God as one eternally damned when he spoke the words on the cross . . . In that picture your hell is defeated and your uncertain election is made sure . . .”²⁹

Furthermore, Luther’s theology of the cross highlights his spirituality as valuing suffering, troubles, and trials in contrast to a theology of glory. Christian theology begins with the suffering of Christ, in which God reveals God’s loving grace to humankind. The theology of the cross also upholds our discipleship and conformity to Christ, pairing our lives with those who suffer. In this sense, Bonhoeffer writes provocatively from prison about theology and spirituality of the cross when seen from below: “We have for once learnt to see the great events of world history from below, from the perspective of the outcast, the suspects, the maltreated, the powerless, the oppressed, the reviled—in short, from the perspective of those who suffer.”³⁰

According to Luther, the love of God that lives in human being loves sinners, evil person, and fools in order to make them righteous, good, wise, and strong. Therefore sinners are attractive because they are loved.³¹ When it comes to conformity to Christ, Luther’s spirituality is characterized by commitment to the poor. Luther’s writings about economic justice remarkably demonstrate his solidarity with the poor. This socioeconomic perspective can be corrective to a distorted picture of the reactionary Luther in the political realm.

Regarding mammon as the chief example of opposition to God, Luther advocates for the poor by denouncing the reality of the devouring capital process and system. The economic issue becomes an integral part in Luther’s theological and confessional deliberation of God. Luther was keenly aware of the emerging internal, monopolistic trading and banking companies (Fugger and Wesler among others) in the Genoese-Spanish cycle of capital accumulation.³² Luther’s theology of economic justice has more potential in today’s theological

endeavor to bring alternatives to global capitalism, while recognizing that the critique of Luther's political stance during the Peasant's War is excessive.

In his *Smalcald Articles*, Luther defines mutual conversation and consolation of brothers and sisters as the fifth form of the gospel. Through the mutual colloquium and consolation of brothers and sisters in Christ, the Holy Spirit is understood as the Spirit of comfort. God has commanded that one person should comfort another and the one who is in trouble should believe such comfort as God's own voice. God speaks through St. Paul, "Comfort the sorrowful" (1 Thess 5:14), and in Isaiah 40:1f., "Comfort, O comfort my people, and speak tenderly."³³

Luther's spirituality, as seen in light of his spiritual poverty before God and longing for God's grace, finds its concrete expression in his care for the poor in the material realm. The care of the poor is the primary vocation of Christians in the world. The church should serve the poor through advocating justice, equity, and compassion. Luther's spirituality is directed toward prophetic *diakonia* and social *koinonia*.

In *The Magnificat*, Luther's theology of the poor becomes evident and compelling. God is revealed in the lowliness of a poor maiden, in suffering, and in the cross. God turns the world upside down by choosing the humble and the poor. The Holy Spirit witnesses God's subversive action in reference to those who are poor, insignificant, and marginalized. Where God is thus experienced as the One who looks into the depths and helps only the poor, the despised, the suffering, the lamenting, the forgotten, here is the Holy Spirit who can teach such boundless knowledge and desire through experience.³⁴

Understood in this way, there is no greater service of God than Christian love that helps and serves the needy and the poor. Christ's final judgment attests to it, and Christian *diakonia* is called *bona ecclesiae*, serving all who are needy and the lowly in the Christian community.³⁵

In light of our descriptive analysis, it is safe to say that Luther's theology of the Spirit can be retrieved and actualized in today's inquiry of the pneumatology regarding spirituality and socioethical life in the public sphere. However, this study does not avoid his attitudinal limitations regarding the Jewish community³⁶ and the peasant.

JOHN CALVIN

In the *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563), we read that "by his Spirit, he also assures me of eternal life, and makes me wholeheartedly willing and ready from now on to live for him."³⁷ In the field of Christian

spirituality, focus is given to human longing for God in an experiential dimension. This spirituality accentuates a deeper experiential relationship with God where Christian faith is grounded in spiritually “knowing” God. The Reformed tradition originates from the Swiss Reformation in the sixteenth century, led by Huldrych Zwingli in Zurich (from around 1523 until his death in 1531) and by John Calvin in Geneva (from 1536 until his death in 1564).

In *The Scots Confession* (1560), the oldest of the Reformed confessional documents, it is clear that our faith and its assurance proceed from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit rather than natural powers within us.³⁸ In Chapter 21 of the *Scots Confession* we read that “the Holy Spirit does sanctify and regenerate us without respect to any merit proceeding from us be it before or after our regeneration.”³⁹

Along this line of Reformed teaching it is meaningful and essential to develop a spiritual relationship with God and a life of discipleship in the world in light of the Holy Spirit. William Bouwsma, in his biography of Calvin, argues that an interpretation of Calvin as a systematic thinker would be an anachronism because “systematic” thinkers in the sixteenth century were not considered significant. Thus, he suggests two sides of Calvin. The one is a philosopher, a rationalist, and a schoolman in the high Scholastic tradition represented by Thomas Aquinas. The other is a rhetorician and humanist who is primed to celebrate and welcome the paradoxes and mystery underlined at the heart of existence.⁴⁰

The first side of Calvin tends toward static orthodoxy, craving for intelligibility, order, and certainty. This Calvin was driven “by a terror that took shape for him in the sense of the abyss.”⁴¹ However, the other side of Calvin as a rhetorician and humanist is concerned about the primacy of experience and practice over theory, demonstrating a considerable tolerance for freedom, ambiguity, and incongruity. Here, Christianity is apprehended as a religion of dynamism in which a Christian makes progress spiritually toward the full stature of Christ. This humanistic Calvin dreads “entrapment in a labyrinth” that he himself expressed.⁴²

In his portrait of John Calvin in the sixteenth century, Bouwsma argues that these two paradoxical tendencies are combined within Calvin. Later Calvinists were legitimate heirs of the philosophical and systematic side of Calvin, while unfortunately rejecting the rhetorical and humanistic qualities in Calvin’s own thought.⁴³

In due respect to Bouwsma’s contribution, at issue in my study of Calvin is how to hermeneutically retrieve a spiritual side of Calvin as a theologian of the Holy Spirit. In light of the Holy Spirit,

Calvin's systematic-dogmatic and spiritual-mystic tendencies become complementary rather than contradictory.

The dogmatic, scholastic side of Calvin can be seen in the definition of God as conceptualized in the *Westminster Shorter Catechism*: "God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth."⁴⁴ This definition of God as the unchangeable One is at odds with the language of religious experience and God's relationship with us. However, the experiential side of Calvin welcomes the priority of God's mystery and human experience, allowing for a tolerance of Christian freedom.⁴⁵

Calvin is a complex thinker. Dogmatic and confessional language is intertwined with the language of religious experience in his theological framework. In the study of Calvin, as compared to Luther, we are concerned with interpreting Calvin's complex thought in light of his teaching of the Holy Spirit.

When it comes to Calvin's theology of the Holy Spirit, Wartfield characterizes John Calvin as preeminently a "theologian of the Holy Spirit."⁴⁶ Werner Krusche describes Calvin's theology of the Spirit on a Trinitarian basis with regard to creation, anthropology, and ecclesiology.⁴⁷ However, attempts at describing Calvin as a preeminent theologian of the Holy Spirit contradict the more popular description of Calvin as a theologian of God's sovereignty or predestination. Therefore, Wilhelm Niesel has addressed the difficulty of arriving at "any consensus of Calvin's theology as a whole."⁴⁸ A historical view of Calvin studies reveals a lack of academic interest in Calvin's spirituality and ethical concern in light of the theology of the Spirit.

Given this fact, it is vital to review Calvin's theology of the third article in reference to spirituality and ethical life. Calvin's genuine concern for the Spirit and Christian spirituality becomes obvious in the practical motivations behind his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. In view of "the end to which the Holy Spirit calls him [a person]," Calvin designs the *Institutes* primarily "to help simple folk . . . to guide them and help them to find the sum of what God meant to teach us in his Word."⁴⁹

Calvin's *Institutes* underlines the dynamic function of the Holy Spirit as admonishing and illuminating the human being in light of the word of God. For Calvin, basic instruction in the Christian religion is necessary for the whole sum of godliness (*pietatis*), for all Christians with a zeal for godliness.⁵⁰

In the doctrine of creation Calvin underscores Spirit as *Spiritus Creator* at work in creation through which the world is preserved,

restored, and guided. Without the power of the Holy Spirit, the world would not be sustained, and would consequently degenerate into the chaos of bestiality. As far as the person and work of the Holy Spirit is concerned, Calvin conceptualizes the Spirit as the bond of the Father and the Son in the Trinitarian context (*Inst.* I.xiii.19-23). The Holy Spirit, as the Spirit of the Father and the Son, functions to mediate the dynamic being of the triune God in an immanent as well as in an economic way.

For Calvin, the work of Christ stands only in relation to the Holy Spirit, and vice versa. In a Christological context, the *munus triplex* of Christ (prophetic, kingly, and priestly), which is connected with the work of the Spirit, retains a spiritual and ethical bearing on Christian life. The Spirit, which involves the sovereignty and freedom of God, gives impulse and direction for the Christian life, so that the grace and power of the Holy Spirit renews and stimulates Christian life toward the glory of God. This implies the doxological aspect of the spiritual life.

On the nature and authority of scripture, Calvin makes a significant contribution toward the doctrine of the internal witness or testimony of the Holy Spirit. This doctrine also becomes manifest in view of the inner working and witness of the Spirit when it comes to the knowledge of God, the authority of scripture, and the efficient loci of preaching (*Inst.* I.ix.1-3). Preaching is not speaking about Christ, but rather the event through which Christ himself comes to us. It is the Holy Spirit that brings about the real presence of Christ through preaching. Calvin states that when God speaks, God adds the efficacy of the Spirit. God's word would be fruitless without the Spirit.⁵¹

Calvin displays and proposes the entire doctrine of Christian ethics (or the Christian life of spirituality) in light of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit integrates the objective work of Christ, as highlighted in Christology and soteriology, into our subjective benefit. Thus, the Holy Spirit mediates, communicates, and effectuates salvific benefits of Christ for us.

What is at issue is the "power and efficacy" of God's activity in Christ (*Inst.* I.xiii.18), in which the Spirit enables us to be in union with Christ. Calvin's teaching of the mystical union of the believer with the Lord is highlighted in his teaching of the Spirit with emphasis on our communion with the real presence of Christ. From this Christ-union aspect springs double grace (justification and sanctification), and in this light, Calvin's theology of election has to be understood as the grace of God rather than as human speculation of God's eternal decree.

According to Calvin, the integration of this Spirit's impact on and actualization of the Christian spiritual and ethical life is crucial. The regenerating and sanctifying Spirit of God, which directs human beings toward the love of God and the neighbor, plays a pivotal role in the formation of Calvin's understanding of spirituality and ethical responsibility. Calvin's reflection on the work and function of the Spirit can be found in the opening sections of Book III. By the Holy Spirit, "we come to enjoy Christ and all his benefits . . . the Spirit is the bond by which Christ effectually unites us to himself" (*Inst.* III.i.1). Regeneration, calling, conversion, repentance, justification by faith, or sanctification—his whole theological terminology—is associated with the reality and actuality of the Holy Spirit.

From the beginning of the *Institutes*, Calvin makes a concerted attempt to integrate spirituality into theological reflection. Theological reflection is not meant to merely articulate or explore dogmatic statements and categories. Rather, it also rightly deals with the genuine human experience of God in an appropriate way, since Calvin considers theological knowledge to be experiential, vital, and alive.

In speaking of Christian spirituality, Calvin holds that one is required to begin with an experience of Christ (i.e., our mystical union with Christ). Communion with Christ indicates the significance of such experiential reality from which justification, sanctification, and election spring. This union with Christ plays an indispensable part in the formation of spiritual life. Therefore, it is essential to assign the highest rank to that union of the head and members, which implies the real presence of Christ in our hearts in the sense of a mystical union (in Latin, *mystica*; in French, *union sacrée*) (*Inst.* III.xi.10).⁵²

In terms of a mystical union, Tamburello accentuates the positive relationship between Calvin and Bernard of Clairvaux. According to Tamburello, Calvin does not find the pious soul with mystical experiences to be central. Rather, Christ and the believers' life are at the center.⁵³

Tamburello utilizes Troeltsch's definition of mysticism to appreciate the mystical element in Calvin's thought in a more persuasive way. According to Troeltsch, mysticism, in a broader sense, implies a direct inward and present religious experience. This mysticism embraces a fundamental dimension of Christian life that can be seen as a phenomenon intrinsic to all religious life.

When it comes to the relationship between spiritual theology and ethical direction in Calvin's eucharistic theology, André Biéler states that Calvin's theology of life, which views life as continually renewed by sacraments in mystical union with Jesus Christ, can no longer take

a form of solitude and individualism, but always and necessarily a form of social life.⁵⁴ Calvin never loses sight of articulating the Holy Spirit as the bond of our union with Christ.

Understood in this way, Christian spirituality implies the entire process of Christian life toward sanctification in the power of the Spirit. Calvin's emphasis on the Spirit also becomes evident and compelling in his teaching on the church and sacraments. Calvin begins Book IV of the *Institutes* with the following heading: "The True Church with which as Mother of all the godly we must keep unity." Likewise, Calvin understands the sacrament as the visible form of the real presence of Christ, as preaching is the audible form of the Word. The Eucharist, which means Christ himself, is given as a gift by the power of the Holy Spirit.

In briefly reviewing Calvin's theology of the Spirit in reference to other theological issues, it is worth noting the argument of Hendrikus Berkhof: "The famous third book of the *Institutes* contains great riches in the field of pneumatology, many of which have not yet been uncovered by Reformed churches."⁵⁵ Furthermore, Heron argues that the union between Christ and us lies at the heart of Calvin's theology, which is strongly reminiscent of Irenaeus and other Greek fathers. Given this fact, the main points of disagreement between Luther and Calvin have to do with Christology and eucharistic theology rather than with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶

In dealing with Calvin's theology of the Holy Spirit in regard to spirituality and ethical life, the fundamental concern is also articulated in the *Institutes*: "My intention is only to offer some basic rudiments (*rudimenta*) through which those who feel some interest in religion (*studio religionis*) might be trained to true piety (*ad veram pietatem*)."⁵⁷

John T. McNeill has observed the significance of piety in matters pertaining to Calvin's theological concern in the *Institutes*. Noting that Calvin prefers naming his book "a *summa pietatis*" rather than "a *summa theologiae*," McNeill states, "The whole work is suffused with an awed sense of God's ineffable majesty, sovereign power, and immediate presence with us men."⁵⁸ According to Calvin, piety means "that reverence joined with love of God which the knowledge of his benefits induces" (*Inst.* I.ii.1).

In this light William Bouwsma deserves attention. According to him, Calvin's religion has not been generally treated as "spirituality" because it is largely a result of the widespread notion of Calvin as a systematic and dogmatic theologian. However, this says "more about the later Calvinism than about Calvin." Calvin finds himself

“as an exclusively biblical theologian.” “He valued system . . . only for limited, practical, and pedagogical purposes.” Otherwise, he was suspicious of all human impulses “to systematize, above all in religious matters.”⁵⁹

ORGANIZATIONAL THEMES IN THE STUDY OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD: SPIRITUALITY AND ETHICAL LIFE

Given the analysis of Luther’s and Calvin’s reflection on pneumatological configuration, we gain a rationale and ground for advancing and refurbishing our organizational theme of Christian spirituality and ethical life from the Reformation point of view.

As far as the relationship between spirituality and social ethics is concerned, it is important to clarify the definition of Christian spirituality as an academic discipline by distinguishing it from other disciplines. According to Bernard McGinn, Christian spirituality is the lived experiences of Christian belief in both its general and more specialized forms.

Thus, McGinn distinguishes spirituality “from doctrine in that it concentrates not on faith itself, but on the reaction that faith arouses in religious consciousness and practice.” Spirituality is also distinguished “from Christian ethics in that it treats not all human actions in their relation to God, but those acts in which the relation to God is immediate and explicit.”⁶⁰

In the reformers’ view of religious experience – spirituality, in other words – union with Christ can find its locus within the faith, or grace of God’s justification through Word and sacraments. The difference between spirituality, dogmatic theology, and ethics does not necessarily mean that one should treat each discipline in an independent and separate manner. Rather, Christian spirituality needs to be investigated and scrutinized in reference to dogmatic theology and ethical reflection in an interdisciplinary and hermeneutical way. In a similar fashion, Sandra Schneiders holds, “Spirituality better denotes the subject matter of this interdisciplinary field than narrower terms such as spiritual theology.”⁶¹

For the two reformers, spirituality can be interpreted to mean the entire process of a believer’s life toward personal and social sanctification in the presence of the Spirit. This spirituality is not individualistic but socially and publicly engaged and oriented. Christian life, which is characterized in terms of sacramental spirituality in the context of union with Christ, is basically grounded in the concrete social life. Like Luther, Calvin understands the grace of justification in terms

of expression of evangelical freedom grounded in our faith in Jesus Christ.

For the reformers, social ethics are based primarily on biblical insights and resources, that is, in God's loving concern for the poor. Especially Luther considers human reason in the field of society very important in speaking of the issue of justice and rationality. Unlike Anabaptists who accommodate the biblical commands to the social arena without hesitation, Luther advocates a biblical-moral law of Moses in accordance with human reason. Ethical law should be in accordance with human reason as emancipated by the grace of justification.

A discussion of Christian spirituality and life would not be appropriate without a connection to the Christian commitment for economic justice. Christian life in justification and sanctification coexists in a dialectical relation, implying growth and progress. This life moves basically in the direction of prophetic *diakonia* and social *koinonia* in accompaniment with the poor in our world, that is, in a spirituality of world transformation. Nevertheless, Luther's hostile attitude toward the rebellious peasant remains a problem, disgracing his legacy in the political field. Calvin's intolerance of those who opposed his theological tenet marks the same problem. This unfortunate legacy of intolerance belongs to our hermeneutics of suspicion and refusal of Calvin's limitation.

Christian spirituality embraces holistic aspects of life when it comes to politics and economics, liturgical practice and communal worship, and prayer and meditation. Given the discussion of spirituality and ethical life, this volume attempts to make a hermeneutical contribution to reclaiming Christian spirituality and social ethics in light of the Reformation's theology of the Spirit. An interpretative strategy is to scrutinize and clarify how Luther and Calvin deal with spiritual life, integrating it into ethical life in the horizon of the Spirit when they speak of other theological subjects (creation, Trinity, Christ-union, law and gospel, and church).

Organizationally, chapter 1 will discuss the cosmic and creative dimension of the Spirit for the two reformers. In a discussion of the Holy Spirit and creation it is of vital importance to scrutinize Reformation theology and natural theology in regard to the controversy between Karl Barth and Emil Brunner about the point of contact.

In chapter 2, focus will be given to the basic structure of the reformers' doctrine of Trinity, explicating the function and role of the Spirit in relation to the Father and the Son. For promoting ecumenical development, it will review the Christological debate between the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church. Furthermore, the

chapter will explore and discuss the Trinity and *filioque* controversy in an ecumenical perspective regarding the Orthodox Church, God of Israel, and eschatology in the Jewish-Christian context.

In chapter 3, the discussion will turn to the relation of the Spirit to salvation in light of Christ-union as it pertains to double grace (justification and sanctification) and election. Viewing Calvin's concept of election in light of Christ-union, attention will be given to Barth's debate on election in reference to Luther and Calvin. Here, the chapter will articulate Christian spirituality in terms of the dogmatic concepts of justification, sanctification, and election in a more interdependent and interconnected way.

In chapter 4, the reformers' ethical and practical reflection of Christian life in regard to the work of the Holy Spirit will be the focus. Luther's principle of law and gospel will be examined and discussed in connection with Calvin's threefold use of the law. Following this will be a critical analysis of the third use of the law in the Lutheran tradition. Therefore, it is worthwhile to deal with the unity of the Word of God between Luther and Barth from an ecumenical point of view.

In chapter 5, there will be an examination of the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the church. Viewing the church's responsibility in the public sphere, the chapter will analyze and examine Luther's and Calvin's deliberation on economic ethics with respect to the socioeconomic issue. Investigation of the two reformers' views of economic justice in the public sphere will place them as potential speakers on the church's struggle today with economic issues in the context of globalization. The hermeneutical retrieval of economic justice in reformer's thought for theological relevance can be a constructive proposal in contrast to a generalized picture of the two reformers' failure in terms of political intolerance and doctrinal rigidity.

In the conclusion, we will discuss and articulate eucharistic theology in a Lutheran-Reformed dialogue to promote ecumenical fellowship. In the afterword, we will give attention to the Reformation's legacy in the historical development of the spirit of capitalism, including a discussion of Max Weber's sociological evaluation of a selective affinity between Reformation and capitalism. This sociological debate of Reformation and the ethos of capitalism will provide an opportunity for us to review Luther's and Calvin's legacy in the social-economic sphere. That perspective will bring the two reformers into greater solidarity with those who are economically weaker and marginalized, rather than accommodating the status quo of capitalist society.

Given the study of our themes in light of the theology of the Spirit, this book presents itself as an original contribution to studies of Luther

and Calvin, including the broader topic of pneumatology in an ecumenical perspective. Many books in the field of spirituality and the Holy Spirit tend not to consider Luther and Calvin. In these writings, the reformers' dynamic and comprehensive view of the work and the person of the Holy Spirit is often treated in only a cursory and limited fashion.

To counter this, we will attempt to correct narrow and unilateral readings of the reformers and provide to the field of pneumatology a cogent and reliable argument and rationale for what Luther and Calvin have in common regarding the Holy Spirit, the life-giver.

CHAPTER 1



THE *SPIRITUS CREATOR*

Scholars generally Agree that Luther and Calvin lack interest in the theology of the Holy Spirit's involvement in creation. Most think that Luther focuses primarily on the Word of promise and on justification in a forensic sense, while Calvin underscores the theological subject matter in light of the sovereignty of God. However, the significance and radicality of what Luther and Calvin bring to the theology of creation is their powerful sense of the Spirit's presence and activity in creaturely lives.

To explore the reformers' theology of the third article of the Apostles' Creed, it is vital and salient to discuss what Luther and Calvin hold in common concerning the significance of the Spirit's work in creation. Most importantly, Luther and Calvin have very distinctive—and nuanced—understandings of how the Spirit functions within the creaturely realm. They retain an aesthetic sense of the beauty of creation. Their understanding of the Spirit's activity in creation has much relevance to broader questions: how Christian religion functions in natural and public life in relation to an ecological ethics of sustainability in today's global context.

For Luther, the Holy Spirit is *Spiritus Creator*, the creative Spirit. The Spirit is involved in the human inner struggle and raises the human from death to life as a new creation of the Spirit. The groaning of the Spirit toward God, according to Romans 8:22–23, and the Spirit as a comforter and interceder are associated with the Spirit in creation according to Genesis 1:1. Luther ascribes consolation, sanctification, and illumination to the Holy Spirit as *Spiritus Creator*, the sustainer of creation in the Trinitarian point of view. The Spirit's cosmic work, in Luther's sense, is founded in biblical testimony

(Ps 104:29–31). The Spirit is present and at work in all creation, in every human deed, and even in every natural occurrence.

What characterizes Luther's theology of creation is his Trinitarian approach. The Spirit is the third Person of the triune God, working together with the Father and the Son. God the Father is the origin and source of creatures' lives, creating them out of nothing through God's eternal Word. The Holy Spirit as the sustainer of the creation preserves God's whole creation. The Spirit is one with the Father and the Son in divine majesty and equality, participating in the act of God in creation, justification, sanctification, and eschatology. The Spirit is involved in God's all-embracing, life-creating, and life-saving work, bringing human beings in Christ to God the Father. The activity of the Spirit is fundamental and connected with all of Luther's other important themes.

While Luther embraces universal and general knowledge of God, and particular and justifying knowledge of God in light of the activity of the Spirit, Calvin combines the fundamental purpose of creation with twofold knowledge: the knowledge of God and the knowledge of our own being. God is revealed to us as the Creator (*Inst.* I.ii.1). Calvin's twofold knowledge of God (*Duplex cognitio Domini*) implies that God as the Creator is both in the formation of the world and in the general doctrine of Scripture. Afterward, God is revealed as the Redeemer in the person of Jesus Christ.

Calvin views the Holy Spirit as the one equivalent in dignity and majesty with the Father and the Son, with special emphasis on the Spirit's participation in creation. God's creation is conceptualized in relation to Christ's incarnation and the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit in human beings. With regard to the doctrine of creation in Scriptures, Calvin interprets the Spirit in creation to be both of the Father and of the eternal Son. Like Luther, Calvin also speaks about the work of creation in terms of the Trinity. God created the world through the eternal Word. However, this creation needs the power and efficacy of the Spirit, so that the world can be sustained and maintained against falling back into chaos. In Calvin's view, the creation out of nothing is essential and central to *Spiritus Creator*. Scripture tells us that God, by the power of the Word and Spirit, created heaven and earth out of nothing (*Inst.* I.xiv.20).

Likewise, Luther understands the formula *creatio ex nihilo* in terms of God's sovereignty over the world's finitude. God gives life and calls into existence what does not exist. For Luther, God created the world in God's freedom and love. God's creation of all creatures undergirds lies in creatures' active service in cooperation with God against the devil.¹ Luther's understanding of *creatio ex nihilo* retains a strong

ethical mandate in regard to creatures' cooperation in the sphere of God's creaturely realm, while human cooperation is strictly rejected in matters of justification. Similarly, Calvin interprets *creatio ex nihilo* in light of God as the One who alone is eternal and self-existent. *Creatio ex nihilo* implies that the world has only one foundation, namely the goodness of God. Therefore, "out of nothing" does not mean "out of the Nothing,"—that is, out of some dangerous and chaotic power threatening our lives.

On the other hand the biblical belief in creation is grounded in Israel's experience of God's act in history. God's creation of the world demonstrates the freedom of God in love, which is expressed in the formula of "creation out of nothing" (2 Macc 7:28; cf. 4:17, Heb 11:3). In an ecumenical and interfaith context, Moltmann develops the discussion on creation. Drawing upon the Jewish idea of *tzimtzum* (God's self-limitation), he identifies God's act of creation as God's self-limitation.² In this framework, God's freedom allows for the independence of creaturely existence alongside God. Furthermore, he attempts to seek a solution in the Reformed doctrine of the divine eternal decree preceding the act of creation.³ However, Barth attempts to solve the issue of divine eternal decree in light of his Christological doctrine of election (CD II/2: 145).

Barth's thought gives a Trinitarian basis for God's relationship with the world. The biblical idea of creation rules out any dualistic view of the origin of the world or an independent view of the world estranged from God the Creator.

Unlike Moltmann, Pannenberg advocates for the unlimited freedom of God's act of creation through the Word and Spirit. Accentuating the goodness of God, Pannenberg argues that the existence of the world is the expression of the Father as Creator. His understanding of the unlimited freedom and goodness of God discards a reality of "nothing," leaning toward a monistic unlimited power of God. However, Barth argues that "nothingness" should be understood as opposition and resistance (CD III/3:327). The theology of the creative Spirit calls for an ethically grounded theology regarding the reality of nothingness—the lordless powers in the public sphere. The Spirit of God is the Spirit of divine protest against the reality of "the powers and principalities."

THE SPIRIT, LIFE-GIVER

In his explanation of the first article in *The Large Catechism*, Luther articulates an existential relationship between humans and God the Creator. Luther confesses that God daily guards and defends us against

evil, warding off danger and disaster out of God's pure love and goodness, without our merit. Because God gives, sustains, and protects everything we possess, and everything in heaven and on earth, it is our duty to love, praise, and thank God. Regarding God's giving, we sense God's fatherly heart and boundless love toward us, so that our hearts are warmed and grateful to God, and the desire to use all these blessings to God's glory and praise is kindled in us.⁴

Along with the first article of God the Creator, Luther does not exclusively confine the work of the Holy Spirit to salvation, faith, and the church. God creates, sustains, and preserves everything in creation through the Holy Spirit, so that the Spirit is present and at work in all creation as well as in every human life. As Luther states, "the Holy Spirit is among humans in a twofold way. First through a universal activity, by which he preserves them as well as God's other creatures. Second, the Holy Spirit is given from Christ to believers."⁵ All natural gifts and activities are understood in light of the Holy Spirit. "So all these things are services and fruits of the Spirit. Raising one's children, loving one's wife, and obeying the magistrate are fruits of the Spirit."⁶

The Spirit is the life-giver involved in God's preservation of all creaturely life. Luther's discussion of the Spirit is framed in the Trinitarian sense—God the Creator, the Son the Redeemer, and the Spirit the Sanctifier. In this Trinitarian concept of appropriation, Luther does not ignore a perichoretic relationship in the triune God when it comes to creation, redemption, and sanctification.

God's constant preservation of creation can be regarded as God's ongoing act of new creation. As Luther states, "Daily we can see the birth into this world of new human beings, young children who were non-existent before; we behold new trees, new animals on the earth, new fish in the water, new birds in the air. And such creation and preservation will continue until the Last Day."⁷ God's creation was not completed as a one-time event in the past, but it is *creatio continua*, an ongoing activity under, with, and through all creatures in the presence of the Spirit. God is actively present, working and creating in all of creation, even in the tiniest leaf of a tree, embracing both the innermost and outermost aspects in the universal presence of the Holy Spirit.

Luther suggests that God's immanence does not mean full completion of God's self into the reality of the world. It does not contradict God's transcendence of the world. In this regard, his statement deserves attention. "Nothing is so small but God is still smaller, nothing so large but God is still larger, nothing is so short but God is still shorter, nothing so long but God is still longer, nothing is so broad but God is still broader, nothing so narrow but God is still

narrower, etc.”⁸ God as the principal cause uses all creatures as tools or masks in the service of God’s love in freedom. All creatures are God’s masks and disguises under which God conceals God’s self, exercising God’s dominion in a mysterious way. God remains free to give so that human activity receives God’s gifts.

That God calls into existence the things that do not exist (Rom 4:17) is, according to Luther, identical with God’s command or speech that is equivalent to creation. God, through God’s word, is also active in political and sociocultural realms. Through the word, God gives authority to the rulers, preserving and sustaining the effectiveness of human cultural and political life. This word of God refers to God’s secret, creating, and preserving word. Through the word, God in the presence of the Spirit is ceaselessly active in all of creation.

For Luther, God’s power denotes an energetic and continuous activity through the Word and the Spirit, rather than a quiescent power. God works in all things everywhere, and is present even in death, in the godless, and in hell. God’s all-encompassing activity is articulated in human relationship to God in terms of law (God’s wrath) and gospel (God’s forgiveness). Luther’s thesis of God’s working in all areas does not relativize human sin and guilt because the human being is responsible for sin.

How does Calvin articulate God’s sustaining and preserving work in the creation? For Calvin, *Spiritus Creator* is related to the threefold way of life in the scope and reach of creation. Calvin refers to *universal life* (which consists only in motion and sense), *human life* (which one possesses as the child of Adam), and *supernatural life* (which the believer alone obtains).⁹ In dealing with Calvin’s theology of the Spirit, Werner Krusche makes an appropriate distinction between the cosmic but hidden power of God (the general, indiscriminate bestowal of various gifts upon all human beings) and the particular regenerating work of the Spirit.¹⁰

When it comes to the cosmic and universal dimension of the Spirit, Calvin states that “the power of the Spirit was necessary in order to sustain it [the world],” cherishing the earth “by his secret virtue, that it might remain stable for the time.”¹¹ Here we see the Spirit maintaining order and producing life, which refers to God’s continuous action in the process of creation. According to Calvin, God brought forth living beings and inanimate things of every kind.

In a wonderful series God distinguished an innumerable variety of things and provides for the preservation of each species until the Last Day (*Inst.* I.xiv.20). God nourishes some in secret ways and from time to time instills new vigor into them (*Inst.* I.xiv.20).

God stands in a particular relationship with human beings as well as with every kind of creature and with nature. Calvin's praise of nature's beauty is striking. The created world, as a "most beautiful theatre," endows "each with its own nature, assigned functions, appointed places, and stations" (*Inst.* I.xiv.20). All living creatures are enabled to be witnesses and messengers of divine glory to all human beings in God's service and honor. "For the little singing birds sang of God, the animals acclaimed him, the elements feared and the mountains resounded with him, the river and springs threw glances toward him, the grasses and the flowers smiled."¹²

As Calvin expresses an aesthetic sense of creation, Luther also articulates the beauty of nature in the following way: "We have become deaf to what Pythagoras aptly terms this wonderful and most lovely music coming from the harmony of the motions that are in the celestial spheres."¹³ The lovely music of nature that is at the heart of Luther's aesthetics of creation signifies wonderment of the harmony and interconnection between human beings and nature.

The orderliness or constancy of God's will within nature is discernable. Calvin contends that the universe is a book, theatre, or mirror. God appears "in the garment of creation" (*Inst.* I.v.1). Similarly, for Luther God reveals God's self as a good Creator, as testified by the sun and moon, heaven and earth, and all fruits growing out of the earth. However, human nature, so corrupted and poisoned due to original sin, is not able to know or understand God.

In this light, Reformation language of the Spirit as the life-giver in a cosmic and universal dimension can thus be regarded as a theological program for deepening the interconnection of human beings with nature. Reformation theology of the Spirit can disclose the cosmic breath of the Spirit that leads the church to heed the Spirit present in nature and in the care of the earth's ecosystem. The church moves toward solidarity with the lives of creatures.

As far as the *Spiritus Creator* stands in relation to the preservation of the creatures' lives, the Holy Spirit is, in Calvin's view, the *fons vitae*, the well of life. All creatures are aflame with the glory of the Lord, full of the wonderful hymn of creation.¹⁴ Reformation theology of the *Spiritus Creator* upholds the cosmic breath of the Spirit, leading to respect for all living things because God is present in them through the Spirit.

In this light, Reformation theology of the Spirit navigates a middle course between the Scylla of nature's self-apotheosis and the Charybdis of modern desacralized exploitation. Addressing the carefully planned sustainability of the ecological web of life and the profit

motive that threatens ecosystems is central to the Christian theology of creation. Thus, the responsibility of the church toward the earth is a crucial part of the church's stewardship for creaturely life in the natural environment.

GOD SEEN IN LIGHT OF NATURAL KNOWLEDGE

The natural knowledge of God, in Luther's view, is constructed in accordance with Romans 1:19ff. God has placed this knowledge within the human heart. The Jews received God's law on Mount Sinai, while the Gentiles were granted the law in their hearts. Such knowledge comes from God's grace through creation, rather than from human reason. Likewise, Calvin interprets natural knowledge of God through *ordo naturae*, or the whole array of the physical world that includes human nature.¹⁵

Nature is God's creature under the promise of God's covenant, which is preserved and cared for by the power of the Holy Spirit. Nature itself is not exalted to be a catalyst for revelation or regenerated life in Christ. For Luther, all of creation is a beautiful book in which God manifests God's self. Even Pythagoras recognized that the most lively celestial orbs proclaim God in the creation.¹⁶

A theological discussion of nature from a Reformation perspective should not be misunderstood or glorified as an independent natural theology, as if it had little to do with God's grace in Christ under the guidance of the Spirit. Reformation theology does not justify an autonomous rational structure developed on the ground of nature alone. Such a structure stands in abstraction from the active self-disclosure of the living God.¹⁷ Rather, in God's creation nature has its unique place in relation to human life.

Luther states that God creates and preserves the creaturely realm, present everywhere, even in the tiniest leaf of a tree. God continues to transcend the world while at the same time working in all things. God remains free in the world, ceaselessly working in all creatures as masks or disguises of God. Along this line, God can be known to some degree even in disconnection from the historical revelation of Jesus Christ.

Elaborating Paul's assertion (Rom 1:20), Luther affirms that God has been known through the creation. In the veneration of various gods in the pagan world, humans retain within themselves a notion of God because such knowledge has been given by God to humanity. This religiosity cannot be eradicated from the human heart and thus it

witnesses to the goodness of God the Creator. Natural reason attests that all good originates with God.

In this regard, Luther makes reference to Romans 1:19ff in order to advocate that people have a natural knowledge of God. The Decalogue belongs to the category of general or natural knowledge of God. God lets God's self be seen and known by one and all. Revealing God's self as a good creator, God acts for our good and gives us all good things. "But it is not the creator's fault and that of his innumerable good acts that we do not recognize God, as if God desired to be hidden from our eyes."¹⁸

In a similar fashion, Calvin affirms that there is natural instinct, an awareness of divinity within the human mind. God has implanted in all human beings a certain understanding of God's divine majesty. With this capacity, a human being retains "some seed of religion" inherent in the hearts of all, that is, "a sense of deity inscribed in the hearts of all" (*Inst.* I.iii.1).

Advancing this idea, Calvin, in his exposition of Acts 17:28, articulates the universal dimension of the life-giving Spirit in reference to the natural knowledge of God. We contemplate God in God's works in such a way that God renders God's self familiar to us and communicates God's self in some degree or manner (Acts 17:27–28, Ps 145:3; 5–6; cf. Ps 40:5).

Calvin stresses that those who do not know God know not themselves. They have God present within them not only in the excellent gifts of the mind, but in their very essence.¹⁹ It is the *imago Dei* that exalts human beings over the common mass of other creatures (*Inst.* I.xv.3). Although the image of God was destroyed after the fall, it is possible to judge what it originally had been when the image of God is restored by the Holy Spirit.²⁰

It is interesting to notice Calvin's insistence that natural endowments of human beings are not totally destroyed regardless of corruption. It is also important to make a sharp distinction between corrupted "natural gifts" and "supernatural gifts" taken away from human beings. Calvin implies that human reason, which distinguishes between good and evil, understands, and judges, is a natural gift. It is not completely destroyed. Rather, it is only partly weakened and partly corrupted (*Inst.* II.ii.12).

In this light, Calvin also advocates that the human being has a natural instinct to establish, foster, and preserve society. In other words, the human being has sparks, or a few meager sparks, that still gleam. These sparks, which include "government, household management, all mechanical skills, the liberal arts," clearly testify "to a universal apprehension of reason and understanding by nature implanted in

men" (*Inst.* II.ii.13–14). Thus, the Spirit of God is explicitly apprehended and conceptualized as the source of human life and the source of all natural gifts.

REFORMATION AND NATURAL THEOLOGY

National Socialism in Germany was involved in a heated debate about the relationship between Reformation theology and natural theology. The best example is the controversy between Barth and Brunner regarding the concept of point of contact between nature and grace. It is important to review this debate as we engage in a careful examination of the reformers' positions.

Calvin understands that the *sensus divinitatis* and the *conscientia* as natural endowments of human beings are invincible even by sin. However, in his commentary on the Gospel of John (1:5), he also notes that endowments of human nature apart from grace finally come to monstrous birth in a thousand superstitions, and conscience corrupts all judgment, confounding vice with virtue. For Calvin the knowledge of God inherent in human beings is nothing but the terrible source of all idolatry and superstition.²¹

Based on such passages, Karl Barth pronounces natural theology an enterprise doomed to fail. Consequently, Barth rejects any point of contact for revelation.²² It is certain that Calvin is a complex thinker regarding the dimension of natural theology. Despite his appreciation of a divine seed in human hearts, Calvin argues that the evidence of God in creation does not profit us. The human mind is "like a labyrinth" (*Inst.* I.v.12) so that the most excellent philosopher, such as Plato, profanes God's truth beyond measure. Without illumination of the inner revelation of God through faith, we do not have eyes to see the invisible divinity (*Inst.* I.v.14). God gives witness of God's self from heaven.

However, Edward Dowey argues that "the impious themselves exemplify the fact that some conception of God is ever alive in all men's minds."²³ According to Dowey, Calvin recognizes a point of contact with the redeeming grace of God. Thus, Dowey argues that Barth has no grounds to cite Calvin in his denial of the point of contact and natural theology. Given the relationship between Reformation theology and natural theology, it is crucial to primarily review the debate between Barth and Brunner over natural theology by examining the reformers' complex thought about the relationship between nature and grace.

A. In his confrontation with Emil Brunner, Barth's "Nein!" to Brunner is not merely theological, but also politically motivated in

light of German Christian support for Nazism. The "German Christians," in the *Deutsche Pfarrerblatt* (1934, No. 30, 377), appreciated Brunner's natural theology, calling his article about natural theology "a mine of treasure, a veritable gold-mine."²⁴

For Brunner, Calvin's concept of the *imago Dei* is fundamental for supporting his *theologia naturalis*. The full content of the *imago Dei* can only be known from the reparation, from the regeneration in Christ and through the Holy Spirit. Although Calvin describes the *imago* as destroyed and spoiled apart from the redemption of Christ, Brunner holds that Calvin, like Luther, uses the concept of a remnant of the *imago*. Brunner calls this remnant the formal side of the *imago*. Calvin identifies it with the entire human and rational nature, the immortal soul, the capacity for culture, the conscience, responsibility, the relation with God that exists in sin, language, and the whole of cultural life.²⁵

The law of God is indelibly and irremovably implanted in the remnant of the *imago*. Calvin relates this *lumen natural* directly to the Spirit of God. This *imago* in the formal sense is the seat of responsibility, of religion, and of the knowledge of God, becoming the principle of *theologia naturalis*. The human being is capable of the knowledge of God derived from nature, apart from the historical revelation of Jesus Christ as attested in Scripture. Brunner contends that Calvin believes in an original revelation from the time of creation. Having said this, Brunner insists that this is true of Luther's concept of *theologia naturalis*.²⁶

According to Brunner, Luther distinguishes between office and person, church and state, and his entire doctrine of vocation and status in light of the preserving grace and the ordinances of creation. All these secular realms do the works of God, acting in accordance with the laws of these ordinances, regardless of their motives. The law, whether it be written, natural, or ordinances, is a form in which the divine will is revealed. This law becomes a concrete divine commandment through the Holy Spirit, ruling human existence here and now. Only the Spirit teaches us to truly know the law and the ordinances, giving us strength to obey them so that the will of God is done both outwardly and inwardly.²⁷

Brunner further argues that there is an unrefracted *theologia naturalis* that is purely rational, and as such is a complete, self-sufficient, rational system apart from *theologia revelata*. *Theologia naturalis* is capable of serving *theologia revelata* by providing a solid foundation. The church's message rests upon the remnant of the *imago Dei*,

so that *analogia entis* (analogy of being) can be the basis of every Christian theology.²⁸

In contrast to Brunner, however, Luther implies that the universal activity of the Spirit is connected with the justifying and sanctifying Spirit. In other words, general or natural knowledge of God in accordance with Romans 1:19–21 is entangled with the corruption of human nature, and consequently it does not lead to the true God who is revealed finally and fully in Jesus Christ. Natural theology in Luther's sense cannot be construed and constructed in terms of Brunner's notion of point of contact, which is estranged from Luther's *theologia crucis*. If natural theology is exalted to a point of contact with the saving grace of God in Christ, it would become *theologia gloriae*. Ontological capacity based on the analogy of being is strictly rejected in the sphere of grace by justification.

Hence, in his debate with Erasmus, Luther rejects Erasmus's rationalization of predestination in view of God's foreknowledge and human merit. Erasmus argues that God's predestination or damnation depends on the result of human cooperation or noncooperation with God's grace.

Against Erasmus, Luther contends that universal sinfulness nullifies the human capacity of responsibility or free choice in matters pertaining to grace by justification.²⁹ In this regard, Luther emphatically expresses the work of the Holy Spirit. Before human beings are changed into a new creature of the Kingdom of the Spirit, they do nothing to prepare themselves for this Kingdom. However, the Spirit alone does both of these things in us, recreating us and preserving us without our help.³⁰

In his confrontation with Erasmus, Luther nevertheless does not reject a dimension of God's work in the universal activity of the Spirit among the Gentiles. God works all in all, even in the ungodly. They necessarily follow and obey it, each according to its capacity as given by God. Thus all things, even including the ungodly, cooperate with God. Furthermore, when human beings act by the Spirit of grace in justifying themselves in the kingdom of God, the Spirit actuates and moves them in a similar way.³¹

For instance, Luther uses the example of the excellence of the Turkish state. God has subjected secular rule to reason for bodily and temporal goods. The gospel does not instruct us how this rule is to be exercised and carried out. The pagans can speak and teach well on this subject. They are far more skilled than Christians in such matters. God is a gentle and rich Lord who bestows on the godless a great deal of

gold, silver, riches, dominions, and kingdoms. In the same way, God also grants them lofty reason, wisdom, languages, and eloquence. In this regard, Christians seem to be fools and beggars in contrast to the pagans.³²

In the first use of the law God performs God's work even through non-Christians, sometimes resulting in better outcomes than with Christians. This considered, it is vital to understand Luther's provocative statement: "For such blasphemies shall once sound more pleasant in God's ear than even the Hallelujahs or any other hymn of praise."³³

Given this fact, a dimension of natural theology in Luther's thought can be relativized, integrated, and renewed in light of God's secret, preserving, and irregular word that is connected with the universal activity of the Holy Spirit. Along this line, it is of special significance to heed Luther's comment on Ishmael. The expulsion of Ishmael does not mean that Ishmael should be utterly excluded from the kingdom of God. "The descendents of Ishmael also joined the church of Abraham and became heirs of the promise, not by reason of a right but because of irregular grace."³⁴

This universal, irregular quality of *Verbum Dei* can become a driving force for us to engage with people of other faiths through whom God may speak to the church in a completely different and surprising manner.³⁵ For Luther, God's word in the presence of the Holy Spirit reaches out to everybody. This theological direction is certainly not a point of contact that stands apart from God's grace in Christ. The dynamic quality of God's speech event, as seen in the universal activity of the Spirit, can be, according to Luther, a point of contact with people outside the walls of the Christian Church. This perspective does not hold a validation of human ontological capacity to be a point of contact in Brunner's sense.

B. Against Brunner's argument, Barth holds that the danger of natural theology lies in domesticating and naturalizing the knowledge of God through the self-revelation in Jesus Christ. In the face of Hitler's rise to power, an attempt was made to domesticate and absorb Christianity into German nature and culture. The so-called German Christians were Neo-Lutherans who collaborated by advocating conciliation with the Nazi regime.

It is also certain that Roman Catholic theologians misguidedly applied Thomas's dictum to provide a theological ground for establishing the concordat between the Vatican and Hitler. Furthermore, "German Christians" in collaboration with the National Socialism argued that grace does not destroy German nature (blood and soil), but perfects and fulfills it. The essence of the Christian gospel is

at stake in Barth's confrontation with the natural and ideological theology of the Deutsche Christen. This highly political situation led Barth to angrily reply to Brunner's mediating pamphlet *Nature and Grace* with an emphatic "No." For his argument Barth also claims the legacy of Calvin.

