



"Meditate
upon these things;
give thyself
wholly to them;
that thy profiting
may appear unto all"

I Timothy 4:15

Journal of Theology

Church of the Lutheran Confession

ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

FROM THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LUTHER *

There are almost five centuries between 1971 and the days of the Reformation. If Luther were still alive, he would be 488 years old. This is the gap that has to be bridged in order to understand his way of living, speaking and writing, and at some point or other it must be taken into account in topics treating Luther. In any of these topics Luther stands in the center — yet not so much Luther himself as what he stood for and the evaluation for us of what he said and did. But we ought to take at least a few glances at Luther himself before going on.

His person is one of the most controversial of all times, greatly loved and violently hated. From his day down to the very present time you find that those who come in contact with him become friend or foe, with few if any on the middle or neutral ground, and great extremes in both directions, especially among the earliest biographers of Luther. The first detailed account of Luther's life, written by his arch-enemy Cochlaeus in 1549, three years after the reformer's death, depicts Luther as a literal offspring of Satan, ¹

* Editor's note:— The author of this article, pastor of Gethsemane Lutheran Church, Saginaw, Michigan, is here presenting, at our request, material which he had prepared for lectures to be given at the Pastor-Teacher Summer Seminar which was to have been held at Immanuel Lutheran College this month. Pastor Eckert is well-known for his scholarly interest in the life and writings of Martin Luther.

- JL

¹ It seems strange to us today that anyone should make the claim that Luther was a literal child of the devil. But in Luther's day people generally believed that a demon sometimes consorted with women in their sleep, begetting

begotten by the prince of darkness himself in an act of fornication with Margaret Luther — a veritable devil, who from the beginning manifested such a strange and savage nature and behavior that Margaret later regretted that she did not immediately strangle him in his cradle. Cochlaeus carries this thought through to the very end, where at Luther's death he has his "father," the devil, appear just in time to carry his spawn and loyal henchman off to hell. This well matches the other report originated in 1568, and still often heard, that Luther hanged himself in his bedroom from one of the bedposts. It is now known, of course, that Luther's death occurred not in the bedroom, but in the living room, of the place at which he stayed, and not in bed, but on a bench upholstered in leather, following a series of three severe chest pains. In the spirit of Cochlaeus, other biographers have called Luther "a frantic beast, filthy hog, a vacillating turncoat, frivolous liar, shameless sensualist, wrathy brawler, public seducer of nuns, a stinking blasphemer, dirty fellow, scamp, boor or boors, mucker, backbiter and blackguard," or have depicted him as one suffering from persecution-mania, megalomania, hallucinations, illusions, sexual hyperaesthesia, transitory dementia and syphilis.

children of demoniac nature. Such a demon was called an incubus. The counterpart, a female demon, called a succubus, was believed to take on human form and consort with men. Luther himself was given to this superstition, and some of his opinions concerning it are found in the Erlangen Edition, volume 60, pages 37-42, where he mentions "die Melusina zu Lucelberg" as a succubus and holds the opinion that there are persons in this world fathered by the devil who are really not human beings but devils. Perhaps he included them in his mind when he wrote, "Though devils all the world should fill." But though Luther was given to much of the superstition of his day, he was never taken in by its practices like Melanchthon, who dabbled around with astrology and other superstitious practices. Luther evidently was not affected by the opinion of Cochlaeus and his followers that he was part devil.

On the side opposite from those who can see no good whatever in Luther are those who idolize him to the point of seeing in him no flaw whatever. The large inside cover picture in Bainton's Here I Stand shows Luther with the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove above his head — a common method of portrayal by enthusiastic artists who represented the thought of those who consider Luther infallible or nearly so in everything he did or said. This idolizing of Luther found a ridiculous extreme in the cutting of splinters from the wooden columns in the Luther house in Wittenberg. These splinters were considered to be a most potent remedy for toothache! So some would put a halo around Luther's head and others a noose around his neck. As a result, not all of what has been written about Luther is of historical value, especially that which is found in earlier biographies.

But, beginning in the nineteenth century, much has been brought to light concerning the general picture of the age in which Luther lived, also touching directly on his person. It has changed and tempered the judgment of both friend and foe regarding the person of the great reformer. In the case of Luther's enemies (who sometimes offer praise), the attacks on his person have become all the more dangerous because of their greater subtlety. Though they put on the mask of an impartial judge and refrain from the unhistorical, brutal attacks of former times, they carefully select from the sources material that puts a bad light on Luther.

These sources have been of great aid to recent Lutheran biographers known to us. They have enriched the writings of such men as Boehmer, Preserved Smith, McGiffert, Bainton and others. Through them we hear the amusing letter written in Greek by the uninitiated and peeved Melanchthon on the occasion of Luther's marriage, which, while faintly praising Luther, also threw vitriol at him with a masked reference that was an insult for both Luther and Katherine. For this he probably had other reasons, besides not being consulted about the marriage beforehand, nor being invited to it. Just at this time Luther was definitely breaking with Erasmus, for whom Melanchthon had very

warm feelings. More details are available regarding events leading up to and surrounding Luther's marriage — unromantic, yet sanctified by the spirit of Christ to become a faithful and harmonious union. All this shows how utterly false are the claims that it was but an episode in the life of a gross sensualist who before entering marriage had lived in concubinage with three nuns at the same time — an accusation which Denifle bases on a humorous letter of Luther in which he speaks of anything but concubinage.

More light is cast on Luther's appearance and habits. We note with interest that at the Koburg, in 1530, he appeared wearing spectacles and a long beard. We take a conscience-soothing look into his study to see a wilderness of disorder. Desks, tables and chairs are covered with books, manuscripts and letters. Every place on which anything could be laid is piled full. Often some things are lost altogether in the confusion of the place, especially since before his marriage Luther kept a dog which only too often played havoc with his papers. In the last year before his marriage he had no one to take care of his room. We see his bed never made and never changed, so that finally both bedclothes and straw begin to disintegrate, with Luther too tired at night to notice it.

II.

We learn to understand Luther's dealings in the bigamous marriage of Philipp of Hesse in 1539 and 1540 better, as we hear that Karlstadt, Capito, Melancthon and Butzer all shared his opinion that the permissions of the law of Moses regarding polygamy, though cancelled for the clergy (I Tim. 3:2), were not cancelled for the laity. Melancthon and Butzer signed Luther's opinion to Philipp. In the Catholic camp many shared Luther's opinion, among them Cajetan. Luther acknowledged to the Elector of Saxony that he had already before followed the procedure he observed in Philipp's case and that his preceptor in the monastery dealt likewise in many cases of that kind. This was in accord with the medieval doctrine of a dispensatio in fo-

ro interno tantum, which was the granting in the confessional of a secret dispensation for acts otherwise forbidden by secular or ecclesiastical law, provided they were not considered to be in conflict with the natural or revealed law. In Luther's denying that the advice was given we also meet with the application of Luther's distinction between mendacium perniciosum and mendacium officiosum, which he makes in the case of the Hebrew midwives lying to save the male infants of their people (Erlangen 35.18). In this he does not follow his great teacher, Augustine, who considered the white lie a sin and said that in the case of the midwives and also of Rahab, who lied to save the spies, only the faith but not the weakness is commended in the Bible. Besides, Luther was overwhelmingly moved by a great respect for the secrecy of the confessional acquired in the Catholic Church. He subscribed to the saying: "Wer die Beicht nachsaget, dem soll mandie Zunge hinten zum Halse heraus reissen." ("He who betrays the confessional should have his tongue torn out of the back of his throat." Erl. 65.207). This explains his unconditional demand at the Eisenach conference in 1540 that Philipp openly deny what everyone already knew, to which Philipp replied: "I will not lie. Lies sound badly. No apostle ever taught a Christian to speak the untruth." In spite of the fact that Philipp's words are perhaps due more to the insistence of Margaret's mother (a relative of Katie) that the marriage be publicly acknowledged than to his love for the truth, which he violated otherwise in connection with this case, we will still hold to what he said over against Luther. But we will judge Luther less harshly when we take all things into consideration.

