

Lutheran Mission Matters

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Articles

Luther's Teaching and Practice Regarding Believers' Confessing of the Faith and Witness of Christ

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Abstract: The history of the Lutheran churches reveals a consistent interest in and commitment to mission from the sixteenth century on even if initially the churches in central Europe had little or no means for pursuing sending missionaries overseas. The theological commitment to mission, however, was taken for granted by prominent teachers of the Lutheran churches. Luther's theology, centered in the Word of God as the instrument of God's saving power, emphasized that witness to the gospel and the sharing of the message of forgiveness of sins in Christ was the calling or duty of every baptized believer. This takes place, he believed, in "Christian" societies but also outside those societies when it is possible for believers to give such witness there. His own practice reached out to lapsed church members as well as Jews, the only group outside the faith that existed in the German lands at his time. He was always sensitively translating the faith culturally as well as linguistically for his hearers and readers. The Augsburg Confession also was issued to confess the faith to others within the household of faith in line with the Wittenberg conviction that believers are always to give witness to Christ.

Fifty years ago, as I began my theological studies at Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis, a professor impressed upon me that a person cannot be truly committed to the Lutheran confessions without being fully committed to the mission of the church to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ to those outside the faith. That professor was Robert Preus. In the Norwegian Lutheranism in which he had grown up, in its specific forms



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on both sides of the Atlantic, mission and confessional commitment were not contradictory but complementary. Yet also in that culture, the division between faithfulness to the Book of Concord and faithfulness to the Lord's commission to teach the nations has somehow grown up in our time.

Nearly ten years ago, I was invited to give the Aus Memorial Lecture on just this topic. George Aus and his colleague Herman Preus had conducted a running feud throughout their careers: Aus, the pietistic and therefore synergistic missions and evangelism supporter, and Preus, the representative of the old Norwegian "Synod" that was close to Missouri and somehow supposed to be less enthusiastic about outreach to those outside the faith. I replied that I could hardly imagine giving the Aus Lecture; if they had offered a (Herman) Preus Lecture, I would, of course, have accepted. I received the immediate response, and I am sure that e-mail conveyed the appropriate grin and/or rolling of the eyes from the friend who had sent the invitation: That was precisely why they wanted me. The perceived tension between commitment to the Lutheran Confessions and at least some forms of bringing the Gospel to those outside the faith has introduced false accents to more than one branch of the Lutheran church.

The perceived tension between commitment to the Lutheran Confessions and at least some forms of bringing the Gospel to those outside the faith has introduced false accents to more than one branch of the Lutheran church.

But such false myths are hard to destroy. Where does this myth come from? Perhaps from the founder of the modern discipline of missiology, Gustav Warneck, who misread Luther and attributed to him the attitudes of the Liberal German theologians who claimed the name "Lutheran" but understood little of his way of thinking—although the examples of many leaders of the revival of Lutheran confessional theology in the nineteenth century, such as Wilhelm Löhe, Louis and Theodor Harms, and Friedrich Brunn should have made it obvious to Warneck that this was not the case.

Perhaps the myth simply arises more recently from those who are afraid of losing the treasure and thinking that burying it is the best way to do that. We live in a frightening time, and such an attitude is easy to develop. The Lord discourages that attitude. He knows more about the lordship of the Holy Spirit over His Church than we do.

A Bit of History

The separation of commitment to our Confessions and witness to those outside the faith does not reflect the historical record. It is true that some Lutherans have

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always ignored the wider mission of the church to bring false believers to true faith in Jesus Christ. But from the sixteenth century on, the opposing examples are multiple. For example, the Swedes were trying to convert the Lapps in the north of the Nordic lands at the end of the sixteenth century, and Johann Campanius brought the Small Catechism into Lenape for the Delaware tribe in the mid-seventeenth century. By that time the Danes had made a few false starts at mission from their trading colonies on the west African coast, and Duke Jakob Ketteler of Courland, in present Latvia, had sent missionaries to the lands he acquired as repayment for a debt from Charles II of England on the west African coast and in Tobago. Three hundred ten years ago, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau began planting the first church that has remained in a Majority World country in southeast India at the Danish colony of Tranquebar.