However, it is certain that Calvin does not want to condemn a natural knowledge of God as seen in the pagans. Rather, he recognizes a connection between *cognitio Dei creatoris* (*Inst.* I) and *cognitio Dei redemptoris* (*Inst.* II) as seen within a pneumatological horizon. The Holy Spirit retains a universal and cosmic direction rather than being confined to an ontological capacity.³⁶

It is more convincing to say that Calvin integrates *theologia naturalis* into a cosmic dimension of Christ in terms of his Christology of *extra Calvinisticum* through the hidden power and efficacy of the Spirit. It is characteristic of Calvin to say that the Spirit mediates God's mysterious work for people of non-Christian cultures. In fact, the Spirit is the divine point of contact or catalyst between the God of creation and the God of redemption. Calvin's theology of the Spirit nullifies an unqualified dualism between revealed theology and natural theology in Brunner's sense,³⁷ while it differs from Barth's exclusively Christological tendency.

During the confrontation with Brunner, Barth in his doctrine of the Word of God still considered *theologia naturalis* part of his irregular and universal theology of God's Word (*CD* I/1). In a later stage, Barth's theology of *extra muros ecclesiae* (God's words outside the ecclesial walls) can be fully developed as a counterthesis to Brunner (*CDIV*/3). Even during the confrontation with the Hitler regime, Barth dared to reflect God's strange voice coming outside of the ecclesial sphere. He refers to a universal dimension of the revealed one, conceptualized as the third form of the Word of God.

As Barth provocatively argues, "God may speak to us through Russian Communism, a flute concerto, a blossoming shrub, or a dead dog" (*CD* I/1:55). In light of Barth's theology of revelation, it is worthwhile to consider that natural theology is included and brought into clear light within the theology of revelation. In the reality of divine grace there is included the truth of the creation. Therefore, "grace does not destroy the nature but completes it."³⁸

Later, Barth articulates and develops more explicitly his theology of reconciliation by integrating natural theology, while relativizing it through radicalizing his theology of God's word in action outside of the ecclesial sphere. In this context, Barth sets forth secular parables of the truth of God's kingdom in which he fully appreciates and

integrates Luther's theological insight into the dynamic and irregular side of God's word and Calvin's cosmic dimension of the Holy Spirit.

It is essential to say that Barth wants to talk about his deliberation of God's words and lights *extra muros ecclesiae* by recourse to the universal reign of Jesus Christ rather than through the hypothesis of natural theology. According to F.-W. Marquardt, Barth's so-called doctrine of God's words and lights in the world demonstrates a way of "establishing natural theology by means of Christology" in terms of socially and materially renewing and transforming its inherited traditional structure and framework.³⁹ Along this line, Barth argues that "dangerous modern expressions like 'the revelation of creation' or 'primal revelations' might be given a clear and unequivocal sense" (CD IV/3.1: 140).

Given this fact, it is essential to consider Barth's reconciling remark to Brunner. "If he [Brunner] is still alive and it is possible, tell him again 'commended to our God,' even by me. And tell him yes, that the time when I thought that I had to say 'No' to him is now long past, since we all live only by virtue of the fact that a great and merciful God says his gracious Yes to all of us."⁴⁰

In view of Barth's debate with Brunner, it is enlightening to consider Calvin's understanding of human being in terms of the cosmic dimension of the Spirit. For Calvin, there is no anthropology estranged or apart from pneumatology. Endowments of human nature are supposed to be discussed as gifts of God in the cosmic dimension of the Spirit, and it is the secret impulse of the Spirit that leads these endowments for God's good purpose. This perspective is not fully considered and elaborated in Barth's debate with Brunner.

Natural theology is not separate from revelation theology in the presence of the Spirit. The theology of the Spirit includes problems such as nature, religion, and culture that become integral parts of Calvin's theology of *Spiritus Creator*. To be sure, Calvin argues that there are virtues and right conduct among unbelievers; there is a clear difference "between the justice, moderation, and equity of Titus and Trajan and the madness, intemperance, and savagery of Caligula or Nero or Domitian" (*Inst.* III.xiv.2).

Calvin attributes such virtue to God's grace. God bestows not common gifts of nature but a certain measure of God's special graces upon people who are otherwise wicked (*Inst.* II.iii.4). To the degree that the Spirit is the source of life, God chooses, forms, and draws human hearts by a secret impulse in which the impious are guided by God.⁴¹

In the discussion of the relationship between the creative Spirit and the creaturely realm, we come to realize how importantly the Spirit

works and is involved in creaturely and human life in a Reformation framework. The creative Spirit is the driving force and catalyst and, consequently, it becomes even the divine agent of the guiding point of contact between God and human beings. In critical appreciation of the Barth-Brunner debate, however, we must locate the reformers' teaching of the Spirit in a broader spectrum; that is, the church's responsibility for ecological sustainability and respect for the lives of people of other cultures and religions. The reformers' aesthetic sense of the beauty of God's creation and their recognition of religious outsiders become important themes for today's reflection of pneumatology in our global context, which is exposed to ecological devastation and surrounded by many cultures and religions.

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER 2



THE SPIRIT OF THE TRIUNE GOD

The Christian doctrine of the Trinity tells of God who has been fully incarnated in the person of Jesus Christ in the presence of the Holy Spirit. This doctrine affirms that God the Father (Abba) of Jesus Christ is the triune God as the one God sharing God's self with the Son and the Spirit in divine life and fellowship. For the Trinity in the context of the Hebrew Bible, there is a comprehensive dialogue with Israel's Elohim traditions.¹

In the dialogue between ancient Israel and non-Israelite culture, Elohim, the Most High (*El-Elyon*), is made the predicate in the expression of the attributes of the God of Israel (Gen 14:18–22). The Old Testament has ramifications for God in self-sharing and communication, because God speaks to humanity and dwells among the people in the presence of the Spirit. God's Word and Spirit, in accompaniment with the people of Israel, implies that God comes to us by sharing and distributing God's grace and gifts in a historical context.

In the Greek Bible, $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ primarily denotes the God of Israel. The doctrine of the Trinity in the ancient church was an attempt to promote dialogue with the Greek philosophical tradition. This teaching seeks to translate a biblical understanding of the God of Israel and God's Logos into the language of Neo-Platonic philosophy. The distinction is made between the triune God in terms of the immanent Trinity (God in self) and the economic Trinity (God for us). Thus, the discussion of God in self and God for us begins to dominate theological discourse in the East and in the West.

Reformation theology of the Trinity is faithful to the traditional creeds represented by church fathers in the Eastern Church and by Augustine in the Western Church. For our present study it is

significant to review the two reformers' theology of the Trinity as it relates to an ecumenical discussion of Trinitarian theology.

LUTHER AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY

In *The Smalcald Articles* (1537), Luther states that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three distinct Persons in one divine essence and nature. The triune God is one God, who created heaven and earth. Affirming the relations of origin (the Father begetter, the Son begotten, the Holy Spirit proceeder), Luther contends that the Father was begotten by no one, the Son was begotten by the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. The Son—rather than the Father or the Holy Spirit—became a human being.²

Along this line, Luther upholds the doctrine of appropriation, which contends that the Father is called a Creator, the Son a Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit a Sanctifier. The Holy Spirit affects our existence, which is made holy through the community of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the eternal life. "The Father gives us all creation, Christ all his works, the Holy Spirit all his gifts."³

What characterizes Luther's concept of the Trinity is a focus on divine suffering in light of *theologia crucis*. He is aware of the fact that from the ancient church onward there has been a close relationship between the doctrine of the Trinity and the incarnation.

While rejecting the concept of Patripassianism, Luther boldly affirms that God suffers in Jesus Christ. The Holy Spirit, who works to create faith in Jesus Christ, is the Spirit of communication of God's love and compassion in the life and death of Christ. Luther, in his *Large Catechism*, interprets revelation as the basis for understanding who God is. This is because God has revealed God's favor and grace in Christ, who is "a mirror of the Father's heart." Without the Holy Spirit we would know nothing of Christ.⁴

In developing the doctrine of the Trinity in the ancient church, the Latin fathers used *substantia* and *essentia*, while the Greek fathers used *ousia*. For expressing the threeness of God, the Latin fathers used *persona*, which is equivalent to *hypostasis* for the Greek fathers. Luther had reservations about the word *homoousios* and the concept of *persona*. However, he knew that there was no better term available to express God as the triune God. In a sermon on John 1 in 1537, Luther stated that he had to use the word "person" for want of a better term. This term conveys the same meaning as that of a hypostasis.⁵

For Luther, terms such as *trinitas*, *Dreifaltigkeit* (threefoldness), *gedritts* (thirds), or *Dreheit* (threeness) are risky and tempting, and

even sound blasphemous because of their leaning toward tritheism. Luther's understanding of Trinity becomes manifest and explicit in writings such as *The Three Symbols or Confession of the Belief of Christ* (1538), *On the Councils and Churches* (1539), and *On the Last Words of David* (1543).⁶

The doctrine of the Trinity, according to Luther, belongs to an article of faith as confessed and witnessed by the Scripture. This doctrine is the sublime article of divine majesty. The Augsburg Confession affirms the decree of the Council of Nicea concerning the unity of the divine essence and the three persons.⁷

The prologue of John's Gospel especially reveals and affirms the doctrine of the Trinity in which there are three distinct persons, yet one God.⁸ As far as the Trinity is an article of faith, a new grammar and a new language are required to describe and express God's majesty and mystery. We can talk about the Trinity adequately and correctly through faith, not through reason and philosophy.

In his explication of Psalm 33:6, Luther says that three persons—the Lord, God's Word, and God's Spirit—are mentioned even when David confesses no more than one Creator. God does not do God's own work without connection to the Word and the Spirit.⁹

In order to avoid tritheism, Luther advocates Augustine's principle, *opera trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa* (all three persons are one God, acting in full unity in relation to the world). The Trinity, which Luther confesses as the "sublime article of the majesty of God,"¹⁰ is along the line of Augustine's fundamental principle concerning a dialectic of *distinctio et non separatio*. The immanent Trinity is distinguished, but not separated, from the economic Trinity.

According to Luther, God the Father is a different and distinct Person from the Son while in the one indivisible and eternal Godhead. God is the Father and does not derive Godhead from the Son. The Son is a Person distinct from the Father. He was born of the Father from eternity. The Holy Spirit is a person distinct from the Father and the Son in the same one Godhead. The difference is that the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds both from the Father and the Son. The Spirit has the Godhead from both the Father and the Son from eternity to eternity.¹¹

Given Luther's statement mentioned above, Barth appreciates that Luther correctly expounds the whole doctrine of the Trinity in light of the doctrine of relations. God's fatherhood is understood in virtue of which God the Father is the Father of the Son. Christ's sonship is in virtue of which God the Son is the Son of the Father, and the Spirit's spirithood is in virtue of which God the Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Son.¹²

Luther's affirmation of three persons becomes apparent also in *opera ad intra* in the intradivine life in light of relations of origin.¹³ Luther appropriates Augustine's distinction between *res* (reality) and *signum* (sign), applying it to the revelation of the Son in a modified sense. Thus, he emphasizes that the humanity of Christ is not a mere sign or figure. The humanity of God's Son in revelation is reality. It is united with God in one Person, who will sit eternally at the right hand of God.¹⁴

The Holy Spirit is revealed to us in the form of the dove as an image of the Holy Spirit, as God the Father is revealed to us in the form of a voice as an image. However, Jesus' humanity is eternally bound to the Son of God. Therefore, incarnation affects and sharpens Luther's understanding of the Trinity. For Luther the Father is not known except in the Son through the Holy Spirit.¹⁵

Luther's notion of the Trinity, when seen from the incarnation, comes close to God's Triunity (*Dreieinigkeit*) because an eternal birth of the Son in the *perichoresis* of the Father and the Spirit is manifested in a historical incarnation of the Son as the economic Trinity. However, when his Trinity is seen from the perspective of the unity of God, it refers to God's Unitrinity. In other words, there is a striking balance in Luther between the Western emphasis on God's unity and the Eastern emphasis on God's tripersonal fellowship.

In his explanation of the Apostle's Creed,¹⁶ Luther states that atoning for sins, forgiving sins, awakening from death, and giving the gift of eternal life are works that no other than God can do. Nevertheless there are special works here that are ascribed to each person distinctly. Thus Christians believe that there is "only one God, and nevertheless three persons in the one unified Divine Essence."¹⁷

Furthermore, Luther articulates an economic manifestation of the triune God in this concise statement: "The Father gives us all creation, Christ all his works, the Holy Spirit all his gifts."¹⁸ *Homoousios* unity and a primacy of the Father in Trinitarian fellowship are characteristic of Luther's theology of the Trinity.¹⁹ Luther's position can also be seen in the Nicene Creed: Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, is of one Being with the Father. There is the Father's primacy in begetting the Son in the presence of the Spirit while affirming the divinity of the Son eternally equal to God the Father.

In *The Three Symbols* (1538) Luther agrees with Athanasius. The Father is neither born nor made. The Son is of the Father, not created but born. The Holy Spirit is of the Father and the Son, not born or created, but proceeding.²⁰ Luther affirms the eternal begetting of the

Son by the Father, reflecting Psalm 2:7: "You are my son, today I have begotten or borne you."²¹

In his commentary on John 15:26, Luther justifies the *filioque* in contrast to the doctrine of the Eastern Church, which rejects the procession of the Spirit from the Father and from the Son. Augustine's reflection of the *filioque* becomes meaningful for Luther. "To be sent" and "to proceed" refer to two different aspects of the same action. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. Just as the Son is born of the Father and yet remains in the same Godhead with the Father, so the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son, but remains with the Father and the Son in the same Godhead. Thus, the Spirit is one God with both aspects.²²

The Father is the origin of the Son and, likewise, the origin of the procession of the Spirit. The eternal generation of the Son and the eternal procession of the Spirit become the presupposition and premise for the mission of the Son and the Spirit for the world. The Son's eternal birth and the Spirit's immanent procession keep Luther from a modalist tendency. Luther implies that the immanent Trinity stands in correspondence with the economic Trinity. If Christ is born physically in our world, he was born eternally in God. If God the Father is the Creator of the world, God's origin and essence must be in God's self from whom the Son and the Spirit come. God's historical revelation in three Persons mirrors and corresponds to God's being in eternity.²³

However, Luther accentuates that the Trinity is known only by God's act in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit. The economic Trinity becomes a basis for approaching and recognizing the immanent Trinity. In this way, the economic Trinity is the self-manifestation and communication of the immanent Trinity, as the immanent Trinity becomes a theological presupposition for the economic Trinity.

In reflection upon a corresponding relationship between the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity, Luther states that the middle person was physically born and became a Son, the same who was born beforehand in eternity and is Son. The Holy Spirit proceeds physically, the same who proceeds in eternity and is not born. Thus the Father remains of himself, so that all three Persons are in majesty. The triune God exists in such a manner that the Son has his Godhead from the Father through his eternal immanent birth. The Holy Spirit has Godhead from the Father and the Son through the eternal immanent proceedings.²⁴

God for us is, in Luther's view, at the center of understanding the Trinity from which *God in self* can be known. Luther is not interested

in beginning with the Trinity from the metaphysical speculation about God *in self*. This would be a theology of glory. For Luther, a theology of glory is based on human reason, speculation, and works of righteousness. These all imply human attempts at reaching out to God. Luther is concerned with distinguishing *theologia archetypa* from *theologia ektypa*. The former implies the theological conception by God of God's self (in the sense of the immanent Trinity). The latter refers to the possibility for humans to pursue theology based on revelation. As a matter of fact, God *in self* remains a mystery to us.

Starting from a concrete, historical act of God in Jesus Christ for us, Luther moves to the mystery of God *in self*. The Son shows his eternal birth through his physical birth. The Holy Spirit shows the eternal proceeding through the physical proceeding. Each of them has an external likeness or image of God's internal essence.²⁵ God eternally is in God's self as Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit even before God created, redeemed, and sanctified. The *opera trinitatis ad extra* and the *opera trinitatis ad intra* can be distinguished but cannot be separated.

Therefore, an understanding of God in self (*theologia*) cannot be possible without an understanding of God for us (*oikonomia*). A Christian confession of God the Trinity is "the highest article in faith—the articles on which all the others hang."²⁶ Furthermore, the central article of the creeds concerning Jesus Christ, to which all the others attach themselves and refer, is basically of Trinitarian character. In this regard, Luther's new language of the Trinity can be seen in his affirmation of the Augustinian tradition, by adopting a neo-Chalcedonian realistic approach to divine suffering. Luther avoids the speculative overtone of the Cappadocian theologians.²⁷ For Luther, whoever becomes in touch with the man Christ also becomes in touch with the Son of God. In fact, the whole Trinity is found in this God-man Jesus Christ.²⁸

A Christological approach to the doctrine of the Trinity is compatible with the teaching of justification by faith. In fact, Luther's doctrine of justification is grounded on a Trinitarian structure. Jesus Christ, as "a mirror of the Father's heart," "has revealed and opened to us the most profound depths of his fatherly heart and his pure, unutterable love." Without Jesus Christ, we see nothing but an angry and terrible God. But no one could know of Christ, if it had not been revealed by the Holy Spirit.²⁹

If the economic Trinity were no less than the self-manifestation of the immanent Trinity, would it be meaningful and convincing to distinguish the twofold form of the one Trinity? Luther primarily focuses

on God in a concrete and historical sense in terms of God's self-communication in Christ. For the sake of the freedom and majesty of God he is cautious about not starting from the total identification between God *in self* and God *for us*. Here, *theologia crucis* is a theological epistemology, articulating and clarifying God's freedom in love and presence within us.

In his Trinitarian theology, Luther seeks to avoid subordination of the Spirit to the Son, while recognizing the *filioque*. Luther argues that Christ was sent by the Father and the Holy Spirit.³⁰ The Father and the Spirit co-participate in Christ's act of self-humiliation and experience the Son's life, death, and resurrection. Faith, created by the Spirit, is a gift of the Spirit, and is faith in the crucified Christ. It is the work of the Spirit that enables faith in the heart of the believers. Through the Spirit, the risen Christ is really present in Christian faith.

What is striking in Luther's concept of the Spirit is an outward-inward relation. Outwardly, the Spirit works through material signs (i.e., baptism and the sacrament of the altar). Inwardly, the Spirit awakens faith and bestows other spiritual gifts on us. Thus, the inward experience of the Spirit follows and is affected by the outward experience. The Spirit is not separated from the outward Word and sacraments. God gives the inward to no one except through the outward. God wants to give no one the Spirit or faith apart from the outward Word and sign.³¹

The Spirit is the mediator and communicator of the real presence of Christ in faith. For attaining the treasure of Christ's salvation, God gives us the Spirit. We know nothing of Christ if Christ is not revealed by the Spirit to demonstrate the sufferings of Christ for the benefit of our salvation.³²

With respect to God's eternal unity with the Son, God is not an impassible God. Rather, in the presence of the Spirit, God participates in the Son's life, death, and resurrection. Therefore, Luther takes *conformitas Christi*, that is, human participation in conformity to Christ's life, to be the work of the Holy Spirit. A spirituality of *Anfechtungen* (inner struggle) is based on the work of the Spirit justifying, awakening, and sanctifying us toward a final transformation in an eschatological dynamic. "We suffer because we hold to the word of God, preach it, hear it, learn and practice it."³³

This concept points to the reality of transformation of human existence which stands is inspired under the work of the Spirit through Word and sacraments. Therefore, conformity to Christ is not a medieval idea of *imitatio Christi*, but a discipleship of active

participation in the world by proclaiming the gospel of the crucified Christ. "Christ is our abstraction. We are His concretion."³⁴

The Holy Spirit creates faith in us and brings us to conformity to the crucified Christ. Christ becomes a treasury of all divine blessings for us by destroying and conquering the curse of all creatures. The Father gives, the Son atones and reconciles, and the Spirit communicates the redemption of Christ through inward and outward means. Through these means the Spirit mediates and actualizes the suffering of Christ for our salvation. Luther's Trinity calls for prophetic *diakonia*, socially engaged discipleship, and willingness to conform to the suffering of Christ in the world for the sake of the triune God and in the presence of those who suffer.

CALVIN'S THEOLOGY OF THE TRINITY

In exposition of the third article of Apostolic Creed in his *Institutes of Christian Religion* (1536), Calvin states that the Holy Spirit is true God with the Father and the Son. The third Person of the most holy Trinity is consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Son. Therefore there are three distinct person in one essence.³⁵

It is fundamental for Calvin to see the Holy Spirit in a Trinitarian perspective. Calvin in referring to the Trinity, draws upon the witness of the Church fathers. Here, Calvin is in keeping with the statement of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Inst.*I.xiii.17). As far as the one God in threeness is concerned, Calvin does not hesitate to make use of the traditional term "person" to demonstrate distinctions within the one God. Calvin calls person a subsistence in God's essence (*Inst.* I.xiii.6).

Calvin bases his usage of "person" on Hebrews 1:3, referring to the Son of God as "the stamp of the Father's hypostasis."³⁶ In Calvin's view it is absurd to understand hypostasis as equivalent to essence because essence is simple and undivided, without portion or derivation, but in integral perfection. In the Greek usage, *prosopon* (*Inst.* I.xiii.2. n.7a) is equivalent to "subsistence," or *persona*. The Greeks teach the same concept—three *prosopa* in God—although this concept is understood as differentiated yet still "in the essential manner" (*Inst.* I.xiii.2).

In a discussion of the Trinity, Calvin starts from the biblical core message (i.e., God is revealed in Jesus Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit.) The name Yahweh is in an inseparable relationship with Jesus Christ. This Christological claim rejects any possible speculative and metaphysical concept of God. However, in the unity between God and Jesus Christ, there should still be a distinction of divine persons

This distinction is not of the divine essence, but of the divine person. The Son is distinguished from the Father who sends him. Likewise, the Son of God is distinguished from the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, who makes Jesus Christ present to us (*Inst.* I.xiii.17).

Against Arianism, Calvin affirms the *homoousios* (consubstantial), which is central to the creed of Nicea (325). In Calvin's view, the term "person" only serves to demonstrate the special qualities that exist in the relation of the triune God (*Inst.* I.xiii.6).

According to Calvin, the words "Father," "Son," and "Spirit" imply a real distinction because God is variously designated from God's works. However, it is a distinction rather than a division (*Inst.* I.xiii.17). The principle of "a distinction, not a division" plays a significant role in Calvin's doctrine of Trinity, as seen in Luther's doctrine of relations grounded in his Trinitarian doctrine.

Calvin considers triplicity of the persons by emphasizing the unity of God, which does not imply a triplicity of three gods (*Inst.* I.xiii.25). Calvin affirms the truth of the *filioque* in the Western form of the Nicene Creed. If the Son is begotten of the Father, then the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (*Inst.* I.xiii.18). He favors the *filioque*, not to seek a monarchial subordination of the one God, but to properly express the mutual relationship and interconnection of the triune God (*Inst.* I.xiii.19).³⁷

The distinction in the triune God leads Calvin to understand that the beginning of activity is ascribed to the Father, the fountain and wellspring of all things. Wisdom, counsel, and the ordered disposition of all things are attributed to the Son. The power and efficacy of that activity is assigned to the Spirit (*Inst.* I.xiii.18). This is the doctrine of appropriation, that is to say, the work ascribed and most appropriate to each person. But at the same time, one must be cautious about seeking the economy of Trinity "in eternity a before or an after" the immanent Trinity (*Inst.* I.xiii.18).

Calvin conceptualizes the mutual relationship between Christ and the Spirit in a perichoresis-appropriation manner. The Spirit is called Spirit of Christ because Christ, as eternal Word of God, is joined in the same Spirit with the Father. Thus, the Spirit of Christ is also connected with the Mediator (*Inst.* III.i.2).

The triune God is the God in perichoresis in which each distinct mode of being of God co-inheres and interpenetrates one other, while also acting *ad extra*, toward us. These actions are one, so that the external works of the Trinity are indivisible. The triune God in perichoresis is not separable from the triune God in the way of appropriations. What is striking in Calvin's theology of the Trinity is the

power and efficacy of the Holy Spirit that simultaneously unites and distinguishes the relationship between the Father and the Son. The distinction signifies no separation of essence, but rather the mutual relationship of the one God in threeness (*Inst.* I.xiii.19).

Here, the Holy Spirit functions as the dynamic bond of the Father and the Son in an inner-trinitarian way. Furthermore, the Spirit, as a dynamic bond, unites us to Christ in the sense of economic salvation. Thus, Calvin uses the perichoresis-appropriation framework to promote his view of the Trinity with a special emphasis on the dynamic efficacy of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the aseity of the perichoretic God cannot be isolated from God's action in Jesus Christ by the Spirit for us.

LUTHER AND CALVIN: HYPOSTATIC UNION IN JESUS CHRIST

In light of what has been delineated regarding the reformers' Trinitarian theology, we are in a better position to deal with commonality and difference in their concept of hypostatic union of the divinity and humanity in one person of Jesus Christ. For the sake of ecumenical commonality between Luther and Calvin, we are concerned with examining Luther's debate with Zwingli, then engaging Calvin's Christological concept.

A. In dealing with hypostatic union, Luther interprets Christology in the Alexandrian pattern. The principle of *finitum capax infiniti* (the finite is capable of the infinite) is firmly established. God is fully revealed in Jesus Christ. As Luther notes, these two natures of divinity and humanity are so united that there is only one God and one Lord. Hence Mary suckles God with her breasts and bathes God. Furthermore, Pilate and Herod crucified and killed God. "The two natures are so joined that the true deity and humanity are one."³⁸

Following the Chalcedonian formula of two natures in Jesus Christ, Luther speaks of the *communicatio idiomatum*. As Luther argues in his *Confession concerning Christ's Supper* (1528), the Son of God was crucified and died for us. Because the deity and the humanity in Christ are one person, on account of such personal union the deity is attributed to whatever belongs to the humanity and vice versa.³⁹ Luther prefers the real mutual interpenetration of the two natures in terms of the figure of "the glowing iron."⁴⁰ Against Luther, Zwingli maintains a mere figure of speech in the communication of attributes.

It was important for Luther to confess that Christ suffered and died. This Christ is the true God. Therefore, the Son of God suffered.

Christ was crucified, according to human nature. This fact must be attributed to the whole person. This is the figure of speech called *Synecdoche*. It denotes a part of something which refers to the whole, or a whole of something referring to a part. In a discussion of the Lord's Supper, Luther interprets *synecdoche* on the basis of the words of Christ's institution. A person receives the bread and Christ gives his body at the same time.⁴¹

Luther teaches that the whole Christ is really present at the Lord's Supper in terms of *communicatio idiomatum*. Luther's concept of the right hand of God denotes nothing other than the almighty power of God in a Trinitarian sense that fills heaven and earth.

By contrast, Zwingli finds any concept of communication to be merely nominal, a rhetorical figure of speech. He uses the theory of *alleosis* to deny the understanding of the two natures in the personal union. According to Zwingli's idea of *alleosis*, Christ has to be two persons, one a divine and the other a human person. This concept excludes the human nature of Christ from his divine nature. Consequently, Christ's passion is understood only according to human nature.⁴²

Zwingli further argues that the human Christ cannot really be present in the Lord's Supper because he is finite and can be present only in one particular place at a time. Zwingli's position is characterized as a *praedicatio verbalis* (simply mere words).⁴³ His concern safeguards the transcendence of God. In this light, Zwingli insists that the Son of God did not suffer and die; only the man Jesus suffered and died.

Against Zwingli Luther emphasizes the unity of Christ's person in keeping with the Chalcedonian orthodoxy. He accuses Zwingli of being a Nestorian because he separates the divine from human nature in the person of Christ. For Zwingli, the passibility of God is out of the question because God in God's self is far removed from the experience of suffering. Repudiating Zwingli, however, Luther counters that the concept of *alleosis* is the devil's spawn.⁴⁴

For Luther, suffering is really and concretely communicated to the divine Logos. In the *Schwabach Articles* (1529), Luther affirms that God and man are not two persons but one indivisible Person. Therefore, God and man or the Son of God truly suffered for us.⁴⁵ The person of Christ holds the properties of the two natures, so that one of the two natures is attributed to the whole person.

Luther believes that the *idiomata* of the two natures coincide; they are united and joined. Luther contends that all the *idiomata* of two natures of Christ, both persons, are equally attributed to him.

Consequently Christ is God and man in one person. Christ has died, and Christ is God; therefore God died because God is united with humanity. God created the world and is almighty. Because the man Christ is God, the man Christ created the world and is almighty. It follows that this person bears the *idiomata* of both natures.⁴⁶

Nestorius did not ascribe the *idiomata* of human nature to the divine in the one person of Christ, while Eutyches did not ascribe the *idiomata* of the divine nature to human nature. As Nestorius takes only the man Jesus to be crucified, so Eutyches takes only God to be crucified. What is important for Luther is to distinguish between a communication *in abstracto* and a communication *in concreto*. Luther believes in a concrete sense (*in concreto*) that this man is God. The properties are attributed.⁴⁷

If the divinity is understood in an abstract manner, (i.e., not united with humanity in Jesus Christ), God does not suffer. However, if the divinity is understood *in concreto* (i.e., united fully with humanity), the divinity has a share with human nature in Christ. Luther emphasizes the fact that according to his humanity, Christ is a creature, yet according to his divinity, Christ is God. Thus are the two natures utterly and completely conjoined in the one person of Jesus Christ. *Extra Christum non est Deus alius* (there is no other God outside Christ.) For Luther, the two natures are distinct, but not separated.

The Lutheran position was branded the child of Eutychianism because it excessively stressed the unity of the divine-human person, running the Monophysite risk of mixing the two natures (*finitum est capax infiniti*, the finite is capable of the infinite). In contrast, the Reformed position, which was accused of being a child of Nestorianism, maintains a clear distinction between the two natures (*finitum non capax infiniti*, the finite is not capable of the infinite). According to the Calvinist teaching, the Logos, because it is infinite, must exist *extra carnem* (outside the flesh), rather than confined by its union with the flesh.

This teaching, which was dubbed among Lutherans the *extra Calvinisticum*, tends to set the Logos apart from its enfleshment with the humanity of Christ. Against this position, the Lutherans stuck to the phrases *totus intra carnem* and *numquam extra carnem* (wholly in the flesh and never outside the flesh). The human nature of Christ was eternal, as was his divine nature.⁴⁸

In the subsequent development of Lutheranism, Martin Chemnitz affirms a real perichoresis of natures in using the figure of fire and iron, thus preparing the way for the Christology of the *Formula of Concord*.⁴⁹ This is the well-known formula of three genera of the

communicatio idiomatum. According to Chemnitz, the first form, *genus idiomaticum*, implies that what applies to the divine or human nature can be asserted for the person of Christ as a whole. To Zwingli, in Christ there remain two distinct natures, unchanged and unmixed in their natural essences and characteristics.⁵⁰

The second form, *genus apostelesmaticum*, ascribes all actions, including the three offices, not to only one of the two natures, but to the person of the Mediator (in the case of Calvin). The person of Christ acts and does its work in, according to, with, and through both natures.⁵¹ Thus Jesus Christ shed his blood according to human nature, while the divine nature does not participate in the suffering of Christ.

The third form, *genus maiestaticum* (or *auchematicum*), defends the communication of the divine attributes of majesty and power to Christ according to his human nature within the unity of the person. Because of the personal union, human nature receives prerogatives in power, glory, and majesty. The natures in the personal union in Christ have only their own natural, essential characteristics.⁵²

This third form is especially important for the Lutheran teaching of the Lord's Supper in antithesis to the Reformed teaching. The inseparable unity of the two natures of Christ (divinity and humanity) is attached and imputed to one another. Concerning creation the divinity, which alone creates, is incarnate with the humanity. Therefore the humanity participates in the attributes of both predicates.⁵³ Therefore, "the infant lying in the lap of His mother created heaven and earth, and is the lord of the angels."⁵⁴ The divine property of omnipresence is communicated to human nature.

B. Calvin stresses the dynamic unity of the true God and true man in Jesus Christ. He clarifies the biblical, confessional understanding of Christology. Jesus Christ is "true God and true man" (*Inst.* II.xii.2). From the start it is not human beings who come to God, but God who comes to them by establishing divine initiative and fellowship.

Therefore, Calvin expresses a radical distinction between God and God's creature (*Inst.* II.xii.1). What "Christ became true man" means is that the true humanity of Jesus Christ is the presupposition for our communion with him and also for our salvation (*Inst.* II.xii.2). However, the true humanity of Jesus Christ is not considered in isolation from his divinity (*Inst.* II.xii.3). Here Calvin sharply opposes the scholastic theology of the Roman Church (including Nestorius), which viewed God in disassociation from revelation (*Inst.* II.xii.6–7).

For Calvin, "the Word was made flesh" (John 1:14) does not mean that the Word was turned into human flesh or confusedly mingled with

it. The Word chose for itself the virgin's womb as a temple in which to dwell. Incarnation is implemented not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person (*Inst.* II.xiv.1).

In exploring the unity between divinity and humanity in the person of Jesus Christ, Calvin stands in line with Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Calvin has less difficulty accepting the Christological concept of *communicatio idiomatum* (the communicating of properties) than Zwingli. Nonetheless, the communication of properties is not fully adequate to explain Calvin's dialectical, actual structure of Christology.

Based on several biblical passages (e.g., Acts 20:28, 1 Cor 2:8, 1 John 1:1), Calvin argues that God does not have blood. God does not suffer. Christ, who was true God and also true man, was crucified and shed his blood for us. Accordingly, a property of humanity is shared with the other nature (*Inst.* II.xiv.2).

Here we see an approach to the issue of divine passibility that differs from Martin Luther's. These two reformers see Jesus Christ as one person in two natures by way of a relationship of unity in distinction. Luther is more concerned about focusing on the unity, while Calvin articulates the difference more. With this contrast in mind, Calvin is not eager to construct a theology of divine suffering, because God has no blood, nor does God suffer, nor can God be touched with hands (*Inst.* II.xiv.2). As Calvin reflects on the crucified Christ (1 Cor 2:8), Calvin interprets Christ to suffer in the flesh "as an abject and despised man" (*Inst.* IV.xvii.30).

If Calvin takes seriously the role of the Spirit in communion of divinity and humanity in the one person of Jesus Christ, should he have more positively stated that Christ's divinity participates in or communicates with the human suffering of Jesus on the cross? Drawing upon *ensarkos* of the *Logos* (the *Logos* enfleshed), Calvin contends that the *Logos asarkos* (the *Logos* outside of human flesh) is not dissolved into the reality of the *Logos ensarkos*.

The second person of the Trinity can exist only in the person of the Mediator. The second person of the Trinity assumes itself in the new office by having another mode of being in the assumption of human flesh, namely incarnation. The pre-existence of the eternal *Logos* cannot be denied or abandoned in the existence of the *Logos* that became flesh. In other words, the eternal Son in heaven still preexists in correlation to the *ensarkos* of Jesus Christ, while at the same time he exists as the one who became flesh.

When it comes to the hypostatic union of Jesus Christ as true man and true God, Calvin does not conceptualize hypostatic union in a

static and abstract way. Calvin's *Logos* Christology is endowed with the dialectical structure of Christology in connection with actuality of the Spirit. It is certain that the *Logos ensarkos* and *asarkos* are not two different *logoi*. This is the one *Logos*, the second person of the Trinity, who is assumed in the human flesh of Jesus.⁵⁵

For this reason Calvin insists that the Son of God descended from heaven without leaving heaven. "He continuously filled the world even as he had done from the beginning!" (*Inst.* II.xiii.4). Based on this so-called *extra Calvinisticum*, however, Calvin does not necessarily oppose the ubiquity of Christ's body, which Luther frequently utilizes to explain the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist.⁵⁶

C. As we have already stated, Calvin, unlike Zwingli, does not reject the *communicatio idiomatum* as such.⁵⁷ Rather he understands it on a pneumatological basis instead of engaging an ontological exchange of attributes between the divinity and humanity. In this sense, Calvin stands closer to Luther than to Zwingli. Luther, in fact, emphasizes the ubiquity of Christ's body in reference to the Lord's Supper and opens up a cosmic and universal dimension of the ubiquity in a Christological-pneumatological sense. This position does not necessarily stand in opposition to Calvin's concept of ubiquity in terms of *arcanus Spiritus instinctus*.⁵⁸ Luther conceives of the incarnation in a dynamic way, while Calvin speaks of the *communicatio idiomatum* in an actual sense.⁵⁹

To the extent that Lutheran theology develops its Christology in terms of maintaining a perichoresis between the divinity and the humanity of Jesus Christ, the Lutheran statement about the enfleshment of the Word of God holds that the Word of God has reality only through and in the humanity of Jesus. There is nothing outside of the flesh (*extra carnem*).

In Barth's view, Reformed Christology has its connection with Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa. Even Luther considers the *extra* in due and proper form. The Reformed position is not directed against the Lutheran sense of *totus totus intra carnem* (completely into the flesh), but against its negative conclusion (i.e., the *numquam et nusquam extra carnem*, never and in no way outside of the flesh).

Reformed concern in a proper sense is to regard the *extra* as distinctive, rather than separating. Like the Lutherans, the Reformed position asserts a permanent presence of the *Logos* in the flesh, which is much closer to Luther's reflection of the ubiquity of human nature in virtue of the glorious activities of the risen God-Man.

Nonetheless, the Reformed position does not want to abolish or suppress the reality of the *Logos asarkos* in view of the *Logos ensarkos*.

It indicates a dynamic-noetic interest in Christology. Later in the doctrine of reconciliations, Barth rejects *extra Calvinisticum* because of its “fatal speculation about the being and work of the *Logos asarkos*.” According to Barth, in Calvin’s concept of predestination he tries to reckon the “other god” (CD IV/1:181).

The Christological formulation, *extra Calvinisticum*, needs to be reinterpreted in light of the actuality and dynamism of the Spirit who is involved in Christ’s threefold use (*munus triplex*, *Inst.* II.xv.1–6).

That being the case, Calvin could have elaborated that God coparticipates in the death and resurrection of Christ through the communication of the Holy Spirit. If Calvin’s position, the *genus apostelesmaticum* (or *operationum*), denotes “the common actualization of divine and human essence as it takes place in Jesus Christ” (CD IV/2:104), the doctrine of hypostatic union refers to an actuality between God and man fulfilled in the one person of Jesus Christ as a union of God and man in light of the dynamism of the Holy Spirit.

TRINITARIAN THEOLOGY IN ECUMENICAL CONTEXT

The schism between the Latin West and the Greek East was caused by two main doctrinal disputes resulting from their cultural and political differences. Concerning the papal claims, the Greek Church always honored the Roman bishop with a place of primacy, but never acknowledged the infallibility of the pope. This is because the authority of the church is based on the decision of the ecumenical councils. As far as the second doctrinal issue is concerned, the *filioque* controversy is at the center of the schism. According to the Creed of Nicea and Constantinople—the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life, proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and together glorified—the West added one more phrase, “and from the Son” (in Latin, *filioque*).

The *filioque* became a burning issue of debate between East and West. Photius from the East argued that “the *filioque* was the very crown of evils, the product of a poorly educated West.”⁶⁰ In the eleventh century, Cardinal Humbert was sent by Pope Leo IX to the patriarch of Constantinople, Cerularius. Placing the Bull of Excommunication against Cerularius, Humbert charged the Greeks with not adding the *filioque* to the Creed. Cerularius anathematized Humbert.⁶¹ From that point onward, the East and West became divided, and demarcated, and many Eastern theologians still view the *filioque* as noncanonical.

In the Western church, Augustine affirms the *filioque* because the Spirit is the Spirit of both the Father and Son. Photius was known as the “Great Eastern Christian champion of the doctrine of the single procession of the Spirit.”⁶² He defends his position on the mystagogy of the Holy Spirit. To the degree that the Spirit is described as the Spirit of Christ, Photius argues that the preposition *of* should not be replaced by the preposition *from*. In accordance with some church fathers (e.g., Pope Leo the Great, Pope Gregory the dialogist, 590–604, and Pope Zacharias, 741–752) who affirmed the single procession of the Spirit, Photius found it impious to confess *filioque* in the creed.

Interestingly, Athanasius, in his letters to Serapion, argues that the terms Father, Son, and Spirit cannot be understood in terms of human persons. In the letters against the Tropicists, a sect of Arianism, Athanasius states that the Spirit is not a creature, nor different from angels in nature, but only in degree. As far as God does not have a genealogy, God’s true essence does not have relations of the origin.⁶³ However, Athanasius does not resolve the question of how to explain the mutuality of three hypostases in the Godhead.

In view of Eastern Trinitarianism, there has been an emphasis on “the uniqueness of function of three divine hypostases” since the time of the Cappadocian Fathers. It is certain that Cappadocian theologians were aware of the reciprocal being (perichoresis) of these hypostases in each other. In this light, the triune God is “distinct, though not divided.”⁶⁴

The controversy was caused by the declaration of the Eastern church that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. For the Western church, since the ninth century it has been confessed that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. In the East the emphasis is placed on the Father “as the sole source and origin and of the Son and Spirit, each issuing from him in the appropriate, parallel but distinct modes of generation and procession.” By contrast, in the West “the Father and the Son together are depicted as a single source of the Spirit.”⁶⁵

Trinitarian Theology and *Filioque* in Ecumenical Debate

The recent debate from an ecumenical perspective centers around the formula *filioque* as later added to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (381). The changed opinions of several Western theologians have required considerable modifications of this formula. The Western church is inclined to start with the unity of God so that it renders

the Trinity fitting into the unitary view. God's unity is presupposed as compared to the threeness of God. Our discussion that follows is about Moltmann, Barth, and Pannenberg regarding the Trinitarian theology and *filioque*.

For this reason, Moltmann generalizes his critique that Western theology of the Trinity would run inevitably into a form of modalism or semi-Sabellianism. In order to overcome a modalist monarchial leaning, Moltmann, whose thinking has been largely influenced by Eastern thought, finds it necessary to remove the *filioque* formula from the creed.⁶⁶

In support of the ecumenical discussion at the Kilingenthal conferences of 1978 and 1979, which maintained that the *filioque* is redundant and superfluous, Moltmann interprets the procession of the Spirit from the Father to mean the Spirit from the Father of the Son. Thus, "the Son accompanies the procession of the Spirit from his Father."⁶⁷ That being the case, Moltmann argues that the reciprocal relationship of the Father and the Son would be presupposed. The *filioque* addition is unnecessary, while the single procession of the Spirit from the Father is able to properly and adequately maintain the reciprocal relationship of the Father and the Son. Moltmann advocates for the Orthodox theologians. They talk about a reciprocal "accompaniment" so that the Spirit accompanies the begetting of the Son. The Son also accompanies the procession of the Spirit.⁶⁸

Nonetheless, Moltmann's view of the single procession of the Spirit from the Father of the Son does not mark progress in regard to the procession of the Spirit from the Son. This is because his doctrine of the Trinity, drawing upon the single procession of the Spirit, presupposes the Father's dominion over the Son and the Spirit, despite his criticism of a monarchial form of the Trinity.

At any rate, in support of the Orthodox Trinity, Moltmann argues that the entire concept of the Trinity in the West holds the monarchial concept of the Trinity as seen, for example, in Barth's starting point of the Trinity as the self-revelation of the One God, or Karl Rahner's self-communication of the One God. In Barth and Rahner, the unity of God takes over the Trinity and predominates over the threeness of God. Moltmann chides Barth's concept of revelation, arguing that the revelation is inadequate as the starting point for the Trinity. If God reveals God's self in Jesus Christ as "the root of the doctrine of the Trinity" (CD I/1:307), how else does one understand Barth's idea God beforehand in God's self in the inner-trinitarian sense?

In contrast to Moltmann's critique, Barth puts God *in self* in the sense of God's being beforehand in eternity in correspondence with

God for us in the sense of the economic Trinity. God for us in Jesus Christ does not stand in competition with the God of Israel. Barth holds that the Christian Trinity bears witness to the God of Israel.

Rather than dissolving the unity of God into three persons as visible in Moltmann's social doctrine of Trinity, Barth safeguards a Jewish self-understanding of God in his Trinitarian framework. If the revelation is the self-interpretation of God, Barth argues that Christian monotheism underlines the doctrine of the Trinity as such. A biblical understanding of God in the Hebrew Bible should be seen in light of Christian discourse on the Trinity. However, Moltmann rejects biblical monotheism as the real danger, even worse than tritheism. Therefore, the social doctrine of the three-person God tends to replace the God of Israel.

Against Moltmann's theology of the Trinity, Barth defends the God of Israel by articulating this God in light of three-in-oneness (*Dreieinigkeit*) (CD I/1:423). If the Trinity is an interpretation of God in covenant with Israel and the Father of Jesus Christ, it should be oriented toward the Hebrew Bible. Barth argues that the Word made flesh is revealed radically and fundamentally in Jewish flesh (CD IV/1:171–72). Barth develops his teaching of the Trinity by paying attention to the root of a Trinitarian teaching of the Hebrew Bible. The name Jesus Christ does not stand in competition with the name YHWH. When it comes to the debate between Barth's Trinity and Moltmann's social doctrine of the Trinity, the God of Israel is at issue.

Similar to Luther, Barth contends that God's being is explained only from God's historical acts (*esse sequitur operari*). God's being, who loves in freedom, is revealed in the historical action of God's becoming in the Christ who is to come. God's unity and oneness manifests God's diverse forms of presence in the history of God's coming. The coming of the God of Israel in diverse forms of God's presence is essentially the root of the doctrine of the Trinity, rather than Greek speculation of plurality of divine persons. God's being shares itself in the history of God's becoming and presence among Israel, indwelling in Christ, and coming in the presence of the Spirit.⁶⁹

Calvin's definition of person (*Inst.* I:xiii.6) as the independent being in God's essence can be regarded as tripersonal *Seinsweise* of God according to Barth. The triune God is not three persons in God's self. God is not the threeness of the persons. The triune God as the personifying God is the personal God only in historical relationship to us.

As St. Paul states, "The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you"

(2 Cor 13:13). For St. Paul, grace, love, and fellowship (*koinonia*) are three diverse realities that describe the salvation-creating work of the one God. Similarly, Jesus Christ, God, and the Holy Spirit are the three-personal activity of God's being to describe diverse realities of creation, redemption, and sanctification.