To get back to the main issue, the bigamous marriage itself, and to add a little more background, we offer a quotation from Preserved Smith's The Age of the Reformation (p. 507), where he says: "One of the striking aberrations of the 16th century, as it seems to us, was the persistent advocacy of polygamy as, if not desirable in itself, at least preferable to divorce. . . . Many of the reformers thought polygamy less wrong than divorce on the biblical ground that whereas the former had been practised in the

Old Testament times and was not clearly forbidden by the New Testament, divorce was prohibited save for adultery. ... Popes, theologians, humanists like Erasmus, and philosophers like Bruno, all thought a plurality of wives a natural condition."

To see Luther's weakness as a common weakness of his entire age helps us to understand this weakness better, though we still see it as a weakness. But does a weakness necessarily destroy a man's greatness? And is it not often just in his weakness that we see that greatness? We see it in Luther's weakness; for he was big enough to acknowledge that he had been wrong and completely reversed his position in 1542 in his "Schrift wider die Bigamie," written against Nebulo Tulrichus, a humanist, I assume, of whom he says: "Wer diesem Buben und Buche folget, und darauf mehr denn eine Ehefrau nimpt, und will, dass es ein Recht sein soll, dem gesegne der Teufel das Bad im Abgrund der Hoellen. Amen. ... Moses ist todt. Lassets aber gleich sein, dass es bei den Vaetern und Mose ein Recht gewesen waere, als nimmermehr kann bewiesen werden, so hatten sie da Gottes Wort, das ihnen zuliess, das haben wir nicht." ("May he who follows this knave and his book and takes more than one wife and insists that it is right, be blessed by the devil with a bath in the abyss of hell. Amen. ... Moses is dead. Let it be that this should have been right with the Fathers and Moses, which can never be proved; but they had God's Word that granted it to them, and we do not." Erl. 65.209). Here Luther, who was never interested in saving face, denies himself and comes out for the truth which he had beclouded, thereby regaining the stature in which he stood in his writing "Wider die himmlischen Propheten," (1524-1525) against the iconoclasts, a writing so fundamental in our theology to demonstrate the total lack of force for us Christians in the New Testament of any argument based on purely Old Testament commands, prohibitions or dispensations specifically directed to the Jews. What shall we say of this notorious Philipp of Hesse case but that, though we see here a very human Luther, a child of his age, in the end he appears in his true greatness — certainly not in as bad a light as

many have placed him.

III.

The picture concerning the extent of the earthly possessions of Luther's parents and of Luther himself has also been altered to greater accuracy by recent discoveries. When Luther speaks of the poverty of his parents and tells of his mother gathering sticks to provide heat for the household, he is giving a true picture of the period of which he is speaking. But the good foundry master Hans Luder and his frugal wife Margaretha managed so well that they eventually could provide for their family of four sons and four daughters and could think of sending their talented Martin off to school. By 1511 Luther's father was part owner of at least six shafts and two foundries, and at his death, July 10, 1534, he left 1,250 Gulden. With the Gulden worth about \$7.00 in our money, that would be \$8,750.00. But lately the Gulden has been figured as high as \$13.40, which would bring the estate close to \$18,000.00. When Luther was promoted to the doctorate, his father came to the festivities with 25 teams of horses, a considerable expense, if he bore it all himself.

Was not Luther himself also a man of means, and are we not in disagreement with facts and figures when we think of him as a poor man? He was poor in his monastery days because of the vow of poverty. He still was in 1523, when the elector allowed him only nine Gulden, about \$65.00, a year for pocket money, besides his clothes and keep. In 1525 at his marriage he had his books and clothes, but no revenue from the cloister, since he had abandoned the cowl, and so small a university stipend that in 1526 he learned woodworking so that he might be able to support his family in case of need. Katherine had nothing, but he did not seem to be concerned about the situation too much, because he said: "I do not worry about debts, because when Katie pays one, another comes." But if Luther didn't, Katie did. She had to watch him, because he was in the habit of giving away valuable household articles, received as

gifts, to the needy, after his last Gulden had gone the same way. She sometimes hid things so that he couldn't. But they managed well with their garden, orchard, fish pond, barnyard with hens, ducks, pigs and cows. Katie did the slaughtering herself. Later she managed a farm at Zulsdorf and the Brauerhaus (brewery), both acquired by Luther. Luther's fortunes gradually changed, at least somewhat, but not as much as some would have us think. Records of the University of Wittenberg, after the formative years for this institution during the Reformation, show the income for university professors considerably increased. Luther, according to Schwiebert, who always figures the Gulden and Florin at \$13.40 (1913 evaluation), was getting \$4,020.00 by that time, and \$5,360.00 at the time of his death. In 1543 Luther evaluated his property for the Tuerkensteuer at 9,000 Gulden, with a debt of 450 Gulden against it. His second will evaluates his books and jewels, including gifts such as rings, chains, silver, and gold gift coins, at 1,000 Gulden. With this addition, Schwiebert estimates Luther's estate at 10,000 Gulden, or \$134,000.00, at his death. This, of course, includes the largest donation, the Black Cloister, valued by Luther at 6,000 Gulden, giving it a value of over \$80,000.00 if figured at \$13.40 for the Gulden. \$134,000.00 is a great deal of money. But does that figure in itself support the view that Luther was a rich man? In the first place, what was the Gulden worth? Valued at \$1.34 in dollar terms of 1563, it has by some been brought up to \$13.40 in dollar terms of 1913. In 1916 Boehmer, however, gives the Gulden a value of about \$7.20. The picture becomes more confusing when Smith, in 1920, gives \$224.00 as the maximum received by a Wittenberg professor, whereas Schwiebert speaks of \$5,360.00. And what about Luther's evaluation of 6,000 Gulden for the Black Cloister? He certainly did not cheat on his tax report, unless somebody later got a big bargain, for in 1563 his heirs sold it, not for 6,000, but for 3,700 Gulden, which Smith says was \$2,072.00, a great difference from the \$80,000.00 evaluation given it on the basis of 6,000 Gulden at \$13.40. And what would it be worth in the inflated dollars of 1971?

All this is very confusing and perhaps should receive a great deal more study, but even with it the difficulty of comparing monetary and real estate values in ages so far removed from each other will always be a hindrance to arriving at exact figures.