Among the most famous statements of Lutheran Orthodoxy in regard to mission is the infamous Opinion of the Wittenberg faculty dated February 27, 1651, in which it allegedly limited the command of Jesus to make disciples of all nations to the apostolic times. Long heralded as a proof that seventeenth-century Lutherans were not interested in mission, this text bears closer scrutiny. For it was not answering a question regarding mission but rather regarding the legitimacy of the Lutheran church and the validity of its claim to be church at all. Roman Catholic critics, above all Robert Bellarmine, had argued that since the Lutherans did not engage in sending missionaries to distant shores, it was not truly the church instituted by Christ. An imperial counselor in Vienna, Erhard, Truchsess of Wetzhausen (1617–1664), in the midst of the process of his conversion from Lutheranism to the Roman obedience, had posed six questions to the Wittenberg faculty regarding what constitutes the true Christian Church. One of his “scruples” regarding the authenticity of the Lutheran church raised the question regarding the absence of preachers of the Augsburg Confession in the “Orient, the tropics, and the New World.” Whether wisely or not, the Wittenberg faculty defended the legitimacy of the Lutheran confession by addressing only the question of the unmediated call to preach the Gospel in the wider world. The Wittenberg answer repeated the medieval conviction, represented also two generations earlier in Philip Nicolai’s *De regno Christi* (1597), that the Gospel had indeed spread very early to all peoples and that they bore responsibility for keeping it alive in their own midst. Therefore, the Wittenberg faculty rejected participation in converting the distant heathen as a necessary mark of Christ’s Church even though it did not rule out activities of Lutherans such as those mentioned above in this Opinion.¹

Johann Gerhard’s similar statement a quarter century earlier occurred in the same context, the contention of Roman Catholics that the only true church was the papal church because the succession of the apostles devolved on the bishop of Rome; proofs for this contention included papally commissioned missionaries in various parts of the world. Gerhard was arguing against the Flemish-born Hadrian à Savaria

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(1532–1612) on this point as he developed his defense of the legitimacy of his church,² but this argument fit into the larger dispute with Bellarmine over the proper marks of the Church and whether the Lutherans qualified as true Church.³ It is seldom noted that Gerhard also claimed that the calling of the heathen through the Gospel continued in his day,⁴ that Lutherans were bringing Jews and Turks to faith in Christ,⁵ and that Lutheran preachers of the Gospel had converted people in “Iceland; Greenland, Lappland, Livonia, and other places to the true God.”⁶ Gerhard cited Roman opponents’ complaints that “the Lutheran sect” had dared to go “to the Greeks, to the Indians, and to the new world” against Bellarmine.⁷

Such attitudes reflected the teaching and activity of Luther’s and Melancthon’s own disciples.⁸ Some ignored the mission of the Church to spread the Gospel to the heathen, but others did not despite the fact that the most widespread machinery for non-European mission in the sixteenth century was an imperialist government seeking overseas colonies. Lutheran princes did not indulge in such ventures for the most part. In addition, like Luther and Melancthon, most of their followers met almost no non-Christians in their entire lifetimes. When they did, many tried to bring Jews into their congregations, sometimes with success. Two of the members of the team that composed the Formula of Concord demonstrated their conviction that Christians are called to give public witness to their faith to those who do not share it. Jakob Andreae shared his view of lay witness to the faith and tried to cultivate it when he preached a series of thirty-three sermons in 1566 in Esslingen, a town in which Lutherans often encountered no unbaptized people but rather Roman Catholics, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and Schwenkfelders. He grounded his series in the lament of the “common people” that they did not know how to converse with those of other churches when they met them on the roads and in the markets.⁹ “Every Christian is bound to give an account of his faith, and whoever is not able to do so should not call himself a Christian, as we read, ‘be ready at every time to give an answer to everyone who asks regarding the basis of your hope, and do so with gentleness and respect’” (1 Pt 3:15). Artisans dare not be silent when asked to explain their work, and believers dare not fail to speak of their faith when given the opportunity.¹⁰

Andreae distinguished two kinds of Christian witness, that of those who can read the Scripture and use their reading to fashion their witness and that of those who cannot read and must depend on their catechetical knowledge for their testimony.¹¹ “Just as the alchemists draw the best juice from a plant through the process of distilling, and call it the quintessential, that is, the very best power and juice, so it is with this juice that is drawn from the Holy Scripture. For if you would put the entire Holy Scripture under the wine press, or melt it into a nugget, you would not be able to press more out of it than these six chief parts.”¹² Andreae proceeded to instruct the latter in witnessing to their faith with examples. To those Roman Catholics who “might want to persuade you that you should doubt whether or not you have a

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gracious God through Christ because you sin every day and still have many transgressions to your credit. . . . You tell them no, and grab the first word of the Creed, ‘I believe.’ Believe means not doubting. I believe in the forgiveness of my sins. Therefore, I do not doubt. I sin daily because of my weakness, and therefore, I pray daily, ‘forgive us our trespasses,’ and I believe this forgiveness through our Lord Christ, who has paid for these sins and wants to reckon this to me.”¹³ In this manner Andreae hoped to foster the testimony of common people in their situation.