In 1 Cor 21:4–6, St. Paul states that there is a variety of gifts, but the same Spirit. There is a variety of activities but it is the same God who activates all of them in everyone. The Hebrew word for God, *Elohim*, is plural. This God speaks of God's self in the plural: "Let us make humankind in our image" (Gen 1:26; cf. Ps 82:1). God in the Hebrew Bible exists in communion in and with God's self, that is, unity in diversity. God's being is in the act of freedom, love, and presence.

Seen in the Hebrew Bible's perspective, the Trinitarian understanding of God in the Greek Bible is not so revolutionary, as Moltmann speculates in his *Crucified God*. God's history of covenant with Israel is motivated and oriented in a Trinitarian sense and framework.

As YHWH dwells among Israel in terms of NAME, Face, and *Shekinah*, so YHWH is present in the Son and the Spirit. In fact, God is not only in one mode of being, but in diverse modes of being. God's unity can be articulated in the variety of God's mode of being. God is God in movement in terms of freedom, love, and presence, seeking us in God's Son and reaching us in the Holy Spirit. "I believe in the Holy Spirit" means the belief in one God who is conceptualized in the double movement of the redemption for the church and the world through the Son and the Spirit.

Moltmann's overriding emphasis on the plurality of divine subjects can be charged with leaning into a tritheistic tendency that discards a principle of unity for the sake of perichoresis of the divine three persons. However, perichoresis is no other than *homoousios* set within the relations of origin. Moltmann's ecumenical contribution achieves reconciliation between East and West regarding the *filioque* by distancing himself from the modalizing tendency of Western Trinitarian theology. However, his rejection of biblical monotheism remains inappropriate in a discussion of the Trinity in reference to YHWH.

Wolfgang Pannenberg argues against the traditional teaching of the Trinity by rejecting the relations of origin in which the Father predominates in relation to the Son and to the Spirit. Pannenberg's argument calls into question the relations of origin in terms of his radical dependent relationality within the Trinity. Insofar as the Father is the main source of the Trinity, the Son and the Spirit are inevitably undermined and subordinated to the Father. To the degree that the order of

origin runs from Father to Son and Spirit without reversion, genuine reciprocity in the triune God disappears.

As a result, Pannenberg argues that a theology of the Trinity tends toward subordinationism.⁷⁰ Relations of origin are at the center of Pannenberg's critique of the traditional theology of the Trinity, and his critique is directed toward both the Eastern and Western churches. It is crucial for Pannenberg to stress reciprocity among divine persons by arguing that the Father gives all things to the Son, so that "his kingdom and his own deity are now dependent upon the Son."⁷¹ Nonetheless, unlike Pannenberg, St. Paul affirms that there is a priority of God the Father over the Son. "When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to the one who put all things in subjection under him, so that God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28).

According to Pannenberg's dependent divinity, the Trinitarian persons are totally dependent upon their relation to others. The Son is totally and fully himself in relation to the Father, and vice versa. The Spirit is totally and fully himself or herself in witness to both in uniting and distinguishing them. From this perspective, there is no origin in the Trinity because the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are equally primordial. This inspires Pannenberg to transcend the metaphors of "begetting," "begotten," or "proceeding" grounded in a divine origin. Pannenberg's rejection of the *filioque* is not seen in light of John 15:26, which is the scriptural basis for the Eastern Church's rejection of the *filioque*. Rather, in Pannenberg's view, both the Western Church and the Eastern Church make a great mistake in assuming fellowship within the Trinity only in terms of relations of origin.⁷² Pannenberg is suspicious of theological attempts to think of the unity of God and humanity in Jesus Christ in terms of the incarnation of the *Logos*. Jesus is one of the Trinity by virtue of his life and destiny. A distinction between Jesus' eternal sonship and his humanity in the particular time and place is unavoidable to Pannenberg, implying a kind of *Logos asarkos*.⁷³

Pannenberg, like Moltmann, adopts Rahner's rule of the Trinitarian theology ("The immanent Trinity *is* the economic Trinity"). The resurrection of Jesus is the constitutive principle for the divine sonship of Jesus, as well as for the deity of the Father. The relationship of the Son and the Spirit over against the Father is one of tripersonal independent relationality, having little to do with the classic doctrine of relations of origin. The Son is not begotten, but obeys and glorifies the Father, while the Spirit does not proceed or breathe, but fulfills the Son and rests on him. Along this line Pannenberg attacks

Barth's theology of the Trinity because of its connection with German idealism that unfolds a single divine subject.

Unlike Pannenberg's speculation, Barth develops his Trinitarian theology in his exposition of the triune God in the discussion of the nature of revelation. Barth, in his view of a distinction between unity and Trinity in light of the Triunity of God, stands in favor of *filioque* on traditional Western grounds. To the degree that the Eastern rejection of the *filioque* retains no relation to the reality of God in revelation and for faith, Barth is suspicious of the Eastern position. The Father as the giver of the Spirit is not without Jesus Christ. If the exclusive *ex Patre* is established as an eternal truth, the Son or Word will be set aside. Then a mystical union with the Father and the Spirit excluding Jesus Christ could occur. In Barth's view, the *filioque* expresses and articulates "recognition of the communion between the Father and the Son" (CD I/1:480).

For Barth, the Trinity as such is not the starting point for theology but a hermeneutical analysis of God's self-revelation for understanding the gracious mystery of God's revelation in Jesus Christ and through the Spirit. Revelation is *Dei loquentis persona* (God's Subject of speaking) (CD I/1:304), for the triune God is a speaker. "God speaks" is the foundation for the doctrine of the Trinity. To the degree that the *mysterium trinitatis* remains a mystery, theology means rational wrestling with the mystery of God (CD I/1:368).

According to Barth, the root of the doctrine of the Trinity is based on the statement that "God reveals [God's self] as the Lord."⁷⁴ Barth's concept of lordship means God's freedom and transcendence. Central and fundamental in Barth's teaching of the Trinity is God's revelation in Jesus Christ. The being of God in the act of revelation is the One who loves in freedom. God's existence in love and freedom is "the fact that not only sheds new light on, but materially changes, all things and every thing in all things" (CD II/1:258). In light of God's being in the act of revelation and transformation, there is no such thing as *vestigium trinitatis*. The matrix of the Trinity is guided and directed by Easter, Good Friday, and Pentecost of Jesus Christ as the manifestation of the Father meeting and engaging us in the Spirit.⁷⁵

Divine Passibility in Trinitarian Life

In line with Augustine, Luther, and Calvin, Barth gives priority to the unity of God, namely the God of Israel, through emphasizing both the unity and the threeness of God. Barth prefers to use the term

mode (or way) of being (*Seinsweise*) to distinguish the three ways in which God exists, instead of using the concept of a person. Barth's term "mode of being" comes from Calvin's definition (*Inst.* I.xiii.6) *subsistentia in Dei essential* (CD I/1: 360).

According to Barth, Father, Son, and Spirit in God are called the three distinctive modes of being of the one God who subsists in their relationships with each other (CD I/1:366). Identifying the modes of being with relations of origin, Barth credits Luther with securing relations of origin while defending Luther's theology of Trinity against the tritheistic weakness of Melancthon's concept of person (CD I/1:365), as seen visibly in Moltmann's and Pannenberg's Trinitarianism.

Each distinct way of God's being co-inheres and interpenetrates the other. This is known as perichoresis (*circumincessio*), which denotes "that the divine modes of being mutually condition and permeate one another completely" (CD I/1:370). The doctrine of the perichoresis is the final sum of the doctrine of *unitas in trinitate* and *trinitas in unitate* (CD I/1:370–71).

When the triune God acts *ad extra*, toward us, these actions are one, the *opera trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa* (the external works of the Trinity are indivisible). This statement of Augustine is affirmed by Barth in such a way that God *in self* is known from what God has done in historical revelation. Barth's notion of correspondence makes Rahner's maxim redundant.

Furthermore, Barth articulates the doctrine of what is known as appropriations (attributions, assignments) to understand the role of each person or mode of being. Each person or mode of being participates in the activities of the others simultaneously, while each person or mode of being has an appropriate function and activity.

In his two Catechisms, Luther brings the concepts of Father and creation, Son and redemption, and Holy Spirit and sanctification into close relation to one another. In this concept of appropriations of the triune God, Luther never fails to speak of the real unity of God. Likewise, Calvin uses *principium* (Father), *sapientia* (Son), and *virtus* (the Spirit) in light of appropriation of the triune God. Following in the footsteps of two reformers, Barth argues that what is appropriated belongs to all the modes of being. Therefore, the distinction between them can be achieved by appropriation (CD I/1:374).

The essence of the Holy Spirit is the complete consubstantial communion between the Father and the Son. The reality of the Holy Spirit as the union and communion of Father and Son articulates God's being in mutual indwelling in the fellowship among Father, Son, and

Holy Spirit. God is oriented to the divine others and does not want to be without the divine others. God is the Father of the Son so that with the Son, God brings forth the Spirit and love so that God is the Spirit, the eternal love. The Spirit as the common bond of love is regarded as “the essence of the relation between these two modes of being of God,” discerned as “the fellowship in God Himself, the eternal love of God” (CD I/1:480).

Since God reveals God’s self as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Father shares in the passion of Christ. This is not to affirm the heresy of Patripassianism (i.e., that the Father suffered). The Greek conception of God is related to the idea of *apatheia*. Barth views the cross as the place where God is most clearly revealed. The one true God *Deus absconditus* is in Jesus Christ the crucified, *Deus revelatus*. Barth takes the passion of God very seriously, criticizing the traditional metaphysical concept of God. God’s suffering corresponds to God’s being in action, so that God’s being loves in the act of passion. The fatherly fellow-suffering of God is the basis of Christ’s humiliation, taking place in Christ’s crucifixion. This is Barth’s appreciation of Luther’s *theologia crucis*.

When it comes to the triune God in involvement with the world and its history, Moltmann pays a great deal of attention to the eschatologically oriented Trinitarian history of God, starting from the cross of Jesus Christ in a theopashite sense. Distancing himself from the general tendency toward modalism in Western theology, Moltmann constructs a social doctrine of the Trinity in which excessive emphasis is given to the plurality of God. Here, divine identity becomes divine three-in-oneness in terms of God’s tripersonal relationship. In Moltmann’s view, Barth is apt to put priority on the unity, albeit emphasizing both the unity and the threefoldness within God.⁷⁶

For Moltmann, the crucified God means that God is against God, Father against Son on the cross. Here, the humanity of Jesus is left behind for the divine trial between Father and Son. Unfortunately the heresy of docetism looms here. Emphasizing the distance between the Father and Son through abandonment and divine inner struggle, Moltmann assigns the role of overcoming this distance to the Holy Spirit, who drives the Father and Son toward God’s kingdom. Furthermore, he secures the triple identity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit from submerging into the single unity of God.

Articulating the historical event of the cross in its eschatological openness, Moltmann takes the event of the cross to be constitutive not only of the Trinity, but also internal to God’s own Trinitarian experience. God as Trinity affects as well as is affected by the

world. From the “staurocentric” (cross-concentrated) point of view, the traditional distinction between the immanent and the economic Trinities becomes untenable. Following Rahner’s rule of rejecting the distinction between the immanent and the economic Trinities,⁷⁷ Moltmann takes a step further by elaborating the Trinity as a Trinitarian history of God with the world. A doctrine of perichoresis replaces the doctrine of appropriation.

If the economic Trinity is identical to the immanent Trinity, to what extent can Moltmann articulate God’s freedom in relationship with the world? If suffering is internal to God’s own Trinitarian experience according to Moltmann, the contradiction between the Father and the Son cannot be resolved by Moltmann’s concept of the Father forsaking the Son, implying a model of divine child abuse. We argue that from the beginning, the Father coparticipates and shares in the eternal begetting of the Son in the presence of the Spirit. The Father’s heart is affected and passionate in God’s involvement with the world as accomplished through the Son and the Spirit. God is not a forsaking God, but a coparticipating, forgiving, and justifying God in accompaniment with the suffering of the Son who represents the victims of the world, *massa perditionis*.

Moltmann leaves the contradiction in God unresolved and reproaches Barth because Barth utilizes “a simple concept of God” without Trinitarian differentiation. Against Barth, Moltmann contends that the Father suffers with the Son, but not in the same way. Appealing to Luther, Moltmann affirms a dichotomy in God that implies a conflict or rupture in the triune God. To what extent could the forsaking God suffer with the forsaken Son in a different way?

God is a love that gives itself in reconciliation as God overcomes the contradiction in humanity. We cannot have a loving, dying Son without a Father who is involved in the mysterious depth of love in the Son’s abasement. Barth stresses that God gives God’s self, but God does not give God’s self away. God does not come into conflict with God’s self. God acts as Lord over this contradiction even as God subjects God’s self to it (CD IV/1:185).

God’s ardent love cannot forsake or abuse God’s Son on the cross, but deepens the Father’s fellow-suffering or *com-passion* with the Son who eternally decided to become unselfish and cosmic love for all. For Barth there is a *particula veri* in the teaching of the early Patristians. God the Father suffers in the offering and sending of his Son and in his abasement. The fatherly fellow-suffering of God is the mystery, the basis, of the humiliation of his Son; this truth takes place historically in Christ’s crucifixion (CD IV/2:357).

Trinitarian History and Eschatology in Jewish-Christian Context

When it comes to Trinity and eschatology, Moltmann proposes a concept of the Trinitarian doxology in which the economic Trinity has no part. The Trinitarian doxology is the life setting for the immanent Trinity. In light of the Trinitarian doxology the church reflects the cosmic liturgy and corresponds to the divine liturgy of life. In this Trinitarian doxology the Holy Spirit has the independent personhood in the eternal fellowship with the Father and the Son. The Son is begotten by the Father through the Spirit, so that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son.⁷⁸ Rahner's maxim has no place here in Moltmann's changed view.

Luther accentuates the Spirit as the Spirit of sanctification of the individual believer. And he affirms the Spirit as *Spiritus Creator* and the liberating Spirit of Jesus Christ. The church serves with the gospel of the forgiveness of sin through Word and sacrament in the presence of the Spirit. Furthermore, Luther's concept of "not-yet parousia" (the second coming of Jesus Christ) in understanding a relationship between justification and eschatology underlines the future and a first installment (*arabon*) of the Spirit (2 Cor 1:22). Thus, Luther's Christology is fundamentally directed toward the future in connection with the presence of the risen Christ in the life of Church and believers of God's justification.

Luther's concept of future is related to his understanding of the Holy Spirit, who is the "not-yet" being of the future. God has put God's seal on us and gives us God's Spirit in our hearts as a first installment. The justified sinner does not live according to the unknown future of God. But he or she lives a life of discipleship under God's grace in the mundane world going toward God's future, which is revealed in Christ by the power of the Spirit.

Luther's Christological eschatology is based on the biblical promise because Christ always means the original promise of God. Here, Christian faith is inseparably connected with God's promise, so Christian hope also involves God's promise. God's summary of the Torah offers a Christological structure to Luther's eschatology. God's commandments (especially the Decalogue) are seen as God's promise in which we are encouraged to live and practice our faith in God's future within this world. This Lutheran orientation does not merely seek our life from the future or prolepsis of God who has not yet been revealed.

In the death of Jesus we are aware of the mysterious power of God in that God remains God in the powerless death of Jesus, while sharing

the Son's suffering. Jesus died and God raised him. Luther's teaching of justification of the ungodly implies that God justifies God's self through Jesus Christ.

Luther, in his exegesis of Romans 3:4, articulates the internal unity between the justification of the ungodly and God proper. Luther contends that, internally, God as well as God's Word are righteous and true. It is essential to give space for God by believing, and accepting the Word of God.⁷⁹ Human wisdom should make way for God's Word, which comes to us in an eschatological sense.

"What if some were unfaithful? Will their unfaithfulness nullify the faithfulness of God? By no means! Although everyone is a liar, let God be proved true . . ." (Rom 3:3–4). St. Paul, in the grace of justification, argues that God is not only the God of Israel, but of all. As Israel is in covenant with God and bound to the Torah, the Gentiles are present in the grace of justification through Christ. The proclamation of justification is the proclamation of God's invitation to the Gentiles for fellowship with the God of Israel and all creation.

Luther, in *The Small Catechism*, expounds the second article and speaks of the true God. The concept of the true God is a description of God's open fight for God's divinity and humanity in light of redemption, freeing us from all sins, death, and the power of the devil through the Son's suffering and death. For Luther, Christian eschatology is connected with the second petition of the Lord's Prayer. "God's kingdom comes on its own without our prayer, but we ask in this prayer that it may also come to us."⁸⁰

Paul's statement—God may be all in all (1 Cor 15:28)—underlines the eschatological verification of the God of Israel and all humankind as the true God rather than a theological logic of eschatological panentheism. The unity of God has a priority, and will become an eschatological event in such a way that God's unity is the future of God. "And the Lord will become king over all the earth; on that day the LORD will be one and his name one" (Zech 14:9). *Kiddush ha-shem*, the sanctification of the Name, takes place in the Shema Israel, which acknowledges the One, the Only God, so that the Name of God is One.

The doctrine of the Trinity secures the fundamental meaning of the unity of the one God against faith in three Gods (tritheism). It also upholds divine freedom against panentheistic imagination of God within the world. The immanent Trinity does not necessarily contradict the Jewish concept of eschatologization of the unity of God. The immanent Trinity cannot be adequately understood apart from the future of the coming God. Trinitarian history and eschatology belong

together to the degree that God's eschatology will be realized and fulfilled in the life of the justified and in Israel's hope of a messianic kingdom. Finally, God's kingdom will come to us in a new heaven and earth. God who "will be that will be" is the One who "may be all in all."

Along these lines, Christian eschatology does not discard "the kingdom for Israel" as a *judaica opinio*. According to Isaiah, the divine kingdom is a messianic kingdom of peace for the people of the world, with Zion as its center. Daniel 7: 18–27 describes the Son of man's eternal kingdom of peace for all human beings. Inner-Jewish messianism (expectation of coming Messiah) can be confined to the idea that the Messiah will one day end the *galuth*, Jewish existence in exile. The Thousand Years' messianic kingdom is the final age of the world prior to God's eternal Sabbath in the new, eternal creation.⁸¹

In Luke 24:21 we read of the disappointment of the disciples on the road to Emmaus. "But we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel." In Acts 28: 20, St. Paul states that it is for the sake of the hope of Israel that he is bound with this chain. In the Revelation 20, the seer John integrates the Jewish apocalyptic concept of the messianic kingdom before the Last Judgment and the new creation of all things (Dan 7; Ezek 37–38). The days of the Messiah, which refers to the expectation of Israel to be redeemed from oppressive foreign dominion, articulates that Israel will live in the holy land through the intimate relationship with God. "And it shall be inhabited, for never again shall it be doomed to destruction; Jerusalem shall abide in security" (Zech 14:11).

Luke reports the question of Jesus' disciples: whether this is the time when Jesus will restore the kingdom to Israel (Acts 1:6). Here Luke sees Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God in light of a world-historical relationship of tension between Israel and all nations. Jesus as *goel le Yisrael* (the redeemer of Israel) is connected with the restoration of God's kingdom for Israel in the service of peace and freedom. What Jesus might restore for Israel is not identical with the days of the Messiah according to the Jewish hope of the future. The days of the Messiah are Israel's, rather than days of peace for all nations.

Furthermore, Jewish perspectives on messianism stand in closest connection with apocalypticism, advocating for the eschatology of a national character for the reestablishment of the House of David. Thus, Scholem argues that "Jewish messianism is in its origins and by its nature . . . a theory of catastrophe."⁸²

In the synoptic perspective, the Jewish Messiah has less to do with messianic fanatics. Rather, Israel feels humiliation and the burden of a world-historical reality in the hope of the Messiah and his days. In John 17:15, we are made aware of such messianic reality: "I am not asking you to take them out of the world, but I ask you to protect them from the evil one."

The days before the Messiah are no less than those of humiliation under foreign dominion. Between today and the days of the Messiah the Jews will experience humiliation by the hands of Gentile dominion. This Gentile dominion is always an oppressive and alienating rule over the Jewish people. Jesus in Matthew 26: 11 affirms such a sober reality of the days of the Messiah and speaks of its logic: "For you always have the poor with you, but you will not always have me."

Isaiah's prophecy—"They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isa 2:4)—implies that the messianic days will become days of peace for Israel. The days of the Messiah stand in light of the great prophetic promise of eternal peace. Such expectation of the days of the Messiah is reflected in the disciples' words in the context of the Acts of Apostles: restoration of the kingdom to Israel. However, this kingdom for Israel should not be directly identified with the state of Israel.

In the Christian concept of eschatology, Luke's idea of a kingdom for Israel has been deproblematized. Rather, Christian theologians argue that Israel has lost the kingdom. Calvin (*Inst.* III.xxv.5) and the Augsburg Confession (Article XVII) condemn Jewish chiliasm as a Jewish dream and fleshly hope. This Jewish opinion refers to the fact that before the resurrection of the dead, saints and godly people will possess a worldly kingdom in Jerusalem.

However, in his lecture on eschatology in the winter semester of 1925/26, Karl Barth retrieves and integrates the Jewish self-understanding of chiliasm as an indispensable part of Christian eschatology for the sake of Christian ethics. According to Barth, one can understand the phrase *judaica opinio* in the following way; without having a drop of oil of the ten ladies and their preparation for the bridegroom, one cannot be a Christian in hope. Jewish chiliasm calls for us to discern a reflection of the eternal kingdom of God with peace and justice. God will not simply destroy this world, but will give it a positive completion.

In this regard, chiliasm is accepted as a fundamental idea of Christian ethics. Jewish self-understanding of the kingdom is to be appreciated for the sake of Christian ethical praxis. In the early stage,

Barth argues that there is no ethics without even a minute degree of millenarianism.⁸³

In this light, Moltmann proposes eschatological millenarianism by incorporating millenarianism into eschatology. His eschatological millenarianism provides a space for *judaica opinio* and Israel's hope. There is no adequate Christian eschatology without the Jewish hope of a messianic kingdom. Israel lives in the *praeparatio messianica*.⁸⁴

For Moltmann, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity goes back to the Old Testament approaches of *shechina* theology as seen in New Testament language of the indwelling of God. Israel's eschatological hope for the final indwelling of God is the foundation for Christian hope for a new heaven and the earth (Ezek 37:27; Rev 21:3). The dwelling of God with human beings is the New Jerusalem.⁸⁵

Furthermore, Moltmann's Christology in an apocalyptic-eschatological perspective is integrated into the cosmic paradigm change, so that a shift occurs from a messianic-apocalyptic to a cosmic-apocalyptic model. Jewish *shechina* in the people of Israel gives way to a cosmic *shechina* in the whole creation. God's history with Israel is changed to God's universal-cosmic history with creation. However, according to Luke 2:32, Jesus is portrayed as the one to bring a light for God's revelation to the Gentiles and honor and glory to the people of Israel.

Moltmann's eschatology in a Trinitarian-pneumatological framework is more oriented toward cosmic-creational eschatology rather than deepening God's covenant with Israel and rendering Christ's service for Israel's hope in light of Christian eschatology. As a matter of fact, the God of creation or the new creation is from the beginning the God of Israel, which is breaking into our world and history.

Against this orientation, Moltmann proposes a model of the Trinitarian doctrine of the kingdom in a fourfold sense: the Father's kingdom, the Son's kingdom, the Spirit's kingdom, and finally the kingdom of the glory of the triune God. In this model of historical periodization (or appropriation) of four kingdoms, the glory of the triune God is the internal basis of the creation in which God's covenant with Israel in the past is dislodged from the future of God's glory in the whole creation. God creates eschatologically from the future through *creatio continua* in the presence of the Spirit. God is God of the universe. The new creation in the Spirit is anticipated in the kingdom of glory.

In the indwelling of the Spirit the eschatological indwelling of the glory of the triune God is anticipated. The kingdom of the Spirit

presupposes the kingdom of the Father and the kingdom of the Son, and together with them it indicates the eschatological kingdom of the divine glory. The kingdom of glory is to be understood as the consummation of creation of the Father and universal liberation of the Son, and as the fulfillment of the dwelling of the Spirit. The creation is the real promise of the glory, so the future of divine glory gives internal foundation and telos to the creation.

Moltmann's Trinitarian teaching of the kingdom puts together the works of the Trinity such as creation, liberation, and glorification, and directs them toward the home of the triune God.⁸⁶ A cosmic-eschatological model of the kingdoms of the triune God swallows up the God of Israel and Israel's hope for its kingdom into a cosmic-eschatological kingdom of divine glory because "God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28).

However, Moltmann's favorite text (1 Cor 15: 28) is the foundation for his panentheistic concept of a cosmic creation and cosmic kingdom of divine glory. However, this statement must be seen in light of Israel's confession of God's unity (Deut 6:4) and the prophet's confession of God, whose name is worshipped everywhere on earth (Zech 14: 9). The Jewish concept of the unity of God implies the eschatological process of God's unification with God's self. Confessing *Shema* Israel denotes that God becomes unified with God's self. In other words, this process of God's unification can be seen in Zechariah 14:9. Calvin contends that God is comprehended in God's oneness, and the majesty of God should not be profaned. The one name of God should prevail among us.⁸⁷

This concept is also echoed in 1 Corinthians 15: 28. According to St. Paul, God highly exalted Jesus, gave him the name before which every knee must bow. Everybody's confession will be Jesus Christ as the Lord to the glory of God the Father (Phil 2:9–11). Christ, as "the Father's Viceregent in the government of the world,"⁸⁸ will restore the kingdom for God so that all things in all persons as well as in all creatures will be brought back to God as their beginning and end. In view of the humanity of Christ, Calvin secures the Son's subjection to God the Father.

Glory, *shechina*, and the divinity can be a form of the Trinity as seen from the Old Testament. Along this line, St. Paul affirms the Old Testament's confession of God, because there is one God who is the Father of all. God is above all, through all, and in all (Eph 4:6). "Everything belongs to you. You belong to Christ, and Christ belongs to God" (1 Cor 3:22–23), "because the Father is greater than I" (John 14:28).

The prophet's vision of divine glory filling the earth in Isaiah 6:3 is the text that Moltmann utilizes to develop his paradigm of cosmic eschatology of creation. Nonetheless, the prophet's vision of divine glory is to be seen in light of Matthew 6: 10: Your kingdom come and your (Torah) will be done. YHWH in Exodus 3:14, who is the Creator of heaven and earth, is the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Father of Jesus Christ (Eph 3:14). This God is expressed, as seen in a Christian self-understanding of God, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. However, Moltmann unilaterally accentuates the divine eschatology of glory in terms of his social doctrine of Trinitarian doxology. Consequently, his social doctrine of the Trinity and God's kingdom presupposes the fourth kingdom of divine glory as the final one embracing the other three kingdoms in which a biblical concept of the God of Israel is dethroned for the sake of the fourth kingdom of the triune God.⁸⁹

Israel's existence and hope in expectation of chiliasm can be discerned in Luke 22:29: "I confer on you, just as my Father has conferred on me, a kingdom, so that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and you will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Certainty and the meaning of expectation, of peace, freedom, and justice prior to God's kingdom are for Israel as well as all nations through Christ. In the words of Simeon we hear that Jesus is "a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel" (Luke 2:32).

Trinitarian Relation and Filioque

The eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son implies that the Spirit comes to us through the Father and the Son. A concept of *filioque* defends against fanatic enthusiasm or overemotionalism about the Spirit. The personhood of the Spirit can be seen in John 3:8: "The wind blows where it chooses." This implies the dynamic event of the Spirit historically coming and going in relation to us. The eternal birth of the Son, according to Luther, witnesses to the essential sociality of God. God as the Father shares communion with the Son. A Trinitarian understanding of divinity refers to God's essence in terms of relation. In relationship God becomes a living God that underlines the eternal birth of the Son in and from God. God's will of eternal relation, God's vitality, liveliness, and actuality become manifest in Jesus Christ, so that the knowledge of the Trinity is knowledge of revelation or the Word of God.

According to Deuteronomy 29:29, "The secret things belong to the LORD our God, but the revealed things belong to us and to our

children forever..." God's wisdom (1 Cor 2:5,7) is hidden in the secret (1 Cor 2:7). The depth of God (1 Cor 2:10) can be revealed in the crucified and the word of the cross. For St. Paul the cross is not simply an event in the past; rather it retains the future in itself, namely an eschatological event in the presence of the Spirit. We see in the mirror, dimly, but then will see face to face (1 Cor 13:12).

In regard to the ecumenical *filioque* debate, Heron finds the views of the East and West unsatisfactory in understanding Trinity because they tend to reflect the triune God not in a triple but in a double manner. In order to maintain correspondence between the Son and the Spirit, the Augustinian motif of the *vinculum caritatis* remains more significant than the medieval Western *filioque* or Photius's insistence that the Spirit proceeds "from the Father alone." Heron cites Augustine to interpret the procession of the Spirit principally from the Father. However, the Spirit, in the generation of the Son, proceeds from both. At this point, it is affirmed that the Spirit proceeds from the Father to the Son and from the Son to the Father.⁹⁰

If the *filioque* is implicitly related to divine passibility, the Spirit, by eternally sharing the laboring pain of the Father begetting the Son, participates in creation, incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ. A classic concept of relations of origin must not be discarded for the sake of social doctrine of the independent Trinity. Rather it should be interpreted anew in conversation with the God of Israel: God who is ahead of us is the One who may be all in all. The Spirit is the Spirit of self-communication of the Father's fellow-suffering or compassion with Israel and the Spirit of the Son. "In His unity with the Israelite, Jesus exists in direct and unlimited solidarity with the representatively and manifestly sinful humanity of Israel" (CD IV/1: 172). Therefore, the Spirit, life-giver of Father and Son, proceeds from the Father and from the Son, who was born a Jew (Martin Luther).

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER 3



THE SPIRIT AND CHRIST-UNION

In an ecumenical study of the Holy Spirit we perceive that charismatic experience appears to be a new reality, remarkably shaping and constructing a theological view of the Holy Spirit on a personal, sacramental, and social level. A theological appreciation of the experience argues that the human self as such is regarded as the cumulative product of one's experience. Thus, human existence is seen as the totality of one's experience. Human experience is not static, but dynamic, growing and developing in an ongoing way, incorporating human feelings in the higher form of faith journey in relationship with the Spirit.¹

By analogy, God in the Trinitarian fellowship experiences other members of the Trinity, as well as to relating to the world by sending the Son and the Spirit to the world. If God experiences the world, being present in creaturely life in a continuous way (*creatio continua*), God invites the human being to participate in the initiative of God's grace through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The dogmatic concept of justification, sanctification, and election, as seen in light of the guiding initiative of the Holy Spirit, cannot be properly understood or implemented apart from human religious or spiritual experience of God's presence in our lives. In light of the analogy between God's experience and human experience, it is constructive and pivotal to deal with the reformers' theology of the Spirit and human spiritual experience.

In his third article of *The Small Catechism*, Luther writes: "by my own understanding or strength I cannot believe in Jesus Christ . . . but instead the Holy Spirit has called me through the gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, made me holy and kept me in the true faith, just as he calls, gathers, enlightens, and makes holy the whole Christian church."²

The power of the Word is found in the work of the Spirit. When it comes to faith and sanctification, Luther writes in *The Freedom of a Christian*: The inner person, who is created by faith in the image of God, is both joyful and happy. Many benefits in Christ are conferred upon this person. Therefore one's occupation is to serve God joyfully and in love that is not constrained.³

Luther makes a distinction between the inner person and the outer person according to 2 Corinthians 4:16, and interprets this distinction in light of Galatians 5:17. The inner person is being renewed daily, although the outer person is wasting away. For Luther, faith is an efficacious use of the Word of God, while giving honor to the truth of God. The human being is a being curved in upon oneself (*homo incurvatus in se*). The outer person corresponds to the reality of the inner person.⁴

Justification as the alien righteousness of Christ is received by faith, and it also expresses the freedom of God's gift of grace. Faith justifies because it takes hold of the presence of Christ, who is also the basis for one's renewal and sanctification. However, Melancthon confines the imputation of Christ's righteousness entirely in the forensic sense: "out of grace for Christ's sake through faith."⁵ On the other hand, Luther implies that faith as divine work changes us and makes us to be born anew of God. It brings with it the Holy Spirit.⁶ A person who is justified is in the very movement involved in sanctification, in the sense of a progressive present.

Luther integrates double justification (i.e., God's favor and gift), in other words, forgiveness of sin into the union with Christ. The justified person proceeds to the active life of discipleship, although such activism under the inspiration and sanctification of the Spirit is not the condition for making our justification complete. Luther's metaphor, "happy exchange," in light of an integrative model of justification, implies our union with Christ through faith in the presence of the Holy Spirit. The soul becomes the property of Christ.

This aspect is, according to Luther, the third benefit of faith in which faith unites the soul with Christ, as a bride is united with her bridegroom. Luther grounds this mystery of marriage in Ephesians 5:31–32 by stating that Christ is full of grace, life, and salvation while the soul is full of sins, death, and damnation. As faith comes between them and sins, death and damnation will be Christ's. Likewise, grace, life, and salvation will be the soul's. By the wedding ring of faith Christ shares in the sins, death, and pains of hell that belong to his bride.⁷

In the *Formula of Concord*, we read that sanctification, or vivification, is conveyed by the Holy Spirit through the gospel and the

sacraments. The righteousness of new obedience or sanctification is begun in Christian faith. It is certain that sanctification does not precede justification. The Holy Spirit kindles faith in believers through the gospel. Once people are justified, the Holy Spirit also renews and sanctifies them.⁸ True good works are performed when a person is reconciled with God through faith and renewed through the Holy Spirit. Therefore, justified persons have reconciliation with God, forgiveness of sins, and God's grace, so that they are children and heirs of eternal life.⁹

In the *Formula of Concord*, justification by faith implies the forgiveness of sins that is imputed to Christians from the outside. But the indwelling of Christ's essential righteousness in us is not understood in light of justification or the righteousness of faith. Rather, it is conceptualized as a consequence or ramification of justification or the righteousness of faith that precedes the indwelling Christ. Thus, this righteousness of faith means nothing else than the forgiveness of sin only because of Christ's obedience.¹⁰

Herein, justification and the indwelling Christ are separated from each other for the sake of a unilateral-forensic concept of justification. This model of justification has become dominant in the subsequent development of Lutheranism. If Luther speaks of the double side of justification in terms of event and process through faith in Christ in light of the Holy Spirit, the indwelling Christ makes a forensic moment of justification effective and transformative. It should not be understood as a mere consequence of the forgiveness of sin.

In a similar fashion, Calvin also speaks of the third dimension of the Holy Spirit as the Sanctifier of human beings. This is the work of the Spirit, especially in the life of the regenerate. Calvin refers to the restored image partly as consisting of true righteousness and holiness. The restoration of the image of God characterizes a new beginning and orientation of the Christian life, which underlines a spirituality of renewal and righteousness. We have nothing of the Spirit except through regeneration (*Inst.* II.iii.1). The Spirit comes not from nature but from regeneration (*Inst.* II.ii.27). Hence it appears that God's grace, as this word is understood in discussing regeneration, is the rule of the Spirit to direct and regulate human will. The Spirit cannot regenerate without correcting, without reforming, without renewing human will (*Inst.* II.v.15).

In terms of regeneration, human beings are filled with faith, love of God and neighbor, and they are full of desire and application to live in accordance with righteousness and holiness (*Inst.* II.ii.12). Illuminating the minds and forming the hearts to cultivate righteousness (*Inst.*

II.v.5), the Spirit makes the person a new creation. A new life in the power of the Spirit refers to a spirituality of the regenerated.

At any rate, the purpose of Christian spirituality, according to the reformers, is to live in conformity with Jesus Christ or the will of God. God's grace as forgiving mercy (God's favor) and God's grace as sanctifying power (gifts of God) are essential and decisive in understanding the person and work of the *Spiritus Creator* in reference to Christ. Therefore, a Christian is not only a forgiven, justified person, but also an ethically committed person, sanctified, righteous, and holy, at both a personal and a social level.

For Luther, *simul justus et peccator* refers to the dynamism of the Christian life in justification as event and process that is grounded in the real presence of Christ. It articulates the justifying and sanctifying work of the Spirit in ongoing and daily growth toward eschatological consummation. Given this fact, it is important to deal with an ecumenical discussion of Luther's concept of union with Christ in reference to the grace of justification.

MARTIN LUTHER AND UNION WITH CHRIST

Augustine interprets God's grace of justification as taking place in Jesus Christ and outside the human being. God's grace in Jesus Christ brings about a new orientation in believers so that it transforms their will. God operates to initiate human justification. Then the human will cooperates with God's grace in order to perform good works, which finally brings justification to perfection (or deification). In this model, Augustine does not distinguish between the double aspects of justification, namely the event and the process. God's work is not completed in the single event of justification, but requires, after the event of justification, a perfection process in which God's cooperative grace collaborates with the human will.

Like Augustine, yet with different accents, Eastern Orthodox theology refers to *theosis* as the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, articulating human synergistic participation in God's grace. It refers to the penetration of the human condition by divine energies, rather than by divine essence, which remains a mystery. Christ is the hypostasis who unites humanity with divinity. This hypostatic union in Christ is applied to human participation in divinity. Like leaven permeating bread, divine life permeates human beings to restore the image of God.

In the church—the body of Christ—human beings participate in the divine life and partake of the divine nature (2 Peter 1:4). The way

of Christian life, once justified, leads to a gradual progress toward deification. This is the process of growing in holiness, or getting closer to God. With the grace of the Holy Spirit, deification takes place by faith, hope, and love. This point is to be understood not merely as synergism, but as the initiative of the grace of the Spirit, which does not exclude human good deeds but rather propels them. The initiative of the Holy Spirit working through the sacraments of the church empowers the human will so that the human will, in return, is required as a necessary instrument to do God's will and commandment. This includes the ethical-practical dimension of *theosis*.

In fact, *theosis* is not intended to mean *eritis sicut Deus* (the word of the serpent) or a vulgar ontological mingling with, or absorption into, God's nature (theopoiesis) in which the human being actually becomes a god. The core message of *theosis* or divinization consists in a synergistic participation of the believer in the divine life toward the restoration of the *imago Dei* and incorporation into the divine life of the risen Christ. The complete realization of this deification takes place only at the eschatological consummation along with the resurrection from the dead. There are two classical formulations: first, "because of his great love [Jesus Christ] was made into that which we are, so that he might bring about that we be what he is" (Irenaeus); second, "[Christ] became man so that we might become divine" (Athanasius).¹¹

However, the idea of *theosis* has been unilaterally misunderstood in Western Protestant Church as an influence of Greek ontology. As a consequence it has been distinguished from a personal-ethical relationship with God in the theology of the Reformation. *Theosis*, in the tradition of the early church and in the Orthodox Church, remains a stumbling block in an ecumenical dialogue with Protestantism.

A. Karl Barth retrieves a dimension of deification in his discussion of Augustine, Luther, and Calvin. Luther speaks of a deification of the human being in light of the indwelling Christ in Christian life: "God help us, what a boundless, rich and mighty thing is faith! For it maketh man in all things a god, to whom naught is impossible . . ." ¹² Similarly, Augustine states that a deification takes place in the grace of justification insofar as it makes us God's children. Nonetheless, neither Augustine nor Luther argues that there is anything about deification in the sense of changing human nature into the divine nature. The dimension of deification is grounded in the *apprehensio Christi* or indwelling in us or union of humanity with Christ that takes place in faith according to Galatians 2:20: "It is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me."

Calvin also stands in this line of thought. Barth argues that without the principle of deification or union with Christ we cannot adequately understand the Reformation doctrine of justification and faith. In Calvin's controversy with Osiander (*Inst.* III.ii.5), Calvin's idea of deification presents itself as Christ-union. In this union, the self-presentation of Christ or the Word of God takes place in the believer rather than in an ontological mixture of Christ with us. Thus, the concept of the indwelling of Christ that takes place in faith should not be reduced to an anthropological concept without reservation (*CD* I/1:240).

In the Greek Orthodox view, deification is grasped in a twofold sense: the one is the final perfection of our communion with God in the proper sense, and the other denotes the entire process of sanctification in the wider sense (Rom 8:30).

The mystical union, which expresses Luther's nucleus of spirituality, includes an openness to both charismata and fruits; it may also include divinization with an eschatological reservation. Deification, seen from the Eastern Church's perspective, does not necessarily mean human sharing in the divine essence ontologically. Rather, it means a continual process reaching to eternity. *Theosis*, which occurs by receiving the Holy Spirit, allows Christians to experience spiritual gifts personally (encompassing both charismata and fruits) and the sacraments, providing human beings with participation in the divine life.¹³

B. Given this fact, it is worthwhile to discuss Luther's openness toward charismata. Unlike the Greek Orthodox teaching of the Holy Spirit, which highlights a synergism between God and human beings, Luther's concept of *fides Christo formata* (faith formed by Christ) excludes synergism in matters pertaining to justification and salvation. This aspect lies at the heart of Luther's concept of an eschatologically open deification.¹⁴ At this juncture, it is of special significance to notice the charismatic experience of the Holy Spirit in the believers. Luther is frequently critiqued in the Pentecostal-charismatic community for missing the "whereabouts" of the Spirit in an experiential dimension.

Frank Macchia, a representative of Neo-Pentecostal ecumenical theology, argues against a "Spiritless" understanding of justification in Reformation theology. Likewise, Macchia challenges the alliance of evangelism and tongues in Pentecostal circles. The heart pulses in a life-transforming experience of the Spirit in light of his Spirit-Christology. In this regard, he pursues a way toward the holistic life of the Spirit in creation, critiquing the "Spiritless" teaching of justification in the Reformation framework and also challenging the

overemphasis in Pentecostal communities on personally receiving divine supernatural manifestations. Macchia's critical point is extended to a Lutheran theology of the cross, because the meaning of the cross and justification reduces the cosmic dimension of the resurrection to a mere appendage of Jesus' death. Consequently, it results in a "Spiritless" understanding of Jesus Christ.¹⁵

However, for Luther, the Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity who "calls, gathers, enlightens and makes holy the whole Christian church."¹⁶ As far as the inner working of the Spirit is concerned, Luther also articulates faith and other gifts: "But when he is 'swaddled' in tongues and spiritual gifts, then he is called 'gift,' then he sanctifies and makes alive."¹⁷ There is no gainsaying that an experiential dimension of the Spirit upon human life plays an important role in Luther's theology of the Spirit. No one can receive the Word of God from the Holy Spirit without experiencing, proving, and feeling it. "In such experience the Holy Spirit instructs us as in His own school, outside of which nothing is learned but empty words and prattle."¹⁸

The outward function of the Holy Spirit (the word of the gospel and material signs of sacraments) does not contradict the inward function of the Spirit (faith and other gifts).¹⁹ Despite his rejection of the beliefs of the Anabaptists, Luther does not deny the inner operation of the Spirit. All Scripture receives its light from the resurrection of the crucified Christ.

Luther understands the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible through the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The Lutheran teaching of justification, which can be understood through the Holy Spirit alone, also involves the regeneration and vivification of human life. In this vivification, the Holy Spirit works in an ongoing way, granting us gifts, power, and a charismatic renewal of life through external means of grace, our prayer, and prophetic *diakonia* for the needy.

In the sermon on Mark 16:17–18, Luther does not speak out against the signs and wonders of the early church. If the original situation of the early church were updated, God could perform similar signs even today. The same power of the Spirit is still present in the church.²⁰

According to Luther, signs should be understood as a testimony to and public confirmation of the gospel. If it were necessary, such signs could now be performed. When it takes place, devils are cast out in Christ's name. The sick are healed by prayer in Christ's name so that signs are given to all Christianity.²¹ Luther was known to have personally exercised prayer for the sick. The famous case was his prayer for Melanchthon, who was seriously ill.

The Spirit works not only through the external means of Word and sacrament, but also spontaneously in believers.²² In *A Simple Way to Pray* (1535), Luther himself experienced a certain prayer of the Spirit: "The Holy Spirit himself preaches here, and one word of his sermon is far better than a thousand of our prayers. Many times I have learned more from one prayer than I might have learned from much reading and speculation."²³

Between doctrinal confession and the human faith experience, the risen and present Christ works in our faith journey by the power of the Spirit, so that the meaning of the gospel comes to us as the living and powerful reality of Christ through Word, sacraments, and the faith experience.

The Lutheran understanding of baptismal identity is relevant to the charismatic renewal of life, because baptism is understood in a progressive present sense. Christian union with Christ in the "happy exchange" includes experience with the gifts of the Spirit in the daily progress of spiritual baptism, which can also be understood as the actualization of baptismal grace.

Luther's understanding of spiritual baptism or daily baptism, after the sacrament of baptism is done, refers to that which the sacrament of baptism signifies, that is, spiritual birth and the increase of grace and righteousness until the last day.²⁴

C. Distancing himself from the synergistic tradition, Luther views Jesus Christ as the objective ground for our justification *extra nos*, which denotes a difference from Augustine's concept of the human will in the process of justification, or from the Orthodox synergistic concept of *theosis*. Luther's teaching of justification ("already") is embedded with his deliberation of eschatological reservation ("not yet"). In our spiritual pilgrimage, we receive adoption as children and become heirs of eternal life, only because of Christ and not because of the synergistic progress of *theosis*.

For Luther, the article of justification is grounded in Jesus Christ or faith in Christ. The first emphasis is on the imputation of God's justifying grace from the outside (*extra nos*). This aspect discards any notion of human will in cooperation with God's grace.

Rather, it promotes faith in a passive sense of receiving God's promise. Justification is received by faith, that is, also in the shape and deepening of faith. Faith justifies because it takes hold of its treasure: the risen, present Christ. In faith Christ is present (*in ipsa fide Christus adest*). Christ *extra nos* (theology of the cross) is related to the grace of forgiveness of sin in the imputed and forensic sense while

the risen, present Christ (theology of the resurrection) is related to our renewal in the presence of the Spirit. *Simul justus et peccator* permeates justification in the double sense of forensic and transformative dynamism.

Luther's concept of *fides Christo formata* (faith formed by Christ) is the basis for justification from the outside, yet at the same time it becomes the driving force for our renewal and deification in eschatological openness.