It is far better to come to a conclusion on the basis of an observation of Luther's everyday life and circumstances, which is done especially by Bainton and McGiffert. The way Luther kept house was enough to impoverish him. Among those who stayed in the Black Cloister there were only a few paying boarders whom Katie took in to support the family budget. But with two nieces, six nephews, a great-niece, sometimes as many as six tutors for his children, and Muhme Lene as permanent members of his household, besides numerous monks and nuns who found themselves without occupation and indigent pastors who spent varying lengths of time with him, his twelve table companions and other non-paying guests coming and going, and with his imprudent lending habits, Luther's purse was mostly empty. He often had no money of his own to loan to friends and signed notes for them so frequently that Lucas Cranach and others refused to honor his signature to keep him from completely impoverishing himself. In 1527 he had to pawn some silver goblets. In 1540 he had to go without his nightly glass of beer for weeks, because there was none in the house and not a penny left to buy any with. He lists no cash among his possessions. Most of the considerable property he left was unproductive and not immediately negotiable, and Katie found herself in great difficulty to make both ends meet. McGiffert says: "She once complained that he might have been a rich man had he wished, but wealth was the last thing he cared for, and with his disposition he could hardly have compassed it had he tried." He justly put himself in the category of the poor because of the large establishment that he kept, as noted from the humorous lines he wrote in one of his records: "Ich armer Mann so halt ich Haus, Wo ich mein Geld soll geben aus; Da durft ich's wohl an sieben Ort, Und feihlt mir allweg hie und dort. . . Bleib immer schuldig Rock und Schuh, das heist mann Hausgehalten auch, Dasz im Hause

bleibt kein Feuer und Rauch." ("Poor man am I, the way I keep house. When I should pay out money, I find it lacking in seven places and needed here and there. I'm always in debt for coat and shoes. The way I manage leaves neither fire nor smoke in the house." Erl. 65.235). But that was as he wanted it, for he held "riches to be the very least of God's gifts to man." A real estate appraiser may call Luther rich. But the facts of his life tell a different story. Luther was too generous to be rich.

IV.

But did he not also have some great weaknesses of character? Was he, perhaps, as some have called him, "a glutton, a hop brother, a wine barrel, and a drunkard"? Perhaps no phase of Luther's life has been more thoroughly investigated than his use of food and alcoholic beverages. In this connection, his physical appearance has been discussed at length. In later life he was somewhat corpulent, which has been adduced, in what we cannot help but call a low, small and ignorant attempt, to prove that he was a glutton and a wine-bibber. But he was not a gourmet. He loved simple home fare. Melanchthon, who was closely associated with him for 28 years, often marveled how little meat and drink Luther required for his ample physique. He had a heavy, well-developed bone structure and strong shoulders. Extremely thin during the first 38 years of his life, he began gaining in weight in 1520 or 1521 when he began to eat more regularly, which he certainly was entitled to do. But it is doubtful whether he ever weighed over 200 pounds, which is not excessive for a man of his build or height, which must have been a good average or above, and evidently greater than that of Melanchthon, of whom Luther speaks as "Ein armes duerres Maennlein." ("A poor, dried-out little man." Erl. 58.72). Even a moderate protuberance about the middle would have been over-emphasized by the loose and flowing gown Luther customarily wore, and the paunch ascribed to him was perhaps to some extent not so much a matter of truth as of poetry. We are thinking

here of Brander's song in Auerbach's wine cellar: "Es war eine Ratt im Kellernest, Lebte nur von Fett und Butter, Hatte sich ein Raenzlein angemaesst als wie der Doktor Luther," sent out into the English speaking world in the translation: "Once in a cellar lived a rat, He feasted there on butter, Until his paunch became as fat, as that of Dr. Luther!" (Goethe).

As to the things that have been used to prove that Luther was an alcoholic, for instance his signature to a letter as "Doktor Plenus"; his vomiting at Schweinitz in 1523 before the meal, attributed to drinking too much Gruenberger wine; his words in a letter: "I am not now drunk and indiscreet." "Doktor Plenus" proves to be "Doktor Johannes," signed to a letter written for his boy Hans; the vomiting at Schweinitz occurred not once, but over a period of days, since Luther at this time was suffering from a siege of indigestion; and the words of the letter referred to above are merely an expression to emphasize the truth of what he was writing. These are just a few of the things used in an attempt to portray Luther as a toper. All of them have, on closer examination, proved to have as little foundation as the invention of Luther's supposed illegitimate son, Andrew, who in reality was his nephew. It is a waste of time to consider more of them.

This does not mean that Luther was a teetotaler. He relished good wine and mentions vintages he prefers. He liked beer, some of it better than others, for instance, Torgau and Naumburg beer better than Katie's home brew. He used it as an aid to his poor digestion and as a diuretic. He also found it beneficial for his insomnia, and in his later years he sometimes took a more copious draught in the evening to combat it. In an age in which doctors often advised drinking, even copious drinking, for various conditions (e.g., as a remedy for kidney stones), and in which Charles V was not considered immoderate though he took the equivalent of three bottles of wine with his meals, Luther must be considered as very moderate by comparison. His father, to be sure, over-indulged occasionally, and historians state that Luther was rather mild in his judgment of those who occa-

sionally over-indulged a bit, after being engaged all week in difficult and dangerous work.² But he himself was never known to have had too much, and the very thought of his being an alcoholic is absurd, especially in the face of the well-known fact that alcoholics are nearly always failures because they are incapable of fatiguing and continuous mental work. All told, Luther wrote 350 treatises, including translations and pamphlets. His productivity exceeds that of Augustine (232) and Origen and, in spite of poor health, continues unabated from 1521, when Denifle says he began drinking, to the end of his life. Luther the drunkard, the toper, the alcoholic, is a myth so ridiculous that it is hardly worthy of consideration. No one in his day ever preached more against the vice of drunkenness than Luther, and his life was in accord with his preaching.

V.

Another point at which Luther has been subjected to severe criticism involves his language over against his adversaries, that is, at least some of them. Boehmer says:

² The only thing your essayist could find in support of this often repeated claim is contained in a sermon of Luther on I Peter 4:8-11, written in 1525 against the prevalence of drunkenness among males in Germany. In this connection Luther says that it might be tolerated if at some time someone by mistake ("aus Versehn") took one drink too much, or if someone wearied by much hard work and strenuous effort became a bit inebriated ("etwo raeuschig"), or even if a woman took one little drink ("ein Truenklein") more at a wedding than she was accustomed to taking at home. This can hardly be looked upon as a mild judgment on occasional intemperance. Luther is merely, by comparison, pronouncing a less severe judgment on occasional weakness and slight excess, which he then follows up with a blistering denunciation of every type of drunkenness. (Erl. II, 8, 295).

"He does not fight them like the gallant author of the 20th century; he stabs them like wild boars, or mauls them with a flail like an uncouth peasant without mercy and without tiring." See how he addresses them: Emser, whose coat of arms had a goat on it, becomes Bock (goat) Emser; Cochlaeus is referred to as Gauch, that is, a cuckoo or fool, and, with a play on words, "der Gaeuchlius, Dr. Rotzloeffel" ("snotty"); Eck becomes Geck (fop) or Dreck (dirt); the knight Schwenkfeld, Stankfeld (stench-field); Dr. Usingen, Dr. Unsinn (nonsense); Dr. Crotus, Dr. Kroete (toad); the Franciscan Schatzgeier, Schatzfresser (treasure eater). These are but a few of the appellations Luther hurled at his opponents. But let us look at the background for these appellations. If Emser became the "Bock zu Leipzig" for Luther, it is because he sent out his writing, "Wider das unchristliche Buch Martini Lutheri, Augustiners, an den deutschen Adel, etc." ("Against the unchristian book of Martin Luther, the Augustinian, to the German nobility") with the motto, "Huet dich, der Bock stoest dich" ("Beware! the goat will butt you"). If Cochlaeus became "der liebe Rotzloeffel" for Luther, there was a reason. The historian Myconius well characterized this short-statured, coarse man as "das boese und zornige Gaukelmaennlein" ("the evil, angry little puppet"), because of his bitter, satirical, frivolous and unfounded attacks on Luther and his position. Luther says of him at Worms, "Man haette sich des Gauchs schier zu Tode gelacht so naerrisch er redet ... das Gaeuchlin kann nichts, versteht nichts ... und seine eigenen Papisten halten fuer ein lauter Gaeuchlin" ("You almost died laughing at the cuckoo talking such nonsense ... the little cuckoo knows nothing, understands nothing ... and his own Papists consider him nothing but a little cuckoo"). The names Luther used were not mere names but usually hit the nail on the head, in spite of his sometimes too violent temperament, in retort to something directed against him that sometimes was more coarse and rude than what he replied. Consider the reply he gave to Henry VIII ("by his disgrace King of England," whom he called the Luegenkoe-