Nikolaus Selnecker used his comments on the book of Jonah to make one practical suggestion for German involvement in God’s efforts to convert those outside the faith. On the basis of God’s clear concern for the Gentiles, he urged his readers: “If people can take long, dangerous, extended trips today, from Germany to India or to the new world, to obtain merchandise, spices, and commodities, why should they be excused from taking along the Word of God, the most precious treasure, even if they have to preach the gospel more than a hundred miles away?” They should not speculate about why God has not given all people the message. Instead, they should do what God enables them to do to share Christ’s message. Few of his contemporaries made such a journey, but Selnecker was nonetheless able to think such concrete, practical terms.¹⁴

Six Theses on Luther’s Sense of the Mission of God

That this view reflects Luther’s own attitudes and theology of the Word of God is clear from the little book assembled by Volker Stolle at Oberursel and translated by Klaus Detlev Schulz, *The Church Comes from All Nations. Luther Texts on Mission*.¹⁵ Luther’s own understanding of the mission on which Christ sent His Church at the end of each Gospel can be summarized in six theses.

1. *Luther understood the Word of God to be the foundation of reality and the instrument of the ultimate power of the Creator.*

Martin Luther grew up in a world that had inherited its basic perception of what it means to be Christian and to be human from pre-Christian Germanic traditional religion. When the tribal leaders had introduced their people to the Christian message, the church lacked sufficient personnel to adequately instruct the majority of the population, and it lacked the imagination to translate much of its message, formed in Mediterranean cultures, into the cultural setting north of the Alps. The terminology changed, but the foundational assessment of the relationship between God and the human being focused on the human performance of sacred or religious rituals that aimed at attracting divine favor. The carrying out of ritual mediated by the hierarchy—especially the local priest who said Mass, where a person’s appearance and passive participation sufficed to please God—formed the connection between human creature and Creator.

Through his study of Scripture in his early years as professor, Luther came to a radically different conclusion. He found that God approaches sinners, not vice versa, and that He does so by speaking to them. His word of absolution re-creates them from rebels who doubt His Word and reject His lordship into His children, whose lives are framed and driven by trust in what He has done for them in the death and resurrection of Christ.¹⁶

Therefore, Luther abandoned Aristotle's understanding that reality consists of substances that can be described in terms of eternal rules that govern the universe and can be ascertained by the "rational being" [*animal rationale*] that Aristotle defined the human being to be. Instead, from early on in his career, Luther viewed reality as relational at its core.

For Luther, all creation, every creature, owes his, her, or its existence to God's speaking each one into existence. God speaks and things happen, as they did when He first spoke, piercing the darkness with His creative Word. "God speaks a mere Word, and immediately the birds are brought forth from the water. If the Word is spoken, all things are possible."¹⁷ "By speaking God created all things and worked through his Word. All his works are words of God, created by the uncreated Word."¹⁸ "All created things are produced and governed by God's Word. He spoke, and it happened."¹⁹ Three years earlier than his lectures on Genesis 1, in 1532, he observed, "A person's word is a little sound that disappears into the air and quickly vanishes. God's Word is greater than heaven and earth, even death and hell, for it is the power of God and remains forever. If it is God's Word, a person should hold it fast and believe that God himself is talking with us."²⁰ In lecturing on Psalm 2, a few months later, he reaffirmed: "what the Hebrews always knew," that God's Word and things are all the same: דָּבָר [*davar*, the Hebrew word for both "word" and "thing"]. "When Scripture says that God is speaking it understands a word of reality [*verbum reale*] or action, not just a sound, as our words are. God does not have a mouth, a tongue, for he is Spirit. Therefore, the mouth and tongue of God refers to, 'he spoke, and it happened,' and when he speaks, mountains tremble, kingdoms dissipate, and the whole earth is moved. His is another kind of speaking than ours." When God talks, it "is a language different from ours. When the sun rises, when the sun sets, God is speaking. When plants grow, when human beings are born, God is speaking. Accordingly, the words of God are not empty air but things very great and wonderful, which we see with our eyes and feel with our hands."²¹ Luther's relational view of reality combined with his conviction that God acts through his Word and that God's speaking makes things happen is the presumption behind His urgency when He is urging His readers and hearers to share the good

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news about Jesus with others since that good news is the Holy Spirit's tool for bestowing the forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation.