Melanchthon's phrase "out of grace for Christ's sake through faith"²⁵ articulates the free gift of justification from the outside. For Melanchthon, justification is regeneration.²⁶ This gift, according to Luther, is also given as an effective moment of renewal and transformation in our lives in terms of the risen and present Christ in our faith through the Holy Spirit. Like Augustine, Luther proposes the double understanding of justification in terms of event (imputation) and process (renewal).

Unlike Augustine, however, Luther insists that Christ in the presence of the Holy Spirit is the driving force for our renewal, making the grace of justification complete rather than implying the idea that the human will contributes to rendering justification complete.

Given this fact, Moltmann's questioning of the Reformation principle of justification deserves consideration. He argues the following: (1) The Reformation principle of justification has to present the meaning of the saving significance of Christ's death *and resurrection*. (2) It has to be described from the start as *experience of the Spirit*. (3) It has to be oriented in an *eschatological* direction. However, Moltmann is inclined to understand the Reformation principle of justification only in a forensic sense rather than in a double sense of event and process.

According to Moltmann, Luther's teaching of justification shows very little development of the vivification of the human in the Spirit and daily resurrection.²⁷ In support of his one-sided forensic understanding of justification, Moltmann seems to credit himself with the mysticism of Osiander and Hildegard of Bingen because "regeneration complements justification."²⁸

However, Osiander tries to reverse the order of salvation (*ordo salutis*): the indwelling Christ sanctifies and makes us complete and divinized, so that justification is a result of the indwelling Christ. Becoming more and more Christlike and divine is a basis for justification. Herein, sin is like a drop of water in the ocean.

In response to Osiander, the *Formula of Concord* strictly distinguishes justification from regeneration (rebirth, sanctification, or

renewal). Regeneration results from justification by faith. *Vivificatio* (making alive) or sanctification (regeneration or renewal), which results from justification or the alien righteousness of Christ, remains incomplete, imperfect, and impure in this life as our proper righteousness because of the condition of human flesh.

Christ renews the justified, sanctifies, and creates in them love toward God and their neighbor. Our proper righteousness or good works please God so that they are acceptable to God. The believers receive adoption as children and become heirs of eternal life only because of Christ's obedience.²⁹

In this framework, sanctification or regeneration does not precede justification. "Once people are justified, the Holy Spirit also renews and sanctifies them. From this renewal and sanctification the fruits of good works follow."³⁰ If Luther views good works as the fruits of justification, the *Formula of Concord* sees them as those of sanctification. Out of this comes a necessity of the law in Christian life, that is, the third use of the law underlines a necessity of law in Christian life.

However, against the Philipist and Concordist distinction of forensic justification from effective sanctification, the Finnish interpretation of justification begins with retrieving the real presence in relevance to *theosis*. For Mannermaa, Christ is both the favor of God (forgiveness of sin) and the gift of God (*donum*: God's real presence). In faith itself, Christ is present.

The Lutheran idea of *fides Christo formata* is interpreted as the ground for human participation in divine nature. Thus, justification is a real participation in the risen Christ. Mannermaa states that Luther combines the doctrine of the divinity of Christ with that of justification by faith in Christ. Luther's idea of happy exchange is interpreted in terms of the Christological principle of *communicatio idiomatum*. Faith, as a real union with Christ, prioritizes God's *donum* over God's *favor*.

If justification is participation in divine nature, to what extent is the justification *extra nos* to be articulated? If Luther's concept of "happy exchange" within us (*cum nobis*) replaces God's initiative action for us (*extra nos*), the human participation in divine nature would be conditional for earning the grace of justification. In a double sense Luther's concept of justification emphasizes Christological dynamism in faith journey under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Jesus Christ is the objective basis for justification *extra nos* and the subjective enabler for sanctifying, renewing, and deifying the justified in his indwelling within us (justification *cum nobis*) through the power of the Holy Spirit.

JOHN CALVIN: CHRISTIAN LIFE IN CHRIST-UNION

A. In his discussion of justification and sanctification, Calvin prioritizes the Christ-union as a point of departure, from which justification and sanctification spring. His concept of the Christ-union is inclined to elaborate a more spiritual and divine nature of Christ in accordance with the Holy Spirit and in view of *extra Calvinisticum*. Calvin conceptualizes justification in terms of an *extra nos* principle like Luther. However, Calvin appreciates human will in the progress of sanctification like Augustine, so that human will (the third use of the law) plays a significant role in bringing justification to sanctification.

In order to explore what the Spirit in the Trinitarian context implies for our spiritual benefit, Calvin begins Book III of the *Institutes* under the title, “The things spoken concerning Christ profit us by the secret working of the Spirit.” As the Sanctifier of human life, the Spirit stands in an inseparable connection with the person and the work of Christ. Calvin’s terminology of union with Christ is not at odds with the union with God. We are united to God by Christ and we can only be joined to Christ if God abides in us. The believers are so engrafted into Christ by faith that Christ joins them to God.³¹

By nature we are hostile and rebellious against God, but if we embrace that communion with Christ we come to enjoy Christ and all his benefits (*Inst.* III.i.1). In speaking of the certainty of justification by faith alone, Calvin takes account of Christ’s *extra nos* as the fundamental ground: “Righteous—not in ourselves but in Christ” (*Inst.* III.xi.23). This starting point affirms Calvin’s epistemology concerning our salvation. By the intercession of Christ’s righteousness, we are justified in the sight of God. Therefore, human beings are not righteous in themselves. But because the righteousness of Christ is communicated to them by imputation, human beings become worthy (*Inst.* III.xi.23).

When it comes to justification, Calvin emphasizes Christ’s righteousness *extra nos* in numerous places. For example, we are made righteous by Christ’s obedience (Rom 5:19). We are reckoned righteous before God in Christ and regardless of ourselves (*Inst.* III.xi.4).

In light of this objective basis, we understand our mystical communion with Christ. Calvin explains our union with Christ in emphatic terms, like the “joining together of Head and members,” the “indwelling of Christ in our hearts,” or the “mystical union.”³² Christ has become ours, making us sharers with him in the gifts endowed by the Spirit (*Inst.* III.xi.10). Calvin means that by union with Christ, we are engrafted into his body.

Calvin himself characterizes the nature and essence of the union with Christ in detail in his letter to Peter Martyr Vermigli: The flesh of Christ is neither life-giving in itself nor can its effect reach us without the unmeasurable work of the Spirit. The Spirit makes Christ live in us, sustaining and nourishing us. The Spirit accomplishes everything on behalf of Christ.³³

Sometimes Calvin makes use of the concept of *koinonia* (translated as *sacra unitas*). This *unitas* comes about as soon as we accept Christ by faith, and it consists in being implanted into his body. Taking place beyond the capacity of human comprehension, it is more a matter of astonishment than of understanding; it is mysterious. In his letter to Peter Martyr, Calvin again states: "How this happens far exceeds the limits of my understanding, I must confess; thus I have more of an impression of this mystery than I strive to comprehend it."³⁴

However, a mystical component in Calvin exists within the framework and operation of the Holy Spirit, by his articulation of our communion with Christ *extra nos* and Christ *in nobis*. Understood this way, his theology of the Spirit is different from ontological mysticism.

For instance, Andrew Osiander (1496–1552), a leader of the Reformation in Nuremberg, attributes his view of justification to the indwelling of the divine nature of Christ. He challenges Melancthon's forensic teaching of justification. According to Osiander, a transforming, internal justification is effected by the indwelling of the divine nature of Christ in the life of the believer. Thus, the righteousness of Christ that justifies is identical with the divine nature of Christ. Thus, the divine nature of Christ is more important than the human nature, so that the union with this divine nature would make justification dependent on something in the believer, whether it is called faith, righteousness of Christ, or even divine nature.

In the Osiander controversy, Lutheran theologians interpreted regeneration as the renewal following justification, recognizing that renewal remains incomplete and imperfect in this life. They maintained that justification is necessary for salvation while also regarding regeneration as more than an additional complement to justification. *Ordo salutis* (an informal order of salvation referring to the stages of Christian life leading to salvation) in the Lutheran sense teaches that both contrition and good works have no part in justification, although they are vital and important in Christian life.

However, Melancthon argues that good works follow the forgiveness of sins and that they should be done to confirm our calling.³⁵ The good works follow justification and confirm our calling as a sign, a demonstration of justification in which good works are part of a

sequential process. Luther's dynamic understanding of justification in terms of event and process is bifurcated into the forensic event of justification and a sequential progress of human works. At this juncture, there is a parallel between Melanchthon and Calvin.

B. In the Protestant tradition, mysticism has been, as a whole, viewed negatively because the influence of Greek religiosity through contemplation has been thought to be incompatible with the core message of the gospel (i.e., salvation through faith in the grace of Christ). As Ritschl writes, "Wherever mysticism is found, the theology of justification no longer retains its true significance as the key to the whole domain of the Christian life."³⁶

According to Ritschl, Reformed faith rejects any possibility of equating human beings with God in an ontological sense, and the mystical conception of salvation not only stands in contradiction to the ethical thrust of Reformation theology, but is furthermore based solely on works of righteousness associated with contemplative exercises.

In contrast to Ritschl's view of Reformation theology, Luther himself highly appreciated the tradition of German mysticism. In this tradition, Luther discovered a union with the body of Christ that transcends ecclesial boundaries and spheres through *sapientia experimentalis*. At issue for Luther is that the tradition of German mysticism articulates believers' experiential knowledge of Christ's presence in our midst. Therefore this mysticism does not imply an attitude of escapism from social existence and the realities of life. Rather, it offers a guide for genuine rest and trust in God on behalf of true ethical responsibility and commitment in human relationship with neighbors.³⁷

In his study of Calvin's theology of Christ-union, Tamburello utilizes Friedrich von Hugel's understanding of the mystical element of religion (institutional, speculative, experiential, and mystical) to promote relevance between Calvin's theology and mysticism. He follows von Hugel's definition of mysticism as the ontological presence of, and the operative penetration by, the Infinite Spirit, within the human spirit.

Furthermore, Tamburello integrates Troeltsch's definition of mysticism as "direct inward and present religious experience" into von Hugel's definition.³⁸ Tamburello implies that mystical theology can be understood as a guide for experiential knowledge of God, which can be attained through the union of a spiritual affection for God.³⁹

Moltmann, in his study of the Spirit of life, integrates the mystical *sapientia experimentalis* into his pneumatology. Mystical theology, according to Moltmann, sets up the goal of earning wisdom drawn

from experience rather than purely doctrinal wisdom. This is not to divide life superficially into praxis on the one hand and knowledge on the other. Rather life in mystical theology is characterized by seeking love driven by spiritual longing and hunger that can find its fulfillment only in God. Spiritual knowledge in the Hebrew sense (*yada*) implies an act of love.

Moltmann interprets meditation as the loving, suffering, and participating knowledge of something, while contemplation is the reflective awareness of one's own self. Mediation and contemplation are inseparably interrelated with each other. With this connection in mind, Moltmann understands Christian meditation in terms of the meditation on the passion and death of Christ. In this meditation one finds that Christ "for us" is Christ "in us." The fellowship of Christ's sufferings and the power of his resurrection are experienced at the same time in faith (Gal 2:20).

Christ *extra nos* and Christ *in nobis* together form a single whole. The meditative knowledge of Christ for us conditions the contemplative perception of Christ in us in a mutual way. Christ *extra nos* does not come to us as a living reality unless there is the contemplative awareness of the activity of the Spirit in us.⁴⁰

In this light, Moltmann considers mysticism in the sense of *unio mystica*. Meister Eckhart's concept of detachment implies that God continues to withdraw as the Creator of all things, leaving behind God for us and Trinity. Eckhart's mystical idea of detachment is directed toward God in self, corresponding to God's separation or detachment from the world; Eckhart's statement—"Let God go, for God's sake"—is called mystical atheism, or an atheism for God's sake. Action leads to meditation while meditation on Christ for us leads to contemplation of the Spirit's presence in us, and to the restoration of human beings as God's image.

The road taken from contemplation to the mystical moment leads to the abolition of a human's likeness to God for God's sake, and finally to the abolition of God for God's sake. In this mystical path, the soul finds itself at home in infinite bliss and enjoyment where ineffable deification or *theosis* begins. Moltmann articulates the vision of the world in God in the light of the Spirit with reference to *Theologia Germanica* and the liberating mysticism of Ernesto Cardenal.

Moltmann's language of pneumatology indicates that the life-giving Spirit fills creation and makes the world shine by descending and indwelling in all things. Moltmann takes St. Paul's statement that "God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28) to justify and promote

his concept of pneumatological panentheism. The Christian mystical vision of the world in God and deification is appreciated and shaped by the human experience of indwelling in God's Spirit. Moltmann's theology of the cross in a pneumatological framework is oriented for the panentheistic vision of the world in God. Thus Moltmann witnesses a universal affirmation of God's presence in the darkness of life.⁴¹ "In him we live and move and have our being (Acts 17:28)"; "For from him and through him and to him are all things" (Rom 11:36).

In the biblical context, the eschatological expansion of God-human contact through vision begins in Moses and Jesus. Where the Spirit is, there we will find freedom also. The Spirit of freedom is a presupposition for *visio beatifica*. According to 1 John 3:2, "Beloved, we are God's children now . . . we will be like him, for we will see him as he is." Knowledge of God in such a vision is a gift of God's grace for the future. Thus, God is known by God.

An experience of *visio beatifica* is connected with the Hebrew meaning of *yada*, that is, knowledge of the personal-holistic event of God and the human being in terms of I and Thou. Therefore thinking and meditation are engaged in eschatological *visio dei*. This vision in turn accentuates human participation in God's history in the world for the sake of those who suffer on the underside of universal history.

The eschatological vision is promised in faith. Longing for God is expressed in Ps 145: 15: "The eyes of all look to you, and you give them their food in due season." In this *visio dei*, God is the place of the world, opening the world to us as the *novum*. God's aseity, as seen in light of God as the essence of divine relationship, serves as a concept witnessing to God's freedom. God's freedom, as seen in eschatological *visio dei*, defends the subject of God over against the human projection of God in terms of pan (en) theism.

As Marquardt rightly states: "In *visio beatifica* we no longer strive for the knowledge of God for our sake, but only for God's sake."⁴² "You shall love the LORD your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might" (Deut 6:5). Thus, *visio dei* does not necessarily lead to an experience of the darkness of God, the desert, or nothingness. Rather, it instructs us to love and respect the freedom of God and God's future over and ahead of us. We cannot anticipate God's future because we simply do not know what it is.

When the mystical tradition is seen in light of an experiential knowledge of God, Calvin's theology of union with Christ is fundamental to Christian faith, justification, sanctification, and even election. Calvin takes union with Christ (prior to purgation and illumination) as a

mystical urge (the last stage of contemplative life) for a point of departure in considering the relationship between the Holy Spirit and Christian spirituality.

Integrating mysticism, experiential awareness, or knowledge of God's presence into the field of his theology of the Spirit, Calvin no longer views mysticism as domain alien to faith, but an integral part of it. Our justification that takes place from our union with Christ does not mean that our righteousness is built inherently on human capacity. Christ in *unio mystica* does not replace Christ *extra nos* because Calvin's concept of union does not imply Christ's total identification with us.

In light of and with emphasis on Christ *extra nos* (alien righteousness of justification), Calvin distinguishes Christ *in nobis* (indwelling Christ) from any mystical, ontological mingling between the human and the divine. Calvin articulates the aspect of Christ-union in a sacramental perspective. Calvin puts Christ-union into a more concrete context by using it in terms of his favorite image of "engrafting." Calvin understands the Eucharist as "a help whereby we may be engrafted into Christ's body" (*Inst.* IV.xvii.33).

Calvin also makes use of this "engrafting" metaphor in defining baptism as the sign of the initiation into the church. Engrafted in Christ, we may be reckoned among God's children (*Inst.* IV.xv.1). The sacraments serve the goal of sealing an already existing *unio mystica cum Christo* and of strengthening communion with Christ and of nourishing the soul as living food.

It is the Holy Spirit, in Calvin's view, who effectuates our faith because faith is the principal work of the Holy Spirit (*Inst.* III.i.4). When Jesus Christ baptizes us with the Holy Spirit and when Christ in the presence of the Spirit leads us to faith and regenerates us as new creatures, we become real partakers in Christ's salvation. By the secret power of the Spirit, we come to enjoy Christ and all his benefits (*Inst.* III.i.1).

Thus, the certainty of faith is grounded in Christ's oneness with us (*Inst.* III.ii.24). In this regard, Calvin argues that Christ unites himself to us by the Spirit alone. By the grace and power of the Spirit we are made his members, while the Spirit keeps us under Christ and grants us to possess him (*Inst.* III.1.3).

Here, Calvin rejects Osiander's doctrine of essential faith, through which our union with Christ effects a merging and commingling of our being with Christ's own. Calvin's critique of Osiander's "essential righteousness" is to be seen as a critique of a mystical, ontological absorption into God (*Inst.* III.xi.5-12).

Furthermore, Calvin's concept of the mystical union correlates with his understanding of justification and sanctification. Calvin explains the meaning of the mystical union in terms of the joining together of Head and members, or indwelling of Christ in our hearts. In short, that mystical union is accorded the highest degree of importance, so that Christ has been made ours, and makes us sharers with him in the gifts of the Spirit (*Inst.* III.xi.10).⁴³

By faith we understand that Christ not only suffered for us and rose from the dead for us, but we also receive him as our personal savior and enjoy his possession in the presence of the Spirit. The communion, which we have with Christ, is a fruit of faith (*fidei effectus*). Faith is not historical knowledge of the past. It is, rather, the personal relationship with Christ here and now under the power of his Spirit. Through faith Christ dwells in our hearts—we live in him. Here lies the foundation for assurance, but this assurance is never to be set up without the spiritual growth in newness of life.

C. In this regard, it is significant to discuss Calvin's understanding of charismatic manifestation in the context of Christ-union. In opposition to the Roman Catholic theology of miracles or to Anabaptist fanatics, Calvin insists that the gift of healing, like the rest of the miracles, has vanished away in order to make the preaching of the gospel marvelous forever (*Inst.* IV.xix.18).

Following this statement, the Reformed Church has tended to favor a dispensationalism of spiritual gifts. However, there would still be a space for charismata in Calvin's mystical union with Christ, because these gifts are given for the remission of sins and newness of life. It is unacceptable to Calvin that the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit end in fanatical disorder by ignoring the Word and creating "some sort of vague and erratic spirit."⁴⁴ It is not strange that God took away spiritual gifts, such as speaking in tongues and healing, in order to stop the misuse for human ambition and corruption. If God takes away spiritual gifts, God keeps them from corruption and abuse.⁴⁵

However, Calvin is open to accept charismata in their genuine, broad purpose and use in a way that we are spiritually enriched in the union with Christ. We are gifted by the Spirit to build up the Christian community. "For although we do not receive the Spirit to the end that we may speak with tongues, or be prophets, or cure the sick, or work miracles, yet is He given to us for a better use, that our tongues may be trained to true confession" (Rom 10:10) that we may pass from death to life (John 5:24).⁴⁶

If the charisma of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus Christ (Rom 6:23), and if being filled with the Spirit is connected with “giving thanks to God the Father at all times and for everything in the name of Jesus Christ” (Eph 5:18ff), how do we understand multiple gifts of the One Spirit? To what extent does the multiplicity of gifts the unity of the Spirit implement and harmonize the diversity in the life of community of faith?

According to St. Paul in Romans 12, the gifts and the tasks are given to the believers to live in harmony with one another for service in everyday life. In other words, the one charismata is displayed in the manifold forms of charismata. The everyday charismata of Christian life are different “according to the grace given to us” (Rom 12:6). In 1 Corinthians 12:4 there are varieties of gifts, but there is one Spirit. “To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good” (1 Cor 12:7).

In this context, Moltmann attempts to actualize and promote the everyday charismata of life with respect to the peace movement, the social movement for liberation, and the ecology movement. The healing ministry of Jesus is an indispensable part of his proclamation of the kingdom of God. Moltmann argues that Jesus’ healing ministry is a reminder of hope, as seen in the framework of hope for the kingdom of God.

For St. Paul, the congregation that is charismatic is a congregation of *diakonia* because charismata implies *diakonia*.⁴⁷ In parallel with a *diakonia* of charismata, Jesus, in the anointing presence of the Spirit, proclaims the new creation of those who are at the underside of society. Furthermore, Jesus proclaims human history as fulfillment of the prophet Isaiah in light of the year of the Lord’s favor. Charismata of the Spirit is realized by bringing the gospel to the poor, proclaiming liberation to the captives, recovering sight to the blind, and letting the oppressed go free rather than merely being reduced to an individualistic experience (Luke 4:18–19).

CALVIN’S VIEW OF ELECTION

The doctrine of election has not been seen and discussed in light of union with Christ. In the case of Calvin, it is of special importance to discuss God’s eternal decree in light of the Holy Spirit. In dealing with Calvin’s concept of election, we will focus on evaluating his limitation on God’s eternal election in dialogue with Martin Luther and Karl Barth.

Calvin observes that the separation of the elect from the reprobate is effected by God. Thus, one cannot clearly distinguish the elect from the reprobate in spite of some sure signs.⁴⁸ In this regard, it is crucial to view Calvin's comprehension of predestination as a gift of God's grace arising from the union with Christ. Although the doctrine of predestination points to the center of our faith (Jesus Christ), it is not identical with the center as such.

Let us consider the historical development of Calvin's doctrine of predestination from various stages and corrections of the *Institutes* (1536, 1539, 1543, 1550, 1559). Calvin's earliest writings do not include any systematic chapter on predestination. This idea was developed in certain controversies with Jerome Bolsec (*Congregation sur l'élection éternelle* of 1551) and Pighius (*Upon the Eternal Predestination of God* of 1552). In the *Institutes* of 1536, predestination is not fully dealt with in the sense of an independent doctrine.

The doctrine of predestination is mentioned when considering the second article of the creed in regard to ecclesiology. In the French Catechism of 1537, Calvin deals with predestination between the law and redemption. In the *Institutes* of 1539 until 1554, predestination is more closely related to ecclesiology in view of the results of preaching. In 1559, Calvin considered the treatment of predestination in relation to the doctrine of God to be inappropriate (*Inst.* I.xv.8).

In parallel with the union with Christ, Calvin refers to the basis and ground of our election in Christ alone. We are elected in Christ. Thus, Calvin prohibits all human attempts to clarify predestination in terms of human curiosity because it is confusing and dangerous. Human curiosity is rejected as a way of seeking outside Christ (*Inst.* III.xxiv.4). If Christ is, according to Calvin, the only way to God, we look to Christ in speaking of election.

In dealing with scriptural passages about predestination, Calvin focuses on Christ as the ground of the election. God has chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world. Thus, our election in Christ takes place without respect to human merits. Human merits are out of consideration when we speak of God's eternal election because according to God's purpose, the grace was given to us by Christ before foundation of the world (*Inst.* III.xxii.3).

Calvin affirms our election in relation to Christ; in other words, Christ *extra nos* is the basis of our election. The assurance of our salvation and of our election was predestined by God's grace in Christ before the creation of the world. It is solely a work of God's grace. This is the good message for our salvation. It refers to Calvin's radical understanding of election as God's grace. In this regard, Calvin's

treatment of predestination points to the soteriological horizon of Jesus Christ, because election must be understood in Christ alone (*Inst.* III.xxiv.5). Christ is the mirror of our election.

In this light, Calvin does not imply a practical syllogism (*syllogismus practicus*) concerning election. What Calvin has in mind in speaking of *signa posteriora* (latter signs) (*Inst.* III.xxiv.4) lies not in our election-producing praxis, but solely in Christ *extra nos*. Calvin's theology of predestination is different from Calvinist Orthodoxy or the Puritan concept of predestination associated with a demonstration of signs of election through work ethics.⁴⁹

In addition to the positive side of predestination (election), there is a negative side (reprobation). "God adopts some to hope of life, and sentences others to eternal death" (*Inst.* III.xxi.5). How do we understand this negative side in relation to its positive side?

Calvin at first calls into question the universality of God's invitation, stressing the particularity of election. However, he writes about the negative reality of election. The covenant of life is not preached equally among all people. It does not gain the same acceptance among those to whom it is preached in equal degree. This variety also serves the decision of God's eternal election (*Inst.* III.xxi.1).

How do we understand and explain this distinction among human beings when the gospel addresses itself to all in general, but in fact the gift of faith is rare? This distinction maintains that God has not made God's salvation manifest to all. According to Calvin, God, by God's just and irreprehensible but incomprehensible judgment, has barred the door of life to those whom God has given over to damnation (*Inst.* III.xxi.7).

Here we are embarrassed or even shocked by Calvin's statement on God's irreprehensible but incomprehensible judgment. Is this God in judgment totally different from the God in Christ? Calvin defends the double nature of predestination (*electio* and *reprobatio*) grounded ultimately in divine eternal determination not only in terms of biblical witness but also in terms of empirical facts. Calvin leaves a problem of God's election in Christ unresolved regarding the empirical facts according to which people exist in rejection of the gospel.

KARL BARTH'S VIEW OF ELECTION IN LUTHER AND CALVIN

When it comes to Calvin's complex thinking on election, Karl Barth is sharply critical of Calvin's theology of double predestination, associating *decretum absolutum* and the certainty of empirical facts. According

to Barth, the doctrine of election is the “sum of the gospel.” God as the One who loves in freedom elects humanity (*CD II/2:3*). For Barth, Calvin’s limitation in the doctrine of predestination comes out of his attempt at gathering the doctrine of election with absolute certainty from the fact of experience (*CD II/2:40*).

In this certainty gained by experience, Calvin does not escape a pressing danger. Furthermore, Calvin’s idea of *sylogismus practicus* has been misunderstood to justify Calvin’s doctrine of predestination in a way that certain works of faith and existence should “give direct confirmation of faith and indirect confirmation of election” (*CD II/2:113*).

Methodologically, however, Barth values Calvin’s approach to the doctrine of providence (*Inst. I.16–18*) as Calvin discusses it in terms of the doctrine of creation and the predestination (*Inst. III 21–24*). Taking seriously the Augustinian-Reformed concept of Christ as the mirror of election (*Inst. III. 22. I*), Barth further appreciates and utilizes the assertion of Martin Luther, who says that “the basis of the election is to be found in Jesus Christ” (*CD II/2:70*).

According to Luther, freedom in the genuine sense belongs to God, so that God’s freedom is in no way capricious or arbitrary. God’s freedom is consonant with God’s attributes so that God in Christ as well as in creation is revealed as love. God’s freedom in the authentic sense is God’s love.

As Iwand contends, Luther’s concept of the freedom of God becomes the basis for his concept of grace. Luther’s rediscovery of predestination belongs to the primary element of his assurance of the salvation. Luther’s theology of predestination cannot be adequately understood apart from his deliberation of God in the first commandment. Faith in the promise of God confesses that “You are to have no other gods.”

This refers also to “a beautiful, comforting promise of God,”⁵⁰ and also to God’s gracious predestination of God’s self. Luther’s personal experience, *resignatio ad infernum* (resignation to accept from hell), is acceptance of God’s judgment so that the distinction between the hidden God and the revealed God is made. This distinction implies Luther’s way of securing the freedom of God in God’s election of grace. Thus, predestination and grace fundamentally come together. God’s grace comes from God’s loving freedom. Luther is not interested in proposing a merciless determination of humanity (reprobation), but in witnessing the eternal and steadfast love of God in Christ for all.⁵¹

In his debate with Erasmus, Luther articulates the relationship between God’s grace of election and human cooperation. When God

operates without regard to the grace of the Spirit, God works all in all, moving, actuating, and carrying all things by the motion of God's omnipotence. The creatures follow and obey God's reign according to their capacity as given by God. Therefore, "all things, even including the ungodly, cooperate with God."⁵² When God acts in the justified by the Spirit of grace, God actuates and moves in a similar way. Luther argues that St. Paul cooperates with God (1 Cor 3:9). As he preaches outwardly, God teaches inwardly. He cooperates with God when he speaks by the Spirit of God (1 Cor 12:3). God creates and preserves us without our help, but God does not work in us without us. So God might work in us and we might cooperate with God, "whether outside his Kingdom through his general omnipotence, or inside his Kingdom by the special virtue of his Spirit."⁵³

The Spirit alone works both for renewal and for God's kingdom by recreating and preserving us without our help. "But God does not work without us, because it is for this very thing he has recreated and preserves us, that he might work in us and we might cooperate with him."⁵⁴ Luther's concept of election is of a relational and universal horizon in regard to human cooperation, which has little to do with meriting God's grace of election and justification.

Accordingly, Luther views God's election or non-election in a way that, "this difference is to be ascribed to man, not to the will of God, for the promises of God are universal. He will have all men to be saved. Accordingly it is not the fault of our Lord God, who promises salvation, but it is our fault if we are unwilling to believe it."⁵⁵

God does not desire humanity to perish, but all to be saved. When the saving will of God is revealed in the gospel and proclaimed to all, in no way do all receive salvation. This reason lies in the hidden will of God that can be fully found in Christ. In the crucified Christ, God's hidden will is fully revealed. "The Father is too high, therefore he says, 'I will give a way by which men may come to me . . . in Christ you shall find who and what I am, and what I will; otherwise you will not find it either in heaven or on earth.'⁵⁶

Valuing Luther's train of thought, Barth integrates Coccejus's teaching of election into his Christocentric understanding of election: (1) The decree of election is identical with that of salvation; (2) the decree of salvation is related to the mission and the people of the Son; and (3) Like the Father and the Holy Spirit, the Son participates in the decree of election as divine Subject so that He is both electing God and elected man. With these three basic elements in mind, Barth overcomes and sets aside the Calvinistic idea of *decretum absolutum* (CD II/2: 115).

The Calvinist idea of *decretum absolutum* does not fit into the picture of God in Jesus Christ. Barth completely expunges the idolatrous concept of a *decretum absolutum*, introducing Jesus Christ as the true subject of divine predestination (CD II/2:143). Christ's election is all-inclusive, universally reaching out in a meaningful and efficacious way. This is because God has ascribed to humanity election, salvation, and life, while ascribing reprobation, perdition, and death to God's self (CD II/2:117; 163). This is Barth's retrieval of Luther's theology of predestination and the cross in favor of a theology of inclusive election.

Barth implies that the Lutheran teaching of justification is the content of predestination. The exchange on the cross took place once and for all in fulfillment of God's eternal will. There is virtually no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus. In this light, Barth argues that there is no *decretum absolutum*, so that predestination is the nonrejection of humanity (CD II/2: 167).

Barth takes the road of the Trinitarian election of Christ to avoid the Scylla of *decretum absolutum* and the Charybdis of Pelagianism. In the doctrine of the Trinity, Barth defines God as the One who loves in freedom. God, in the bosom of Trinitarian life, has foreordained Jesus Christ from and to all eternity (CD II/2:79). Barth's basic thesis reads: "In Jesus Christ God, in His free grace, determines Himself for sinful man and sinful man for Himself. He therefore takes upon Himself the rejection of man with all its consequences, and elects man for participation in His own glory" (CD II/2: §33. 94).

In the election of Jesus Christ, as truly God and truly man, is the electing God and also elected man. The Son is an active subject of the eternal predestination of God, voluntarily becoming obedient to God the Father. In Barth's view, the electing God for Calvin is a *Deus nudus absconditus*, not the *Deus revelatus*. (CD II/2: 111).

With all due respect to Barth's creative proposal of the election of Christ, however, it is crucial and vital to ask whether Barth pays attention to Calvin's theology of Christ-union in connection with the idea of predestination. Unfortunately, Barth does not recognize a connection between the Holy Spirit and predestination in Calvin's framework.

Does Calvin set aside any openness for the reprobate in support of *decretum absolutum* without reservation? Calvin expresses the dialectical tension inherent in the relationship between the universality of God's election and its particularity in a historical, empirical

setting. God “announces salvation to *all men indiscriminately*” (*Inst.* III.xxiv.17, italics added).

Understood in this way, it is important to critically review Calvinist orthodoxy in the Canons of Dort in 1618 and the Leyden Synopsis of 1628, according to which God’s eternal decree about the salvation and damnation of human beings is not fully revealed in Christ. Moltmann implies that this double predestination (*predestinatio gemina*) turns out to be a teaching of the universalism of God’s glorification.

However, taking up Calvin’s concept of the *electio generalis*, Moysse Amyraut in the seventeenth century at the Huguenot Academy in Samur developed Calvin’s theology of predestination in light of a hypothetical universalism implying that the gospel can save conditionally under the condition of faith. God’s intention of salvation is universal, while the ramification of election is conditional and particular due to the faith of the believer.

According to Barth, however, God’s eternal resolve is universal, and it becomes manifest in Christ. Barth’s concept of Christological-dialectical predestination (*predestinatio dialectica*) implies that election and damnation take place only in the person of Jesus Christ. And it is to be understood as transcending double predestination in a Calvinist sense. As Barth argues, “The church will not then preach an *apokatastasis*, nor will it preach a powerless grace of Jesus Christ or a wickedness of men which is too powerful for it . . . it will preach the overwhelming power of grace and the weakness of human wickedness in face of it” (*CD* II/2:477).

Taking up Barth’s concept of the open universalism of salvation that says no to particularism as well as to automatic universalism, Moltmann tries to ground his concept of universal salvation in the confession of hope. Here Moltmann radicalizes Luther’s theology of the cross for the sake of the hope of universal salvation and the restoration of all things.⁵⁷

When it comes to debates of Calvin’s concept of election, we are aware that a lack of attention is given to Calvin’s pneumatological approach. At stake for Calvin is the affirmation of God’s free, sovereign act for our salvation as distinguished from human free will.⁵⁸ This call is common also to the wicked, but the other bears with it the Spirit of regeneration (cf. Titus 3:5). The guarantee and seal of the inheritance is to come (Eph 1:13–14), with which our hearts are sealed (2 Cor 1:22) unto the day of the Lord (*Inst.* III.xxiv.8).

Calvin is inclined to state that election and reprobation become one reality of God’s righteousness in light of the Spirit. Regardless

of reprobation in Adam's universal sin, election in Christ is universally open toward human beings in general. But in reality, there remain people who deny this grace in Christ. Are these people then predestined by God to fatalistically reject the gospel?

Here it is essential to consider Calvin's deliberation of the Spirit in the universal sense. This aspect refers to a cosmic work of the Spirit, even working among reprobates in a hidden and mysterious way. This work of the Spirit remains incomprehensible to us. In this light, Calvin leaves a possibility for inclusiveness of God's election could include the reprobates. However, despite its potential for inclusive election, Calvin has not managed to fully elaborate his idea of Christ as the mirror of election in light of the Holy Spirit.

The term "the secret impulse of the Spirit" in Calvin's thought expresses the secret impulse or influence of the Spirit in connection with the pious as well as with the ungodly. As he argues, experience shows that the reprobate are sometimes affected by almost the same feeling as the elect. Even in their own judgment they do not in any way differ from the elect. The Spirit working in an inclusive dimension takes its course even in the reprobate. The reprobate are said to believe that God is merciful toward them (*Inst.* III.ii.11).

Although general election is not identical with the election of salvation, this implicitness offers a space, inside which special election may happen. In other words, the actual election is understood not as a qualitatively different thing. Rather, special election involves general election instead of discarding it.⁵⁹ This refers to Calvin's reflection of election in a particular and universal sense in light of the Holy Spirit.

In our investigation of the reformers' concept of Christ-union, it appears to be a central theme that human religious or spiritual experience of God is embedded in a systematic concept of justification, sanctification, and divinization. The faith journey is dynamic, growing, and being renewed from an eschatological perspective of "not yet." If Lutheran teaching of justification is built on the initiative role of the Holy Spirit, the teaching of justification does not necessarily remain in a forensic moment performed by God outside of us. Rather it implies an effective-transformative progress of human spiritual experience in light of Christ's indwelling in the hearts of believers. This double aspect of justification brings Luther closer to Calvin's concept of Christ-union.

If Calvin's concept of justification and sanctification is grounded in human religious experience of the union with Christ, his concept of election can be treated in light of the secret work of the Holy Spirit. We thereby gain an insight to overcome a fatalistic consequence of double predestination stamped in the subsequent development of

Calvinism. In our ecumenical and global context, a hermeneutical retrieval of the dimension of spiritual or religious experience provides a theological rationale to pursue a common experience of the Spirit among people of faith communities. Furthermore it invites us beyond diverse denominationalism toward an ecumenical fellowship and respect in light of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Spirit unites us so that doctrine and experience come together in witness to the grace of God in justification, sanctification, and election in light of Christ-union.

CHAPTER 4



THE SPIRIT AND EVANGELICAL FREEDOM IN THE LAW

LUTHER'S PRINCIPLE OF LAW AND GOSPEL

Luther's distinction between law and gospel intimately coheres with his teaching of justification. The law is not superseded by the gospel, but rather, it stands in dialectical relation to it. In a historical context of redemption, the word of God comes to human beings in the form of the law (*nomos*), as God's strange work, and also in the form of the gospel, as God's proper work. However, the two works do not stand side by side as divine possibilities; the strange work takes place for the sake of God's proper work, in which God reveals God's self as the glowing oven of full love.¹

Luther insists that since creation, human beings have known God's primal law because God has written the law on the hearts of all human creatures who are made in God's image (Rom 2:14–15). The Spirit never stops speaking this law to the human heart. Therefore, the law after the fall was not first given to Moses.²

Prior to Moses, even without Moses' law, the human spirit would naturally know that it should worship God and love neighbors. God's natural law universally governs all human life. However, after the fall, this natural light was obscured and darkened. In viewing Mosaic law, Luther clearly distinguishes the renewal of natural law from Jewish national law. All parts of Mosaic law are not binding. To the degree that the Mosaic law is connected with Jewish national law, it remains nothing but the Jews' *Sachsenspiegel* (Saxon code of law).

In *Against the Heavenly Prophets* (1525), Luther argues, "So we are to let Moses be the *Sachsenspiegel* of the Jews, and not to confuse us

Gentiles with it.”³ The judicial and ceremonial laws are not applied to Gentiles because they are not a divine requirement for all.

However, Luther holds that the Decalogue is binding as a summary of natural law, consisting of the two commandments: to worship God and to love neighbors. Moses’ law encounters the sinner in terms of demands, judgments, and condemning accusations (*nomos*). Luther thinks of the law in a twofold sense. One is the summary of God’s eternal will, the content of God’s law. The other is the confrontation with the sinner as *lex accusans*.

Christ interprets the law in a way that makes clear to us what the law written in our hearts (or the Decalogue) really means. The Spirit working in the law is a consuming fire for the conscience, while the Spirit working in the gospel is the comforter, making the human holy and alive. Therefore, justification takes place over and against the law. There is a distinction, yet a dialectical relationship, between law and gospel in Luther’s thought.

For Luther, the law, as the eternal will of God, has both a proto-logical and an eschatological meaning. This is God’s primal command of love. This inner meaning of the law is restored by Christ through the Holy Spirit and will be fully restored only in the life to come. God’s law in the Holy Spirit is no longer understood as the judging and threatening law. It has become a joyful delight, leading the justified to a new life and abiding in all good works. Through the Holy Spirit, the Decalogue finds its meaning in the life of the justified, in a transformed sense.

At this juncture, it is essential to consider Luther’s letter to Justus Jonas (June 30, 1530). While staying in Colburg, Luther stated that the Decalogue is the dialectic of the gospel and the gospel is the rhetoric of the Decalogue. Therefore we have, in Christ, all of Moses, but in Moses, not all of Christ.⁴

Martin Luther and Moses

In *How Christians Should Regard Moses* (1525), we are aware that Luther’s relationship with Moses is not merely negative. Luther is willing to learn from Moses as a moral teacher rather than as a law-giver. As an intermediary, Moses belongs only to the Jewish people, not to the Gentiles. This is Luther’s “No” to Moses. Nonetheless, Luther takes seriously the most internal core of the Torah, the Decalogue, for Christian faith. This entails a “Yes” to Moses. What Luther notices as the best thing in Moses is “the promises and pledges of God about Christ.”⁵ Excellent and comforting promises are

recorded in Moses. In Moses there are the promises of God sustaining our faith.⁶

First, we should read Moses because he agrees with the natural law and because the Decalogue is a mirror for our life. We also read Moses for the sake of the promise about Christ. Finally, we read Moses for the beautiful examples of faith, love, and the cross. In Moses there is a fine order, a joy about the gospel of Christ.

At this juncture, we may talk about evangelical rejoicing in the law in Luther's sense. As Luther states, the law of Moses is a well of all wisdom and understanding, out of which has sprung all that the prophets knew and said. Even the New Testament flows out of it and is grounded in it.⁷ Thus, Luther becomes *legis amatores*, one who loves and enjoys the law in the heart through God's grace. This aspect clarifies Luther's concise statement: Christ has all of Moses, but Moses does not have all of Christ.

Law in the Twofold Use

Luther states that the law has a twofold function or office. One is the civil function, and the other is the theological or spiritual function. The first prevents transgression and deters crimes in the world of sin. The original meaning of the law in light of the civil function can be partially preserved in promoting public peace and justice. The law does this through God-instituted offices of government, parents, and teachers, as well as through the civil laws.

The second use is spiritual. Through it, humans recognize their sin, experience God's wrath, and are led to repentance. For Luther, the law, as the expression of God's love, is essentially good and joyous. But because of human sin, it has become the tool of God's wrath in its spiritual sense. In his disputation with antinomians, Luther speaks out against the attempt to play off the law against the gospel. According to the antinomians, the church must preach only the gospel, while the Decalogue belongs solely to city hall.⁸

Against this current, Luther states that law and gospel cannot be assigned to the Hebrew or Greek Bible. Luther insists that most texts assigned to the law also have a gospel character, while most texts assigned to the gospel also have a law character. In the Decalogue, Luther finds the gospel: "I am the Lord, thy God." It does not teach the work of human beings, but the *opus divinum*.⁹ It is the promise of all promises,¹⁰ which is faithful to God's gracious action.

According to Luther, Jesus Christ is the promise, the source of all promises, the head, ground, and principle of all religions and wisdoms.

Thus, the gospel embraces and includes the promised Christ.¹¹ This promise is the source of all other promises so that Luther sees God's promise in the first commandment on Sinai. God promises to become our God. This is the grounding promise.

When God speaks the word on Sinai, God already includes the promise of Christ in God's self-speech. In God's self-promise on Sinai, Christ is already present in a hidden form of divine promising. Luther calls both God and Christ the original and essential promise, source of all other promises. What God speaks, namely the content of God's speech, is promise, because God's Word is always Christ. Faith can mean only hope, and hope can mean only finding itself in the promise. This hope should be head, ground, and principle—that is wisdom to the structure of Christian theology. We think essentially of God and Christ as divine reality full of promise, the essence of future.

Luther speaks of promise in his exposition of the Decalogue, a summation of Torah. When Torah is spoken, God's promise is to be spoken. This first commandment as the source of the promise offers a Christological structure of eschatology, which does not deny the place of Torah.¹² As Luther in *The Large Catechism* states, the Decalogue is the true fountain from which all good works must spring. Through the true channel all good works must flow. "Apart from these Ten Commandments no action or life can be good or pleasing to God."¹³

In another context, a word about the cross, reconciliation, and salvation become judgment on human sin. In the disputation with the antinomians, Luther argues for an interconnection between the law and gospel. The antinomians hold that repentance should be preached only in reference to the gospel.

However, Luther believes that proclamation of Christ's cross and death leads to repentance, while the law and the gospel lead to repentance in different ways. The law is the indispensable presupposition for the gospel, and it prepares us for the gospel. Leading us to repentance, it opens us up to receive the comfort of the gospel. It is *praeparatio evangelica* so that there is continuity between law and gospel.

Christ preached both, and the Spirit works in both law and gospel as well. The law, under the guidance of the gospel, becomes a disciplinarian who drives us to Christ. The law as *praeparator ad gratiam*¹⁴ prepares the human heart for the work of the Holy Spirit through the gospel. Therefore, the gospel makes out of the law a tutor (or disciplinarian) leading us to Christ.¹⁵

There is no permission to preach the law without the gospel or the gospel without the law. The preaching of the law, which is bound with the gospel, leads to inner struggle in which faith becomes possible.¹⁶

We are always righteous in light of the gospel (i.e., the forgiveness of sin), but always remain sinners according to the law.

Gospel and *Paranesis*

Luther understands the term “gospel” in its broad sense, implying the proclamation of Jesus and the apostles. But Luther finds the law in the proclamation of Jesus. The Lord’s Prayer is full of the doctrine of the law. The proclamation of Christ as our example has the character of the proclamation of the law. In this light, the gospel entails a law-abiding character for the life of the justified. Even at the center of the gospel the word about the cross may play the law.

Therefore, Luther’s theology of the Word of God, which embraces the law and gospel, demonstrates a way of overcoming the antithetical dualism between law and gospel. Law and gospel come from the same Word of God, but in different functions. The first commandment rests fully on the gospel according to its offer and promise.

When fulfilled through faith in Christ, the first commandment expresses the profound unity of law and gospel in Luther’s thought. Luther finds the entire content of the gospel in the first commandment. Christ fulfilled the law while, as the cursed, bearing the curse of the law and ending and fulfilling it. Justification completely changes the human relationship to the law.

The Christian is no longer under the curse of the law, which was fulfilled through Christ. However, God’s holy will for the justified remains unaltered. God’s will no longer confronts the justified in terms of the accusing law. In terms of faith in Christ, the law begins to be a joyous element. Good works flow from the grace of justification and faith. Whatever in these works is still sinful or imperfect should not even be counted as sin or imperfection for the sake of Christ.¹⁷ In the spirit of freedom, Christian activity is spontaneous. These works are works of grace. Once fulfilled in Christ, God’s imputation of Christ’s alien righteousness must actually be fulfilled in us through the power of the Spirit.

Against the fanatics who claim special revelation from the Spirit, Luther argues that the Christian abides by apostolic imperatives and ethical exhortations in the Greek Bible. Luther speaks positively about the exhortation coming out of the gospel so that he appeals to *paranesis* in terms of deepening the gospel.¹⁸

For Luther, God is eternally a glowing oven full of love, which denotes the Trinitarian life in Luther’s thought. The twofold divine action (law and gospel) is historically to be distinguished, but

in eternity it is inseparable. God's glowing oven of love is fully revealed in Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is, in turn, is present in the joyous exchange with us. The gospel's salvific function becomes meaningful in matters of justification through passive faith, while its diaconal function finds its expression in our faith, full of gratitude to Christ's grace, which is active in love. In confrontation with Erasmus, Luther charges Erasmus with failing to distinguish between law and gospel.¹⁹

Faith alone justifies, but once justified, we enter into the active life while love works toward the neighbor. According to Luther, Christ's law is not teaching but living, not word but reality, not sign but fulfillment. The word of the gospel is the ministry of this life, reality, and fulfillment brought to our hearts.²⁰

According to Luther, the New Testament consists of promises and exhortations. It contains ethical exhortations that, because they come out of the gospel, are different from the accusing law. The "already/not-yet" dialectic of God's reign in terms of law and gospel becomes a basis for the Christian ethics of walking in newness of life (Rom 6:4–6). However, it does not necessarily imply the third use of the law (*tertius usus legis*).²¹ Later, we will treat in more detail the debate on the third use of law in Lutheran tradition.