nig, or king of lies), ³ that "if he would spit lies all over his face, he would spit the truth right down his throat." That is mild, considering what Henry said of Luther in beginning the fray. He called him a cerberus sprung from the depths of hell — serpent — cunning viper, who caresses only to bite, and said, "May the hand of the executioner silence him so that for once at least he may be useful to the church by the terrible example of his death. . . . This man seems to be in pains of labor; he travails in birth; and lo! he brings forth nothing but wind. Take away the audacious covering of proud words, with which he clothes his absurdities — as an ape is clothed in purple — and what remains? A wretched and empty sophist." This is an example of the vitriolic language employed by all of Luther's opponents from Prierias down to Zwingli. Luther was but a child of his age, which makes what he said all the more striking, especially because he said it with a passion for the truth over against those who perverted it. Did not our Savior in like passion use terms such as "vipers, whited sepulchres, thieves, robbers, come to steal, to kill and to destroy," and did not Paul speak of "the dogs of the concision"? That was, of course, dignified language, and we do not mean to defend the coarseness of Luther's age, but merely to view Luther in the light of that age instead of in the light of our own.

But if Luther has been labeled an uncouth barbarian because of his rude language, far worse attacks have been made on him in an attempt to prove that he was foul-mouthed. He has been called "a champion boor, dirty fellow, pig, buffoon, bawd, literary dirt slinger, lubber and pornographer." "Scatography" is found here and

³ An interesting sidelight is the letter sent by Luther to Henry VIII on September 1, 1525, in which he humbly apologized for the vehemence of his reply to Henry; also, that in 1535 Henry sent Luther a gift of 50 Gulden. Whether Luther declined it, as he did the 25 Gulden Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz sent him as a wedding gift in 1525 (which Katie, unknown to Luther, later accepted), we do not know.

there in Luther, but the accusations of pornography can be quickly and thoroughly disposed of. Cochlaeus could become frivolous and downright filthy. Humanistic writings were sometimes not only filthy, but wanton (letters of obscure men). Luther was never even frivolous, let alone filthy and wanton. Where is there anything in his writings that bears that character in an age where so much of it is found? But what about Luther's letter to a melancholy friend, advising him to cheer himself up with "Zoetchen," which has been mentioned even in Lutheran circles with the implication that Luther could relish an off-color story? Boehmer points out that lexicographers show that "Zote" did not have the present meaning in Luther's time, but could mean simply a story or joke. But why not go to Luther? In his writing, "Wider Hans Worst," he calls a lie a "fauler lahmer Zote" ("a rotten lame story" Erl. 26.33). This is not the only place where Luther uses the word "Zote" in the sense of a "story," the only meaning it had in his day. Today's pornographers will find absolutely no support for their filth in Luther. He was very clean.

Yet we will have to acknowledge that, judged by our standards, Luther's language sometimes appears to be in very poor taste. But, considering the poor sanitation, as brought out in Hyma's description of a medieval village, or by Preserved Smith, who mentions a law passed in Geneva that garbage would not be permitted to lie in the streets for more than three days in the summer and eight days in the winter; considering also the uncleanly habits of eating and drinking in Luther's day (no forks), and uncleanly personal habits (handkerchiefs not generally used), the indulgence toward fleas, lice and other vermin, and the itch, we realize that standards were different in many respects, and also in language. Many examples could be brought to prove this, if there were any value in it. People talked about that which filled the air with its aroma! Let us bear that in mind when judging Luther, also the fact that poor expressions are extremely rare in his voluminous writings, so much so that finding them is like coming across a needle in a haystack. Also, when taken from his table talks, such expressions

may not always be authentic or exact because of the way these talks were reported, recorded, gathered and edited. Suffice it to say that, if Luther lived in our day, he would never use some of his expressions any more than he would think of taking the mixture of horse manure and garlic he so trustingly took when the doctors prescribed it for him when he was sick at Smalkald.

We must consider Luther in his time, not only regarding what has so far been mentioned, but also in other questions, to realize how much some have misrepresented Luther, as we become more acquainted with the actual facts and the background. When this is done, we may find weaknesses, but how exceptionally well does not this man stand up even under the most grueling scrutiny of his life, character and theology! — this man whom McGiffert, in dedicating his Martin Luther to his wife, calls "the most human of the world's great men."

Otto J. Eckert

The JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY is published at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, by authorization of the Church of the Lutheran Confession.

Subscriptions: \$3.00 per year, \$5.50 for 2 years, payable in advance.

Issues are dated: March, May, July, October, December.

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THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD *

What is the "righteousness" of God? What notion comes to our mind when we hear that word? If we are like most people, we probably think first of His holiness and sinlessness, or of His justice and fairness. Is such an understanding substantially correct, or does it fall short of the full Scriptural meaning that lies in the term, the "righteousness" of God?

In the paragraphs which follow we explore briefly the words "righteousness" and "righteous" as they are used in the book of Isaiah. Inasmuch as the "righteousness" of God is an important concept in Isaiah's prophecy, this book is an excellent one to use in our search for an answer to the question which we have posed. We hope thereby to arrive at the central or basic idea that underlies the word as it is used by the prophet. If we, for example, look up the word "save" in the dictionary, we will find a number of relatively distinct meanings. And yet we sense an underlying idea in most of these meanings, perhaps a concept like "preservation." We shall strive to find such an underlying idea in the word "righteousness," especially as it is used of God.

I. The Hebrew words we are exploring.

Whenever we find the terms "righteousness" or "righteous" in the King James' version of Isaiah, we invariably have in the Hebrew a word based on the root ts-d-q. This root, according to most scholars, has an original significance of "to be right, straight."

There are four different words in Isaiah which are derived from the root ts-d-q. A verb form, tsadaq, occurs three times in the Qal, and three times in the Hiphil. Two noun forms occur, tsedeq and its feminine counterpart, tsedaqah. Tsedeq occurs 25 times, and tsedaqah 36 times.

* The author was scheduled to present this essay in the form of lectures at the now-cancelled Summer Seminar at Immanuel Lutheran College. He is the pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, Okabena, Minnesota.

An adjective, tsaddiq, is used by Isaiah 13 times.

There appears to be no significant difference between the meanings of tsedeq and tsedaqah. They are used interchangeably in such passages as 51:5-8: "My righteousness (tsedeq) is near; ... and my righteousness (tsedaqah) shall not be abolished. Harken unto me, ye that know righteousness (tsedeq), ... my righteousness (tsedaqah) shall be for ever ..." Only the feminine form, tsedaqah, ever occurs in the plural, and then in the sense of "righteous acts."