2. *Luther believed that Baptism brings with it the call to every child of God to be agents who deliver God's life-giving Gospel in the forgiveness of sins to others.*

When Luther added the phrase "mutual conversation and consolation of the brothers," he was borrowing a phrase from the brothers of the Augustinian order, lay and ordained, who were pledged to bring consolation and support to each other. But it is clear that, as he did with other terminology of the monastic way of life, he universalized it; for he believed that God has placed the task of bringing His Word to others in the calling of all whom He baptized. In his postil for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, Luther wrote that

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all who are Christians and have been baptized have this power [to forgive one another's sins]. For with this they praise Christ, and the word is put into their mouth, so that they may and are able to say, if they wish, and as often as it is necessary: "Look! God offers you his grace, forgives you all your sins. Be comforted; your sins are forgiven. Only believe, and you will surely have forgiveness." This word of consolation shall not cease among Christians until the last day: "Your sins are forgiven, be of good cheer." Such language a Christian always uses and openly declares the forgiveness of sins. For this reason and in this manner a Christian has power to forgive sins.²²

The reformer elaborated on this "mutual conversation and consolation" of believers in his Large Catechism. When "some particular issue weighs on us or attacks us, eating away at us until we can have no peace" or when we "find ourselves insufficiently strong in faith," then Luther advised laying our troubles before another believer "at any time and as often as we wish." From fellow Christians believers receive "advice, comfort, and strength." For "by divine ordinance Christ himself has placed absolution in the mouths of his Christian community and commanded us to absolve one another from sins. So if there is a heart that feels its sin and desires comfort, it has here a sure refuge where it finds and hears God's Word because through a human being God looses and absolves from sin."²³ Nearly a decade later, in preaching on John 14:13–14, Luther explained that Christians naturally want to help others receive deliverance and life in Christ just as they have. "A Christian cannot be still or idle but constantly strives and struggles mightily, as one who has no other object in life than to disseminate God's honor and glory among the people, that others may also receive such a spirit of grace."²⁴

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The reformer provided concrete details about his vision of Christians sharing the Gospel with each other individually or in small groups when he was preaching to the Wittenberg congregation on Matthew 18:15–20 a few months later:

Here Jesus is saying that he does not only want [the condemnation of sin and proclamation of the forgiveness of sins] to take place in the church, but he also gives this right and freedom where two or three are gathered together, so that among them the comfort and the forgiveness of sins may be proclaimed and pronounced. He pours out [his forgiveness] even more richly and places the forgiveness of sins for them in every corner, so that they not only find the forgiveness of sins in the congregation but also at home in their houses, in the fields and gardens, wherever one of them comes to another in search of comfort and deliverance. It shall be at my disposal when I am troubled and sorry, in tribulation and vulnerable, when I need something, at whatever hour and time it may be. There is not always a sermon being given publicly in the church, so when my brother or neighbor comes to me, I am to lay my troubles before my neighbor and ask for comfort. . . . Again I should comfort others, and say, “[D]ear friend, dear brother, why don’t you lay aside your burdens. It is certainly not God’s will that you experience this suffering. God had his Son die for you so that you do not sorrow but rejoice.”²⁵

Standing in shadow of the cross, believers exercise their calling to bring the Gospel’s comfort and consolation often without an explanation for the evil others encounter. They have something better. They bring the person of Christ and the restoration of life that flows from His empty tomb to those whose lives are ragged and torn.