CALVIN'S VIEW OF THE THREEFOLD USE OF THE LAW

When it comes to law and gospel, Calvin integrates a spiritual experience of the gospel into the ethical reflection of the law. Calvin interprets the law to sharpen the meaning of the gospel, and furthermore to solidify ethical commitment and responsibility. Hence, Calvin interprets the law to assume that the office calls us back from our estrangement from God toward an ethical sanctification.²²

Calvin's understanding of the law is related not only to Christ, but also to the work of the Spirit, which operates in the law. It is worthwhile to notice the pneumatological approach that Calvin takes in his study of the law. If the Spirit of Christ does not quicken the law, the law is not only useless, but also deadly. Without Christ there is nothing but inexorable rigor in the law. The exhibition of Christ in the law is intrinsically related to the role of the Spirit revealing the grace of Christ.

What does Calvin understand by the term "law"? He views the nature and content of the law by and large in a threefold manner: (1) the Mosaic religious law as a whole (*Inst.* II.vii.1); (2) the special revelation of the moral law given to Israel, that is, mainly the

Decalogue and Jesus' summary (*Inst.* II.viii); and (3) diverse forms of civil, judicial, and ceremonial law (*Inst.* IV.xx.14–16). Of these, Calvin considers the moral law to be the true and eternal rule of God's righteousness (*Inst.* IV.xx.15).

Even though the Mosaic ceremonial and judicial law is superseded by Jesus Christ, its basic spirit (i.e., fear of God and peace among people) remains valid in the formation of Calvin's spirituality and ethical thought. The twofold law of love for God and neighbor is taken seriously while civil authority acts in the name of freedom and the common good of the people (*Inst.* IV.xx.15).

God created all things to be good and harmonious. For instance, conscience is the gift of God's universal grace in its natural state. According to Calvin, the purpose of natural law is to render human action inexcusable. Natural law is the apprehension of the conscience; it distinguishes between just and unjust while it proves humans guilty by their own testimony (*Inst.* II.ii.22).

Calvin argues that believers are to be instructed in a right standard of conduct according to natural law (*Inst.* II.ii.22). Nonetheless, they cannot strive to do the good without the Holy Spirit. In Calvin's view, the law of nature implies the necessity of the divine law in Christian life.

Calvin interprets divine law to mean not only the Ten Commandments, but also the form of religion handed down through Moses (*Inst.* II.vii.1). Here, moral and cultic laws are bound together. Obviously, God gives the law of religious ceremonies to support the commandments and to foster the faith. The sacrifices and ceremonies of the religious cultus in Israel remind us of the fact that God is the lawgiver concerning God's gracious and faithful covenant. Consequently, we may live uprightly in holiness before God and in accordance with divine law.

The law, seen from the cultic point of view, has something to do with the direction of God's commandments. According to Niesel, God secures the fulfillment of the commandments through the gift of the law. There is a life in accordance with the will of God.²³ God gives the law in terms of the covenant with Israel so that the law is bound together with the covenant. For Calvin, both the moral and ceremonial laws become significant because they point and lead us to Christ.

Calvin articulates the divine law in a Christological way, viewing Christ as a double mirror of judgement and grace, implying the fulfillment or end of the law. Accordingly, the law, which needs the Spirit of regeneration, is to be seen as the true preparation for seeking Christ

(*Inst.* II.vii.2). The law finds its meaning only in the covenant of free adoption through the gospel of Jesus Christ.

This act of adoption is grounded in God's mercy, so that divine law is embedded into God's covenantal grace. God, in taking the initiative of covenant with God's people, makes a divine claim and demand upon them. This divine claim is the meaning of the law. Here is the radical difference between the covenantal law and all others. Through Moses, God summons God's people to be obedient and faithful to the divine claim. Moses is the prophet of God's covenant, bearing witness to God's mercy and trustworthiness. God's covenant is not changeable, nor is it destroyed by the changeable conduct of the people.

If the law is divine and it teaches the perfection of righteousness, it demands the complete observance that implies perfect righteousness before God. In fact, we are not able to fulfill the claims and demands of the moral law. This fact makes us inexcusable and brings us to despair, so that we find out "only the most immediate death" in the law (*Inst.* II.vii.3). If fulfillment of the law is impossible for us, how is God as a lawgiver seen as a gracious God? Only through Jesus Christ are we entrusted and encouraged to seek redemption in Christ. The purpose of the law is to foster hope of salvation in Christ until the day of his coming.

That being the case, what is the work of the Spirit in the law? What the Spirit provides is inward obedience. When God has engraved God's law in human hearts, and by the Spirit, God renews human beings in obedience to it. When the law is truly obeyed inwardly in the power of the Spirit, it discloses the presence of Christ in the law. Apart from the effect of the Spirit's work in our minds and hearts, the scriptures would be nothing but dead letters. The letter is dead apart from Christ's grace. The letter is efficaciously impressed on our hearts by the Spirit, when it exhibits Christ, the Word of life (*Inst.* I.ix.3).

The Word is applied to the relationship between the Spirit and the gospel. In the gospel, human beings meet Christ, because Christ is the author of the gospel. Yet the gospel is useless without the effectual work of the Spirit. Preaching of the gospel and the efficacy of the Spirit are correlated, because the teaching of the gospel cannot be understood without the testimony of the Holy Spirit.

According to Calvin, Jewish tradition and culture connected with the law is not totally superseded by the gospel. Rather, Jewish cult and tradition gain appropriate meaning in terms of Christ, because there is an essential integration of the law into the gospel. The office of the

law leads the people of the covenant to expect the knowledge of God the Redeemer. The law is a foreshadow, an outline and promise of what is to come. Leading the people to expect the fulfillment of the law in the Redeemer is the law's basic purpose.²⁴

For this reason, Calvin stresses Christ as the fundamental basis of the law. Without Christ the law is valueless and meaningless and does not offer a sure ground of hope.²⁵ The whole cultus foreshadows the grace and the truth of Christ. Its power and efficacy are dependent on Christ himself (*Inst.* III.ii.32).

God's covenant culminates in the incarnation. God's redemption in Jesus Christ liberates human beings from the curse and compulsion of the law and from its ceremonial and political ordinances. But for Calvin, the genuine spirit of the law remains valid—not its use, but its meaning. In this regard, Calvin rejects the teaching of the total abolition of the law.

As a matter of fact, the law serves the spiritual life of the regenerated to be faithful to Christ. Therefore, the law has been integrated into and exalted with the fulfillment in Christ. Accordingly, Calvin puts into effect his unique notion of *officium ususque legis*. The law consists chiefly of three parts: first, the doctrine of life; second, threatening and promises; and third, the covenant of grace, which contains all the special promises.

A. In consideration of the first function, Calvin is critically engaged with the insistence of the Libertine sect,²⁶ or John Agricola, who abrogated all Christian obligations to fulfill the law. In contrast to abrogation of the law, Calvin likens law to a mirror disclosing human sinfulness, leading people to implore God's help (*Inst.* II.vii.6).

The law, which functions like a mirror, has the normative role of showing God's righteousness and goodness. In the mirror of the law, we find ourselves incapable of fulfilling God's righteousness, and we are consequently lost in sin. Because we prove to be transgressors, we turn the law into an occasion for sin and death. The more brightly the law shines upon God's righteousness, the more it reveals our iniquity and abomination.

However, the grace of God transcends the claim and demand of the law. In this light, we are not merely trapped into despair and anxiety because of the indictment of the law. God is tireless in benefiting us and in bestowing new gifts upon us (*Inst.* II.vii.7). Therefore, we are supposed to seek and long for God's grace with true faith. In the absence of the Spirit of grace, the law only accuses and kills us (*Inst.* II.vii.7). The usefulness of the law lies in reminding human beings of their infirmity and moving them to call upon the remedy of

grace in Christ (*Inst.* II.vii.9). This statement shapes Calvin's understanding of the law as normative and spiritual from a Christological perspective.

The law serves as tutelage leading us to Christ. It leads people full of self-righteousness to recognition of human misery and makes them empty. Thereby, they are brought down to humility to the point of receiving Christ's grace. Those who are full of the lust of the flesh are also in need of tutelage to restrain themselves from indulgence and depravity. In this way the law restrains them in some fear and reverence toward God. Once regenerated by the Spirit, they begin wholeheartedly to love Christ (*Inst.* II.vii.11).

B. The second function of the law becomes clear where the law serves to protect the community from unjust and wicked people by restraining them from committing wrongdoing against fellow human beings. For this reason, Calvin deepens his social and ethical concern by illuminating the second function of the law. By restraining these people, the law protects society. By reminding them of the consequences of their wrongdoing and punishment, the law keeps the goodness and righteousness of God for a holy and peaceful life in society. In this regard, Calvin puts the emphasis on a civil function of the law, which has social and political meaning.

C. Finally, as for the third and principal function of the law, Calvin refers to its necessity in the life of believers. In order to conform to and accommodate God, they receive the benefit of the law by meditating upon it, to be aroused to obedience and drawn back from the path of transgression. However eagerly the saints may live in accordance with the Spirit, striving toward God's righteousness, because the flesh always burdens the life of saints (*Inst.* II.vii.12).

The third use of the law is geared toward a specific demand of the new life. In terms of obedience to the law, God stamps God's image upon the believer, which is exemplarily shown in Jesus Christ. It is also the essence of the law. God has depicted God's self in the law. Anyone who carries out in deeds what is instructed in the law will express the image of God in his or her own life.²⁷

If the believers freely accept the law as the gracious invitation of God with gratitude for God's mercy in Christ, the law offers consolation and sweetness. From this, Calvin delves into the final, principal function of the law in light of sanctification. Consequently, ethical discussion of the law, according to Calvin, would be inappropriate without regard to the sanctified life of the believer. The proper use of the law is to encourage the believer to live up to the holiness of God and in conformity to God's will. This new life is the goal of spirituality

of the regenerated in reference to the genuine use of the law. It is made possible by the sanctifying power of the Spirit. The law in Christ has no power to condemn us with its curse. Becoming himself a curse for us, Christ completes its function of judging and punishing (*Inst.* II.vii.15).

Therefore, the law holds a proper place and function in Christ to prepare us for every good work by admonishing and correcting us. Finally, it equips and sanctifies human life with the power of the Spirit. In Christ, the law finds itself completing its function and goal of punishing and condemning. The practical and ethical concern of the law arises from the new understanding of the law as a gift of God. Principally, the law admonishes and leads us to pursue holiness and righteousness in accordance with the sanctifying Spirit of God.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE THIRD USE OF THE LAW

It is important to review the reformers' concept of the law. *Nomos* is the proper name of the Mosaic Law. In strictly singular use, it denotes the Torah; in fact, it means the unlimited preponderance of the law in the Hebrew Bible revelation as a whole (hence it denotes the whole Hebrew Bible).

When we see the relevance of the law in Christian life in terms of *nomos*, we need to clarify the concept of the use of the law, which is denoted by three uses in Reformation Protestantism: (1) the political use (*usus politicus or civilis*) establishes justice; (2) the theological use (*usus theologicus*), sometimes called the spiritual or pedagogical use, accuses us of sin; and (3) the third use (*tertius usus legis*), meaning the didactic or instructional use, guides the person of faith into a sanctifying life.

Calvin contends that the third use of the law is the principal and proper use, more important than the first two. Thus, Calvin places sanctification prior to justification in light of his theology of the Christ-union. For Calvin the law is to the flesh like a whip to an idle and balky ass. The saints are not yet free of the weight of the flesh, so the law remains a constant sting in their life (*Inst.* II.vii.12).

In the Lutheran tradition, however, there has been an intensive debate over the third use of the law. John Agricola, a Lutheran representative of the antinomians, argues that grace sets us free from any obligation to the moral law. Luther speaks out against the antinomians who believe that believers can live without the law. Luther articulates the importance of the Decalogue in Christian life in his two Catechisms.²⁸

Furthermore, Article VI of the *Formula of Concord* declares full support for the doctrine of the third use of the law. It is true that, for Luther, the pedagogic, theological use of the law is primary, while for Calvin, the third or didactic use is the principal and proper one; yet both the Lutheran and the Reformed traditions maintain the threefold conceptualization. Nevertheless, Luther did not coin the third use of the law.

In the *Formula of Concord* the third use of the law is appreciated.²⁹ Following Melanchthon, the *Formula of Concord* articulates human cooperation with God in the process of renewal, progress, and sanctification: "it is certain that on the basis of his power, we can and should be cooperating with him though still in great weakness."³⁰

In this model, the sinner is justified by God *extra nos*, but can make human deeds acceptable to God (human cooperation with God's grace) in terms of faith, repentance, and the sacrament. Melanchthon's idea of the third use of the law, seen in light of human cooperation with God's grace, accentuates sanctification in contrast to Luther's dynamic relationship between freedom of justification and discipleship of justification in freedom for others.

The concept of the third use of the law would be closer to the Calvinist idea of the third use of the law. Unfortunately, in later developments of Calvinism, a practical syllogism turned out to be a demonstration of *signa posteriora*, which implies a theology of works righteousness associated with a capitalistic ethos. The Calvinist idea of a practical syllogism associated with *signa posteriora* takes a much more affirmative position regarding the testimony of works. In this concept, the third use of the law provides the manifest proof of election and salvation.³¹

According to Luther, the Spirit of sanctification should not be understood as the Spirit calling for human cooperation with God's grace in order to renew one's life. Rather, the Spirit of freedom liberates us from the bondage of sin and encourages and sanctifies us to be free in a joyous spirit to serve people in need.

From this perspective, Luther's reflection of *paranesis*, as an ethical dimension of the gospel, is different from the third use of the law, as interpolated by Melanchthon in his *Loci* and as formulated in the *Formula of Concord*. Melanchthon retains the accusing use of the law and also refers to the gospel in a broader sense of repentance and the forgiveness of sin. Following Melanchthon, the *Formula of Concord* defines the gospel as the entire teaching of Christ,³² so that the term "gospel" means the proclamation of repentance and the forgiveness of sins.

It is certain that reproving sin and teaching good works belongs to the proper function of the law. The law is a mirror that depicts the will of God and pleases God. The Holy Spirit renews the heart, using the law to instruct the reborn according to the Ten Commandments, and admonishes them to do these works. The word "law" in this sense is the unchanging will of God, according to which human beings live their lives, because God's law is written in their hearts.³³

That the reborn live according to the unchanging will of God is not works of the law but works and fruits of the Spirit. Therefore, Christians are under grace rather than under the law. To the degree that the justified Christians are free from the curse and condemnation of the law through faith in Christ, their good works are pleasing to God. This is the position that is stated in the *Formula of Concord* concerning the third use of the law.

In articulating the special status of the third use, Melancthon can be allied with John Calvin. According to Calvin, the gospel confirms what the law had promised. The law is a rule of life rather than judgment. All other exhortations and spiritual encouragements by prophets and apostles and even by Christ himself are understood as elaborations of the Decalogue.³⁴ At this juncture, the disjunction of law and gospel is erased.

Additionally, Karl Barth argues that "the law is the necessary form of the gospel whose content is grace."³⁵ Barth understands the law as the necessary form of the gospel—although in a problematic formulation—in light of the wrath of the loving God. The commanding grace does not contradict Luther's own idea of *paranesis*, which means the imperative of the gospel.³⁶ However, Luther states, "when I look upon Christ, I no longer know the law."

Luther implies that the first commandment is not just law, but also the quintessence of the gospel.³⁷ Therefore, the gospel does not come after the law; rather, its locus is before the law. Adam and Eve, in the creation, originally lived by grace. Subsequently, Luther interprets Deuteronomy and the prophets as a great explanation of the first commandment. This gospel is the content of the law. However, the law as such is not necessarily a form of the gospel.

Luther implies that the educative function of the gospel in terms of *paranesis* is connected with the mandates of the gospel. Thus, the law is eliminated as a necessary way to justification. But alongside its accusing use, the gospel effectively remains an admonition for God's will to love others. God's commandment, which is manifested in Jesus Christ, comes to the church, family, economic life, and the

state, confronting us in historical and concrete life arrangements and calling for discipleship in accordance with God's command.

Therefore, *paranesis* can be understood as an indispensable form of service and direction coming out of the gospel. God gives what God demands. Faith comes from the forgiveness of sin, and the Holy Spirit, the resurrection, and eternal life stream from the first commandment in which God speaks: I am your God.³⁸

This gospel, as divine address and demand, is the content of Christ's ethical directive. This aspect refers to the unity between the gospel and divine commandment in Luther's thought. The imperative of the divine command may become a significant form of the gospel. At this juncture, Bonhoeffer argues, "Both sequences are, therefore, theologically justified and necessary: gospel and law as well as law and gospel. In the symbolic writings the second sequence predominates. But in both sequences the gospel is the 'actual' kingdom of God."³⁹

The New Testament instructions and exhortations (*paranesis*) are, therefore, significant, transcending the second function of the law, running toward an evangelical rejoicing in God's mandates.⁴⁰ In light of the *paranesis*-gospel Luther argues that we read Moses for the sake of the promise about Christ. Here, Moses is understood as a beautiful example of Christian faith, love, and the theology of the cross. Moses is a wellspring of wisdom and understanding out of which the New Testament flows. Luther affirms that in this regard, in Moses we discover God's promise in sustaining Christian faith.⁴¹

In the *Preface to the Old Testament* (1523, revised 1545), Luther gives special regard to the Hebrew Bible as the words, works, judgments, and deeds of the majesty, power, and wisdom of God, that is, "the swaddling cloths and the manger in which Christ lies."⁴² The law is not merely conceptualized as having an accusatory function. Under the guidance of the gospel, the law also involves the gratitude of the justified for the grace of Christ.

As Luther states, the New Testament also gives many other teachings that are laws and commandments for the control of the flesh. Similarly the Old Testament includes certain promises and words of grace. "The holy fathers and prophets under the law were kept, like us, in the faith of Christ."⁴³ The divine directive becomes a moment of the gospel rather than merely subordinated to *lex accusans*. In light of evangelical delight in the ethical exaltation, Luther presents his marvelous dialectical relationship with Moses for the sake of evangelical integration and renewal of the law.

In light of the ethical directive, it is important to examine the doctrine of the *triplex usus legis* in the theology of the Reformation. The

doctrine of the *triplex usus legis* originates from Melanchthon in his *Loci* of 1535. Melanchthon speaks of the pedagogical or civil use of the law according to 1 Timothy 1:19. Then he deals with the second use of the law “to show our sin and to accuse, to terrify, and to condemn all men in this misuse of human nature.”⁴⁴

Finally, he speaks of the third use of the law pertaining to the regenerate. “The law must be preached to the regenerate to teach them certain works in which God wills that we practice obedience.”⁴⁵ The divine ordinance that the justified have to obey remains unchangeable.

According to Melanchthon, a person is first reconciled for the sake of Christ, then his or her works are accepted, and his or her faith sheds light on both of these points.⁴⁶ In this light, faith is trained in good works because its obedience is pleasing to God. God accepts human work and obedience for the sake of the Son. God even adorns them with honor and rewards.⁴⁷ Therefore, there is the necessity of command, debt, retaining faith, and avoiding punishment for the believers. Melanchthon argues that “in those who have been reconciled, after conversion, their good works, since they are pleasing by faith for the sake of the Mediator . . . do merit spiritual and physical rewards in this life and after this life . . .”⁴⁸

Melanchthon understands the will as the material cause on which the Holy Spirit acts through the Word. Here, there is an emphasis on active repentance. The parts of repentance are contrition and faith, so that faith is the second part of repentance.⁴⁹

However, Luther speaks of a *duplex legis*. It is certain that Luther, in the exposition of Galatians 3: 23–29 in the *Weihnachtspostille* of 1522, mentions threefold use of the law, which was rendered as *triplex usus legis* by Bucer’s Latin translation of 1525. However, in this context, Luther rather speaks of Christ who fulfills the law commanded by Moses. According to Ebeling, the threefold- use- of- the- law formula is found in Luther, yet it expresses a passing thought. Indeed, the doctrine of a twofold use of the law is essentially established and finds final conceptual formulation in Luther’s theology.⁵⁰

For a discussion of the Lutheran twofold use of the law, it is of special significance to recognize that the law is an expression of God’s unchanging will. Luther’s interpretation of Moses is specifically related to the moral law. In the moral law, Luther boldly recognizes an example of the gospel in the law (Rom 10:6).

Luther sees the unity of law and gospel in light of, or in the horizon of, the Word of God, Jesus Christ. The gospel of Jesus Christ includes an instructional dimension of *parenesis*, while the law in the Hebrew Bible retains a function of accusation and also serves as an

example of faith as seen under the guidance of the gospel. The law comes to expression for the sake of the gospel rather than being discarded because the gospel makes it an analogy of or witness to the gospel.

Given this fact, it is significant to critically scrutinize Barth's formulation of the relationship between gospel and law. For Barth, the law is nothing else than the necessary form of the gospel, whose content is grace.⁵¹ On what grounds? What kind of law is an instructional or directive form of the gospel, which, in turn, becomes its content? Despite unclear and imprudent expression, Barth's concept of law is closer to Luther's concept of *parenthesis* of the gospel than to the sense of the third use of law, which is vulnerable to human demonstration of signs of election. Barth expresses his reservation concerning Calvin's concept of predestination associated with demonstrations of signs through works righteousness.

Unlike Calvin's priority of the third use of the law, in which the *usus theologicus* is arranged in the first place and the *usus politicus* in the second (*Inst.* II.vii.10), Luther argues that the law is not necessary or conditional for salvation. It serves the gospel and prepares Christians for Christ. Nonetheless, the evangelical delight in the law in Luther's sense holds that God's word, by transcending the law of accusation, comes to us as covenant, comfort, promise, and love.

As Iwand rightly recognizes, there is an evangelical dimension of God's Word in Luther's theology transcending the antithesis of law and gospel.⁵² This aspect refers to God's freedom in love and predestination in Luther's thought that is associated with the first commandment. Luther's theology of the Word of God gives impulse and dynamism, underlining his concept of law and gospel.

However, in the writings of the Lutheran Confessions, Luther's theology of the Word of God is categorized into the relationship between law and gospel without reservation. Furthermore, Lutheran orthodoxy has identified the Word of God with the Scripture as such. However, Luther grounds the eschatological character of *verbum Dei* in a new and refreshing way even regarding the word of the Son. The Word of God is related to the new world. The new birth comes from the Word of God. The Word of God stands *extra nos*, so that the divine promise and truth cannot frustrate us. God changes and transforms us into God's Word. Thus, the Word of God as the constant, in which the human being is the variable, makes the human being born anew. Hence we speak of the Word of God as God's faithfulness to humanity.

It is certain that Luther makes a distinction between law and gospel regarding the Word of God. The revelation of God is grace as such.

God with us is Immanuel, God's eternal Word. In the presence of *verbum Dei*, God comes to us. It is in no way to be defined except by the presence of God, granting us life and redemption.⁵³

THEOLOGY OF THE WORD OF GOD IN LUTHER AND BARTH

Luther said that the whole life and the substance of the church lie in the Word of God. This statement points to the priority of the spoken Word over the written gospel.⁵⁴ Regarding the unity of the Word of God, Luther contends that the truth is revealed in three ways: Scripture, word, and thought. In other words, it is revealed through Scripture by books, through word by the proclamation, and through thought by the heart. One cannot understand the truth of the Word of God except by proclamation (mouth), illumination of the Spirit (heart), and the Scripture.

Luther implies that Scripture is primarily the prophetic word in the Old Testament. The gospel simply means preaching and crying out loud of God's grace and mercy. Gospel cannot be contained or confined in written text. Rather, it is a voice resounding in all of the world; it is meant to be shouted and heard in all places. This is an oral preaching and lively word and voice (*viva vox evangelii*).⁵⁵

Luther contrasts the Greek Bible with living and oral proclamation. The Greek Bible is none other than an opening and revealing of the Hebrew Bible. Christ did not write down his teaching, as Moses did his. The human need to write books is a great injury and also a violation of the Spirit. Luther regards the Greek Bible, which is an adjunct or interpretation of the Hebrew Testament, as a defensive measure against the corruption of the church.

Luther holds that the Hebrew and the Greek Bible are related as the written word on the one hand and the proclamation of the word on the other. In this light, Luther provocatively argues that "thus the books of Moses and the prophets are also Gospel, since they have preached and described beforehand the same thing about Christ as the apostles have preached and written after . . . The Gospel or the New Testament should not really be written but put in the living voice . . . That it is also written is surplus. But the Old Testament is put only in writing and is thus called 'a letter' . . . for it hath pointed only to the coming Christ. But the Gospel is a living sermon about Christ already come."⁵⁶

Accordingly, Luther's concept of the canon within the canon is articulated in the statement. If the adversaries press the Scriptures

against Christ, in contrast, we urge Christ against the Scriptures.⁵⁷ Luther's hermeneutics of *was Christum treibt* can be heard in his preface to the book of James. "All righteousness-creating holy books are in agreement in that they preach and promote Christ. This is also the right criterion to criticize all books."⁵⁸ Hence, *was Christum treibt* implies that the gospel is the clear summary of the Hebrew Bible. In his exegetical light, the Hebrew Bible is not simply Christianized, but the faith of the holy fathers in the Hebrew Bible can be interpreted as Christian faith per se. By certain promises and words of grace in the Hebrew Bible the holy fathers and prophets under the law were kept in the faith of Christ.⁵⁹

Luther's insistence on the *verbum externum* associated with *viva vox evangelii* underscores the process of human proclamation of God in human words. Every talk of God is worldly, humane, and secular talk. Thus God comes to expression for human life as a speech event. God's act of speaking implies a universal human potentiality constituting the essence of language. The dynamic quality of God's act of speech takes place in the gospel in reference to Yahweh's speaking to Israel in Torah. In a linguistic event through which one speaks the gospel to another and opens a future, the Word in a biblical context always refers to the Word of the Speaker, God's Word in action. God speaks and uses human language for God's speaking.

In his Introduction to the Psalter, 1531, Luther further states that "there [in the whole Bible] you see into the heart of all the saints." The humanity of the biblical authors and their limitations are not concealed, but actually uncovered and exposed to the readers. The authors' historical character is conditioned in the socioeconomic circumstances and competing interests of their time. The sociopolitical setting in the life of all the saints in the Scripture is conditioned by their time and place. This insight invites the reader to a sociocritical approach to the subject matter of Scripture in light of God's act of speech, namely the narrative intentionality of God in care of the poor. This biblical investigation belongs to the prophetic dimension of biblical interpretation and hermeneutics.⁶⁰

Luther's biblical hermeneutics of *verbum Dei* facilitates our attempt to develop a praxis of emancipation in recognition of the central place of the Hebrew Bible. Christ does not become the lawgiver, and the gospel also does not become the law. Rather the law, which is God's eternal will, remains a command of love as it is important and binding for the Christian life. Thus, Moses belongs to Christ. Christ as the gospel-giver does not merely abolish the law but fulfills and confirms it in terms of *parenesis*.

The unity of the Word of God in Luther's sense becomes foundational for Barth's articulation of the three forms of the Word of God. Barth interprets Luther such that (1) there is a speaking by God through the patriarchs and prophets under the veil of the letter in the Hebrew Bible; (2) there is a Word of God speaking to God's people through the Holy Spirit and also in the Son—hence this Word is still wrapped in manifold veils as compared to the prophetic Word; (3) there is a Word that God the Father speaks in Himself and to God's people in eternal glory. Here the Holy Spirit will be the one sacrament in place of all signs.⁶¹

Luther implies that the unity of the Word of God is foundational when it comes to the relationship between the law and gospel. Luther's teaching of the law and gospel is grounded in the revelation of Jesus Christ. The knowledge of God in terms of the gospel is embedded with the knowledge of God in terms of the law. Despite the distinction between law and gospel, Luther is tireless in articulating the divine origin of the law. The Word of God as demand and gift should not be integrated into one, despite their inseparable relationship. This aspect indicates the difference between Luther and Barth.

When Barth scrutinizes Luther's threefold sense of the Word of God, he fails to understand Luther's deliberation of the third form of the Word of God the Father in *se ipso* over the second form of the word in the Son. This reflection refers to Luther's categorization of light, nature, grace, and glory.⁶² The light of glory tells that "the God whose judgment here is one of incomprehensible righteousness is a God of most perfect and manifest righteousness."⁶³

Luther's reflection of the priority of God echoes St. Paul's theology of eschatological glory for God the Father (1 Cor 15:28). In the Lutheran dogmatic tradition, Luther's theology of *verbum Dei* finds its voice in Lutheran understanding of the universality of God's call (*vocatio catholica*) in an extraordinary way. God "adopted all kinds of expedients whereby the call afterwards could reach nations and individuals."⁶⁴ Similarly, the Lutheran confessional teaching of justification refers to God's initiative, stating that "conversion to God is the work of God the Holy Spirit alone."⁶⁵ The universal call of God is extended equally to all. St. Paul states this concept in light of God's reconciliation (Col 1:23). The Lutheran concept of *vocatio catholica* affirms this biblical perspective.⁶⁶

Barth certainly agrees that Luther's deliberation of three forms of the Word of God (including the eschatologically characterized third form) is very accurately perceived and described (CD I/1:122).

Luther's third form of the Word of God in eschatological hope points to the freedom of God. This is characteristic of Luther's orientation toward the Hebrew Bible. As Luther argues, "God has to speak in a different way. If God opens the mouth, and lets a word forward, so it works . . . Also God has grasped, with this short word, the whole of the gospel and kingdom of Christ, so that nobody can eradicate it . . ." ⁶⁷

To the degree that God speaks, God provides faith to all human beings. We can believe God when God binds God's Word to us through the Spirit. Faith is the event in which God comes to us. ⁶⁸ From the perspective of God's speech in action, Luther proposes a more profound and enriching theology of the Word of God than Barth does in his theology of the Word of God in a threefold sense. ⁶⁹ In *The Smalcald Articles*, Luther elaborates that the gospel "gives guidance and help against sin in more than one way, because God is extravagantly rich in his grace." ⁷⁰

The gospel is received through "the mutual conversation and consolation of brothers and sisters." Thus, Luther presents the content of the gospel in a fivefold sense. The fifth form of the gospel as "the mutual conversation and consolation of brothers and sisters" is an objective and necessary form of the gospel alongside preaching, sacrament, and ecclesial office. Surprisingly enough, human discourse based on conversation, comfort, and consolation becomes a content of the gospel.

In the Lutheran confessional tradition, Scripture is the standard that judges other standards (the *norma normans*), while the confessions are recognized as a secondary criterion for the faith as shaped by scripture (the *Norma Normata*). Nonetheless, the Word of God, Jesus Christ, is at the center of Scripture as witnessed by the Holy Spirit. In this regard, we can speak of an internal testimony of the Holy Spirit in Luther's understanding of the Word of God and proclamation.

Luther's theology of the gospel corresponds to an important explanation of Hebrews 1:1 according to which "God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets." If the rich historical deployment of the helping and counseling word of God plays a decisive role in Luther's understanding of the gospel, the Word of God can be defined and determined in its effective form, to which the full historicity of speech and action of God is adequate in the sense of Hebrews 1:1. The Word of God in Jesus Christ cannot be understood apart from God's speech in action throughout all the ages in the plural horizons of effecting word-event. God's speech points to an open event in the sense of mutual colloquium and brotherly and sisterly comfort. Luther grounds his concept of the fifth form of the

gospel in Matthew 18: 20, "For where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them." This is a Hebrew concept that is in accordance with 1 Samuel 23:42, "The Lord is witness between you and me forever . . . The Lord shall be between me and you, and between my descendents and your descendants, forever."

Evangelical delight in the law, which comes from Luther's theology of the Word of God, deepens and enriches Luther's doctrine of the twofold use of the law, rather than contradicting it. Luther's teaching of the unity of law and gospel in terms of the *parenesis* can be more adequately understood in light of Luther's theology of God's Word in action: freedom, love, and presence.

Barth's theology of the Word of God in threefold sense (written, proclaimed, and revealed form) articulates a priority of the revealed Word of God, Jesus Christ. For Barth, Christocentrism does not replace the mystery of God. Already in his lecture at Elgersburg (October 3, 1922), *The Word of God as the Task of Ministry*, Barth argues that human methodology is not capable of speaking of God, except by utilizing a dogmatic, critical, and dialectical approach. It is certain that Barth endorses a dialectical method without dislocating the incomprehensiveness of God. A theocentric character of his dialectical theology can be seen in his argument that "the genuine dialectician knows that this center cannot be apprehended or beheld."⁷¹

Therefore, for Barth, theology means rational wrestling with the mystery of God. All rational wrestling with the mystery of God leads only to its fresh and authentic interpretation and manifestation as a mystery (CD I/1:368). In revelation God is qualitatively different from human beings. This aspect of mystery of God constitutes God's Word in action, which can be heard outside the ecclesial sphere. This refers to a dimension of irregular dogmatics in Barth's doctrine of the Word of God set within *Church Dogmatics*. In emphasizing God's freedom in the Word of God, Barth allows for the outer sphere of the church to enrich and deepen the theological discourse on the Word of God. This side of God's speech act corresponds to Lutheran hermeneutics of the gospel as the living voice of God (*viva vox evangelii*). In other words, this refers to "the self-positing and self-authenticating Word of God" (CD I/2:869). In this framework of God's act of speaking, Barth integrates Luther's insight of the irregularity of God's grace into his theology of divine speech act.

For the sake of the mystery of God in the speech-act framework, Barth strikingly follows in the footsteps of Luther's *theologia crucis* as a principle of Luther's whole theology (CD I/1:178–79). For the

sake of mystery and the freedom of God, Barth does not accept a direct identification of God *in self* (the immanent Trinity) with God *for us* (the economic Trinity). As a matter of fact, the *mysterium trinitatis* remains a mystery. Although Christology constitutes the basis and criterion for the understanding and interpretation of God's freedom and mystery in Barthian fashion, his Christocentric theology does not imply ecclesial narrow-mindedness (CD II/1:320).

As we have already discussed in the issue of Reformation and *theologia naturalis*, Barth analogically combines the Word of Jesus Christ (in accordance with the Barmen Declaration) with various truth claims in a pluralistic society. Jesus uses secular parables to instruct about the truth and mystery of the kingdom of God. The gospel can be defined as an analogous talk about the truth of God. Now that God is reconciled in Christ with the world, we can encounter parables of God's kingdom in the strange interruption into the public sphere (CD IV/3:117). In light of Christ's reconciliation we recognize the well-known voice of the Good Shepherd even from the mouth of Balaam despite its sinister origin (CD IV/3.1:119).

From this perspective, Barth affirms the Lutheran concept of the revelation of creation or primal revelations (CD IV/3.1:140). The divine work of reconciliation does not negate the divine work of creation, or deprive it of meaning. Secular parables of the kingdom of God can be accepted as free communication of God with the world (CD IV/3.1:130). Human language can analogously be witness to God's communication with the world. This hermeneutical side of the Word of God retains a sociocritical dimension because the Word of God swims against the current (CD IV/3.2:581), as it becomes visible in Jesus' table fellowship with publicans and sinners, that is, the *massa perditionis* (CD IV/3.2:587). Barth's theology of the Word of God is characterized in terms of reconciliation, freedom, and transformation, because God who loves in freedom is the One who "materially changes all things and everything in all things" (CD II/1:258).

CHAPTER 5



THE CHURCH IN THE POWER OF THE SPIRIT

LUTHER: CHURCH AS CREATURE OF THE GOSPEL

The doctrine of justification is at the basis of Luther's ecclesiology. Luther's deliberation of the essence of the church is bound to the concept of faith in the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, in other words, *humanitas Christi*. The visible character of the church is grounded in Christ's kingdom, namely, *regnum carnis Christi* (kingdom of Christ's flesh), which is also invisible.

As compared to the term church (*Kirche*), which means a building or institution, Luther prefers to use common assembly, namely a community of saints. Likewise, Luther prefers community, gathering, or even fellowship. (By fellowship he means a common participation or sharing.)

The Latin *communio sanctorum* denotes "a holy Christian people,"¹ the fellowship of the saints, or fellowship in the Holy One at the Supper. By the *communio sanctorum*, Luther understands the sharing of goods among the believers. Communion and participation are closely associated with Luther's concept of church as a community of saints. We participate with the brothers and sisters in the benefits of Christ as well as in their needs.

First and foremost, Luther states that Christ is the Head of the church. Since our salvation depends only on God's free mercy in Jesus Christ, the transfer of merits in the heavenly bank from one account to another had lost all meaning. Luther's Christocentric ecclesiology is a counterthesis to the scholastic concept of human merit and works righteousness.

Second, the church is Christ's body. In *The Large Catechism*, Luther writes that we cannot know anything about Christ, or believe in him as Lord, without the preaching of the gospel by the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit effects our being made holy through the community of saints.²

Therefore, in *The Small Catechism*, Luther articulates that the Holy Spirit has called me through the gospel, enlightening me with the gifts, making me holy. The Spirit keeps me in the true faith. Likewise, the Spirit calls, gathers, and enlightens the church, and making it holy, while keeping it with Jesus Christ in the one common true faith.³

Luther's theology of the Spirit in the sense of 1 Corinthians 2:16 indicates that the spiritual, eternal, heavenly, and invisible becomes possible only through faith in Christ (Heb 11:1). For Luther, the heart is God's holy place. God changes us into God's Word, which is the language of the unity of faith. That means essentially spiritual unity, which implies communion of the saints. Such unity is enough to make Christianity.⁴ In this light, Iwand states that the essence, life, and nature of Christianity are not a bodily gathering, but a gathering of the heart in faith.⁵

Church is the place where the heart of faith in Christ gathers; Christ is always present because it is the work of the Holy Spirit. The true church is on earth where Christ as the head is present. Thus, the invisible church is not the characteristic of the church for Luther. Rather the visible church receives its qualification out of the invisible church of Christ. The Word of God comes first. The faith follows it, then the love follows faith. Through God's powerful Word, God creates us so that we become the first of God's creatures (James 1:18).⁶

Where Christ is not preached, there is no Holy Spirit to create, call, and gather the Christian Church. Luther likens the church to the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God as revealed and proclaimed by the Holy Spirit. In *The Large Catechism* Luther deals with the church in light of the Holy Spirit as the Sanctifier. The Holy Spirit affects human beings made holy through the community of saints or Christian Church. A *communio sanctorum* (a communion of saints) is *ecclesia*, which means nothing but an assembly. In this light, Luther argues that *ecclesia* cannot be used as *Kirche* (a consecrated house or building). The word "church" means a common assembly like the word *ecclesia*. The church is a Christian community or assembly or a holy Christian people.

At this juncture, Luther articulates the church as "the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God." The

Holy Spirit reveals and proclaims the Word of God and illuminates and inflames hearts through the Word of God so that all Christians may “grasp and accept it, cling to it, and preserve in it.”⁷

This perspective refers to Luther’s pneumatological concept of the church in the feminine-aesthetical dimension of the Word of God. For Luther, faith in God is a matter of heart, as is idolatry. Anything on which your heart relies and depends is really your God.⁸ The encounter with the Word of God is grounded in judgment rather than intellectual understanding. Luther’s concept of the Word of God as sin in light of the righteousness of God constitutes his teaching of justification. Human beings become God’s creatures through their faith in Christ.

To the extent that God’s Word speaks and faith is created, the church becomes God’s new creature, a new creation of God. Along this line *The Augsburg Confession* articulates the event character of the church in terms of the Holy Spirit “who effects faith where and when it pleases God in those who hear the gospel.”⁹

When Luther grounds the church in the Word, he stresses that not the written scripture, but the living gospel saves.¹⁰ In his exposition of the *Magnificat*, Mary accepts the Word of God in her faith. Mary is a prototype and picture of the church for Luther.

Furthermore, the church is the work of the triune God. Luther takes up the famous sentence of Cyprian, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* (outside of the church there is no salvation). However, this sentence must be seen in light of *extra Christus nulla salus* (outside of Christ there is no salvation). As far as the church is the creature of the gospel, God’s Word cannot be without God’s people; likewise, God’s people cannot be without God’s Word.

In the treatise *On Councils and the Church* (1539), Luther distinguishes the marks of the church as follows: (1) Holy Baptism, (2) the Holy Sacrament of the altar, (3) the power of the keys, (4) the calling and ordaining of pastors and bishops, (5) prayer, praise, and thanks to God, and (6) enduring the cross and inner conflict.

Baptism is of divine origin because God’s Word and command have instituted, established, and confirmed the Christian rite of baptism. Water in baptism is placed in the setting of God’s Word and commandment, and is made holy rather than remaining plain water. Therefore, water is God’s water to which God’s Word and commandments are added. Without the Word of God the water is plain, not a baptism. With the Word of God water is “a grace-filled water of life.”¹¹ Now that faith receives baptism and is not bound to our faith but to the Word, Luther upholds a validity of infant baptism.

In this regard, Luther follows Augustine: “when the Word is added to the element or the natural substance, it becomes a sacrament.”¹² Baptism as a sacrament is Christ’s baptism. Luther’s concept of faith becomes obvious in understanding baptism. The Word makes baptism, while faith receives. According to Luther, a Christian life is no less than a daily baptism, begun once and continuing ever after. Whatever belongs to the new creature may come forth out of the grace of baptism in both a dynamic and a progressive sense.

Given the continual and eschatological character of Christian life, Luther’s concept of baptismal identity is connected with penance, viewing it as part of baptism. Sanctified life in renewal and growth is always grounded in the justified life in baptism. For the spiritual colloquium and comfort, Luther keeps private absolution from falling into disuse. Now that private absolution is derived from the office of the keys, Luther values it highly.¹³ Seeking advice, comfort, and strength, Luther recommends that confession be used beneficially for the comforting and strengthening of our conscience privately before a single brother or sister.¹⁴

Repentance and renewal can be seen from the dynamic side of baptismal life in a progressive and present sense. Therefore, repentance or life renewal is not distinct or apart from baptism, but a reality of living or of vivification out of baptism in the daily life of the baptized.¹⁵ In this regard Luther states that baptism comprehends also the third sacrament, formerly called penance. The penance is regarded as a part of baptism, with emphasis on the declaration of forgiveness, or absolution, pronounced by the administrator.¹⁶

We are blessed and gifted once and for all in our baptism in light of Christ *extra nos* and *cum nobis* (the happy exchange). Baptism is already enacted as the event of justification and lives as the progress of justification. Luther’s concept of baptism characterizes the Christian life in light of the dynamism of the Spirit, which embraces the past, present, and future of life.

Likewise, the sacrament of the altar is the true body and blood of Christ, which is present in the bread and wine. “It is bread and wine set within God’s Word and bound to it.”¹⁷ In the bread and wine, Christ’s body and blood are given and accompanied by the Word. Christ’s body and blood “cannot grasp and appropriate what is given in and with the sacrament. This is done by the faith of the heart that discerns and desires such a treasure.”¹⁸

Lutheran teaching of consubstantiation (using the formula “under the bread,” “with the bread,” “in the bread”) implies the sacramental

union of the unchanged essence of the bread and the body of Christ by rejection of the Catholic teaching of transubstantiation.¹⁹

In the communion of the saints there are no men and women, free or enslaved; rather, in this communion, there are only the shepherd and sheep who hear the shepherd's voice (John 10:14ff). The calling and ordaining of pastors and bishops as *ministerium verbi* (the office of Word) is a mark of the church in light of the authority of the Word of God. Luther's concept of the church, which is the basis for the universal priesthood, is offered in 1 Corinthians 3:22–23.

In the Lutheran Confessions, the understanding of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church has been developed. The confessions do not endorse a distinction between a visible Church and an invisible church, which is central to the Reformed Church, based on double predestination. Although the true church is hidden, it can be recognized by marks (*notae ecclesiae*). "It has its external marks so that it can be recognized, namely, the pure teaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments in harmony with the gospel of Christ."²⁰

In *On Councils and the Church* (1539), Luther advocates the need for special order. What would happen if everyone wanted to speak or administer and no one wanted to give way to the other? Therefore, an individual should be allowed to preach, to baptize, to absolve, and to administer the sacraments. This ministerial office is always related to a specific congregation, that is, in the presence of the church and in the name of the church. Christ institutes the offices, including the ministerial office (Eph 4:11 and 1 Tim 3:2).

Despite his harsh criticism of the papacy, Luther does not challenge the office of the bishop. The task of the bishop is essentially the same as that of the pastor. Luther sees no contradiction between the special ministry from above and the universal ministry from below. Rather, he coordinates these two dimensions in a harmonious way. The pastor, who represents the special office of the ministry of the Word and sacrament, includes the cooperation of the congregation. The ecclesiastical office consists of the service or the ministry of the gospel. Only because of the office and function is there a distinction between clergy and laity.

Concerning the power and authority of the bishop, the Augsburg Confession states that according to divine right, it is the duty of the office of the bishop to preach the gospel, to forgive sin, to judge and reject doctrine that is contrary to the gospel, and to exclude the ungodly from the Christian community.²¹ Furthermore, the Augsburg

Confession agrees with Augustine that one should not obey bishops, even if they have been regularly elected, when they command something contrary to the holy, divine Scripture.

UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD AND SOCIAL ECONOMIC *DIAKONIA*

When it comes to Luther's concept of universal priesthood, it is important to discuss Luther's concept of ministry. The threefold pattern of ordained ministry (bishops, priests, and deacons), which was the dominant structure in the ancient church, became the major order and was then divided into a hierarchy of order (bishops, priests, and then deacons) and of jurisdiction (pope and bishops). The hierarchical structure is connected with the concept of apostolic succession of bishops, in order to safeguard unity, continuity, and apostolicity of the church against heresies. According to the apostolic succession, only bishops are authorized to consecrate and ordain the priests.