In the quotations from Isaiah which are made below, it may be assumed that the translation "righteousness" represents either tsedeq or tsedaqah in the Hebrew text, and that "righteous" represents tsaddiq. Whenever this is not the case, we shall indicate the Hebrew word parenthetically.

II. "Righteousness" in Chapter 1.

The opening vision of the book, found in chapter 1, provides a sort of overview of all that follows in the remaining chapters. We shall, therefore, consider it separately.

a) Righteousness departed. The prophet laments in v. 21: "How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers." Righteousness, we learn, has departed from Jerusalem-Judah. And what kind of spiritual situation exists? The people have rebelled against the Lord (v. 2). They no longer recognize Him as their Owner and Master (v. 3). They have forsaken and despised the Lord and have turned their backs on Him (v. 4). They are characterized as a sinful nation, a people loaded with iniquity (v. 4). They lie under God's punitive judgment (vv. 5-8). Their outward exercise of religion is an abomination to the Lord, and He will not hear their prayers (vv. 10-15). They have become spiritual harlots (v. 21). Their apostasy reveals itself in sins of greed and crimes against their own fellowmen (vv. 21-23). Finally, their continued refusal to hear the Lord, their continued rebellion against Him, will bring total and everlasting destruction upon them (vv. 20, 28).

What a graphic picture of unrighteousness!

b) Righteousness restored. But the Lord, at a glorious future time, will restore righteousness to Zion: "And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city. . . . Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness." (vv. 26f) This blessed situation will be brought about by a complete cleansing from sin (vv. 16-18). The people will be given willing hearts, and they will hear the Word of the Lord (v. 19). They will give evidence of their spiritual state through a doing of that which is right, including works of love toward those in need (v. 17). And the people will dwell under the Lord's continued blessing (vv. 19, 26).

What a graphic picture of righteousness!

III. The concept developed.

As we look farther into Isaiah's prophecy, we find a wealth of meaning attaching itself to the words "righteousness" and "righteous."

a) Righteousness and salvation. It is truly notable to see how often Isaiah speaks of "righteousness" and "salvation" in the same breath. In the passages cited below, the Hebrew words for "salvation" are derived from the root y-sh-c. The meaning of this root, according to the Gesenius-Tregelles Lexicon, is "to be spacious, ample, broad," signifying liberty, deliverance from dangers and distresses. This is the Old Testament word for "salvation," corresponding to the Greek sōzō. It includes divine deliverance from both temporal and spiritual evils, culminating in the salvation won by the Messiah.

33:2-6: "O Lord, be gracious unto us; we have waited for thee: be thou their arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble. At the noise of the tumult the people fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations were scattered. And your spoil shall be gathered like the gathering of the caterpillar: as the running to and fro of locusts shall he run upon them. The LORD is exalted; for he

dwelleth on high: he hath filled Zion with judgment and righteousness. And wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation: the fear of the LORD is his treasure." The Lord here assures His suffering people that they will be delivered from Assyria, which appears as a type of all Zion's foes. Through this "salvation," the Lord fills Zion with "righteousness," and He Himself is thereby exalted.

45:8: "Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation, and let righteousness spring up together; I the LORD have created it." The word "righteousness" is here associated with the fulness of spiritual salvation. Such salvation and righteousness are the creation of the Lord!

45:21: "... and there is no God else beside me; a just (tsaddiq) God and a Saviour; there is none beside me." In a general proclamation to all nations of the world, the righteous Lord proclaims Himself as the only one in whom all men have salvation.

46:13: "I bring near my righteousness; it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry: and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel my glory." 51:5: "My righteousness is near; my salvation is gone forth, and mine arms shall judge the people; the isles shall wait upon me, and on mine arm shall they trust." 51:6: "... my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished." 51:8: "... but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation from generation to generation." 56:1: "... for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed." 59:16: "... therefore his arm brought salvation unto him (Israel); and his righteousness, it sustained him." 59:17: "For he (the Lord) put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head ..." In 61:10 the congregation of the redeemed saints breaks forth into song: "I will greatly rejoice in the LORD, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness ..." In 62:1 the Lord speaks again: "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's

sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." And in 63:1 the Messiah Himself declares: "I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save."

From these many passages we see clearly that the righteousness of God intimately involves His work of salvation. It is as the righteous God that He provides salvation for all mankind, rescues His Zion from all her enemies, and brings her into possession of all the blessings of this deliverance!

b) Righteousness and forgiveness. Inasmuch as the forgiveness of sins is central to the salvation of men, we are not surprised to find the word "righteousness" in sections which refer to such forgiveness. In 33:5 we are told that the Lord "hath filled Zion with judgment and righteousness." At the close of the chapter we are told that "the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity."

53:11 can also be adduced here: "He (the Messiah) shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify (Hiphil of tsadaq) many; for he shall bear their iniquities." On the basis of His substitutionary atonement, the exalted Servant of the Lord shall bring words of pardon to the many, pronouncing them free from their sins. (The forensic sense carried by the Hiphil of tsadaq is apparent also in 5:23 and 50:8.)

c) Righteousness and the Messiah. Nor does it surprise us to find the terms "righteousness" and "righteous" applied to the Messiah, Jesus Christ, for He is the Mediator of mankind's salvation. The first such reference is in 9:7: "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice (tsedaqah) from henceforth even for ever."

The saving work of the Messiah is referred to in 11:4-5: "But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: ... And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins." Again in 16:5: "And in mercy shall the throne be established: and he shall sit upon it in truth

in the tabernacle of David, judging, and seeking judgment, and hasting righteousness." And in 32:1: "Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness ..."

In 42:6 we learn that it was the righteousness of God that prompted Him to call the Messiah to His saving work: "I the LORD have called thee in righteousness." Because this Messiah obediently carried out all the awesome tasks related to this calling, He surely deserves the title given Him by the Lord in 53:11: "my righteous servant."

The all-important work of the Messiah following His exaltation is to bring the fruits of His victory to sinful men. Of that Isaiah speaks in 63:1: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save." Notice how the preaching of the saving Gospel is here referred to as a speaking in righteousness!

d) Righteousness and the punitive judgment of God. Unfortunately, there are many who in spiritual blindness oppose themselves to the Lord's saving will and activity. His righteousness meets all such with punitive judgment. Consider 10:22: "... destruction is firmly decreed, righteousness coming along as a flood." (The King James' version is here quite unclear, so we have supplied our own translation.) 28:17: "Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet ..." 59:17: "For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head; and he put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloke."

e) Miscellaneous references to the righteousness of God. In His righteousness God enters very directly into the affairs of the world. In 41:2 and 45:13 we learn that it was His righteousness that prompted Him to raise up Cyrus to free His people from the Babylonian captivity. (The former passage should probably be translated: "Who raises up from the East him whom righteousness calls to her foot, gives nations before him, and lets him step upon kings?")

The righteousness of God also serves to uphold His people (41:10), it moves God to show longsuffering patience with His rebellious people (42:21), it prompts Him to pro-

claim His Word to men (45:19, 23), it lends immutability to His revealed Will (45:23), it is accompanied with almighty power (45:24), it endures everlastingly (51:6, 8), it frees God's people from all fear of their enemies (54:14, 17), it involves His zealous will (62:1), and will invariably meet with success (61:11; 62:2).