3. *Luther believed that Christians give witness to those outside the faith as well, even though most of his followers in sixteenth-century central, eastern, and northern Europe had little or no occasion to meet unbaptized individuals.*

In 1523, preaching to the people of the Wittenberg congregation on 1 Peter 2:9, Luther explained that every Christian, in the priestly office,

proclaims to the other the mighty deed of God; how through him you have been redeemed from sin, hell, death, and from all misery, and have been called to eternal life. You should also instruct people how they should come to that light. Everything then should be directed in such a way that you recognize what God has done for you and you, thereafter, make it your highest priority to proclaim this publicly and call everyone to the light to which you are called. Where you see people that do not know this, you should instruct them and also teach them how you learned, that is, how a person through the good work and might of God is saved and comes from darkness into light.²⁶

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In the same year, 1523, Luther wrote that all Christians have the duty to “preach and teach the gospel to erring heathen or non-Christians” in the absence of a pastor.²⁷ He also taught his readers to pray for the conversion of those outside the faith.²⁸

From early on, Luther also proclaimed to the Wittenberg congregation that God’s Word proceeded from Christ and His apostles into the world, and its movement will continue to the end of time, like a stone thrown into the water, which moves out in concentric circles, as he preached on Ascension Day 1522, expressing sentiments similar to those in the Christmas sermon on Titus 2:11 and the Epiphany sermon on Isaiah 60:1–6 composed for his *Wartburg Postil* earlier that year.²⁹ On Ascension, he noted that the preaching of the Word “was begun by the apostles, and it constantly goes forward, is pushed on farther and farther by the preachers, driven hither and thither into the world, yet always being made known to those who have never heard it before although it may be stopped in the midst of course and condemned as heresy.” But “it is still on its way.”³⁰ Sermons from 1525 and 1533 echoed this sentiment,³¹ as does his lecture of 1530 on Psalm 117:1, in which he proclaimed that the nations praise the Lord because the Word had spread, the heathen become subject to Christ, and “it is not finished yet.”³² Luther viewed the spread of the Gospel as necessary for the existence of the church. “If Christians were without such a commission, if they had no common bond in the way of seal or sign, the organization would neither be expanded nor preserved. Christ wishes to bind us together by a divine communion to further the spread of the gospel that others through our confession may be brought into the fold,” he commented in 1522.³³

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4. *Luther put this conviction regarding Christian witness to Christ into practice to the extent possible in his “Christian” culture.*

Luther was prepared to put this theoretical base into practice in his own time. He hardly met more than twenty-five unbaptized adults in his entire life, all of them Jewish; and the only other group of people outside the Christian faith which he believed his hearers had any chance of encountering were Turks, whom they might meet if taken prisoner in the Turkish invasions. He regarded good catechetical training as preparation for such witnessing, should Christians endure the misfortune of capture.³⁴ Although his high hopes for mass conversions of Jews³⁵ disappeared, he continued to counsel patience and sensitivity in Christian witness to Jewish people, beginning with an affirmation of Jesus’ nobility and worth as a human being and only gently proceeding to His being God.³⁶

5. *As the consummate translator, Luther recognized the importance of faithfulness to the text of Scripture and sensitivity to the ever-changing context in which God has placed his human creatures as historical beings.*

Luther was, of course, the consummate translator. Recent work by Michael DeJonge of the University of South Florida and Christiane Tietz of the University of Zurich has focused on the nature of all practice of religion as an exercise in translation because the adherents of every religion, no matter how much they wish to preserve what they are handing down from the past, are handing their beliefs and practices down in the historical contexts of their times and places.³⁷ Lamin Sanneh has noted that translation comes naturally to those who trust in the God, who translated Himself into human flesh. They use a translation of the words of the Savior from Aramaic into Greek as their authoritative text, and they learn native languages upon entering into a new culture so that God's Word may be translated into the language and thought patterns of its new home.³⁸ James Nestingen put Sanneh's theory to use in analyzing Luther's Small Catechism as a very successful attempt to translate Latin Christianity's hand-me-downs into Germanic culture.³⁹

This sensitivity to his own culture sprang from Luther's strong sense that God created His world within the framework of time and that the passing of time presupposes that He created human beings as historical creatures, whom He has located in various periods of the history that He shares with humankind in specific geographical places. That means that Luther was sensitive to context and to the supra-contextual nature of the message of God's Word that needs to be translated into specific times and places. "Therefore, as in the world every country and people have their own special laws, rights and customs, so, like in outward temporal appointments, there must also be a difference in the preaching. Every station and office must be responsible and taught in its appointed sphere."⁴⁰ God has a strategy, Luther believed. Despite these cultural differences, all believers are united by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ and by Baptism.