In the course of the Middle Ages, the power and privilege of the bishops was massively enlarged, especially in terms of the combination of spiritual power and secular power. In addition, the bishop's authority was spiritually strengthened by the sacramental power to effect the change of the elements and offer the sacrifice in the church for the living and the dead. Accordingly, bishops and priests came to be seen as mediators of salvation. The requirement of clerical celibacy underlined the elevated status of clergy over laity.

Luther challenges the late medieval system of ordained ministry. He replaces the qualitative distinction between clergy and laity with an emphasis on the universal priesthood of all baptized believers. Nevertheless, Luther does not abolish the ordained ministry. This special ministry, instituted by Christ, points to an essential ministry of Word and sacrament.

Therefore, within the office of the keys, "the mutual conversation and consolation of brothers and sisters" is given to the whole communion of saints who are baptized. God is proclaimed not only from the mouths of the clergy but from the mouths of the whole community. According to Luther, we wish to lay our troubles before a brother or sister, seeking advice, comfort, and strength. By divine ordinance Christ has placed absolution in the mouths of his Christian community and commanded the believers to absolve one another.²²

A universal priesthood is grounded in the Christocentric and pneumatological dimension of justification. The prominence of the Word of God is given to God, concerning the relation of the Episcopal office

to the universal priesthood. In his disputation with Rome in *A Treatise on the New Testament* (1520), Luther accents that it is not the priest alone who offers the sacrifice of the mass. Through the true priestly office, Christ is offered as a sacrifice to God. All of us are equally spiritual priests before God.²³

In his confrontation with the fanatics, Luther takes more cautiously into account a combination of the universal priesthood and the ministerial office in terms of the Word and the Holy Spirit.

Against the “three walls” built up on the part of the Romanists, Luther contrasts his concept of universal priesthood with the pure invention of the spiritual estate by pope, bishop, priests, and monks. Against this deceit and hypocrisy Luther states that all Christians are truly of the spiritual estate.²⁴

It is important to notice that Luther uses the term *sacerdos/sacerdotes* (priest) for the universal priesthood of the baptized while using the term minister/ministry in reference to the pastor. For Luther, *sacerdotium* is not identical with *ministerium*. Anyone who is born in baptism by water and the Spirit becomes a priest, while one becomes a minister through vocation or calling. Faith carries the priesthood along through baptism. Thus, Luther does not reject the divine institution of the ministerial office.

According to the Word and the sacraments we are all equally priests, having the same power. However, nobody makes use of this power without the consent of a congregation or a calling.²⁵ The ministerial office has to do with the public proclamation of the Word and administration of the sacraments. The universal priesthood, without the ministerial office, would be chaos. Christ instituted the universal priesthood through faith and baptism in the power of the Holy Spirit, while instituting the offices, including the ministerial office, for effecting his promise of the Word and the sacraments through the Holy Spirit.

The universal priesthood has a function of *diakonia*. In relation to Acts 6:1–6, Luther argues that the diaconate is the ministry of distributing the church’s aid to the poor; this is the purpose of the institution of the diaconate.²⁶ We have the universal priesthood for the mutual comfort and absolution of our neighbor, as well as for engaging in social *diakonia*. Jesus Christ, as the true High Priest, calls all baptized Christians his royal priesthood (1 Pet 2:9; Exod 19:5–6). All baptized Christian priests work in their own vocation of life in rendering service to the needy. “A cobbler, a smith, a peasant—each has the work and office of his trade, and yet they are all alike consecrated priest and bishop.”²⁷

A. In *The Smalcald Articles* (1537), Luther includes “the mutual conversation and consolation of brothers and sisters” as a form of the gospel.²⁸ This refers to a dimension of the universal priesthood in Luther’s understanding of the gospel. In his lectures of 1528, Luther endorses the value of deacons. In the ancient church seven deacons were established for presiding over the church’s care for the poor and widows. They were admitted to other offices of the church, although caring for the poor and widows was their main task. Sometimes, for instance, Stephen preached. With a critical view toward the Catholic relegation of deacon work exclusively to hospices (*hospitalia*), Luther integrates diaconal work to the common chest.²⁹

The Leisnig Ordinance is an important example of Luther’s practice of the idea of the universal priesthood associated with its deaconhood. In *The Preface to the Leisnig Ordinance of a Common Chest* (1523), Luther states that the right of the parish assembly should be established for choosing a pastor and founding a common chest. The income of the parish, the church, the endowed masses, brotherhoods, alms, and bequests, according to Luther, should be combined in the common chest. The church community is in coexistence with the civil community. When a conflict occurs, as seen in the case of Leisnig against the civil government, Luther stands on the side of the parish.

Luther assisted parish development in Leisnig in 1522, proposing a common chest for the relief of the poor.³⁰ In this way the people of the whole parish may have recourse to these stores for bodily sustenance in times of imminent scarcity, through purchase, loans, or grants.³¹

The Leisnig common chest demonstrates Luther’s direction of universal priesthood in terms of social economic *diakonia*. The purpose of the communal chest, as Luther intends, is to seek viable and effective economic alternatives at the local level, inspired by a more community-minded ethical standpoint. It strives to sustain the new church economically and to assist in the promotion of education and the creation of schools, and, in this way, it demonstrates deep compassion for the poor.³²

The ethics of the universal priesthood (or universal deaconhood) is articulated in terms of the ethics of freedom. In his conclusion to *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520) we read, “I will give myself as a Christ to my neighbor, just as Christ offered himself to me. I will do nothing in this life except what I see is necessary, profitable, and salutary to my neighbor.”³³ The command of love serves people in need with all benevolent deeds such as feeding the hungry, giving drinks to the thirsty, forgiving enemies, enduring all kinds of pain on earth. All of these are called good and holy.³⁴

B. Unlike Luther's fatal mistake in political responsibility during the Peasants' War, Luther's concept of socioeconomic *diakonia* demonstrates his alternative to God versus Mammon in a remarkable way. Luther grounds the theme of political obligation in the injunction of St. Paul at the start of Chapter 13 of the Epistle to the Romans. This biblical admonition guards Luther against insurrection and rebellion.

The Fundamental and Proper Chief Articles of All the Peasantry and Those Who Are Oppressed by Spiritual and Temporal Authority (known as the Twelve Articles) became the most widely known agenda of the Peasants' War. The first three articles—on freedom to choose a pastor, partial removal of the tithe, and abolition of serfdom—are expressed on the basis of Reformation thought. In response to the Twelve Articles, Luther published *Admonition to Peace: A Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants in Swabia*. From the Twelve Articles, Luther recognizes the religious and economic demands conditionally and he acknowledges the validity of the social complaints for which the government is responsible. However, Luther criticizes the peasants, warning them against the fanatical and murdering spirits in appeal to divine right. The gospel should not be imposed by force and violence. Luther declares to both the authorities and the peasants that both are in the wrong. As the authorities are oppressive tyrants, so the peasants are rebels. Although recognizing the peasants' demand, nevertheless, Luther's *Admonition* does not condone the insurrection of the peasants for the evangelical cause.

Luther challenged the Thuringen revolt in his preaching when he visited Eisleben and nearby cities (April and May of 1525). The atmosphere was hostile and Luther's *Admonition* was regarded as flattering to the princes by betraying the need of peasants.

Luther's writing, *Against the Murderous and Thieving Hordes of Peasants*, is overblown in his resentment against Thomas Müntzer and the peasants in the insurrection. Luther argues: "Therefore, dear lords, here is a place where you can release, rescue, help. Have mercy on those poor people! Let whoever can stab, smite, slay. If you die in doing it, good for you! A more blessed death can never be yours."³⁵

The infuriated Luther's pamphlet, urging the princes to smite, slay, and destroy the rebellious peasants, caused his reputation to suffer severely. Luther's decision to call on the princes to demolish the revolt had profound repercussions for later political developments in Europe. Here, we see the backward-looking face of Luther. It is important that we retain a critical opinion from an oppressive tradition of Luther's legacy.³⁶

Nevertheless, there is a forward-looking face in Luther's theological deliberation on the socioeconomic sphere that deserves our attention. By hermeneutically reviving this prophetic and progressive side of Luther, we can discuss Luther's political view in a new light.

Luther's reflection of God (the first commandment) in reference to the economic realm explicitly demonstrates that Mammon is the chief example of opposition to God. Luther's critique of Mammon leads to his economic ethics, based on the commandment "you shall not steal." This commandment becomes the vehicle of Luther's struggle against early capitalism. The character of capital, in contrast to God's will, motivates Luther to fight for the sake of the poor and the needy against the capital process and accumulation. Luther even portrays the problem of capital expansion with the metaphor of devouring capital.³⁷

In this light, F.-W. Marquardt argues that Luther's alternative of God or idol is not merely a question of Christian ethics, but a question of the necessity of confessional renewal. Luther holds that a Christian confession of God is witness to the One who emancipates Israel out of Egypt and justifies us through Christ. God cannot be adequately understood and articulated apart from a critical deliberation of the socioeconomic consequences of idolatry. This was a reality of the early capitalist system in Luther's time.

Luther's theological critique of Roman Catholicism is embedded in his socioeconomic critique of its structure and system. Charles V was dependent on the Fuggers. Thus, Luther ironically characterizes his Catholic opponent, John Eck, as a "Plutologian" (expert on wealth) rather than a theologian.³⁸ In the Roman Church "the whole spiritual government is nothing but money, money, money. Everything is geared to money-making."³⁹

In Luther's view, the institutions, such as the big banking and trading companies, are only the tip of the iceberg of a system of "devouring capital." As Luther argues, "So anyone who has a hundred florins in Leipzig now earns an annual forty (in interest), which means devouring a peasant or city-dweller . . . If he has a hundred forty thousand, which must be the case with big businessmen, he earns an annual forty thousand, which means devouring a great, rich prince in one year."⁴⁰ Along this line, Duchrow states that Luther, in his writings on economic justice, regards the church as an alternative to the capitalist order.⁴¹

Luther's critique of economic injustice is structurally based on usury and monopoly capital. From his *Brief Sermon on Usury* (1519) to his *Admonition to the Clergy That They Preach against Usury*

(1540), Luther tirelessly speaks out against the accumulation of capital and the financial monopoly of early capitalism, calling for government control of the monopoly capital. In his *Trade and Usury* (1524), Luther is motivated to address the Nuremberg Diets of 1522 and 1524, which failed to take any effective action against monopolies. He argues that the church and the state may work together to hold in check these financial evils. At least some people—however few they are—may be delivered from the gaping jaws of avarice.⁴²

Luther does not remain satisfied with charitable work, but draws a clear argument for structural justice and change in economic life. In Luther's time, capitalist lust and passion for earning profits could be seen in the manipulation of the market through withholding or dumping goods and developing cartels or monopolies, among other deceptive practices. The monopolistic trading companies oppress and ruin all the small businessmen. It is like destroying the little fish in the water, just as if they were lords over God's creatures.⁴³ Like the devouring capital, the usurers are eating our food and drinking our drink. Even by manipulating prices, they live off the bodies of the poor.⁴⁴ Luther denounces such fellows as "a dangerous class," even depriving them of the right of being called human beings. Luther's advice is to get out of trading companies. If right and honesty are to stay, the trading companies must perish.⁴⁵

Luther exhorts pastors to condemn usury as stealing and murder, and to refuse the sacrament to usurers if they do not repent.⁴⁶ Luther is aware of the Christian character of capital accumulation in pointing out "how skillfully Sir Greed can dress up to look like a pious man if that seems to be what the occasion requires, while he is actually a double scoundrel and a liar."⁴⁷

Luther's treatise *Admonition to Clergy That They Preach against Usury* (1540) is admired by Karl Marx in his denunciation of the Christian character of capital accumulation, concentration, and monopoly, which is the basis for Christian colonialism.⁴⁸ Luther is aware that trade and finance are mobilizing economic development. He does not exempt social-economic development from his theology, but rather integrates economic issues in terms of theological reflection of God in the first commandment. Ideological critique of the powerful in monopoly capital is imbued with Luther's confessional statement regarding God.

In *The Large Catechism* (1529), Luther contrasts God with Mammon, namely money and property. This is the most common idol on earth.⁴⁹ Idolatry primarily means "a matter of the heart,"⁵⁰ having to do with one's whole heart and confidence. Idolatry makes God

into an apple-god. Those who serve Mammon have power, prestige, honor, and possessions as seen in the world's eye.⁵¹ Furthermore, in exposition of the seventh commandment, Luther extends his theological critique to the financial practices of multinational corporations, who continually defraud and burden the poor every day. They misuse the market in their own arbitrary, defiant, arrogant way without any criticism.⁵² Luther relates God's wrath to the greatest thieves, who are armchair bandits, robbing and stealing under the cloak of legality.⁵³

Discipleship in solidarity with the poor belongs to the vocational function of the gospel. In the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, Luther discusses the issue of "daily bread" in terms of the entire life in this world. The second petition covers all kinds of earthly matters. At this juncture, Luther again extends his theological critique of economic injustice to "those who wantonly oppress the poor and deprive them of their daily bread" "on account of false coinage," "on account of daily exploitation and usury in public business, commerce, and labor." These people will lose the common intercession of the church.⁵⁴

Luther suggests that economic justice belongs as a matter of allegiance to God versus Mammon. A theological critique of Mammon as an idol gives shape to Luther's critique of the political-economic ideology of his time. According to Luther, the reality of early capitalism is not merely a matter of the individual capitalists. Rather, it subordinates through the coercion of the system to increase impoverishment and functions as a system of idolization and a structure of domination. Mammon is a concept that Luther uses to describe and analyze structural injustice in the economic process of capital accumulation.

Luther clearly discerns the character of the system by portraying the process of restless, independent expansion of capital and the development of its domination of social history in terms of devouring capital. As a matter of fact, Luther deals with Mammon as a totality and a system of reality that conditions and dominates the socioeconomic life in every respect. In Luther's writings, theology and economics are interwoven, so that the economic issue is not merely a part of social ethics but an indispensable part of a theological reflection about God, an issue of renewal of Christian confession (*status confessionis*).⁵⁵

C. In light of what we have discussed concerning Luther's deliberation of socioeconomic justice, it is more constructive to consider Luther's political ethics. Luther's teaching must be examined in terms of political *diakonia* to God. As we have seen in Luther's teaching of theology and economic justice, Luther can be understood as a theologian of resistance against the tyranny of his time. In deliberating

the coming of God's kingdom in the Lord's Prayer, on the one hand Luther defends himself against a fanatic attempt to establish God's kingdom on earth through human rebellious action. On the other hand, he warns against the egotism of salvation, which is interested only in individual peace and joy rather than in God's lordship on earth.

For Luther, the eschatological fight event between God and the devil is also conceived of in the unity of presentative-eschatological "simultaneity" (*coram deo*) and of futuristic-eschatological progress (*coram mundo*).⁵⁶ The worldly regiment as the kingdom of reason is arranged into the schema of three social institutional realms (church, politics, family/economy). Luther, in diverse connections, makes positive assertions about the relationship of Christians to political life.

In a letter to Friedrich (March 7, 1522), Luther wrote about his new discovery of political theology and consequently made a theological turn. "Now, I see that God drives further, insofar as God works in Jerusalem and two regiments. I have learned newly that not merely spiritual, but also worldly power must obey the gospel."⁵⁷

Luther grounds this freedom in the teaching of justification. This freedom finds its aspect of resistance standing sharply against the ecclesial system, which arranges and sanctions the tyranny of the church in contradiction to the life of God's people. For Luther, the worldly reign is a picture, shadow, and figure of the reign of Christ.⁵⁸

For the sake of the freedom of the gospel, he spoke out against his colleagues and students who attempted to transform his theology of freedom into a theology of revolution without reservation. For Luther, however, suffering can be understood as a form of political activity.

When Luther called for the often-disputed sentence during the peasant war, "suffering, suffering, cross, cross is the Christian right, no other,"⁵⁹ he tried to arrange their fight into another political form of church struggle. Rather he did not deny it any form of right or resistance. Luther limits the authority of princes by insisting that they are merely the masks or larvae of God. If a ruler tears off the mask (identifying him as God's lieutenant), he must never be obeyed. Disobeying the prince, the subject is bound to follow his conscience. Luther's critique of concrete state violence is no less angry than his critique of the rebellious. His critique of both sides is so radical that the solution comes from God and the passing away of the whole world.⁶⁰

Luther's doctrine of nonviolence has little to do with a stringent doctrine of nonresistance that makes God the author of evil.⁶¹ Luther's confrontation with the fanatics does not necessarily contradict his reflection on making space for resistance for God's sake. Luther's

political theory does not intend to withdraw the critique of the gospel from the political dominion of the powerful. Rather it retains its critique of ideology against attempts to subordinate the radicalism of the gospel and the Christian faith under human political interests and under the camouflage of political interests in religious clothing. Luther demands that the preacher and the politician stand before God's command and judgment.⁶²

At this juncture, Luther's teaching of justification implies an important concept of *Deum justificare*, which means giving God justice. Luther's teaching of justification cannot be properly understood apart from his concept of *Deum justificare* (the justification of God).⁶³ For Luther, resistance is an essential part of characterizing God's Word made flesh, Christ Jesus.

That being the case, the Word of God for Luther points to the new world of God that stands against the political and economic powers. One is born anew out of the Word of God (*nativitas ex verbo Dei*), so that one is to be created anew. If the Word of God is connected with the new world of God, Luther grounds the eschatological character of *verbum Dei* in the sense of renewing the world.⁶⁴

As Luther argues, we "give thanks to God for his holy word and adding the mouth freshly to this blessed rebellion."⁶⁵ The princes and big shots must be criticized. People entrusted with the office of preaching have to point out where they do wrong and act in unjust ways. This word of resistance and critique has to be spoken even if the princes and the powerful complain that such criticism would lead to rebellion.⁶⁶ The Word of God attacks the ordinance of the world in unjust structures by purifying it. In this light, Luther's reflection of the two kingdoms may be understood in the direction of Luther's political *diakonia* to the one universal reign of God.⁶⁷ As *status politicus* belongs to political *diakonia* to God, so *status oeconomicus* refers to economic *diakonia* to God in favor of the poor and the needy.

CALVIN: CHURCH AS MOTHER OF BELIEVERS

Calvin expresses the church as "the external means or aids by which God invites us into the society and holds us therein" (*Inst.* IV.i). The order of the church cannot be separated from the work of the Holy Spirit. As Milner rightly affirms, "the church [order] can only be understood dialectically, as referring simultaneously to the Word and to the Spirit."⁶⁸

What is the work of the Holy Spirit in the creation of the church? As it is through the Spirit that the world was created, so it is through

the activity of the Spirit that the church is created. As long as the church is perceived as the place of the regenerating activity of the Spirit, it is the Spirit that restores the image of God in the human being.

Calvin describes the church in a threefold way: the mother of believers, the body of Christ, and the elect community. As far as the church as mother of believers is concerned, Calvin points to the gospel and the means of grace imparted to the church. The church has not received them for its own private edification or veneration, but it is the gospel that claims the church to be faithful to it.

God speaks to us through the mouths of humans and through the visible elements of water, bread, and wine. None of these gifts have been promised apart from the work of the Spirit. God ordained instruction in this world for imparting these gifts to the church. Because God is the author of the ordinance, God wants God's presence to be recognized in this promise (*Inst.* IV.i.5). God works and creates by spiritual means by using the Word as God's instrument. God inspires in the word God's own spiritual message by uniting the power of the divine spirit.⁶⁹

For this reason, Calvin characterizes the being of the church as the mother of believers, since "it is the mother of all pious" (*Inst.* IV.i.1). Calvin makes a concerted effort to reach the one true church. Calvin is accordingly in line with the teaching of the early church and the church fathers. The church is placed in the service of Christ. God wants to meet us there. The church is a vehicle to serve the realization of Jesus Christ in preaching and sacraments through the work of the Holy Spirit.

In the light of the Holy Spirit, Calvin values highly the unity of the church. In his response to Cardinal Sadoletto, a reform-interested Catholic of North Italy, Calvin stated that the Spirit has been promised not to impose a new doctrine, "but to impress the truth of the gospel on our minds."⁷⁰ The Spirit of Christ, according to Calvin, cultivates and observes unity of faith and brotherly and sisterly concord.⁷¹ In this regard, Calvin reveres the church as the mother of believers, so that he remains in her bosom. Thus faith cannot comprehend Christ without the Spirit of sanctification.⁷² Against those who yearn to divide the church, Calvin advocated for fraternal agreement that should flourish among all the children of God. For Calvin, Jesus Christ is the only bond of holy unity in the church.

As we have seen that the church is the sphere where Christ comes into our lives through word and the sacraments in the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, Calvin relates the church to the body of Christ: The body

of Christ is built up, and we grow in every part in adherence to Christ who is the Head of the church (*Inst.* IV.iii.3).

As there is the relationship between the priestly work of Christ and our justification, so justification is related to unity in the body of Christ. This pneumatological aspect of the Christ-union is most fully realized in the celebration of the sacraments, especially in Calvin's doctrine of the real presence in a spiritual manner (*Inst.* III.xi.5,10). It is the Spirit who engrafts us into the body of Christ. In speaking of the body of Christ, Calvin is concerned about describing Christ as the head. It is the head, Christ, who determines the character of the body.

The essential unity of the church is spiritual, sharing a common faith in Jesus Christ and recognizing the different needs of varying local churches. Calvin's concept of universal Church, which implies a gathering of a multitude from all nations, grants freedom and authority to local, individual churches in town and villages. Thus, it is impossible to have obstinacy, arrogance, or contempt for other Churches. Calvin's latitude becomes obvious in his recognition of the difference of the institutional structure. Each local Church is free to establish any form of organization that would be suitable and useful for its context. Accordingly, Calvin did not speak out against episcopacy as a model of Church organization. Rather he recommended a reformed Church with an episcopally ordered establishment in Poland.⁷³

The ministry of the Church works itself toward becoming one body with Christ. Jesus Christ alone is its ruler and head. This thought is intrinsically related to the kingship of Christ. The unity of the body of Christ may be derived not only from the head, but also from the Spirit. We cannot be Christians without being brothers and sisters. The mutual fellowship of the believers stands under brotherly and sisterly love and sharing. God is the common father of believers, and Christ as their common head is united together in brotherly and sisterly love so that they share their goods in common (*Inst.* IV.i.3).⁷⁴

Calvin also describes the Church as the congregation of elect people because God's secret choice is the foundation of the church (*Inst.* IV.i.2). The Spirit plays a decisive role in calling the particular election of an individual. It is through the regenerating work of the Spirit that the general election becomes effectual calling. Calling lies in the preaching as well as in the illumination of the Spirit (*Inst.* III.xxiv.2). Calvin suggests that faith is also to be grounded in the illumination of the Spirit. Faith is the decisive moment within the effectual calling.

Calvin speaks of the invisible Church in relation to the thought of election. The invisible Church refers to the fact that God is really the

Lord of the Church. In taking over the idea of Augustine, Calvin tries to confront and correct the empirical Church in light of the invisible Church. As the external state of the visible church becomes possible through the interplay between the general election and the nonsanctifying work of the Spirit, so the internal state of the invisible church becomes possible through the interplay between the sanctifying work of the Spirit and special election.

Calvin believes that the church is invisible and does not avoid the possibility that many hypocrites and despisers of God are mixed in the visible church (*Inst.* IV.i.7). The distinction of visible and invisible refers to the true and false church. Calvin implies that the idea of the invisible church holds a critical function with regard to the empirical church. The preaching of the Word and the due celebration of the sacraments (*Inst.* IV.i.9) are the marks of the true church.

As far as the marks of the church are concerned, Calvin writes: Wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the Sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, the church of God exists (*Inst.* IV.i.9). When these marks appear, the church comes forth and becomes visible. The invisible becomes visible at the moment of the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments.

The true universal church is invisible, because the elect of God are known to God alone. However, the visible church, which contains profession of faith and participation in the sacraments, retains the marks of a true church, which consists of the true preaching and hearing of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments in accordance with the institutions of Christ.

In this regard, it is important to take into account Calvin's rejection of "Nicodemism," which refers to those who like Nicodemus came to Jesus by night but remained among his enemies. According to Calvin, his contemporaries of "Nicodemism" shared Protestant beliefs but remained in the papal church. They mocked God with impunity by wearing the mask. They declined to profess their faith openly by demonstrating their outward profession.

Calvin defines a sacrament as an external symbol. Thereby Christ seals on our consciences the promises of his goodwill for us. The sacrament is given to sustain the feebleness of faith, and believers attest their piety toward the sacrament in the presence of Christ (*Inst.* IV.xiv.1).

Calvin declares that a symbol is a natural element that has been consecrated by God to a higher usage for the confirmation of faith. However, symbols have no power as such; rather they are instruments

and means by which we ascend to God. Only as long as they are consecrated and ordained by God do they become vehicles for the self-disclosure of God. Symbols and signs as the command and promise of God are not to be separated from the clarifying word. They are dependent upon the word for their meaning. God is accommodated to human limitation, so that God shows God's self visible under figures.⁷⁵

Owing to divine accommodation, symbols have a more efficacious power to penetrate the human mind, but they are not the self-revelation of God as such. They are a confirmation, pledge, or seal of that revelation in the word. Faith depends on the word, not upon the sign, but the sign strengthens faith.

With this understanding of the symbol in mind, Calvin deals with baptism and the Lord's Supper as sacraments (*Inst.* IV.xiv.20). Only baptism and the Lord's Supper constitute the ordinary and permanent sacraments of the church. This is because they are the command and promise of God as seals of God's grace and as confirmation of faith (*Inst.* I.xix.1,2,5,17).

Calvin's theology of sacrament is connected with his sense of community. Communion is literally a function of community, in which Christians are joined in one body and one substance with Jesus Christ. Private masses in the Roman Church offend Calvin's sense of communion associated with community. Calvin advocates that communion in both kinds is a recognition of the full community of the believers. Here, there is the close connection between the sacrament and the spiritual unity of the church. Thus Calvin advocated, without success, for communion at every service in the Genevan Church.

Furthermore, Calvin adds a third mark that is church discipline, which corrects the behavior of the members and excludes scandalous offenders from communion. Calvin also suggests that the power of the keys refers to discipline and excommunication. The discipline of the church depends on spiritual jurisdiction, namely the power of the keys. Calvin is anxious to prevent the profanation of the Lord's Supper as caused by the participation of the unworthy and unfit person. The order of the Lord's Supper should not be profaned by indiscriminate administration. His anxiety is basic and decisive in his emphasis on the discipline of the Church.⁷⁶

Calvin promotes the right to bar a person from the communion of the Lord's Supper (*Inst.* IV.xi.5). However, Calvin's anxiety remains a problem when he regards those expelled from the church as estranged from Christ, interpreting Matthew 18:18 in a way that "they are assured of their everlasting condemnation unless they repent" (*Inst.* IV.xii.10).

Toleration of the smallest of impunities remains a problem for Calvin, since he believes it would lead to the infection of the whole community. Calvin's model of a consistory of elders and excommunication places him in favor of an authoritarian model of church discipline and control. Although he does not challenge Luther's concept of universal priesthood, Calvin justifies his concept of clericalism by proposing the clergy as the soul (or heart) of the church and the laity as its body. Therefore, the order of the elder is "to keep an eye on everybody."⁷⁷

Despite the restrictive, repressive, and disciplinary elements of ecclesial structure, Calvin's spirituality can be further articulated in his pastoral care of souls. Calvin's soul-guidance can be seen as performed in the mutual confession, admonition, correction, consolation, and edification in the lives of lay people rather than in the eldership. In lively attention to the spiritual needs of the congregation, Calvin's spiritual care soothes his repressive system of discipline and excommunication.

Thus, Calvin's concept of church discipline must be seen in light of his spiritual guidance. Although Calvin rejects the sacrament of penance, he does not ignore his pastoral concern for the congregation. In worship he restores the public prayer of confession in which the assurance of pardon becomes a major source of spiritual consolation.

As Calvin states, "it is no common or light solace to have present there the ambassador of Christ, armed with the mandate of reconciliation, by whom it hears proclaimed its absolution" (*Inst.* III.iv.14). Like Luther's concept of mutual conversation and consolation of brothers and sisters, Calvin articulates mutuality among believers: We should lay our infirmities on one another's breasts, to receive spiritual counsel, mutual compassion, and mutual consolation (*Inst.* III.iv.6).

CALVIN AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

The primary character of social order created by God is the mutual solidarity of human beings. This solidarity expresses itself as the economic interdependence of all creatures. The economic solidarity of human beings is therefore one of the bases of natural order that God instituted among all creation.⁷⁸ The church has the task of constituting a new society (i.e., to regenerate and sanctify society). It is the restoration of humanity that God intends to do through the church (*Inst.* IV.i.3).⁷⁹

Calvin's world-affirming theology moves not only to protect widows and orphans through the love and solidarity of the gospel, but

also to analytically and critically question and examine social and economic relations and situations in light of the gospel. As for Calvin's socioeconomic ethics, his understanding of human labor or work is significant. Human work is basically assigned by God. It is one of the good gifts from God. Even though human beings fell and labor is enjoined, there is still a positive meaning of labor and sweet delight.⁸⁰

Human work has to be conducted under proper conditions. People should not misuse others' labor (1 Tim 5:18). There is no doubt that God will punish and chastise the cruelty of the rich who exploit the poor in their service and yet do not compensate them for their labor. Through personal and communal sanctification, human work restores its original function as a part of the work of God. The command to sanctify the day of rest characterizes labor relations between masters and servants in proper ways.

Once human work is restored and reintegrated into the work of God, human work becomes again creative and liberating by stopping an occasion for oppression and pain. Depriving people of their necessary means is equivalent to cutting their throats. Therefore, abusing or exploiting the other's work is a crime.

As a sign of the grace of God, therefore, the salary is understood clearly in God's intervention in favor of our existence. Paying poor wages or withholding wages from the worker is a sacrilege. It is an offense to God as well as to our neighbor. Calvin accentuates this point in what follows: Anyone who extorts labor from a poor person, and sucks his or her blood, afterwards sending him or her away naked and needy. This is more atrocious than by violence to kill him or her.⁸¹ In a sermon on Deuteronomy 24:14, Calvin argues that how often the rich can subtract half the wages of the poor, when the latter do not know at what wage to be employed. A rich person will notice that: That one is destitute of everything, so I will have this destitute for a morsel of bread. We shall pay the poor half a wage. It is necessary to know if the poor person is content.⁸²

Although Calvin agrees that wages ultimately come from the grace of God, he is aware that self-interest or selfish desire drives people to exploit their fellow humans. Therefore, they need to set legal contracts in terms of common agreement, which serve to prevent the frequent conflict about salary, and thus eliminate some inequalities and injustices. Calvin holds the revolt of exploited people and their recourse to violence to be illegitimate.

However, God often uses the disobedience of workers as a means of judging and of chastising exploiters. Calvin is not opposed to non-violent protests and strikes. Calvin writes that according to St. James,

the salary of the laborer cries because anything that people withhold wrongfully or by fraud, or by violence, demands vengeance. St. James adds that the cry of the poor reaches up to the ears of God. Hence the wrongs done to the poor will not remain unpunished.⁸³

What distinguishes Calvin's economic thought from the medieval theologians (and also from Luther) lies in his positive attitude about commerce. It is the natural and necessary way for people to commune with one another and exchange commercial goods. Calvin's approval of commerce is shown clearly in his discussion of the parable of the talents: The life of the godly is justly compared to trading. They should naturally exchange and barter with each other, in order to maintain intercourse. The use and end is to promote mutual intercourse among them.⁸⁴

To restore the genuine function of the economic relation, Calvin takes a positive view of the function of the state to intervene to regulate commercial and traffic operations by facilitating the process of trade and regularity of exchange for the commonwealth. It must protect the contracts, weights, measures, and coins by law. In this regard, the task of the civil government not only takes care of the establishment and protection of true religion, but also sees to it that people breathe, eat, drink and are kept, their property is safe and sound, and that honesty and modesty may be preserved among people (*Inst.* IV.xx.13).

In this light, Calvin considers the ancient Jewish law (jubilee) important, in which a periodic redistribution of lands and liberation from debts should be kept well. The importance of this law for Calvin is that it safeguards against property becoming a source of social oppression through individual hoarding and general involvement in debt. Calvin's restrictions, limiting and controlling this practice, affected his followers in Geneva.⁸⁵

He takes as a model the redistribution of the manna among the Israelites. According to this redistribution, "he who has gathered much had not too much, and he who has gathered little had not too little" (2 Cor 8:15). Hence, Calvin calls the rich "the ministers of the poor," and calls the poor the "receivers of God," the "vicars of Christ," the "proxies" or "solicitors of God." In poverty God challenges the rich to be faithful to their mission for the poor. "Therefore, the poor become 'receivers,' 'ambassadors,' 'procurers of God.'" ⁸⁶

Calvin does not fail to recognize certain dangers in business. He is aware of its abuses and excesses. Money is the substitute for God by becoming the instrument of evil. The Bible calls the power of money "Mammon." As a result, tremendous distortion and troubles come

about in economic life, engendering social disorder, generating selfish appropriation of wealth, hoarding, cornering, monopolization, greed, and avarice as well as waste, prodigality, luxury, or absence of sobriety. If there is a Christian civilization in which economic life is monopolizing, exploiting, and plundering, it would be an opponent to the Christian witness to the gospel. However, Calvin's greater concern is to emphasize the divine purpose of commerce and its significance.

Thus, material blessing belongs to the bounty of God. Money represents these goods, because God uses money in supporting the existence of God's people. God puts wealth at the disposal of people, so that they may organize and establish the personal and social life for which they are responsible. In his commentary on Psalm 41:1, Calvin expresses his opinion about the rich and the poor very clearly: "They [the rich] insult contemptuously the wretched and miserable." Therefore, they foolishly imagine that God hates them, because God does not exercise so much forbearance toward them as God does toward the reprobate. This is the error which has prevailed in all ages of the world.⁸⁷

The gospel justifies the individual appropriation of money and economic goods—some people getting more and others getting less. But this does not justify the unequal distribution of wealth among people to favor some people at the expense of others. On the contrary, this inequality can be solved by the redistribution of goods. This redistribution goes from the richer toward the poorer. Calvin comments on 2 Corinthians 8:8: God charges us to help the necessities of our brothers and sisters. God nowhere binds us to circumstances of times, or persons, but calls us to take the rule of love as our guide to support the poor.⁸⁸

God does not allow humans to exploit the poor, because they are brothers and sisters and must be treated as children of God. Calvin's concern is to retain mutual emancipation and solidarity among the rich and the poor: the rich from selfishness, the poor from economic dependence. Thus, André Biéler characterizes Calvin's social and economic ethics by using the socialist formula *De chacun selon ses capacités, à chacun selon ses besoins* (from each according to his ability, to each according to his need).⁸⁹

Articulating this ethical concern on mutual emancipation and solidarity between the rich and the poor, Calvin turns attention to usury. Calvin holds that the Bible condemns usury and all its abuses. However, the Bible also recommends the value of loans without interest in view of helping the neighbor in need. Such a gratuitous lending is an authentic sign of faith. Therefore, the Bible rightly admonishes us to give loans in favor of relieving the needy.

What distinguishes Calvin's economic thought in this matter is his reflection on the lending of money with respect to creating working capital. Calvin affirms that money is just as productive as any other merchandise. He does not confuse the productive loan with biblical teaching about the unproductive loan. In the biblical context, it is prohibited to take usury only in relation to lending such consumption loans for people in need. The productive loan is different.

Calvin is constantly aware of real humanity contaminated with sin. He discerns the abuses that the loan with interest can engender. Hence, he denounces as avarice the investing of a sum of money for profit instead of using it for helping a person in need. It is illegal to receive interest from a poor person, even when the law permits it. When members of the Christian community are in fellowship with the living Christ and truly live by communion with Christ, there results a mutual aid and sharing between the rich and the poor. Regarding this communion with Christ, Calvin argues that when the members spiritually communicate with one another, this mutual conferring of goods ought to produce a strong and befitting proportion.⁹⁰

Calvin's theological rehabilitation of material life breaks away from the ancient Christian tradition of contrasting spirit and matter, which is to have considerable repercussions in the economic life of Protestant societies. Calvin's insight lies in the fact that the social order should be in constant equilibrium between personal economic responsibility and state control.

According to Biéler, Christian doctrine of the state distances itself from theory that almost entirely abolishes private property and also from the liberal doctrine that refuses the principle of state intervention. For instance, Calvin creates anew the service of the diaconate for the help of the sick. Calvin establishes the institution of a general hospital, as well as assistance to the sick, the aged, and the invalid. This assistance was organized and managed by the state but exercised by the ecclesiastical ministry of the deacons.

He extends this assistance to people at home and includes a social medical service: "Let there be a physician and a surgeon hired by the city," say the Ordinances of 1541, "who be held to take care of the hospital and visit the other poor."⁹¹ In Geneva, Christian concern for the poor, the sick, the orphan, the widow, and the refugee was institutionalized in the diaconate and legislated by the law of the state. Given this fact, it is noteworthy to consider that Calvin, in his draft ecclesiastical ordinances in Geneva (September and October 1541), assigned a special role to the deacons that they "care for the sick and administer allowances to the poor."⁹²

This page intentionally left blank

CONCLUSION

In our study of Reformation and the theology of the Holy Spirit, we have attempted to bring Luther and Calvin much closer to each other in light of their theology of the Spirit. Despite disagreement and difference between the two reformers, we see more commonality in their theological framework of the Spirit when it comes to the role of the Spirit in creation, Trinity, spiritual life of Christ-union, ecclesial life, and discipleship in the socioeconomic sphere. Our hermeneutical principle in dealing with the reformers' theology upholds a dialectical process of appropriating their meaningful insights for our own context as well as critically distancing ourselves from their limitations and mistakes. A theological method undertaken in this book has attempted to establish a mutually critical correlation between Reformation theology and a contextualizing interpretation in our ecumenical and global context. In our study, we do not seek simply to repeat and to reproduce the original meaning of the text for the sake of the reformation theology. Rather, interpretive imagination is critically involved as we seek to translate, interpret, and actualize the meaning of their texts into our own lifeworld. When the reformers' texts encounter our lifeworld in a different time and place, the subject matter of Christian narrative—glad tidings of God's grace in Christ under the guidance of the Holy Spirit—is rearticulated, renewed, and developed in a new and different way. In this conclusion, our task is to appreciate the current ecumenical fellowship between the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church considering the eucharist theology. We seek to configure and render the meaning of the eucharistic theology more amenable and relevant to interpreting the subject matter of *Verbum Dei* in our faith journey.

EUCCHARISTIC THEOLOGY IN LUTHERAN-REFORMED DIALOGUE

Since the "Mutual Affirmation and Admonition" (Formula of Agreement) among the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA),

Presbyterian Church USA (PCUSA), United Church of Christ (UCC), and the Reformed Church of America (RCA), much has been said about ecumenical partnership and cooperation between the Lutheran and Reformed traditions. Recent ecumenical debates show a tendency to go back to the roots of the church. Consequently, historical discrepancies and misunderstandings have been challenged and corrected.

The ecumenical spirit of the Augsburg Confession in Article VII offers a basis for Lutherans to pursue ecumenical unity with the Roman Catholic Church and Reformed Church, seeking a consensus in the understanding of justification and sacrament. As the Augsburg Confession states, "For the true unity of the church, it is enough to agree concerning the teaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments." In a European context the Arnoldshain theses of 1957 and the Leuenberg Agreement (March 16, 1973) along with the agreement of the "Mutual Affirmation and Admonition" in a North American context have brought about a groundbreaking ecumenical fellowship between Lutherans and Reformed Christians.

Regarding ecumenical unity, it is essential to review Luther's and Calvin's theology of the Eucharist in light of the Holy Spirit. Bernhard Lohse articulates the aspect of Christ's real presence from the perspective of the Holy Spirit.¹

Seen in light of the Holy Spirit, Luther's doctrine of justification retains not merely a forensic dimension but also an effective transformative one. This aspect implies another dimension of spiritual renewal in the life of the believer. Jesus Christ is present in our faith by the power of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit affects the person and work of Jesus Christ by enabling his real presence to dwell in our life, incorporating and uniting us to him in our faith, where a wonderful exchange takes place.

The teaching of the Spirit in Luther's thought is persistent in his relating of the doctrine of creation, Trinity, justification, church, the sacraments, ethics, and the understanding of the relationship between law and gospel. In fact, Luther's major teaching of justification by faith alone is especially bound up with the work of the Spirit alone.

In *The Small Catechism* Luther speaks of faith, stressing the third article. It is the Holy Spirit who has called us through the gospel, enlightening us with the gifts, and sanctifying and preserving us in true faith. The Spirit preserves us in union with Jesus Christ.² Luther's teaching of justification cannot be properly understood without the Holy Spirit, which calls the human being to faith in Christ, preserving him or her in union with Jesus Christ. As a matter of fact, the Spirit

actualizes Christ *extra nos* for us and preserves faith in union with Christ, so that Christ is really present in the believer.

In a similar way, Calvin understands that we come to enjoy Christ and all his benefits through the Spirit. The Spirit as the bond of love effectually unites us to Christ (*Inst.* III.1.1). Calvin explains our union with Christ as the “joining together of Head and members,” “the indwelling of Christ in our hearts,” or “mystical union.”

This commonality sets the specific goal to explore, in light of the Christ-union, the ecumenical possibility of reconciling Luther and Calvin concerning the Lord’s Supper. Reclaiming the legacy of the two reformers’ ecumenicity, it is vital to overcome historical, ecclesiastical divergence in the past in order to share the one faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ.

CONTROVERSY ON REAL PRESENCE

When it comes to the real presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper, it is important to carefully review the differences between Luther and Calvin and their historical divergence. Lutherans see Calvin’s theology of the Lord’s Supper by and large in terms of Calvinist confessions (particularly *Consensus Tigurinus*: Zurich Consensus of 1549), including several passages in Calvin’s *Institutes* (for instance, *Inst.* IV.17.26).

According to the *Formula of Concord*, Calvin’s teaching of the Lord’s Supper is labeled as “the cunning sacramentarians” . . . “They pretend that they also believe in a true presence of the true, essential, living body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper,” but “this takes place spiritually, through faith.”³

The body of Christ is united with the bread sacramentally, or in a figurative manner; because Christ’s body is in heaven, it is united spiritually through faith. Along this line, the cunning sacramentarians do not differ from the crude sacramentarians (Zwinglians) who assert that “in the Holy Supper there is nothing more than bread and wine present, nothing more distributed and received with the mouth.”⁴ Therefore, Calvin’s view of the Lord’s Supper is regarded as identical with that of the Zwinglians. Calvin’s spiritual communion is accused of no longer considering the real presence of Christ in the element.

However, it is advisable not to take the Calvinist confessions as the basis for understanding Calvin’s teaching of the Lord’s Supper. In the 1536 edition of *Institutes*, Luther’s influence is visible and compelling in Calvin’s reflection of the Eucharist. From Luther’s writings such as *Sermon upon the True and Sacred Body of Christ* (1519) or

Confession and the Sacrament (1524), Calvin demonstrates his agreement with Luther's theology of the sacrament. However, from 1536 onwards, Calvin begins to feel uncomfortable with Luther's concept of the ubiquity of the body of Christ.

In exploring the unity of divinity and humanity in the one person of Jesus Christ, Calvin stands in line with Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Unlike Zwingli, Calvin does not reject *communicatio idiomatum* as such. Calvin is more concerned about safeguarding the divinity of Christ from any contamination or mingling of divinity with humanity. In 1543 he bolsters his position critical of Eutyches: Calvin critiques Eutyches for trying to demonstrate the unity of the persons in Jesus Christ and thus destroying both natures (*Inst.* II.xiv.4).

In Calvin's view, the preexistence of the eternal *Logos* must not be denied or abandoned in the existence of the *Logos* that became flesh. In other words, the eternal Son preexists still in relation to *ensarkos* of Jesus Christ after the incarnation, and at the same time, he exists as the one who became flesh. However, the *Logos ensarkos* and *asarkos* are not two different *logoi*. This is the one *Logos*, the second Person of the Trinity who is eternally coexistent with the Father through the Spirit.⁵

His so-called *extra Calvinisticum* is meant to articulate that Christ's divinity went out of heaven but he filled everything and dwelt bodily and in an indescribable fashion in his humanity (*Inst.* IV.xvii.30).

Based on this concept, Calvin rejects the ubiquity of Christ's body, while Luther utilizes it to explain the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist. Unlike Calvin, Luther ascribes considerably more importance to *communicatio idiomatum*. In the *Great Confession of the Eucharist* of 1528, Luther explains the divinity and the humanity in Christ as one single person in terms of personal unity.

Luther takes the unity of the person of Christ as his starting point by extending communication of the idioms toward the ubiquity of Christ's body present in the Lord's Supper. Therefore, ubiquity is true not only of the divine, but also of the human nature of Christ. Can Luther and Calvin not be reconciled concerning the issue of the ubiquity of Christ?

It is fitting to see that Calvin does not reject the true, real presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper. If Calvin does not reject the Lutheran idea of *communicatio idiomatum*, a concept of *extra Calvinisticum* must be reinterpreted in light of the communication of the Spirit. The Spirit joins the believer to Christ and enables a true participation in and communion with Christ's body and blood. In fact, the Spirit brings us into the real presence of Christ. To be sure, it is not a spiritual communion. Rather the Spirit elevates us to be

with Christ, a “coming up”—*sursum corda*—rather than a “coming down.”⁶

Calvin’s concept of Christ’s real presence is different from that of Zwingli, who downplays the real presence of Christ. Against the Zwinglian overemphasis on the subjective side of faith, Calvin stresses faith as the work of the Spirit. This faith is connected with the Word and sacraments. Because the sacraments are of divine institution for our spiritual benefit and salvation, faith receives them with gratitude and obedience. Calvin implies that sacraments should be understood as available for our salvation in light of the divine *promissio*. Like Luther, Calvin rejects the sacrament as *opus*, as seen in the scholastic teaching of *ex opere operato* of the New Law or *ex opere operantis* of the Old Law. The sacrament is not sacrifice or good work done on the part of human beings to appease or satisfy God, but rather it is the gift and grace as promised by God.