How tremendously rich the concept of God's righteousness truly is!

f) Men as righteous. The righteousness of God has for its aim the salvation of mankind, and it succeeds in this aim: "the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness" (26:9). Through the preaching of the Gospel, men are converted (1:27) and come to trust in the Lord (51:5). These believers are described as "ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the LORD ... ye that know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my law (revealed instruction)" (51:1, 7).

The righteousness of God has accomplished its saving purpose in such believers. Is it any wonder, then, that they should be referred to as "righteous"? This term is used for them by Isaiah in such passages as 3:10 and 26:2, 7.

The righteousness of the Lord accomplishes also the sanctification of these righteous. He rolls out their path, in order that they may walk uprightly before Him (26:7). 33:15 describes the life of such a righteous person: "He that walketh righteously (tsedaqoth), and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil ...". And, of course, the righteous sing their praise to the Lord: "Glory to the righteous" (24:16. See also 61:10-11). But the righteous are well aware that their own lives and works are far from perfect: "But we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses (tsedaqoth) are as filthy rags" (64:6).

And what marvelous blessings the Lord bestows upon His righteous. "And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever" (32:17). 33:16-24 lists such blessings as

security, peace, the saving presence of the Lord, and the forgiveness of sins. More promises from the Lord to His righteous are found in 51:7; 54:14, 17; 58:8; 60:17, 21.

IV. The underlying idea.

In the paragraphs above we have not cited all the passages in Isaiah containing words derived from the root ts-d-q. (The remainder can easily be located in an analytical concordance such as Young's.) But enough have been brought forward to shed a good deal of Scriptural light on the central or basic idea that underlies the word "righteousness" as used of God.

Surely the righteousness of God is far more than a quiescent quality of holiness or justice. It refers, rather, to the saving will and activity of the Lord in creating a people for Himself on the earth. Already in eternity He saw that man would fall into sin and thereby bring upon himself the judgment of eternal damnation. In His grace He formulated a plan of salvation in His Son, Jesus Christ, whereby He might make for Himself a people who would "be His own, live under Him in His Kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness," a people whom Isaiah calls the "righteous." This plan He has been carrying out since the foundation of the world, and will continue to carry out until the end of time. History thus becomes the story of God's righteousness!

This conception of the "righteousness" of God provides a wealth of truth for the preaching of either Law or Gospel. The righteousness of God shall prevail, despite all the foes arrayed against it. How foolish, then, for any man to strive against it! But in this fact that the righteousness of God shall achieve its goal lies comfort for the righteous. They have the assurance that their God is well able to keep them safe from all their spiritual enemies and bring them finally to their eternal rest in heaven! It is because their God is righteous that they can pray with confidence: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

C. Kuehne

A STUDY OF MAN

The English poet, Alexander Pope, in his declining years wrote the poetic Essay on Man. In this essay consisting of philosophical and ethical speculations he seeks an answer as to "why Heaven has made us as we are." Among other things he exhorts: "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan, The proper study of mankind is man."

In this brief paper we shall presume to engage in such a study of man. However, to indulge in mere philosophical speculations and opinions would not really be a "proper study of mankind." Rather, we shall go back to our Bibles, and in particular to our Old Testament. The undersigned has found it very helpful to make use of the book, Synonyms of the Old Testament, by R. B. Girdlestone (Eerdmans), in giving direction to his private study of the Hebrew Old Testament. For pastors who may find it a problem to know where to begin in studying the Hebrew Old Testament in a systematic manner, and who therefore allow their Biblia Hebraica to stand largely neglected on the library shelf, we believe this volume would be very helpful. In this present study, therefore, following the general outline and presentation of Girdlestone, we shall study the Old Testament synonyms for "man." These are the words which God gave by inspiration to the Old Testament writers when speaking about man. We shall find in them shades of meaning which do not come through in the English translation. May this study lead us not only to a better understanding of man, but also to a greater appreciation of God's holy Word, particularly the Old Testament Scriptures. May it whet our appetite to dig more deeply into the original Hebrew. And may it move us even more to glorify His holy name!

I. Adam.

The name given to the first human being was Adam. That name is the actual Hebrew word transposed into English letters. Long after Adam died, the word was still used in reference to human beings. The root meaning of the word signifies to be red or ruddy, and it is the ordina-

ry word used for that purpose. The word Edom comes from the same root, this being the kingdom named after Esau, the twin brother of Jacob, of whom we are told that he was "red" at birth (Gen. 25:25). When Isaiah says by inspiration: "Though your sins ... be red like crimson, they shall be as wool" (Isa. 1:18), that word comes from the root Adam. The common Hebrew word for blood was Dam, which was probably connected to the same root.

This word also takes the form of Adamah in the Hebrew, referring to the earth or soil. Here we see why the first man was called Adam, and why the human race is generally known by the same name in the Hebrew Scriptures. In Gen. 2:7 we read that "The Lord God formed man (Adam) of the dust of the ground (Adamah). " It may perhaps be inferred that the ground was of a reddish color, and that man, too, was of a ruddy complexion, since these meanings are also connected with the word. In Gen. 9:20 we read: "Noah began to be an husbandman" (Adamah), a farmer, one who works with the ground.

The word is generally used throughout the Old Testament to signify human nature or the human race in general, as contrasted with God above and with other creatures here below. The word constantly reminds us that man is of the earth. Malachi uses the word when he says: "Will a man (Adam) rob God?" (Mal. 3:8), made as he is from the ground. Ezekiel uses the word 57 times in the expression "son of man," thereby stressing the fact that the person thus designated is a child of Adam by descent, one of the great family of man, with a body framed of earthy material. The Lord Jesus frequently referred to Himself as the "Son of man," in order to teach His disciples that even though He came down from heaven and was sent from God, yet He was in very deed and truth a man. He was a partaker of human nature. So also, when He called Himself the "Son of God," He taught that He was likewise partaker of divine nature, both God and man.

Ezekiel ascribes to living creatures "the likeness of a man" (Ez. 1:5, 8, 10; 10:8, 14); and declares: "upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as of the appearance of a man (Adam) upon it." And this, we are told, was "the

appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord," (1:26, 28). These remarkable passages indicate that human nature is intended to occupy a very high position in the scale of Creation, and that human nature was originally so constituted as to be capable of becoming the dwelling-place of the Most High. These passages all help to prepare us for the truth set forth by St. John: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth" (John 1:14).

Applications: 1) At the Creation all creatures came into being by the Word of God: "Let there be ..." Man alone was created differently. He was formed from the ground. God breathed into his clay nostrils the breath of life. So man is not an "animal." He is in a class by himself.

2) Man is by nature inclined to be proud of himself, his ancestry and his accomplishments. Whenever the subject turns to "the dignity of man," it would be beneficial to be reminded of our real origin, that we come from the "dust of the ground" (Adam).

3) After the fall into sin God said to Adam: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground (Adam); for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. 3:19). How great that state of humiliation was into which Jesus entered! He who was eternal God "made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men" (Phil. 2:5-8). How thankful we must be that God so earnestly willed the salvation of men that He sent His Son to become one of us.

II. Ish.

The second word for "man" which we shall consider is the Hebrew word Ish. The original meaning of this word is doubtful. The first passage in which Ish occurs is Gen. 2:23, where Adam said: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman (Ishah), because she was taken out of Man (Ish)."¹ This was, therefore,

the first word which man (Adam) used in referring to himself. To distinguish himself from a second being of his own kind and springing from him required that a new word be used. Instead of being isolated and without a fellow-Adam, having God above him and the beasts of the earth below him, Adam now found that he had a companion of a nature congenial to his own, "a help meet for him," as Scripture says (Gen. 2:18). There was now an "I" and a "you," an Ish and an Ishah, the one springing from the other and reflecting the other's nature — the same, yet distinct.

Ish is rightly translated man, as contrasted with woman. It is also translated husband, as contrasted with wife. In Hosea 2:16 the Hebrew word has been carried over into the English in the KJV, where we read: "And it shall be at that day, saith the Lord, that thou shalt call me Ishi (i. e., my Husband); and shalt call me no more Baali (i. e., my lord)."

Ish sometimes implies greatness or eminence, and is thrown into contrast with Adam. Thus in Psalm 49:2 the words "low and high" are literally "children of Adam and children of Ish." In Psalm 62:9 "men of low degree (literally, children of Adam) are vanity, and men of high degree (literally, children of Ish) are a lie."

When we read in Exodus 15:3 that "the Lord is a man of war," the word Ish is used. The passage does not mean that He is a human being, for this would have involved the use of the word Adam. So also in Josh. 5:13 we read that "a man stood over against" Joshua. The sacred writer does not use the word Adam, but Ish, which here and elsewhere can be rendered "person" or "being." The word applies to beings who presented themselves to the eyes of the prophets, without necessarily being partakers of human nature.

There is an interesting little word which is derived from Ish, namely, Ishon. It occurs in Deut. 32:10, where we read: "He kept him as the apple of his eye." (Cf. Prov. 7:2.) Literally this refers to the "little man" which anyone may see reflected in another person's eye. In Lam. 2:18 the figure is slightly different, so that the expression is, literally: "the daughter of the eye." In Psalm 17:8 the two

are combined, so that the literal rendering would be: "Keep me as the little man, the daughter of the eye."

Application: Man is not only Adam (ground), but also Ish, endowed with individual and personal existence. This is also a gift of God for which we thank Him.

III. Enosh.

The third word for "man" is Enosh. This word occurs frequently in the Old Testament, and is generally considered to point to man's insignificance or inferiority. It often means the same as our English "person."

In poetry Enosh is found as a parallel to Adam. "What is man (Enosh), that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man (Ben-Adam), that Thou visitest him?" (Ps. 8:4). Isaiah says: "I will make a man (Enosh) more precious than fine gold; even a man (Adam) than the golden wedge of Ophir" (Isa. 13:12). Job also brings out the insignificance of man when he says: "What is man (Enosh), that Thou shouldest magnify him? and that Thou shouldest set Thine heart upon him?" (Job 7:17). Again: "How should man (Enosh) be just before God?" (Job 9:2).

Enosh is sometimes used where man is brought into direct contrast with his Maker. Job 33:12: "I will answer thee, that God is greater than man (Enosh)."

The etymology and original meaning of this word is very revealing in helping us to understand man. Consider these passages, where the underlined words denote the same root as Enosh: II Sam. 12:15: David's child was "very sick"; Job 34:6: "My wound is incurable"; Jer. 17:9: The heart is "desperately wicked"; Jer. 30:12: "Thy bruise is incurable and thy wound is grievous"; Jer. 30:15: "Thy sorrow is incurable for the multitude of thine iniquity"; Micah 1:9: "Her wound is incurable."

These passages fix the basic meaning of the word. A word whose basic meaning signifies "incurable" is used to designate man. Surely that is intended to teach us something. Perhaps the key is to be found in Gen. 4:26. Seth had been appointed to take the place of Abel (v. 25). Since the human race was now corrupted by sin, Seth called his son by the

name of Enosh (KJV: Enos). We can well appreciate the fact that he was named Enosh, that is to say, incurable, because he was utterly unable to redeem himself from the bondage of corruption. The human race was indeed incurable, but the Lord was its hope.

It is noteworthy that the Messiah was never designated by the name Enosh in the Old Testament. Although He was appointed to become a descendant of Adam, and was to be made "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3), yet in Him there was to be no sin (Heb. 4:15). That which was incurable in our human nature because of sin was not to be found in the perfect Son of God. It is, therefore, a remarkable thing that when the glorious coming of the Messiah is pictured in Dan. 7:13, the Lord is described as "one LIKE a son of man (Enosh).". Perfect as He was, God "made Him to be sin for us, Who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him" (II Cor. 5:21). How wonderful that Christ became like us in our incurable state, that He might earn for us the forgiveness of sins as our substitute and assure us of the hope of eternal life in heaven!

IV. Gever.

A fourth word which is used for man more than 60 times in the Old Testament is Gever. This word represents man as a mighty being. This would seem at first glance to be inconsistent with the name Enosh, but man is full of inconsistencies. Usually translated "man," it is also at times translated "mighty." It is applied to David in a way as to bring out its real meaning in I Sam. 16:18: literally, "a mighty man of strength."

The word is used with a touch of irony in the book of Job (4:17): "Shall a man" (Gever, mighty though he be in his own estimation) "be more pure than his Maker?" (Cf. also 14:10, 14; 22:2 et al.) The word is used in Psalm 34: 8: "Blessed is the man (Gever) that trusteth in Him," where it points to the fact that however great a man may be, yet he is not to trust in his own strength, but in the living God. Again, in Psalm 89:48 we read: "What man (Gever)

is he that liveth and shall not see death?" The point of this question comes out much more clearly when the word Gever is used, so that the sentiment might be thus expressed: "Is there any living man so mighty as to be able to avoid death?"

Neither Isaiah nor Ezekiel uses Gever in his writings, although both use derivatives of this word. Jeremiah makes use of this word in a very interesting manner, when he writes in Jer. 17:5, 7: "Cursed is the (mighty) man (Gever) that trusteth in man (Adam, the earthy). . . . Blessed is the (mighty) man (Gever) that trusteth in the Lord." A word derived from Gever is translated "giant" in Gen. 6:4 and other passages. This same derivative is used in Isa. 9:6: "The Mighty God."

Scripture thus pictures man as being a creature of various sides. But from whichever angle we view man, we find him to be a creature who is "dead in trespasses and sins," and very much in need of a Savior. The more we study what man is, the more we will come to appreciate the grace of God in sending His Son to be our perfect Savior — just the kind of Savior we need the most.

Arthur Schulz

A COMPARISON OF "IMAGE OF GOD" WITH "CHILDREN (SONS) OF GOD"

We are called the "image of God" in numerous places in the Scriptures (tselem, d'mooh, eikoon). The two Hebrew terms used in the Old Testament are virtually synonymous. There is, therefore, no reason for assuming, as some do, that tselem means man's mind and will, whereas d'mooh means a mind that knows God and a will which is in agreement with God's will. That this assumption is incorrect may be demonstrated by observing that in Genesis 1:26-27, where both terms are employed, the word used in the latter verse to sum up the execution of verse 26 is tselem.

It is obvious that man's possession of the image of God (or being in the image of God) does not mean that he is

in full possession of all the attributes of God. If that were so, then Adam and Eve would have been all-knowing, as is the Creator. There would, then, have been no temptation for them in the taste of the forbidden fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The divine attributes were only reflected in man. Man has limited power and wisdom, for instance, whereas the power and wisdom of God is unlimited.