Criticizing those who recognize nothing but spiritual communion with the Spirit of Christ, Calvin reaffirms that through communion Christians enter into a relationship not only with the Spirit of Christ, but also with his body and blood. This teaching is emphasized in the *Confession on the Eucharist* (1537). As a matter of fact, Calvin does not give up a realistic concept of Christ’s presence in the power of the Holy Spirit. In the commentary on 1 Corinthians 11: 24 Calvin writes,

For Christ does not simply present to us the benefit of his death and resurrection, but the very body in which he suffered and rose again. I conclude that Christ’s body is really, that is, truly given to us in the Supper, to be wholesome food for our souls.⁷

This statement indicates Calvin’s affinity with Luther’s concept of real presence, regardless of his different approach. Calvin expresses what Luther basically has in mind concerning the mystery of the Lord’s Supper. This aspect becomes manifest when Calvin argues that the Supper is an attestation, by making us partakers of the death and passion of Jesus Christ. From this we have everything that is useful and salutary to us. This same grace is offered us by the gospel.⁸

In this regard the “Mutual Affirmation and Admonition” rightly states that “during the Reformation, both Reformed and Lutheran Churches exhibited an evangelical intention when they understood the Lord’s Supper in the light of the saving act of God in Christ. Despite this common intention, different terms and concepts were employed which led to mutual misunderstanding and

misrepresentation. Properly interpreted, the differing terms and concepts were often complementary rather than contradictory.”⁹

The main difference between Luther and Calvin comes from the question of how Christ is present in the bread and wine and also in the concept of the substance of the body of Christ. For Luther, Christ’s word “this is my body” is at the heart of his teaching, while Calvin understands Christ’s word in a sacramental way. In the confrontation with scholastic theology, Luther contends that not the sacrament, but faith, justifies. Luther is suspicious of the scholastic teaching of *opus gratium opere operato* as *signa efficacia*, because it teaches that the grace of God is mediated through the completion of the performer’s ritual act. Here the grace is imparted effectively *ex opere operato* in the sacraments of the New Testament.

LUTHER IN DISPUTE WITH ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND ZWINGLI

Augustine views symbols and reality or signs and signified reality to be in balance. The sign participates in the signified reality. From the beginning of the ancient church there were two different groups: one represented a realistic concept of the presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements and the other represented a symbolic-spiritual concept.

However, these different understandings were not strongly opposed, but complementary. In the Middle Ages there arose a conflict between the realists and the symbolists. The realists, Radbertus (790–860) and Lanfranc, stood in opposition to the symbolists, Ratramnus and Berenger (1010–1088) of Tours. Radbertus taught a crudely physical presence of Christ’s body and blood in the eucharistic elements. However, following a teaching of Ratramnus, Berenger deemphasized the connection between Christ’s body and the elements and believed that Christ’s body remains in heaven.

The conflict was seemingly resolved when Berenger was forced to sign the following statement: “I, Berengarius, anathematize every heresy, which attempts to argue that the bread and wine in the altar are after consecration not the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. In truth they are handled by the hands of the priests and broken and crushed by the teeth of the faith.”¹⁰ Therefore, it became generally accepted that the bread and wine, upon consecration by the priest, are transformed (or transubstantiated) into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

With the help of Aristotelian categories, Thomas Aquinas interprets that the substance, or essence (*forma*), of bread and wine are transformed—transubstantiated—into the substance of Christ’s body and blood, while the outward appearance (*accidens*) of bread and wine remains. Thomas calls this substantial change transubstantiation. The doctrine of transubstantiation became the faith of the church in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

In the late Middle Ages, the sacrament was understood as a sacrifice. This sacrificial action, as a bloodless reenactment of Christ’s sacrifice, was offered by the priest as a propitiatory sacrifice for the remission of sins, including those of the dead. Medieval liturgy stressed human offering (oblation) or sacrifice to God for the remission of sin. The language of sacrifice and oblation replaced the language of the presence in the sacrament.

According to Thomas Aquinas, who is mostly indebted to Peter Lombard, the sacraments of the New Law cause grace while the sacraments of the Old Law do not. For Aquinas, a sacrament is not just a sign of something that cannot be seen by the physical senses, but the sacrament also “signifies the reality which sanctifies (and this means) that it should signify the effect produced.”

Therefore, a sacrament is “a sign of a sacred reality in as much as it has the property of sanctifying people.”¹¹ Sacraments are genuine causes of grace. As a sign, a sacrament has a threefold function: (1) it is “commemorative of that which has gone before, namely the Passion of Christ”; (2) it is “demonstrative of that which is brought about in us through the Passion of Christ”; and (3) it is “prognostic” (i.e., a foretelling of future glory).¹²

Luther opposed the late medieval practice of the Eucharist and yet affirmed the real presence. What Luther polemicized against—*opus operatum*—was the notion that the *opus* was pleasing to God. Luther upheld consubstantiation, which refers to the bread as the body of Christ and the wine as the blood of Christ in light of God’s promise, rather than transubstantiation. Christ is present bodily in the untransformed, yet consecrated, bread and wine.

In this light, Luther was opposed to Zwingli during the Marburg Colloquy (1529). For Zwingli, the flesh is of no avail. He understands Christ’s word, “est” (this “is” my body) in both significative and spiritual meanings. The glorified body after the resurrection remains in heaven, sitting at the right hand of God. However, for Luther, the words of institution in the Lord’s Supper are Jesus’ last will and testament, and everything depends on the words of the sacrament, which are Christ’s. The real presence is the true meaning of the words of

institution. Paul's statement in 1 Corinthians 10:16, "the cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ?" confirms Luther's position.

The Word became flesh, so it becomes the body. As a gift, the sacrament exists independent of and prior to faith. Against the Zwinglian idea of the localization of Christ's body in heaven, Luther develops his doctrine of ubiquity. Luther contends that God's power is able to make a body simultaneously in many places, even in a corporeal and circumscribed manner. The right hand of God is everywhere. Christ can also be present at a certain place.

Interpreting Luther's concept of Christ's body, the *Formula of Concord* elaborates that the one body of Christ has a threefold mode: (1) the circumscribed corporeal mode of presence (as he walked bodily on earth, he can still employ this mode of presence after resurrection); (2) the incomprehensible and spiritual mode of presence (Christ after resurrection came through closed doors); and (3) the divine and heavenly mode (Christ is present in all created things).¹³

Luther views expressions such as *opus operatum* and *opus operantis* suspiciously, because faith is the focal point in receiving grace from the sacrament. However, a faith connection with the sacrament does not mean one-sidedly spiritualizing the grace of the sacrament. Faith belongs to the indispensable part in the act of God. Faith, as a gift of the Spirit, is grounded in Jesus Christ as the objective side of faith. If faith is understood as human *opus*, Luther's core teaching of justification by faith alone would remain a human work. If faith as the *donum* of the Spirit is lost sight of, then faith can easily be understood as human spiritual effort cooperating with the grace of God. The scholastic teaching of the Lord's Supper degenerated into a meritorious *opus* instead of God's gift of grace.

LUTHER: GOD'S PROMISE IN THE SACRAMENT

The position that Luther holds in confrontation with Roman Catholic doctrine becomes meaningful in his double definition of faith. In Luther's time, sacraments in Roman Catholic doctrine were not the gifts of a gracious God for our salvation, but were *opus*, human work through which humans can access merit. Sacraments as human *opus* have nothing to do with faith, but with everyone without mortal sin. According to Roman Catholic teaching of the sacraments of the New Law, they are all instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, necessary for salvation. Through the sacramental action itself, grace is conferred upon "those who place no obstacle in the way."¹⁴

By attacking such an idea, Luther stresses the idea that it is “heresy to hold that the sacraments . . . give grace to those who place no obstacle in the way.”¹⁵ Luther implies that faith is related to the sacrament as God’s gracious act. The aspect of correlation between faith and sacrament becomes more visible and explicit in Luther’s confrontation with the Anabaptists and the Spiritualists. These people made the priority of God’s action through Word and sacrament unnecessary, and consequently the administration of the sacrament becomes totally dependent upon human faith. They averted the other dimension of faith apart from the human side, that is to say, faith as receiving God’s gracious action in the symbol.

Fides qua creditur (the subjective side of faith) can become, in this regard, meaningful only insofar as it is seen as interconnected in the light of *fides quae creditur* (objective side of faith). This aspect strengthens Luther’s concept of faith in receiving the grace of the sacrament. As Luther holds: Herein stand God’s word and command which have instituted, established, and confirmed baptism. What God institutes and commands cannot be useless and futile. “It is a most precious thing even though to all appearances it may not be worth a straw.”¹⁶

Against the traditional background of the sacrament, Luther strives to understand the sacrament from the gospel point of view. As Christ is truly present in faith and sacrament, so the Spirit manifests itself in external means (especially in proclamation of the Word and in sacraments). Based on the Augustinian distinction between the outward and the inward Word, Luther considers the outward Word as the word of the Scripture and the inward Word as God’s own voice by the Spirit. By contrast, *littera-spiritus*, law-gospel, is of decisive importance for Luther’s hermeneutical approach to Scripture as well as to the sacrament.

In understanding the sacrament, Luther focuses on an alternative to law or gospel, *opus* or *fides*, and *officium* or *beneficium*.¹⁷ In contrast to the Aristotelian concept of matter and form, Luther declares that the word of the sacrament is for the gospel as God’s *promissio*, which is effected by the Spirit. A divine *promissio* makes the sacrament a sacrament so that faith cannot work without *promissio*. The outward means serve to fulfill this *promissio*. Understanding the word of the sacrament as *promissio*, Luther views faith as passive reception, as shaped by the real connection between the word and the external element. Therefore, faith in the *promissio* is to receive the external elements (bread and wine) as the confirmation of the *promissio*.

The real presence of the living Christ is the basis for a correlation between *promissio* and *signum*. God is present in God’s *promissio*,

which can be accepted only by faith. The character of the *promissio-fides* correlation excludes every impersonal concept in the scholastic theology. In the sign of the Lord's Supper, our whole life is placed under the presence of the living Christ in the power of the Spirit. This is because the body and the blood of Jesus is given under the bread and wine for the forgiveness of sin, life renewal, and eternal life.

The Word and the sacrament are not two different or competing means of grace. There is no sacrament without the promise, as there is no Word without the promise. The Spirit makes the external word God's promise, sign confirmation of the promise.

The sacrament of the Eucharist is union with Christ in a specific manner. The significance of the Lord's Supper is forgiveness of sin and the guarantee of eternal life in the union with Christ. The symbols of baptism and the Lord's Supper must be seen in their mutual connection. The Lord's Supper, in the union with Christ under bread and wine, is to be offered to the baptized who come into the union with the living Christ through spiritual mortification and vivification in baptismal identity. At issue in the sacrament is to confess the living and risen Christ as the primary sacrament present in the *promissio* in the power of the Spirit.

On the basis of the promise, the ubiquity of Christ's body becomes possible. Body and blood cannot be understood as tropes (figures or mere metaphors) in regard to Paul's statement (1 Cor 10:16), because Paul does not speak of spiritual participation, but rather of physical participation in the body and the blood of Jesus Christ. Body and blood are not the trope but rather the true body and blood themselves. Tropological and figurative interpretation is impossible: "This is my body" comes from God, and no one may dare add or take away a single letter.

Therefore, Zwingli's position is refuted as Nestorian because of his excessive distinction of the humanity of Jesus Christ from the divinity. Luther defends his position by arguing that the divinity and humanity are one person in Christ. Because of this personal union, all that happens to humanity, and vice versa.¹⁸

CALVIN'S VIEW OF THE SUBSTANCE OF CHRIST'S BODY

Like Luther, Calvin does not doubt what is given in the sacrament. In his debate with Gnesio-Lutherans, Calvin positively responded to Westphal that he did not doubt the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. Calvin's concern in the real presence was to accentuate the nature of sacrament as *coelestis actio* (heavenly action).

This concept defends against *carnalis* (physical) mixture or infusion of the substance, which might happen to the Lutheran teaching of the local presence of Christ. In terms of a sacramental mode of understanding, Calvin expresses the real, substantial, and even bodily presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, while preventing the bodily presence from any mixture or confusion of divinity between Christ and earthly elements.

In Calvin's view, the real presence of Christ is incomprehensible, belonging to the mystery of God (*Inst.* IV.xvii.24, 32). This issue is well attested in the "Mutual Affirmation and Admonition" stating that "the theological diversity within our common confession provides both the complementarity needed for a full and adequate witness to the gospel (mutual affirmation) and the corrective reminder that every theological approach is a partial and incomplete witness to the Gospel (mutual admonition)." ¹⁹

Calvin's different usages of the substance have caused some problems in understanding the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine. It is certain that Calvin agrees that the content of the Eucharist is "the Christ with his death and resurrection" (*Inst.* IV.xvii.11). From the sign, Calvin holds that "the substance is given us in its reality." In representing the partaking of his body in the breaking of bread, "there is no doubt that he grants it every time" (*Inst.* IV.xvii.10).

Calvin's sacramental mode of speech makes him transcend the identification between Jesus Christ and elements. If the body of Christ is bread, bread is also the body of Christ. Thus comes the total identification between the body of Christ and bread; body of Christ = bread, and bread = Christ's body. However, Calvin rejects this total identification in terms of his sacramental mode of speech. For example, the dove is a sure sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit, but the dove is not identical with the Holy Spirit itself without reservation (John 1:32-33).

Calvin implies that the bread and the wine are visible signs, which represent the body and the blood. The spiritual reality of the Lord's Supper brings as its effects and communication to us Christ's death and resurrection. These benefits imply that our souls are fed with the substance of the body of Christ. At this point, Calvin becomes the target of Lutheran attack, because the Lutherans take the substance of the body itself to mean its own essence consisting of its matter. However, the substance of the body, in Calvin's term, is not identical with the Lutheran notion of the body.

Helmut Gollwitzer, the great Lutheran theologian, analyzes Calvin's different concepts of the substance. According to Gollwitzer,

after 1536 Calvin never doubted the bodily substance given to the believer as the real and natural body of Christ. Christ himself is the substance of the sacrament, which is received by faith in a personal union with him. The substance given to us in the union is the life, the benefits, and the strength proceeding from Christ's body. However, this is a spiritual substance.

In agreement with Helmut Gollwitzer's analysis, the French Calvin scholar Francois Wendel reproaches Calvin for using the term "substance" imprudently.²⁰ Calvin's ambiguity of the term "substance" prompted criticism from his Lutheran adversaries who accused Calvin of self-contradiction and rejection of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament in a genuine sense.

However, Calvin's ambiguity comes from the mysterious nature of the sacrament in the power of the Holy Spirit. In a sermon on Ephesians 5:31–33, Calvin never denies that we are the bone of Jesus Christ's bone or that we are his flesh, because we live of his own substance. According to Christ's saying, his flesh is our meat and his blood our drink, while Calvin tells that we live in him spiritually.²¹

Despite his confused understanding of substance, Calvin is not inconsistent on the substantial-spiritual connection in terms of mystical union in the Lord's Supper. Therefore, "spiritual communion" does not mean figurative, but substance-related.

The substance of Christ's body comes to us only through the power of the Holy Spirit. As the true members of Christ, we grow into one body by the communication of his substance. Paul describes our union to Christ as a symbol and pledge given to us in the Holy Supper.²² Therefore, we are one with Christ; it is not because he transfuses His substance into us but because by the power of the His Spirit he communicates to us his life and all the blessings from the Father.²³

Turning to the sacraments, Calvin is consistent and more emphatic in using his favorite image of engrafting for what takes place from the mystical union. In referring to baptism as "the washing of regeneration and of renewal," Calvin takes Christ to have us as sharers in his death. So, we may be engrafted in Christ (*Inst.* IV.xv.5). The Lord's Supper is described as a help, or means of grace. Thereby we may be engrafted into Christ's body, growing more and more together with him, until Christ perfectly joins us in the heavenly life (*Inst.* IV.xvii.33).

It is incomprehensible, even mysterious, for Calvin to understand the mystical union in the Lord's Supper. Therefore, it is a serious wrong if we do not believe that through the incomprehensible power of the Spirit we come to partake of Christ's flesh and blood (*Inst.*

IV.xvii.33). The union with Christ in the Lord's Supper does not need to reject a believer's participation in the substance of Christ, to the degree that it does not imply a mixing of substances in Osiander's sense.

In this regard, Calvin is critical of the idea that Jesus Christ is attached to the element of bread and wine. Jesus Christ is not a prisoner of the elements. Spiritual eating is not mere figurative eating, but true, real eating. Calvin contends that Lutherans falsely boast that all Reformed Christians teach of spiritual eating is contrary to true and real eating. It is certain that the manner is spiritual because the secret power of the spirit is the bond of our union with Christ (*Inst.* IV.xvii.33).

FOR SACRAMENTAL UNITY: THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND PROMISE OF ESCHATOLOGY

If the real presence of the living Christ is based on the divine *promissio* (Luther) or the power of the Spirit (Calvin), and if the Lord's Supper is indispensable for salvation, it is fitting on behalf of sacramental unity to carefully articulate the commonality between Luther and Calvin regarding the real presence. We read in the "Mutual Affirmation and Admonition" that "Christ himself is fully present and received in the Supper."

Luther and Calvin do not hesitate to confess the presence of Christ in the Supper *really, substantially, and spiritually*, because all the benefits in the Supper are annihilated unless Jesus Christ is given to us as the substance. Calvin suggests that the Spirit of God is the bond of our participation in Christ. This is because Calvin's concept of our spiritual union with Christ is involved in the substance of Christ's body. As Calvin writes, "Jesus Christ gives us in the Supper the proper substance of his body and blood."²⁴ At this juncture, our ascending by the Spirit toward Christ cannot be properly understood apart from Christ's descending to us.

Calvin surprisingly holds that "Christ descends to us both by the outward symbol and by his Spirit." Thus he may truly quicken our souls by the substance of his flesh and of his blood (*Inst.* IV.xvii.24). Is this spiritual-substantial meaning detrimental and contradictory for Luther? When Luther considers the Supper in light of the Holy Spirit, bodily eating also implies a "spiritual eating," because it takes place in faith in God's promise. It is certain that "spiritual" eating means receiving a reality coming from the Holy Spirit, because faith is a gift of the Spirit. In this regard, Luther contends that everything that comes

from the Holy Spirit is spiritual, whether it is physical or material, outward or visible.²⁵

In this light, spiritual communion that is connected with the real presence can be seen as a commonality in the two reformers' theology of the Eucharist. In promoting sacramental unity and fellowship, it is vital to actualize Luther's concept of the sacrament in terms of the communion of reconciliation. In the celebration of the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, we experience and share communion of reconciliation with God, fellow neighbors, and the world. In the communion of Word and sacrament, faith, love, and hope become highlighted reality, in which there is no Jew, nor pagan, nor sinner. Christ is reconciled with them.²⁶

The Holy Spirit as the Spirit of reconciliation gathers, sustains, and guides the Church in word and sacrament. In understanding the Church as the communion of saints, Luther implies the universal church in the whole world. In particular, the visible church confesses the universal church. Thus the sacrament brings the believer in the particular church to the universal and ecumenical church. Luther's theology of the sacrament stands in the concept of *ecclesia universalis*, which promotes sacramental unity.²⁷ In this regard, Luther's teaching of the sacrament is profoundly grounded in Christ himself. "The holy scripture has only one sacrament; that is Christ the Lord."²⁸ Jesus Christ is the foundation and substance for sacramental unity and ecumenical fellowship.

Furthermore, it is pivotal to consider the eschatological dimension of the Lord's Supper in Luther's theology, because the Lord's Supper is related to "the living and acting God who draws us into his all-embracing, eschatological, saving act."²⁹

An eschatology, as seen in light of the primary teaching of justification, gives a model for considering the eschatological time. This concept of eschatology is directed toward the biblical promise in view of eschatology of the future and the present rather than existentialized in an individualistic way. This concept of eschatology cannot be properly understood without a confessional-ethical commitment to those who suffer; in other words, commitment to emancipation and world renewal and transformation.³⁰

The coming of God's kingdom is here and now through the Word, sacrament, and faith, and then it comes through the final revelation in eternity. Through the Word and the power of the Holy Spirit, God's kingdom may diffuse among us.³¹ Luther's theology of Eucharist becomes a theology of evangelization of God's kingdom in light of the Holy Spirit, which has anointed Christ "to bring good news to the

poor," sending him "to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free." The Spirit accompanies Christ in his mission of solidarity with *massa perditionis* (*ochlos*: the public lost) to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor for the poor, the blind, and the captive (Lk 4:18–19).

In light of reconciliation and eschatology, ecumenically we need to stipulate the debate between the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church as merely limited to the spatial understanding of Christ's presence. God's action of reconciliation and coming accentuates the sociocritical factor of the Eucharistic theology for those who are alienated, marginalized, and victimized. Sacramental presence in the Lord's Supper witnesses Christ's presence within the lives of the lowest of the low (Mt 25:40–41).

The promise in the Lord's Supper is the basis for our foretaste and anticipatory participation in the coming of God's kingdom, which breaks into the midst of worldly suffering. Christ in the Supper is present not only spatially in the elements, but also in the congregation, coming as the Lord of reconciliation in compassion for the innocent sufferer. Without the resurrection of Christ, the Lord's Supper would become a tragic Supper only in remembrance of the crucified Christ. Without integrating God's act of reconciliation and the eschatological dimension of the Supper, it would be hard to overcome the Eutyches-Nestorius accusation to the Lutheran-Reformed community. According to Barth, Luther's Christological conception leans to the Johannine succession and to Eutyches, while Calvin runs into the line of the Synoptics and of Nestorius.³²

The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of reconciliation, fulfilling the *eschaton* as God's great promise, so that the Spirit embraces the spatial presence of Christ within the sacrament, congregation, and eschatological coming. In the Greek Bible, a concept of the heavenly body is alien to Christ. Rather, at issue is the expectation of Jesus Christ as the Reconciler from heaven in the eschatological hope. This concept of hope has little to do with the speculation about Jesus Christ's existence spatially and locally in heaven (Phil 3:20ff).

As the people of Israel understand themselves in the Passover feast as partaking "once and for all" of the liberation of Exodus while at the same time remaining in hope of the coming liberation of God, so the church appreciates Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper as the "once and for all" liberator for all and exists in expectation of the coming liberation of God's kingdom. Therefore, the church hopes for God's coming, expecting the saving feast of the *eschaton* in light of Christ's union with us, here and now. In this presence, Christ grasps

us through the power of the Spirit. In Christ's presence, the coming reality of God's kingdom becomes a basis for our compassion for and solidarity with those who suffer in the world.

In the communion of saints where there is no man or woman, lord or slave (Gal 3:28) the sacraments are also the revolutionary signs in the midst of the visible church. Herein the visible church is always aware that it is called on the way to the invisible church. "Christ with all saints through his love assumes our form, fights with us against the sin, death, and all evils. From this we, flamed in love, assume Christ's form, and rely on his righteousness, life, and blessing. Through the communion of Christ's good and our misery, one bread, one body, and one drinking—all are common. O! This is the great sacrament, says St. Paul (Eph 5:32) that Christ and the church become one flesh and one bone."³³

AFTERWORD: MAX WEBER'S VIEW OF REFORMATION AND CAPITALISM

*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*¹ is Max Weber's best-known work, as well as the most argumentative and controversial study concerning the relationship between religion and society. Weber's argument about the relationship between Reformation Protestantism, Calvinism, and laissez-faire capitalism in particular has been supplemented and supported in the theological writings of Ernst Troeltsch and R. H. Tawney.² Weber's assumption combining Calvinism with the spirit of capitalism has prompted lively debates. Both affirmation and objections to Weber's work have been emphatic and problematic.³

1. Weber proposes a conceptual distinction between two types of reason, formal and substantive, as embedded in Western society. Within formal rationality Weber distinguishes between instrumental rationality and rationality of choice by characterizing formal rationality as purpose rationality. This form of rationality is Weber's core concept for explaining the Western process of modernization. Weber suggests that the rise of purposive rationality has led to disenchantment of the world and religious worldviews. The process of disenchantment with the world has led Western people to experience a loss of meaning of life. Consequently, the progressive rational bureaucratization of society, particularly in the economy and the state, forces society into "an iron cage."⁴

Furthermore, much discussion has been given to Weber's term of the ideal type, which is a key term in Weber's methodological discussion. Proposing the descriptive materials of world history for comparative analysis, Weber relates ideas and interests in light of selective affinity. Religious ideas, as selected and reinterpreted from the original doctrine, have an affinity with the interests of certain members in religious community.

Weber's focus in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is on the relationship between religious ideas and commitments of human conduct. In this study, Weber identifies capitalism with the

ever-renewed pursuit of profit by means of continuous, rational, and capitalistic enterprise.

However, Weber's expectation about the future of the spirit of capitalism sounds pessimistic: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved."⁵ Nonetheless, Weber sees positive and negative dimension of Western civilization and rationalization in the development and institutional embodiment of formal rationality, which is in no sense irrational.

The disenchantment of religious-metaphysical worldviews and the emergence of modern structures of consciousness, although bringing about liberation, have inevitably become the bondage of the iron cage. "No one knows who will live in this cage in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophecies will arise, or there will be a powerful rebirth of old ideas and ideals, or, if neither, mechanized petrification, embellished with a sort of convulsive self-importance."⁶

The modern process of rationality results in the new bondage of the iron cage. Despite the external character of the emancipation, the process of rationalization intensifies the domination and instrumentalization of human life rather than minimizes it.

According to Weber, there is a close connection between confession and socioeconomic stratification. While medieval people pursued wealth with a view to enjoying the benefits of wealth, Protestants who emerged from the Reformation tended to pursue economic business as if it were an end in itself.

In other words, Protestants participate more in pursuing profit than do Catholics. By comparing the ethics of several religious groups, Weber sheds light on the extent to which religious tenets have an impact on the rationality of economic life. Catholics have a strong tendency to remain in small manufacturing while the Protestants run to the industrial factory in relatively stronger measure. In this case, there is, without a doubt, a causal relation.⁷

It is certain that there is considerable circumstantial evidence of the similarity and affinity between Protestant ethic and the "spirit of capitalism." Thus this ethic, in Weber's opinion, is to be seen as a causal factor in explaining the origin of the capitalist spirit.

2. Weber's terminology "spirit of capitalism" appears to contrast with another type of economic activity called traditionalism. He defines traditionalism as an economic attitude according to which, during working hours, workers prefer having less work over making more money. They pursue more comfort and less exertion. They are

satisfied with earning just enough to allow them to live a comfortable life. Unlike economic traditionalism, the spirit of capitalism is characterized by favoring hard work as a virtue as well as a moral obligation particular to economic rationalism.

In speaking of the “spirit of capitalism,” Weber articulates his assumption by tracing its roots in the religious ideas of the Reformation. Considering the Protestant aptitude for commercial activity, Weber proceeds to analyze how the ethos of Protestantism is adapted and solidified in various economic contexts. Weber sets out to analyze the spirit of capitalism in reference to the rationalistic and moralistic advice of Benjamin Franklin, who insisted that “time is money.”

In Weber’s view, capitalism is “the pursuit of profit, and forever renewed profit, by means of continuous, rational, capitalistic enterprise.”⁸ For Benjamin Franklin and others, this production of profit becomes an ethos, a way of life that prefers pursuing economic gains rather than guaranteeing enjoyment. In a nutshell, the new person becomes a “worldly ascetic.” This worldly asceticism is much more observable among Protestants than among Catholics. Weber ascribes this phenomenon in part to Luther’s ethical concept of calling, in which a person’s worldly labor means one’s vocation and calling.

According to Weber, Luther regards the renunciation of worldly duties to be a product of selfishness. Luther’s concept of division of labor is highly naïve in comparison to Adam Smith’s statement on the same subject. Luther’s concept of worldly activity may even be considered a platitude.⁹ Weber argues that Luther’s statements on usury or interest reveal the nature of capitalist acquisition. Luther’s view of usury is definitely backward from a capitalist standpoint.

Furthermore, Luther’s interpretation of the Bible is deemed to favor a traditionalistic interpretation. Luther’s economic traditionalism is the basis for his allegiance and obedience to God’s will, accepting things as they are in an absolute sense. In fact, Weber contends that Luther is not able “to establish a new or in any way fundamental connection between worldly activity and religious principles.”¹⁰

Given this fact, Luther’s concept of calling remains traditionalistic in the sense of accepting worldly activity as a divine ordinance. In Weber’s view, the Lutheran concept of vocation is evaluated and appreciated to be close to a traditional idea of economic life, as compared to Calvinism, which has an affinity to the spirit of capitalism.¹¹

However, a Marxist economist, G. Fabiunke, argues that Luther takes the decisive step from feudal Catholicism toward the

bourgeois-reformed Protestantism in that Luther perceives the economic reality in the time of early capitalism. Ideologically speaking, Luther creates the presupposition for the transition from the extra-economical coercion of the feudal mode of production toward the comprehension of coercion of the capitalistic manner of production.

At this point, Fabiunke argues that Luther's model of the two kingdoms recognizes the independent autonomy of economics in social-economic history and contributes to acknowledging the objective economic law. In other words, Luther is aware that economic structure independently affects human will and knowledge.

In a Marxist evaluation, Luther's dynamic understanding of theology and economy suffers under natural scientific or moral confinement. Production, distribution, exchange, and consumption are, according to Luther, in direct natural connection. Thus, Luther is regarded as the ethical thinker who is oriented toward the use of the value of commodity, and remains a typical economist of the simple commodity society. Hence, Luther can be accepted as the economic thinker who stands in a period of preparation for capitalism.¹²

Unlike the Marxist evaluation, however, Luther's prophetic stance against Mammon, in the period of early capitalism, constitutes an essential motive for his anticapitalistic struggle. The ethical issue of economic life comes from the confessional issue of God. Therefore, Fabiunk's thesis about the independent autonomy of economy must be reversed because Fabiunk misunderstands economy as God's independent order through the so-called doctrine of two kingdoms. The concept of two kingdoms has become obvious in the circles of conservative Lutheranism in the nineteenth century.

In dealing with economic issues in terms of the seventh commandment, Luther disputes the economic area, so that it no longer remains an independent area for the autonomy of human will and knowledge. Rather, Luther strives to clearly penetrate capitalism's coercive system by resisting it.

On the other hand, Weber observes that worldly asceticism is more abundant and compelling in Calvinism than in Lutheranism. Weber explains that in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania the capitalist spirit was prominent and obvious. He asks whether intense religiosity can be compatible with intense economic activity. The Protestants favor self-control and regulation of private and public life, while Catholics do not. The bourgeoisie defends the "unexampled tyranny of Puritanism."¹³ In fact, the middle classes are very open to accepting a defense of an ascetic way of life. Thus in the age of the Reformation

the rising middle classes are set apart from religious indifference and simple economic acquisition.

3. Weber's objective is to explain this paradoxical phenomenon. According to Weber, the principle of economic change takes place in the form of organization when the transition is done from feudalism to merchant capitalism. In this matter he attends to the original source of Protestantism, which favors the rational pursuit of economic activity. The Reformation gives birth to a positive meaning of mundane affairs, morally and spiritually.

Weber points out the fact that the theological and ethical tenet of the Reformation is related to the new worldview. None of the great reformers are in charge of prompting the spirit of capitalism. But Weber pays attention to the fact that their doctrines, especially the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, move in this direction.

According to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, the state of grace is considered the "sole product of an absolute power," which could not owe anything to human cooperation or be connected with achievements or qualities of human faith and will.¹⁴ The Calvinists stand before God alone. They are either elected or reprobated by an arbitrary divine decree. To assure their election (people), they prove God's grace in terms of their worldly calling. From this perspective they strive to glorify God in their daily life. This ethos makes believers good workers as well as good managers.

Weber's concern is primarily to trace the historical development of this doctrine in the Puritanism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By citing the text of the *Westminster Confession* of 1647, Weber emphasizes the rigidity of this doctrine in reference to Puritan belief: "Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation."¹⁵

The substance of this decree is clear in that God by God's eternal, immutable purpose and unsearchable counsel has predestined some for election and others for reprobation before the foundation of the world. This concept has less to do with any foresight of faith, good works, or any other things in the creature as conditions for God's election. Predestination is only for the sake of God's glory and almighty power.

In Weber's view, Calvin seems to admonish unceasing work as a calling for the service of God. In terms of this tireless emphasis on work for the glory of God, the believers affirm their self-confidence in their election: "The moral conduct of the average man was thus deprived of its planless and unsystematic character . . . It was this rationalization which gave the Reformed faith its peculiar ascetic tendency,

and is the basis both of its relationship to and its conflict with Catholicism.”¹⁶

Calvin’s theological concern for predestination is turned upside down into labor fetishism or practical syllogism, which is the prerequisite for receiving the grace of God. Calvin’s third use of the law has turned out to be a basis for demonstrating a sign of election. With this in mind, the ascetic tendency validates the affinity between Calvinism and the spirit of capitalism. The Calvinist doctrine gives effective incentives to individual self-control of everyday conduct.

Along these lines, Weber examines the literature of the Puritan divines. Richard Baxter’s writings come into focus by serving to vindicate Weber’s thesis. Baxter’s theology is to be understood as patronage for an intensified economic life that is compatible with religious piety. This famous English Puritan divine passionately approves of hard work and warns against all the temptations caused by sloth. From Baxter’s *Christian Directory* Weber argues that if God shows a way in which we may lawfully get more than in another way, according to Baxter, we may labor to be rich for God, although not for the flesh and sin.¹⁷

John Bunyan also emphatically stresses this direction. To waste time is a deadly sin. To make sure of one’s election, believers must use every minute to serve the greater glory of God. Baxter’s comment requires consideration: “Keep up a high esteem of time and be every day more careful that you lose none of your time . . . And if . . . temptations rob you of any of your time, accordingly heighten your watchfulness.”¹⁸

The active performance of God’s will in a calling is legitimized as the social ethics favored in the sight of God. Profit and wealth are rationalized as the performance of duty. Thus, the believer may well accept them as God’s gifts and readily act as God’s steward.

The successful pursuit of gain becomes, therefore, the duty of the believer insofar as it does not fall into self-indulgence. In this way, Puritan piety is in a better position than traditional Catholic ethics to safeguard and promote worldly economic activity. The doxological doctrine “to the glory of God” becomes a religious basis for the economic rationalism of pursuing endless gains.

Weber is not content only with analyzing the theological doctrines and pastoral writings. Rather, his concern becomes manifest in fundamentally presenting the relationship between the inherent logic of this doctrine and the rational pursuit of economic gain. His interest is figuring out how to ascertain and demonstrate whether and to what extent religious forces have taken part in the qualitative formation and the quantitative expansion of the spirit of capitalism.

By virtue of certain correlations between forms of religious belief and social ethics, religious movements have affected the development of social and material culture. An analysis of these affinities will clarify the manner and the general direction of that influence.¹⁹

In view of the developments of the Reformation, Weber traces how decisively religious ideas function as causes and entail ramifications in shaping individual economic lifestyle. Puritanism is a good example, validating this causal analysis between religion and society. Work as such is praised and decreed by God; its ultimate goal is beyond the world, and work functions as an instrument of attaining the certainty of salvation. In this way, religious ideas sanction an ethos of impersonal, endless economic activity, even exploitation, in the early period of modern capitalism.

In contrast to Lutheranism, the Puritans emphasize constant self-control over every conduct in daily life. From this, secularization is set in motion. In terms of applying an ethos of planning and self-control to all economic activities, Puritan teaching is supportive of mundane success as the blessing of God, which in turn paradoxically engenders the ascetic way of life.²⁰

Calvinist election (including the psychological effect of the Protestant doctrine of calling) creates a new spiritual type of person—the entrepreneur—who pursues capital profit and, in turn, loses religious piety. In this regard the massive process of secularization is reflected, and utilitarian industriousness replaces the pious search for eternal life. It creates a bourgeois economic ethos.

Weber suggests that asceticism is carried out of monastic cells into everyday life. It starts to dominate worldly morality. Because it plays its part in creating the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order, asceticism undertakes to reshape and remodel the world. Weber contends that the doctrine of predestination is a confessional background of Puritan morality in the sense of a methodically rationalized ethical way of conduct.²¹ As a result, victorious capitalism, which is based on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer. “The idea of duty in one’s calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs.”²²

4. These reflections above are characteristic of Weber’s sociological methodology of religion. How has the ascetic rationalism of the Puritans impacted individual lifestyles and the organization of social groups? Here Weber indicts Protestant sects and denominations in the United States for excluding nonbelievers from the social group. Members of the sects developed strong mutual solidarity on the basis of common religious doctrine, while at the same time their conviction

of being chosen by God set up a spiritual aristocracy of predestined saints that is reminiscent of the spiritual aristocracy of monks. The Puritan saints were strongly convinced of salvation for the future and despised the sins of others, which resulted in racism directed against black people and Native Americans.

What Weber tries to point out is that the Protestant Ethic moves in the direction of increased rationalism in various phases of social life. Rationalism had multifaceted sides peculiar to Western civilization. It has to do with the development of capitalism. The study of Protestant ethics shows how Western culture is emancipated from magic and superstition based on rational thought and systematization, namely disenchantment of the world.²³

Be that as it may, Weber has no concern for the impact of social and economic conditions upon the religious movements of the Reformation. By and large Weber's thesis seems right: Calvinism had an impact on the larger rationalization of human activity and in transforming Western society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which the historical development of capitalism played a significant role. But critics of Weber argue that Weber loses sight of the rationalistic, utilitarian, and Catholic capitalists such as the Medici family of Florence, the German Fuggers who ruled European banking through the Reformation period, and the Renaissance writer Alberti.

Jacob Fugger, against whom Martin Luther fought for the sake of the rights of the poor, was banker to popes and emperors. He could be better described as a perfect example of the spirit of capitalism than Franklin. While the former continued to pursue economic privilege even when old and wealthy, the latter abandoned his economic activity when relatively young to serve his country. The French Catholic Jacques Savary, in his book *Le parfait negociant* (1675), shows as good a rational, religious, and capitalist spirit as Franklin does a century later. But Weber's contribution is the discovery of a clue to the total rationalization of human life in the West after the Protestant Reformation. Capitalism is one illustration of this process.

In fact, capitalism began in Catholic circles. There is much evidence of a flourishing capitalism all over Catholic Europe. Capitalist development was not a post-Reformation phenomenon, but already a fully Catholic, pre-Reformation phenomenon; the Italian Wars, the Wars of Religion in France, and the Thirty Years War in Germany serve as examples. In the European medieval era, the capitalist spirit flourished in Florence and Venetian society, as well as in the Fugger family and the administration of the Pope's capital.

The Roman Catholic Church had "capital, wealth, a high degree of development in the arts and professions, knowledge of navigation,

distant colonies, the gold and silver of Incas and Aztecs, control of major printing centers in Paris, Lyons, and Belgium. They had all of India and parts of Africa and South and Central America to milk.”²⁴

In this regard Herbert Lüthy writes: “The most fantastic error of this long discussion concerning the historic role of Protestantism . . . has been simply to forget its counterpart, the historic role of the Counter-Reformation . . . For the rupture of the ascending line poses a problem more grave than its continuation [in Protestantism].”²⁵

According to Sombart, the materialistic or idealistic approach to solving the religious-economic complex should be supplemented with the aid of empirical evidence of concrete and historical connections. The development of the capitalist spirit should be seen as rising not from religious grounds, but from economic grounds. And long before the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, the capitalist form and organization of administration was already in existence.

As we have discussed, Luther’s critique of the system of early capitalism calls on the church to speak out against social evil. Fighting against the political-economic alliance between Roman Catholicism, Charles V, and the Fuggers, Luther attempts to encourage and mobilize congregations to combat poverty and its structural causes in terms of universal vocation and prophetic *diakonia*. One argues that lending money without charging interest would amount to the loss of the lender’s profit. However, Luther opposes such an argument: “Here one seeks and intensifies one’s own loss at the expense of the needy neighbor, wanting to fatten and enrich oneself in lazy and idle debauchery.” In other word, one is to “parade other people’s work, care, risk and loss.”²⁶

Calvin, in his commentary on Ezekiel 18:6–8, argues that interest should not be taken from the poor. In this regard, Calvin’s position on usury and interest is also negative. As we have examined, Calvin’s own reflection of socioeconomic reality and structure seen in light of distribution draws upon the biblical idea of jubilee and God’s manna. It moves in a direction of social humanism that legitimizes state intervention in economic affairs for the sake of fair regulation and dignity of those who are economically weaker. It is certain that Calvin gives more positive advice on commerce, trade, and interest while Luther consistently adopts a restrictive attitude about accumulation of capital and consumer credit.

Weber finds the paradox of societal rationalization in the development and institutional embodiment of formal rationality, which is in no sense irrational. When it comes to an ethical imperative, Weber argues, “The proponent of an ethic of absolute ends cannot stand

up under the ethical irrationality of the world" (Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," in Gerth and Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 122). Thus an empirical cannot speak to anyone what one should do. But rather it speaks under certain circumstances about what one wishes to do.²⁷

In the hands of Weber, economic rationality lies in the calculability of means and ends. All economic phenomena such as impoverishment, unemployment, underdevelopment, and the destruction of nature are irrelevant to economics and the sphere of economic rationality.²⁸ Weber finds meaning in the voice of the elder Mill who said: if one proceeds from pure experience, one arrives at polytheism. This is shallow in formulation and sounds paradoxical, and yet there is truth in it.²⁹

As Weber further argues, "The grandiose rationalism of an ethical and methodical conduct of life . . . has dethroned this polytheism in favor of the 'one thing that is needful.' " However, many old gods arise from their graves. They are disenchanted and take the form of impersonal forces. They seek to gain power over human life, resuming the eternal struggle with one another.³⁰ Rebellion against the social and cultural reality of these gods would amount to Christianity's deconstruction of polytheism in favor of the one thing that is needful. In the return of a new polytheism, Weber sees the sign of the age. An attempt to send the old gods back to their graves would be like making heaven on earth. The old, disenchanted gods reappear in the form of impersonal powers locked in conflict with one another. Therefore, Weber makes an attempt to recognize and worship the impersonal powers of the old gods.

Nonetheless, Luther and Calvin, although with different views of the economic sphere, do not intend to worship the reality of the gods, namely the polytheism of lordless powers in the capitalist economic realms. Rather they are concerned with articulating biblical-prophetic insights into God's concern for the poor, the widow, and the orphan for the sake of correcting and challenging the injustice of socioeconomic structure. In fact, Weber's sociological evaluation of Luther and Calvin, as seen in light of selective affinity to the capitalist spirit, misses their ethical-prophetic orientation in the public sphere.

It is certain that Weber's ideal type of Calvinism and capitalism is a great contribution for discussing a selective affinity between the Calvinist theology of predestination, labor ethics, and the ethos of capitalism. Nevertheless, some limitations of Weber's sociological analysis remain when it comes to Luther and Calvin's prophetic voice against a spirit of capitalist injustice.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Peter C. Hodgson, *Winds of the Spirit: A Constructive Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 35.
2. Ian G. Barbour, *Religion and Science: Historical and Contemporary Issues*, a revised and expanded edition of *Religion in an Age of Science* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1990), 306–307.
3. Pekka Kärkkäinen, *Luthers Trinitarische Theologie des Heiligen Geistes* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005).
4. Christine Helmer, *The Trinity and Martin Luther: A Study on the Relationship between Genre, Language and the Trinity in Luther's Works (1523–1546)* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 234, 216.
5. Regin Prenter, *Spiritus Creator*, trans. John M. Jensen (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2000), xx.
6. Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology: Its Historical and Systematic Development*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 237.
7. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 1–14.
8. Moltmann, *History and the Triune God: Contributions to Trinitarian Theology*, trans. John Bowden (New York: Crossroads, 1992), 57–58.
9. Ibid., 58.
10. Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, 81.
11. Ibid., 86.
12. Ibid., 95.
13. Moltmann, *History and the Triune God*, 62.
14. MLBTW 598.
15. LW 32:112.
16. Gerhard Ebeling, *Word and Faith*, trans. James W. Leitch (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963), 312.
17. LS 234.
18. *The Theologia Germanica of Martin Luther*, trans and ed. Bengt Hoffmann (New York: Paulist, 1980), 54.
19. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483–1521*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 144. See Bengt R. Hoffman. *Luther and the Mystics: A Re-examination of Luther's*

- Spiritual Experience and His Relationship to the Mystics* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1976).
20. LW 26:382.
 21. MLBTW 247–48.
 22. LW 25:356.
 23. CD I/1:526ff.
 24. MLBTW 611.
 25. WA 40 I, 447, 22–23; H. Gollwitzer, *Krummes Holz—Aufrechter Gang: Zur Frage nach dem Sinn des Lebens* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1985), 313.
 26. Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 185.
 27. Ibid., 175.
 28. BC 215; 158–60.
 29. MLBTW 644–45.
 30. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters & Papers From Prison*, New Greatly Enlarged Edition, ed. Eberhard Bethge (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 17.
 31. Luther, “Heidelberg Disputation (1518)” in MLBTW 48.
 32. See Ricardo Rieth, *“Habsucht” bei Martin Luther: Ökonomisches und theologisches Denken, Tradition und soziale Wirklichkeit im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1996).
 33. LS 11.
 34. LS 95–96.
 35. LW 45:172–73.
 36. Heiko A. Oberman, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism: In the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*, trans. James I. Porter (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981).
 37. Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), *The Book of Confessions* (New York and Atlanta: Office of the General Assembly, 1983), 4.001.
 38. Ibid., 3.12.
 39. Cited in Alasdair I. C. Heron, *The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit in the Bible, the History of Christian Thought, and Recent Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 102.
 40. William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 231.
 41. Ibid., 230.
 42. Ibid., 231.
 43. Ibid., 234.
 44. Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), *The Book of Confessions*, 7. 0004.
 45. Bouwsma, *John Calvin*, 231.
 46. Benjamin B. Warfield, “John Calvin the Theologian,” in *Calvin and Augustine*, ed. Samuel G. Craig (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1956), 484–85.