The image of God is not a part of man's essence, for only Christ is the essential image of God. This can be seen from the fact that man's essence was not changed after the Fall. There was no resultant change in the constitution of man; he is still a rational being. Nor was the image merely an external gift of God, for then the loss of the image of God through the Fall could not have affected man's free will. As stated in the Formula of Concord, the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is in error when it declares that "original sin is only an external impediment to the good spiritual powers and not a despoliation or want of the same." (Triglotta, p. 782). Nevertheless, the image of God was an important attribute of man, for Scripture declares that man was created in the very image of God (Gen. 1:26-27; Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10). We are also told that the image of God was to be transmitted through man to his children (Gen. 1:28).

As we study passages that speak of the image of God, we note that when man is in the image of God his mind is in a natural conformity to the mind of God. This, of course, does not mean that man's will and intellect has the power or the extent of God's will and intellect, but that the same principles of judgment are held by man as by God. The will of man, then, moves in a parallel way to the will of God, being guided and moved by the will of God. As a result of the original holiness and righteousness which God gave man in His own image, man in God's image did not suffer pain or death, and was easily able to rule the world. All this was his in order that man could live in blessed and enjoyable harmony with God, and could serve well as God's representative on earth.

God's immutable will was that man should bear His image. This is shown in His command recorded in Genesis

9:6. Because the Lord has the desire to recreate His image in fallen man, men ought not to take each other's lives. Luther makes the statement: "While it is true that man has lost this image through sin, . . . yet it remains true that it can be again acquired through the Word of the Holy Ghost." (Quoted in Pieper's Christian Dogmatics, Volume I, p. 519). In the passage mentioned above, then, (Gen. 9:6) we see not only the lost image, but the image that is to be restored again in Christ (Rom. 8:9).

This work of restoration is being accomplished through the work of the Holy Spirit, and therefore man is called the image of God even in the state of sin (Gen. 9:6; I Cor. 11:7; James 3:9). Man's natural sinful state is the opposite of God's image, but the spiritual life of the Christian believer is a restoration of the original image of God.

The term "image of God" is used unmistakably, then, in speaking of man before the Fall and also of Christ as the essential image of God (Col. 1:15), with the result that man's image of God will be a similarity to Christ. The term, finally, refers to all Christian believers, for in them the image of God is being renewed through the work of the Spirit (Eph. 4:23-24). In a looser sense and in a derived manner, the term may be extended to refer to all mankind, since it is God's will that all men may be restored to the image of God.

In like manner, the expressions "children of God" and "sons of God" are used throughout the Scriptures. It is interesting to note that these expressions are used very seldom in the Old Testament, however. In two places (Ex. 4:22 and Deut. 14:1) the expression seems to refer to the Israelites as the chosen, separate people of God. When the term is used in the book of Job, however, it refers to the angels. In the six remaining Old Testament references (Gen. 6:2; 6:4; Ps. 82:6; 89:30; 103:13; Prov. 14:26) the expression refers to believers, those who have been chosen God's people through the redemption wrought by Christ. Nowhere is the term "children" or "sons" used to express man in general as a creation of God. Therefore the terms as they come into consideration in comparison with the "image of God" have the same sense as the latter term, inasmuch

as they express the relationship which man has with God through the redemptive sacrifice of Christ and through the renewing influence and power of the Holy Spirit. Both terms, then, speak of God's chosen people as those to whom the promise is bestowed, not only among the select nation of the Israelites, but among all mankind.

This is brought out still more clearly when the expressions are used in the New Testament. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God" (Rom. 8:14). Here "sons of God" means those who have become the children of God through the salvation wrought by Jesus and have been led to accept this gift through the power of the Holy Ghost. Thus we see that the term here also has the same idea as "image of God." This same concept of the "sons of God" is found in Rom. 8:19; Gal. 4:5-7; Heb. 2:10; 12:6-8, the passages in which the expression is used.

The expression "children of God" has the same meaning, as is demonstrated by its use in the New Testament. We may be sure, for instance, that it does not refer to the nation of the Israelites as such, for John 11:52 indicates that Christ should die for that nation "and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad." The same thought is brought forth in Rom. 9:6-8.

Two New Testament passages are especially clear in giving us the real meaning of the expression "children of God." Luke 20:36 tells us that we "are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection." Particularly is this truth also evident to us in Gal. 3:26, where it is written: "For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." We may be called children of God, then, because we have been redeemed through Christ, reborn in the Holy Ghost, and look to our resurrection from the dead into eternal life.

We conclude that in comparing the terms "image of God" and "children (sons) of God," there is essentially only the very slight difference that in a very few passages the term "sons of God" seems to refer to the family of Israel, the chosen nation of God. Even so, in a way, this meaning also shows forth the real sense of the terms, for they both

are concerned with those who have been redeemed and are renewed by the Holy Spirit. Thus man as believer has the "image of God" after the Fall, and is a child of God "image of God" after the Fall. It is no longer with the full force with which it pertained to Adam and Eve, for we now have it imperfectly; but through Christ's atoning sacrifice it is again ours, and it is strengthened in us by the Holy Ghost. We are called the children or sons of God for the very same reason, as we have found through the scriptural use of the terms.

John Lau

ASKING — AND LISTENING!

"And it came to pass that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers."

Somehow this famous scene is like a miniature image of a functioning college, because it incorporates the two-fold activity of listening and inquiring which is, in fact, characteristic of a true growing process in human life. Our Savior, just entering His teens, is spending three days in an unusual school. He is in the Temple of His people, at the feet of Israel's teachers; He is being confronted with the faith, the traditions, the history of His nation. He is hearing — and asking. He is also answering.

One has to stop and reflect upon what is happening to this basic principle of educational growth in our day, in our land. Many young people are attempting to turn the normal process upside down. They invade school campuses shouting questions and making pronouncements before they have listened. In fact, they are completely unready to listen at all. They want to establish educational policy, to regulate school life, to decide who shall teach what. But they remind one of a man who comes late to a meeting and immediately starts his words flowing like a geyser without bothering to hear what the subject is or what has already been said about it.

Education begins with the wisdom of the past, not of the present. This does not mean a blind following of tradition. But it does mean that we begin the learning process with the accumulated capital of yesterday. Otherwise we surely get to be like the man who Lord Chesterton said "knows the last word about everything and the first word about nothing."

The young run about our campuses, yelling at our nation: "You are sick and ailing!" But most of them have never listened and soaked up the values of American tradition. People chatter about the new psychology or the new morality; but they have never bothered to give a true hearing to the old. Pilate wasn't bothering to study the record of history before he asked: "What is truth?" Nor did he wait for an answer. So many today, being in a materialistic hurry, close their ears to all the answers of the past and flightily accept the answer that happens to be in fashion.

But what do we hear when we listen? Our Lord in the Temple heard much that was foolish and wrong; for He had teachers and a generation that did not understand the Scriptures. Jesus asked searching questions and, no doubt, exposed the ignorance of Pharisees and Sadducees. But He could ask questions because He had a solid basis for them. He heard the Scriptures read and discussed. He built on the treasures of ancient wisdom. In them was the Truth.

That is the way we come to learn. We know what has been said by them of old time, so we do not speak in a vacuum of today. We listen above all to the Scriptures and thus let the Holy Spirit guide us into all Truth. In this light we review the thoughts and attainments, good or bad, of human experience. We listen to Plato before we listen to Freud, and we listen to Augustine and Luther before we get to reading Dr. Spock or Ann Landers. And then we begin to make value judgments. And we have solid substance for our convictions, for we have studied the record! Then we can the better appreciate the central place in all wisdom which is held by the truth that in Christ we have redemption through His blood: even the forgiveness of sins.

E. Schaller

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VOLUME 11

JULY 1971

NUMBER 3

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