47. Werner Krusche, *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957).
48. Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, trans. Harold Knight (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1980), 9–21, 251–54.
49. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, preface to the final French edition of 1560, ed. McNeil (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 6.
50. John Calvin, Preface to 1536 edition of the *Institutes*. See Lucien J. Richard, *The Spirituality of John Calvin* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1974), 166.
51. John Calvin, Commentaries on Ezekiel II.2; OC 40, 61–62. See Richard, *The Spirituality of John Calvin*, 155.
52. Richard, *The Spirituality of John Calvin*, 109.
53. Dennis E. Tamburello, *Union with Christ: John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 6.
54. André Biéler, *La Pensée Économique et Sociale de Calvin* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1961), 271.
55. Hendrikus Berkhof, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1964), 22.
56. Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 102
57. *Inst.* I.i.ii. See also Richard, *The Spirituality of John Calvin*, 97.
58. John T. McNeill, *Introduction to Calvin's Institutes*, 1:1; see James M. Gustafson, *Ethics from a Theocentric Perspective*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 164.
59. Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 102. See William J. Bouwsma, "The Spirituality of John Calvin," in Jill Raitt, ed., *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest* (New York: Crossroad, 1987), vol. 17, *Christian Spirituality II: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, 318–33.
60. Bernard McGinn, "Introduction," in *Christian Spirituality I*, eds. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroad, 1987), xv–xvi.
61. Sandra M. Schneiders, "Spirituality in the Academy," in *Modern Christian Spirituality: Methodological and Historical Essays*, ed. Bradley C. Hanson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 31.

1 THE SPIRITUS CREATOR

1. LW 1: 74.
2. Moltmann, *God in Creation: A New Theology of Creation and the Spirit of God*, trans. Margaret Kohl (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985), 86–88.
3. *Ibid.*, 79.
4. BC 433.

5. WA 39 II, 239, 29–31; see Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 23.
6. LW 26: 217; see Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 236.
7. LW 22: 27.
8. LW 37: 228.
9. Werner Krusche, *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957).
10. Ibid., 14.
11. John Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses called Genesis*, vol. 1, trans. John King (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1993), 73–74 (referred to as *Comm. Genesis* in these notes).
12. *Opera Selecta* 9.793, 795; see H. Paul Santmire, *The Travail of Nature: The Ambiguous Ecological Promise of Christian Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 128.
13. LW 1:126.
14. Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, 134.
15. Edward A. Dowey, Jr. *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology*, 66.
16. WA 48. # 269, 1546.
17. Thomas F. Torrance, *Karl Barth, Biblical and Evangelical Theologian* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 147.
18. Hans Schwartz, *True Faith in the True God: An Introduction to Luther's Life and Thought*, trans. Mark W. Worthing (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1996), 40.
19. Calvin, *Comm. Acts* 2, 168–69.
20. Calvin, *Comm. Genesis*, 94.
21. Calvin, *Comm. John*, iii, 6.
22. Barth, “No! Answer to Emil Brunner,” in Emil Brunner and Karl Barth, *Natural Theology*, trans. Peter Fraenkel (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002), 107. This writing is abbreviated as NT in these notes.
23. Downey, *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology*, 55, see *Inst.* I.iii.2.
24. NT 72.
25. NT 41.
26. NT 44–45.
27. NT 53.
28. NT 55.
29. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, trans. and eds. E. Gordon Rupp and Philip S. Watson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 293.
30. Ibid., 289.
31. Ibid., 288–89.
32. WA 51, 242, 1–8.15–19; G. Ebeling, *Luther: An Introduction to His Thought*, trans. R. A. Wilson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 186–87.
33. LW 25:390; see Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Act and Being: Transcendental Philosophy and Ontology in Systematic Theology*, trans. H. Martin Rumscheidt (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 160.

34. LW 4:42–44.
35. An interreligious exchange and dialogue can be undertaken in light of the irregularity of a divine speech event; see Paul S. Chung, *Martin Luther and Buddhism: Aesthetics of Suffering*, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2007).
36. Dowey, *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology*, 241.
37. Christian Link, *Handbuch Systematischer Theologie: Schöpfung* Bd 7/1. (Gütersloh, Germany: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1991), 148.
38. Karl Barth, *Theology and Church: Shorter Writings 1920–1928*, trans. Louise Pettibone Smith (London: SCM, 1962), 342.
39. F.-W. Marquardt, *Theologie und Sozialismus: Das Beispiel Karl Barths* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1981), 264. Additionally, Moltmann argues that natural theology in a Barthian sense can be found in the universalism of Barth's doctrine of reconciliation. Moltmann sees as evidence of natural theology Barth's sympathy with Tertullian's concept of "the naturally Christian soul." See Moltmann, *Experiences in Theology: Ways and Forms of Christian Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 75–76.
40. Eberhard Busch, *Karl Barth: His Life from Letters and Autobiographical Texts*, trans. John Bowden, rep. (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005), 476–77.
41. Benjamin Charles Milner, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 200. See especially the appendix, "The Secret Impulse of the Spirit," 197–203.

2 THE SPIRIT OF THE TRIUNE GOD

1. Borrowing the common Middle Eastern language, the Hebrew Bible speaks of the Holy One of Israel (Yahweh) as God (El or Elohim). Elohim, which occurs frequently in biblical texts reflecting the early northern traditions of Israel, can indicate one God of Israel with many attributes.
2. BC 300.
3. BC 440.
4. BC 440. In the Augsburg Confession, we see that the decree of the Council of Nicea is affirmed concerning the unity of the divine essence and the three persons. BC 37.
5. LW 22: 16.
6. LW 34: 199ff ("The Three Symbols"). LW 41: 3ff ("On the Councils and the Churches"). LW 15: 265ff ("On the Last Words of David").
7. BC 37
8. LW 22: 5.
9. LW 15: 302.
10. LW 37: 361.
11. LW 15: 303.

12. CD I/1: 365.
13. Reiner Jansen, *Studien zu Luther's Trinitätslehre* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1976), 197.
14. LW 15: 308.
15. LW 1: 58.
16. WA 41: 276, 39–277.
17. Dennis Ngien, *The Suffering of God According to Martin Luther's "Theologia Crucis,"* 241.
18. BC 440.
19. Marc Lienhard, *Luther: Witness to Jesus Christ*, trans. J. A. Bouman (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982), 165.
20. LW 34: 216ff.
21. LW 34: 216.
22. LW 34: 217.
23. LW 34: 218.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. WA 7: 214, 27ff.
27. Christoph Marksches, "Luther und Die Altkirchliche Trinitätstheologie," in *Luther—zwischen den Zeiten*, eds. Christoph Marksches and Michael Trowitsch (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1999), 79.
28. LW 22: 246; see Ngien, *The Suffering of God*, 243.
29. BC 439–440.
30. LW 17: 165.
31. LW 40: 146.
32. LW 37: 365.
33. LW 51: 198.
34. LW 11: 318.
35. Calvin, "Institutes of the Christian Religion—1536" in *John Calvin: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger, 294.
36. Inst I.xiii.2, n.7.
37. Lukas Vischer, ed., *Fallacy Controversy, Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Fallacy Controversy* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981).
38. LW 22: 492–93.
39. Ngien, *The Suffering of God*, 71.
40. "Formula of Concord," Solid Declaration, Art. VIII, in BC 619.
41. In "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," Melancthon uses synecdoche in a way of combining cause and effect in the same phrase. BC 143.
42. BC 623.
43. BC 624.
44. Ngien, *The Suffering of God*, 71.
45. Ibid., 72.
46. LW 41: 103.

47. WA 40: 3, 707, 22–27. See Ngien, *The Suffering of God*, 76.
48. *Christian Dogmatics*, eds. Carl E. Braaten, and Robert W. Jenson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 509.
49. “Formula of Concord,” Solid Declaration VIII, in BC 632.
50. BC 622.
51. BC 624.
52. Ibid.
53. LW 26: 265.
54. Ibid.
55. Krusche, *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin*, 129.
56. Martin Luther, “Confession Concerning Christ’s Supper—from Part I (1528),” in MLBTW 375–404.
57. Inst II.xiv.2ff; see Pannenberg, *Jesus—God and Man*, 299–300.
58. Paul Chung, *Spirituality and Social Ethics in John Calvin* (Lanham, MD: UPA, 2000), 13–22.
59. Otto Weber, *Grundlagen der Dogmatik II* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987), 149, 153.
60. Stanley M. Burges, *The Holy Spirit: Eastern Christian Traditions* (Boston: Hendrickson, 1989), 12–13.
61. Ibid., 13–14.
62. Ibid., 48.
63. Athanasius, *The Letters of Saint Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit*, trans. C. R. B. Shapland (London: Epworth, 1951).
64. “The Athanasian Creed,” in Philip Schaff, ed., *The Creeds of Christendom* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1931), 2:66. See Burges, *The Holy Spirit: Eastern Christian Traditions*, 2.
65. Heron, *The Spirit*, 176–77.
66. Moltmann, “Theological Proposals Towards the Resolution of the Filioque Controversy,” in Lukas Vischer, ed., *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, 164ff.
67. Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, 306.
68. Ibid., 307.
69. Jüngel’s explication of Barth’s Trinity is a contribution for resolving the dilemma between God *in se* (aseity) and God for us (God’s relationality with the world) in terms of Barth’s concept of *analogia relationis*. However, for Jüngel, God’s being is not identified with God’s becoming without reservation; rather God’s being is ontologically located. Jüngel’s ontological localization of God’s being is not adequate to articulate the categorical meaning of the Old Testament in Barth’s Trinitarian thinking as well as Barth’s eschatological dimension of God’s coming. See Eberhard Jüngel, *God’s Being Is in Becoming: The Trinitarian Being of God in the Theology of Karl Barth*, trans. John Webster (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2001), ix–xxiii, 125–39.
70. Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, 1:312.

71. Ibid., 1:313.
72. Ibid., 1:318.
73. For this critique, see Robert W. Jenson, "Jesus in the Trinity: Wolfhart Pannenberg's Christology and Doctrine of the Trinity," in *The Theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg: Twelve American Critiques, with an Autobiographical Essay and Response*, eds. Carl E. Braaten and Philip Clayton (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 195.
74. CD I/1: 306.
75. Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 164.
76. Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God*, 139–44.
77. Moltmann, *The Crucified God*, 239–40.
78. Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, 303, 307.
79. WA 56, 226, Luther's Lecture on Romans 1515/16.
80. Luther, "The Small Catechism," in BC 356.
81. Ibid., 148.
82. Gershom Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 7.
83. F.-W. Marquardt, *Was dürfen wir hoffen, wenn wir hoffen dürften? Eine Eschatologie*, Bd. 2 (Munich and Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Verlag/Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1994), 388.
84. Moltmann, *The Coming of God*, 197.
85. Ibid., 305.
86. Moltmann, *Trinität und Reich Gottes*, 226–29.
87. Calvin, *Comm. Twelve Minor Prophets*, 427–29.
88. Calvin, *Comm.* I Cor 31.
89. Bertold Klappert, *Worauf wir hoffen: Das Kommen Gottes und der Weg Jesu Christi* (Munich and Gütersloh: Kaiser/Güthersloher, 1997), 153.
90. Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 178.

3 THE SPIRIT AND CHRIST-UNION

1. Koo Dong Yun, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: An Ecumenical Theology of Spirit Baptism* (Lanham, MD: UPA, 2003), 86–90.
2. BC 355.
3. LW 31:358.
4. Eberhard Jüngel, *The Freedom of a Christian: Luther's Significance for Contemporary Theology*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 64.
5. "The Augsburg Confession IV. Concerning Justification" (German Text) in BC 39–40.
6. LW 35: 370.
7. MLBTW 603–604.
8. BC 569.

9. BC 564.
10. BC 571–72.
11. Vladimir Lossky, *Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976), 133. See Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, eds., *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1998), 26.
12. Luther's sermon on Luke 2:21, WA 10 I. 518, 1.5; see Barth, CD I/1: 240.
13. Burgess, *The Holy Spirit: Eastern Christian Traditions*, 3.
14. Braaten and Jenson, eds., *Union with Christ*, 92.
15. Frank D. Macchia, "The Spirit Set Us Free: Implications in Pentecostal Theology for a Pneumatological Soteriology," AAR/SBL, Denver, 2001 (used by the permission of the author).
16. BC 355.
17. WA 39 I, 370, 18–371, 1; Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 238.
18. LW 21:299.
19. LW 40: 146.
20. Luther, "Day of Christ's Ascension Into Heaven" (Mark 16:14–20), in *Sermons of Martin Luther*, vol. 3, ed. John Nicholas Lenker (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988), 190.
21. "Jesus is victor" in a Lutheran sense sounds like: "Christ is daily accomplishing in his Christendom, wherein Christians conquer the power of the devil and snatch so many souls from the jaws of death and hell." Martin Luther, "Day of Christ's Ascension Into Heaven," Third Sermon (Mark 16:14–20), in *ibid.*, 242, 240.
22. In *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, we read of a dialectical relation between the external and internal functions of the Spirit. "The church is not only an association of external ties and rites like other civic organizations, but it is principally an association of faith and the Holy Spirit in the hearts of persons. It nevertheless has its external marks so that it can be recognized, namely, the pure teaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments in harmony with the gospel of Christ." BC 174.
23. LW 43:198
24. LW 35:50–51
25. "The Augsburg Confession IV" in BC 38–40.
26. BC 565.
27. Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 164.
28. *Ibid.*, 149.
29. BC 566, 568.
30. BC 569.
31. Calvin, *John 11–21 and First Epistle of John*, 293–94; see Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 93. See also . II.viii.18.; II.xv.5; II.xvi.3; III.vi.2; and III.xxv.2.

32. The expression *mystica Communicatio cum Christ* is found in Calvin's numerous exegeses. See Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, especially his appendix, 111–113.
33. John Calvin, Letter 2266 to Peter Martyr Vermigli, August 8, 1555, CO 15:723. See Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 87.
34. Letter to Peter Martyr, August 8, 1555, CO 15:723: "Let us therefore labor more to feel Christ living in us, than to discover the nature of that communication." Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 89.
35. "Apology of the Augsburg Confession" (1531) XX, 13 in BC 237.
36. Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 3.
37. *The Theologia Germanica of Martin Luther*, trans. Bengt Hoffman, xvi.
38. Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 9.
39. Ibid., 11.
40. Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, 204.
41. Ibid., 212–213.
42. Marquardt, *Was dürften wir hoffen, wenn wir hoffen düüften? Eine Eschatologie*, Bd. 3. (Munich and Gütersloh: Kaiser and Gütersloher, 1996), 503.
43. By commenting on Matthew 19:4–6, Calvin again employs the term "the mystical union with which he (Christ) graced the church" (*Inst.* III.xii.7).
44. Calvin, *Comm. Acts.* 10:44, 317.
45. Ibid., 10:46, 318.
46. Ibid., 2:38, 82. See John Hesselink, "The Charismatic Movement and the Reformed Tradition," in *Major Themes in the Reformed Tradition*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1992), 377–385.
47. Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, 193.
48. François Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, trans. Philip Mairet (Durham, NC: Labyrinth, 1987), 266.
49. Ibid., 276–277. See *Inst.* III.xiv.18–19.
50. BC 390.
51. Hans J. Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, ed. Helmut Gollwitzer, et al. In *Nachgelassene Werke*, vol. 5 (Munich: Kaiser, 1983), 90–93.
52. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, eds. E. Gordon Rupp and Philip S. Watson, 288–89.
53. Ibid., 289.
54. Ibid.
55. WA Tr 4, No. 4665; Luther, *Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, 130.
56. WA Tr 2, 112, 9; *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, 23.
57. Moltmann, *The Coming of God*, 249.
58. Calvin already contrasts God's sovereignty for our salvation and Adam's free choice. *Inst.* I.xv.8.
59. Krusche, *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin*, 235.

4 THE SPIRIT AND EVANGELICAL FREEDOM IN THE LAW

1. WA 10 III, 55.
2. WA 391, 436, 2–4; see Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 273.
3. LW 40: 98.
4. WA 30, II, 8.48. See Helmut Gollwitzer, "Zur Einheit von Gesetz und Evangelium" in Helmut Gollwitzer, *Auch das Denken darf dienen: Aufsätze zu Theologie und Geistesgeschichte*, Bd.1 (Munich: Kaiser, 1988), 156.
5. MLBTW 142.
6. MLBTW 143.
7. MLBTW 130.
8. Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 269.
9. WA 16, 443.
10. WA 30 II, 358.
11. Ibid.
12. Marquardt, *Was dürfen wir hoffen, wenn wir hoffen dürften? Eine Eschatologie*, Bd.1, 349–51.
13. BC 428.
14. WA 40 I, 488.
15. WA 39 I, 446.
16. Gollwitzer, "Zur Einheit von Gesetz und Evangelium," in Gollwitzer, *Auch das Denken darf dienen*, 159.
17. Luther, "The Smalcald Articles," in BC 325.
18. W. Joest, *Gesetz und Freiheit: Das Problem des teritus usus legis bei Luther und die neutestamentliche Parainese* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968).
19. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, 194–200.
20. WA 8:458; see Reinhard Hütter, "The Twofold Center of Lutheran Ethics," in *The Promise of Lutheran Ethics*, eds. Karen L. Bloomquist and John R. Stumme (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 44.
21. "Formula of Concord" VI in BC 587–91.
22. John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and the Lamentations*, 5 vols., trans. from the Latin and ed. John Owen (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1950), 1:264 (Jeremiah 5:5).
23. Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, 95.
24. Robinson attempts to clarify Calvin's concern about the Jews in terms of the covenant, and law/gospel relationship in Calvin's theology. Jack H. Robinson, *John Calvin and the Jews* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 39–53, 55–67.
25. CR 47: 124. See Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, 96.
26. John Calvin, *Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Libertines*, trans. and ed. Benjamin Wirt Farley (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1982).
27. Robinson, *John Calvin and the Jews*, 60.
28. LW 34:112.

29. BC 588.
30. BC 556.
31. *Inst.* III.xxiv.4. See the problem of *sylogismus practicus*, *Inst.* III.xiv.18–19.
32. BC 582.
33. BC 589.
34. *Inst.* II.7.13.
35. Werner Elert, *The Christian Ethos: The Foundations of the Christian Way of Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1957), 302.
36. Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, 3:79, 90.
37. Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, 3:83.
38. WA 31 I, 154, 8ff.
39. Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, trans. Neville Horton Smith (New York: Touchstone, 1995), 310.
40. Luther, “How Christians Should Regard Moses,” in MLBTW, 148. See Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, 83–84.
41. MLBTW 130.
42. MLBTW 119.
43. MLBTW 119–120.
44. Philip Melanchthon, *Loci Communes 1543*, trans. J.A.O. Preus (St. Louis: Concordia, 1992), 73.
45. *Ibid.*, 74.
46. *Ibid.*, 101.
47. *Ibid.*, 102.
48. *Ibid.*, 105. In the *Apology* Melanchthon gives indications of the *tertius usus legis*. AP XII.191. Integrating contrition and faith into repentance, Melanchthon holds, “We will not object if someone wants to add a third part, namely, the fruits worthy of repentance.”
49. BC 188, 561. Footnote 99.
50. Ebeling, *Word and Faith*, 64–65.
51. CD I/1:437–38; 746, 852.
52. Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, 203–204.
53. *Ibid.*, 203–225.
54. WA 7, 721, 12–13.
55. WA I 2. 259, 1. 8; see CD I/1: 102. Cf. LW 52: 205–206.
56. WA 12. 275. I. 5; see CD 1/1: 123.
57. LW 34:112, Thesis 49.
58. WA B 7, 384, Z. 26.
59. MLBTW 120.
60. For the connection of Luther’s Bible interpretation to sociocritical interpretation of the Bible, see Helmut Gollwitzer, *An Introduction to Protestant Theology*, trans. David Cairns (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 58.
61. WA 3. 262. I. 5; see CD 1/1:121–122.

62. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, 329.
63. *Ibid.*, 332.
64. Heinrich Schmidt, *The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1989), 443.
65. "Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration art. II" in BC 561.
66. Schmidt, *The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, 443.
67. WA 24, 390, 27v.
68. Iwand, "Theologie als Beruf." Vorlesung, in *Glauben und Wissen*, ed. Helmut Gollwitzer, *Nachgelassene Werke*. Bd. 1 (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1962), 243.
69. CD I/1.4. "The Word of God in Its Threefold Form."
70. Luther, "The Smalcald Articles," in BC 319.
71. Barth, "Word of God as the Task of Ministry" in Karl Barth, *The Word of God and the Word of Man*, trans. Douglas Horton (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), 206.

5 THE CHURCH IN THE POWER OF THE SPIRIT

1. BC 437.
2. BC 435.
3. BC 355–56.
4. WA 6, 293, 1ff.
5. Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, 248.
6. WA 6, 514, 29ff; see Iwand *Luthers Theologie*, 249, 250.
7. BC 436.
8. BC 386.
9. "The Augsburg Confession" V. Concerning Ministry in the Church, in BC 41.
10. WA 7, 721, 15.
11. Luther, "The Small Catechism" in BC 359.
12. BC 458.
13. Luther, "The Smalcald Articles," in BC 321.
14. Luther, "The Large Catechism," in BC 476–77.
15. In his *Large Catechism*, Luther criticizes St. Jerome's view of the two planks of baptism and penance, in which baptism is conceptualized as the first plank, while the penance as the second plank. BC 466, footnote 221.
16. Luther, "The Large Catechism," in BC 465, footnote 220.
17. *Ibid.* in BC 467.
18. *Ibid.* in BC 470.
19. "Formula of Concord (1577)," in BC 599.
20. "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," in BC 174.
21. "The Augsburg Confession" XXVIII, in BC 92, 94.
22. "The Large Catechism," in BC 477.

23. LW 35:100–101.
24. LW 44: 127.
25. Martin Luther, “The Babylonian Captivity,” (1520), in LW 36:116.
26. Ibid.
27. LW 44:127.
28. BC 319.
29. WA 26:59. See Jeannine E. Olson, *Deacons and Deaconesses Through the Centuries*, rev. and ed. of *One Ministry, Many Roles* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 109–10.
30. “Ordinance of a Common Chest: Preface. Suggestions on How to Deal with Ecclesiastical Property,” LW 45: 161–76; LW 39: 303–14.
31. LW 45: 191.
32. Walter Altmann, *Luther and Liberation: A Latin American Perspective*, trans. Mary M. Solbreg (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 109–11.
33. LW 31: 367.
34. LW 37: 364–65.
35. Cited in Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation*, 1521–32, 181.
36. For the critique of Luther’s position during the Peasants’ War, Altmann, *Luther and Liberation*, 128–30.
37. Luther, “An die Pfarrherren, wider den Wucher zu predigen,” in Günter Fabiunke, *Martin Luther als Nationalökonom* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 206.
38. WA I. 304; cf. F.-W. Marquardt, “Gott oder Mammon: über Theologie und Oekonomie bei Martin Luther” in *Einwürfe I* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1983), 193.
39. WA 1011, 125; see Ulrich Duchrow, *Alternatives to Global Capitalism Drawn from Biblical History, Designed for Political Action* (Utrecht and Heidelberg: International Books, Kairos Europa, 1998), 220.
40. WA 51, 364ff; Ibid., 219.
41. Ibid., 221.
42. LW 45: 245.
43. LW 45: 270.
44. WA 51: 417, 11–17.
45. LW 45: 171–72.
46. WA 51: 367, 10–368, 16.
47. LW 21: 183.
48. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 649–50. Marx quoted from Luther’s treatise, “An die Pfarrherren, wider den Wucher zu predigen.” See *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Bd. 51 (Weimar: German Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1914), 331–424.
49. BC 387.
50. BC 388.
51. BC 391.
52. BC 418.

53. BC 417.
54. BC 452.
55. Marquardt, "Gott oder Mammon," in *Einwürfe* I, 194; see Ulrich Duchrow and Franz J. Hinkelammert, *Property for People, not for Profit*, 204–24.
56. Duchrow, *Christenheit und Weltverantwortung: Traditionsgeschichte und Systematische Struktur der Zweireichelehre* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970), 469.
57. WBr 2, 461, 61ff. Cited in F.-W. Marquardt, "Martin Luther und Karl Barth: in tyrannos," in *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1. Jg. Heft 2. 1984, 281.
58. WA 30/2, 554, 11–12. See Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, 297.
59. WA 18, 310, 10–11.
60. Martin Luther, "An die Pfarrherren, wider den Wucher zu predigen," 195.
61. Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, vol.2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 19.
62. Gollwitzer, "Homo Politicus," in Gollwitzer, *Auch das Denken darf dienen: Aufsätze zu Theologie und Geistesgeschichte* Bd. 1 (Munich: Kaiser, 1988), 290–300.
63. Iwand, *The Righteousness of Faith According to Luther*, trans. Randi H. Lundell and ed. Virgi F. Thompson (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 21.
64. Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, 206–07.
65. WA 8, 684, 6ff.
66. WA 28; 360, 25–28. See Duchrow, *Global Economy*, 7.
67. Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, 298ff.
68. Milner, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church*, 4.
69. CR 50:235. See Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, 184.
70. Calvin, "Reply to Letter by Cardinal Sadolet to the Senate and People of Geneva," in *John Calvin: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger, 91.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., 97.
73. McNeil, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, 217.
74. The mutual fellowship of life in the body of Christ is particularly expressed in prayer. The church is the sphere of prayer for one another (*Inst.* III.xxx.20). Because we are members of the same body, prayer must be common, including all those who are "in Christ." In this regard, "the prayer of Christians ought to be public and to look to the public edification of the church and the advancement of the fellowship of believers" (*Inst.* III.xx.47).
75. *Comm. Acts* 7.40.
76. Luther endorses a small excommunication to keep public, obstinate sinners from the sacrament or other fellowship in the Church until

- they improve their behavior and avoid the sin. See Luther, "The Smalcald Articles," in BC 323.
77. Calvin, "Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances—1541" in *John Calvin: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger, 235.
 78. *Sermon XIII sur l'Épître aux Corinthiens*, 1 Cor. 11:11–16; see Biéler, *The Social Humanism of Calvin*, 235.
 79. Biéler, *La Pensée Économique et Sociale de Calvin*, 252.
 80. Fred W. Graham, *The Constructive Revolutionary: John Calvin & His Socio-Economic Impact* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1987), 80.
 81. OS 38: 383, Jer 22:13.
 82. OS 28: 189. Calvin, *Sermon CXL* on Deut 24:14–18.
 83. Biéler, *The Social Humanism of Calvin*, 49.
 84. OS 45: 569. *Comm. Matthew* 25:20; cf. Graham, *The Constructive Revolutionary*, 77–78.
 85. The ministers, headed by Theodore Beza, stated: "Riches are far from being desirable for Geneva, on the contrary, they would be pernicious. Riches would inevitably be followed by luxury, worldliness, love of pleasure, and an infinity of evils which would not be fitting to a republic whose reputation depends on the regularity of her mores." Biéler, *The Social Humanism of Calvin*, 58.
 86. Calvin, *Sermon CXLI* on Deut 24:19–22.
 87. OS 31: 418. *Comm. Psalm* 41:1.
 88. OS 50: 98.
 89. Biéler, *La Pensée Économique et Sociale de Calvin*, 336.
 90. Biéler, *The Social Humanism of Calvin*, 37–38.
 91. *Ibid.*, 38
 92. Calvin, "Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances—1541" in *John Calvin: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger, 235–36.

CONCLUSION

1. Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 232–39.
2. Luther, "The Small Catechism," in BC 345.
3. "Formula of Concord," in BC 504.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Krusche, *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin*, 129.
6. Milner, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church*, 180, n.3.
7. Wendel, *Calvin*, 340.
8. Calvin, "Short Treatise on the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ," in Dillenberger, ed., *John Calvin: Selections from His Writings*, 512.
9. "Marburg Revisited," 103–104, in *Lutheran-Reformed Proposal* (Accepted at the ELCA Churchwide Assembly in August 1997).
10. Heron, *Table and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 94–95.

11. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 3a.60.3 ad.2.
12. Ibid., 3a.60.3.
13. BC 610.
14. Brian Davies, *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 346.
15. WA 1:544
16. WA 301, 212; BC 437.
17. LW 35: 93; LW 36: 35–37.
18. MLBTW 379.
19. “A Common Calling,” in *Lutheran-Reformed Proposal*, 66.
20. Wendel, *Calvin*, 342.
21. Calvin, *Sermons on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, 614.
22. Calvin, *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians*, 208.
23. Calvin, *The Gospel According to St. John 11–21 and the First Epistle of John*, trans. T. H. L. Parker, *Calvin’s New Testament Commentaries*, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1959), 148.
24. Calvin, “The Short Treatise on the Holy Supper,” 513, 516.
25. WA 23:203; LW 37:99. See Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert S. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 386–96.
26. WA 7, 219, 6ff.
27. Iwand, *Luthers Theologie*, 256.
28. “Unum solum habent sacrae literae sacramentum, quod est ipse Christus Dominus.” WA 6, 86,7–8.
29. Prenter, *Spiritus Creator*, 171.
30. Marquardt, *Was dürfen wir hoffen, wenn wir hoffen dürften? Eine Eschatologie*, Bd.1, 24.
31. BC 447.
32. CD I/2:24.
33. WA 2, 748, 14ff.

AFTERWORD: MAX WEBER’S VIEW OF REFORMATION AND CAPITALISM

1. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003), 182. This writing is abbreviated as PESc in the footnote.
2. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols., tr. Olive Wyon (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992); R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952).
3. Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik II. Kritiken und Antikritiken*, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1978).
4. PESc 182.

5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik I, Eine Aufsatzsammlung*, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Hamburg: Gütersloher Verlag, 1991), 32.
8. PESC 17.
9. PESC 81.
10. PESC 85.
11. PESC 79–87.
12. Fabiunke, *Martin Luther als Nationalökonom*, 144.
13. Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 57.
14. PESC 101–102.
15. PESC 99–100.
16. PESC 117–18.
17. PESC 162.
18. PESC 261.
19. PESC 91–92.
20. Weber introduced the Methodist revival of the eighteenth century analogous to the Puritan. PESC 175.
21. PESC 125.
22. PESC 181–82.
23. PESC 13–26, 76–78, 182–83.
24. Graham, *The Constructive Revolutionary*, 199.
25. Herbert Lüthy, *Le passé présent: Combats d'idées de Calvin à Rousseau* (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1965), 42.
26. WA 51, 351; see Duchrow, *Alternatives to Global Capitalism*, 222.
27. Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949), 54.
28. Franz J. Hinkelammert, *The Ideological Weapons of Death: A Theological Critique of Capitalism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1981), 66–67.
29. “Science as a Vocation,” in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 147.
30. Ibid., 148–49.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY LITERATURE

- Martin Luther.** *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. 61 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1912-21.
- . *Luther's Spirituality*. Ed. and trans. Philip D. W. Krey and Peter D. S. Krey. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2007.
- . *Luther's Works*. Ed. Helmut T. Lehmann. Vols. 1-30. St. Louis: Concordia, 1955-67. Ed. Jaroslav Pelikan. Vols. 31-55. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955-86.
- . *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*. Ed. Timothy F. Lull. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989.
- . *Sermons of Martin Luther*. Ed. John Nicholas Lenker. Vol. 3. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988.
- . *The Theologia Germanica of Martin Luther*. Trans and ed. Bengt Hoffmann. New York: Paulist, 1980.
- . *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Church*. Ed. and trans. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert. Philadelphia: Fortress, 2000.
- Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Ed. John T. McNeil. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960.
- . *The Commentaries of John Calvin*, 46 vols. Calvin Translation Society, 1843-55. Reprint, 22 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1979.
- . *Iohannis Calvini Opera Selecta*. Eds. P. Barth and W. Niesel. 5 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1926-62.
- . *Iohannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia (Opera)*. Eds. W. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Ruetz. 59 vols. Corpus Reformatorium (CR). Brunswick: C. A. Schewtschke, 1863-1900.
- . Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). *The Book of Confessions*. New York and Atlanta: Office of the General Assembly, 1983.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

- Athanasius. *The Letters of Saint Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit*. Trans. C. R. B. Shapland. London: Epworth, 1951.
- Althaus, Paul. *The Theology of Martin Luther.*, Trans. Robert S. Schultz. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979.

- Altmann, Walter. *Luther and Liberation: A Latin American Perspective*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- Barbour, Ian G. *Religion and Science: Historical and Contemporary Issues*, a rev. and exp. edition of *Religion in an Age of Science*. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1990.
- Barth, Karl. *Church Dogmatics*, 13 vols. Eds. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance. New York and London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- . *Theology and Church: Shorter Writings 1920-1928*. Trans. Louise Pettibone Smith. London: SCM, 1962.
- . *The Word of God and the Word of Man*. Trans. Douglas Horton. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.
- Barth, Karl and Emil Brunner. *Natural Theology*. Trans. Peter Fraenkel. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002.
- Bendix, Reinhard. *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Berkhof, Hendrikus. *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1964.
- Biéler, André. *La Pensée Économique et Sociale de Calvin*. Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1961.
- Bloomquist Karen L. and John R. Stumme, Eds. *The Promise of Lutheran Ethics*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. *Act and Being: Transcendental Philosophy and Ontology in Systematic Theology*. Trans. H. Martin Rumscheidt. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996.
- . *Ethics*. Trans. Neville Horton Smith. New York: Touchstone, 1995.
- . *Letters & Papers From Prison*, New Greatly Enlarged Edition. Ed. Eberhard Bethge. New York: Macmillan, 1971.
- Bouwsma, William J. *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Braaten, Carl E. and Robert W. Jenson, Eds. *Christian Dogmatics*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- . *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1998.
- Braaten, Carl E. and Philip Clayton, Eds. *The Theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg: Twelve American Critiques, with an Autobiographical Essay and Response*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988.
- Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483-1521*. Trans. James L. Schaaf. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- Brian, Davies. *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.
- Burges, Stanley M. *The Holy Spirit: Eastern Christian Traditions*. Boston: Hendrickson, 1989.
- Busch, Eberhard. *Karl Barth: His Life from Letters and Autobiographical Texts*. Trans. John Bowden, Reprint. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005.
- Chung, Paul S. *Spirituality and Social Ethics: A Pneumatological Perspective*. Lanham, MD: UPA, 2000.

- . *Martin Luther and Buddhism: Aesthetics of Suffering*, 2nd ed. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2007.
- . *Karl Barth: God's Word in Action*. Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2008.
- Craig, Samuel G., Ed. *Calvin and Augustine*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1956.
- Duchrow, Ulrich. *Alternatives to Global Capitalism Drawn from Biblical History, Designed for Political Action*. Utrecht and Heidelberg: International Books, Kairos Europa, 1998.
- . *Christenheit und Weltverantwortung: Traditionsgeschichte und Systematische Struktur der Zwei-reichelehre*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970.
- Ebeling, Gerhard. *Word and Faith*. Trans. James W. Leitch. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963.
- . *Luther: An Introduction to His Thought*. Trans. R. A. Wilson. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969.
- Elert, Werner. *The Christian Ethos: The Foundations of the Christian Way of Life*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1957.
- Fabiunke, Günter. *Martin Luther als Nationalökonom*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963.
- Graham, Fred W. *The Constructive Revolutionary: John Calvin & His Socio-Economic Impact*. Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1987.
- Gerth, H. H. and C. Wright Mills, Eds. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Gollwitzer, Helmut. *Krummes Holz—Aufrechter Gang: Zur Frage nach dem Sinn des Lebens*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1985.
- . *Auch das Denken darf dienen: Aufsätze zu Theologie und Geistesgeschichte*, Bd. I. Munich: Kaiser, 1988.
- . *An Introduction to Protestant Theology*, Trans. David Cairns. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978.
- Gollwitzer, Helmut, Ed. *Glauben und Wissen*. Nachgelassene Werke. Bd. 1. Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1962.
- Gustafson, James M. *Ethics from a Theocentric Perspective*, vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Hanson, Bradley C. *Modern Christian Spirituality: Methodological and Historical Essays*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.
- Hinkelammert, Franz J. *The Ideological Weapons of Death: A Theological Critique of Capitalism*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1981.
- Helmer, Christine. *The Trinity and Martin Luther: A Study on the Relationship between Genre, Language and the Trinity in Luther's Works (1523-1546)*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999.
- Heron, Alasdair I. C. *The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit in the Bible, the History of Christian Thought, and Recent Theology*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983.
- . *Table and Tradition: Toward an Ecumenical Understanding of the Eucharist*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983.
- Hodgson, Peter C. *Winds of the Spirit: A Constructive Christian Theology*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994.

- Hoffman, Bengt R. *Luther and the Mystics: A Re-examination of Luther's Spiritual Experience and His Relationship to the Mystics*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1976.
- Iwand, Hans J. *Luthers Theologie*. Ed. Helmut Gollwitzer, et al. In *Nachgelassene Werke*, vol. 5. Munich: Kaiser, 1983.
- . *The Righteousness of Faith According to Luther*. Trans. Randi H. Lundell and ed. Virgi F. Thompson. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008.
- Jansen, Reiner. *Studien zu Luther's Trinitätslehre*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1976.
- Joest, W. *Gesetz und Freiheit: Das Problem des teritus usus legis bei Luther und die neutestamentliche Parainese*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968.
- Jüngel, Eberhard. *God's Being Is in Becoming: The Trinitarian Being of God in the Theology of Karl Barth*. Trans. John Webster. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Erdmans, 2001.
- . *The Freedom of a Christian: Luther's Significance for Contemporary Theology*. Trans. Roy A. Harrisville. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988.
- Kärkkäinen, Pekka. *Luthers Trinitarische Theologie des Heiligen Geistes*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005.
- Clappert, Bertold. *Worauf wir hoffen: Das Kommen Gottes und der Weg Jesu Christi*. Munich and Gütersloh: Kaiser and Gütersloher, 1997.
- Krusche, Werner. *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.
- Lienhard, Marc. *Luther: Witness to Jesus Christ*. Trans. J. A. Bouman. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982.
- Link, Christian. *Handbuch Systematischer Theologie: Schöpfung* Bd 7/1. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1991.
- Lohse, Bernhard. *Martin Luther's Theology: Its Historical and Systematic Development*. Trans. Roy A. Harrisville. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.
- Lossky, Vladimir. *Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976.
- Lüthy, Herbert. *Le passé présent: Combats d'idées de Calvin à Rousseau*. Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1965.
- Macchia, Frank D. "The Spirit Set Us Free: Implications in Pentecostal Theology for a Pneumatological Soteriology." AAR/SBL, Denver, 2001 (used by the permission of the author).
- McGinn Bernard, and John Meyendorf, Eds. *Christian Spirituality I*. New York: Crossroad, 1987.
- Markschies, Christoph and Michael Trowitsch, Eds. *Luther—zwischen den Zeiten*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1999.
- Marquardt, F.-W. *Theologie und Sozialismus: Das Beispiel Karl Barths*. Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1981.
- . *Was dürfen wir hoffen, wenn wir hoffen dürfen? Eine Eschatologie*, Bd. 2.3. Munich and Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Verlag/Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1994/1996.

- . "Gott oder Mammon: über Theologie und Oekonomie bei Martin Luther" in *Einwürfe I*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1983. pp. 126–216.
- . "Martin Luther und Karl Barth: in tyrannos," in *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1. Jg. Heft 2. 1984. pp. 275–96.
- McKim, Donald K., Ed. *Major Themes in the Reformed Tradition*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1992.
- Melanchthon, Philip. *Loci Communes 1543*. Trans. J. A. O. Preus. St. Louis: Concordia, 1992.
- Milner, Benjamin Charles. *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.
- Moltmann, Jürgen. *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*. Trans. Margaret Kohl. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- . *History and the Triune God: Contributions to Trinitarian Theology*. Trans. John Bowden. New York: Crossroads, 1992.
- . *God in Creation: A New Theology of Creation and the Spirit of God*. Trans. Margaret Kohl. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985.
- . *Experiences in Theology: Ways and Forms of Christian Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.
- Niesel, Wilhelm. *The Theology of Calvin*. Trans. Harold Knight. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1980.
- Oberman, Heiko A. *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*. Trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Obermann, Heiko A. *The Roots of Anti-Semitism: In the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*. Trans. James I. Porter. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981.
- Olson, Jeannine E. *Deacons and Deaconesses Through the Centuries*, rev. and ed. of *One Ministry, Many Roles*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1992.
- Prenter, Regin. *Spiritus Creator*. Trans. John M. Jensen. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2000.
- Raitt, Jill, Ed. *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest*. Vol. 17, *Christian Spirituality II: High Middle Ages and Reformation*. New York: Crossroad, 1987.
- Robinson, Jack H. *John Calvin and the Jews*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992.
- Rupp, Gordon E. and Philip S. Watson, Trans. and eds. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969.
- Richard, Lucien J. *The Spirituality of John Calvin*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1974.
- Rieth, Ricardo. "Habsucht" bei Martin Luther: *Ökonomisches und theologisches Denken, Tradition und soziale Wirklichkeit im Zeitalter der Reformation*. Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1996.
- Santmire, H. Paul. *The Travail of Nature: The Ambiguous Ecological Promise of Christian Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.
- Schaff, Philip, Ed. *The Creeds of Christendom*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1931.
- Schmidt, Heinrich. *The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1989.

- Scholem, Gershom. *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality*. New York: Schocken Books, 1995.
- Schwartz, Hans. *True Faith in the True God: An Introduction to Luther's Life and Thought*. Trans. Mark W. Worthing. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1996.
- Skinner, Quentin. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Tamburello, Dennis E. *Union with Christ: John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994.
- Torrance, Thomas F. *Karl Barth, Biblical and Evangelical Theologian*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990.
- Tawney, R. H. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952.
- Troeltsch, Ernst. *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols. Trans. Olive Wyon. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992.
- Vischer, Lukas, Ed. *Fallacy Controversy, Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Fallacy Controversy*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Trans. Talcott Parsons. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003.
- . *Die protestantische Ethik II. Kritiken und Antikritiken*. Ed. Johannes Winckelmann. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-haus, 1978.
- . *Die protestantische Ethik I, Eine Aufsatzsammlung*. Ed. Johannes Winckelmann. Hamburg: Gütersloher Verlag, 1991.
- Weber, Otto. *Grundlagen der Dogmatik II*. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987.
- Wendel, François. *Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*. Trans. Philip Mairet. Durham, NC: Labyrinth, 1987.
- Yun Koo-Dong. *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: An Ecumenical Theology of Spirit Baptism*. Lanham, MD: UPA, 2003.

DOCUMENT

Lutheran-Reformed Proposal. Accepted at the ELCA Churchwide Assembly in August 1997.

INDEX

- alleosis*, 47
analogia entis, 31
Anfechtungen, 9, 10, 43
apatheia, 60
apokatastasis, 65, 94
apprehensio Christi, 75
 Appropriation, 2, 38, 46,
 59, 66
arabon, 62
arcanus Spiritus instinctus
 Arcano Dei instinctu, 51
 Arianism, 45

bona ecclesiae, 11

 Canon within canon,
 7, 113
 Capitalist ethos, 159–68
 charismata, 76, 88
 Christocentrism, 4
 Christ-union, 16, 17–19,
 71–96, 152, 155
circumincessio, 59
communicatio idiomatum, 46,
 47, 50, 51, 80, 146
communio sanctorum, 37, 119,
 120
conformitas Christi, 43
Consensus Tigurinus, 145
 Consubstantiation, 122
creatio continua, 24, 66, 71
creatio ex nihilo, 22, 23

decretum absolutum, 90,
 92, 93
 Deification, 74, 76, 85
Dei loquentis persona, 58
Deum justificare, 132
Deus absconditus, 60, 93
Deus revelatus, 60, 93
 Disenchantment of the
 world, 159
 Dispensationalism, 87
Dreieinigheit, 40, 55
Duplex cognito Domini, 22
duplex legis, 111

ecclesia universalis, 156
electio generalis, 94
 Elohim, 37
essentia, 38, 44
esse sequitur operari, 55
 Eutyches, 48, 157
extra Calvinisticum, 33, 48, 51,
 52, 81, 146
extra muros ecclesiae, 33, 34

fides Christo formata, 76,
 79, 80
Fides qua creditur, 151
fides quae creditur, 151
finitum capax infiniti, 46, 48
finitum non capax infiniti, 48

- galuth*, 64
genus apostelesmaticum,
 49, 52
genus maiestaticum, 49
goel le Yisrael, 64

homooousios, 38, 40,
 45, 56
humanitas Christi, 119
 hypostasis, 38, 53, 74
 hypostatic unity, 46–52

imitatio Christi, 43
 iron cage, 159
 irregular grace, 32, 117

 Jewish mesianism, 64, 65
judaica opinio, 64, 65, 66

legis amatores, 99
Logos asarkos, 50, 51, 52,
 57, 146
Logos ensarkos, 50, 51, 146

massa perditionis, 61,
 118, 157
munus triplex, 14, 52
mysterium trinitatis,
 58, 118
 mystical union, 15, 76,
 81, 87

 Nestorius, 48, 50, 157
 Niceno-Constantinopolitan
 Creed, 53
 Nicodemism, 135
norma normans, 116
norma normata, 116
notae ecclesiae, 123

officium ususque legis, 105
oikonomia, 42
opus gratium opere operato,
 148
opus operantis, 147–50
opus operatum, 147–50
Ordo salutis, 79, 82
ousia, 38

 panentheism, 85
paranesis, 101, 108–12,
 114, 117
parousia, 4, 5
 Patripassianism, 38, 58–61
 Peasant's War, 11, 18, 127
 perichoresis, 40, 45, 46, 51,
 53, 59, 61
 point of contact, 18, 29–35
 polytheism, 168
praedicatio verbalis, 47
praeparatio messianica, 66
predestinatio dialectica, 94
predestinatio gemina, 94
prosopon, 44
 Puritanism, 162, 164–6

 relations of origin, 40, 53, 56,
 57, 59, 69
resignatio ad infernum, 91

sapientia experimentalis,
 8, 83
Seinsweise, 55, 59
sensus divinitatis, 29
signa posteriora, 87, 90, 108
solo Spiritu Sacto, 4
status confessionis, 130
 subordinationism, 57
 substantia, 38, 44, 153–5

sylogismus practicus, 87, 88,
90, 91, 164
synecdoche, 47

tertius usus legis, 102, 107
theologia archetypa, 42
theologia crucis, 31, 38, 43,
60, 117
theologia ektypa, 42
Theologia Germanica, 7,
8, 84
theologia gloriae, 31
theologia naturalis, 30, 32,
33, 118
theologia revelata, 30
theoposhite, 60
theopoiesis, 75
theosis, 74, 75, 78, 80, 84
transubstantiation, 123,
148, 149
triplex usus legis, 110, 111
tritheism, 55, 56, 63
tzimtzum, 23

unio mystica, 84, 86
Unitrinity, 40
sursum corda, 147
Usus legis, 99–107

verbum Dei, 32, 112–15,
132, 143
vestigium trinitatis, 58
vinculum caritatis, 69
visio beatifica, 85
visio dei, 85
viva vox evangelii, 6, 113,
114, 117
vocatio catholica, 115

World Christianity, 1, 2, 4

yada, 84, 85

Zwinglians, 12, 46, 47, 50, 51,
145, 148, 149, 152