It is, indeed, wisely ordained by Christ that in his kingdom, which shall expand into all the world and among all nations, he instituted not many ceremonies, as was the custom among the Jews, nor a diversity of forms among the various countries and nations, peoples and languages, but he ordained only the simplest and most ordinary sign [Baptism]. It is everywhere observed in the same way—just as the preaching of the gospel is alike in all places, making all, adults and children, rich and poor, great and humble, one and all, in the world equal before God. Hence, if a Christian from the uttermost parts of the world should come to us and observe our forms, he would have to say "they are the very same Word and sign that I have learned and received."⁴¹

6. *The Augsburg Confession represents Philip Melancthon's presentation of the Wittenberg theologians' conviction that they had been given God's Word in order to share it with their own flock, with the household of faith, and with the world.*

The general framework of Luther's understanding of the Word of God, how it functions, and how it had spread across the nations through those whom God sends by virtue of His baptismal promise was shaping the thinking of his colleague, Philip Melancthon, when he went to Augsburg in 1530 to advise the governments committed to reform in the Wittenberg manner as they answered Emperor Charles V's summons to explain their deviation from the Roman obedience. Melancthon chose "*confessio*" as the word for the document that was to identify what the Wittenberg Reformation was about and to label the action which that document served to carry out in proclaiming the Gospel. By discarding his initial title for his presentation, "*apologia*," and turning from defense to confession, Melancthon embraced the active understanding of God's working through His Word that Luther had propagated for more than a decade in Wittenberg. In so doing, he gave the word "confession" a new usage in Christendom and arrived at a new way of defining the church on the basis of its public confession. The Wittenberg understanding of this word, like several others, has been described by Peter Fraenkel as a "verbal noun," that is, a noun that describes an action.⁴² One cannot have a confession without confessing it. In its historical, political, ecclesiastical context, Melancthon focused above all on the ecumenical witness to existing Christendom that formed the vital heart of Wittenberg reform. But the implications of the Wittenberg understanding of God's Word commit the adherents of the Augsburg Confession to active evangelistic witness whenever they have opportunity to do so.⁴³

One cannot have a confession without confessing it.

Conclusion

Luther presumed that the Holy Spirit is active in speaking a performative, re-creative word of promise that conveys the benefits of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ to those whom He moves to trust that promise. Luther also held that the Holy Spirit uses His human disciples as the instruments for bringing the Gospel to the people around us through the proper application and interaction of Law and Gospel. The model of confessing the faith to others that the princes and municipal representatives of Germany presented to the church in Augsburg in 1530 calls all of their followers to continuing confession of the faith: first, to their fellow believers within their own congregations, in edification; second, to those outside the faith, in

evangelization; and third, to the wider household of faith, in ecumenical sharing of insights and concerns.⁴⁴

Endnotes

- ¹ *Consilia theologica Witebergensia . . .* (Frankfurt/Main, Wust, 1664), 196–197.
- ² Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. Walter A. Hanson (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1961), 349, Johann Gerhard, *Loci Theologici: cum pro adstruenda veritate . . .*, ed. Eduard Preuss (Berlin: Schlawitz, 1863–1885), XI:288ff., IX:323.
- ³ On seventeenth-century Lutheran ecclesiology, see Kenneth G. Appold, *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung. Das theologische Disputationswesen an der Universität Wittenberg zwischen 1570 und 1710* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).
- ⁴ *Loci Theologici*, XIV:191.
- ⁵ *Loci Theologici*, XII:59.
- ⁶ *Loci Theologici*, XII:60.
- ⁷ *Loci Theologici*, XI, 287. Elert, 349.
- ⁸ The following paragraphs are excerpted from Robert Kolb, “Late Reformation Lutherans on Mission and Confession,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (2006), 26–43.
- ⁹ *Drey vnd dreissig Predigten Von den fufe]rnmesten Spaltungen in der Christlichen Religion/ so sich zwischen den Ba[e]pstischen/ Lutherischen/ Zwinglischen/ Schwenckfeldern vnd Widerteuffern halten* (Tübingen, 1580), originally published 1568, A1b–A2b. These sermons served Andreae as the model for his efforts in 1573 to reconcile feuding Lutherans, efforts that paved the way to the Formula of Concord.
- ¹⁰ *Drey vnd dreissig Predigten*, 4:197.
- ¹¹ *Drey vnd dreissig Predigten*, 4:197–198.
- ¹² *Drey vnd dreissig Predigten*, 4:199–200. Andreae utilized the catechism extensively in his theological leadership, see Robert Kolb, “Jakob Andreae’s Concern for the Laity,” *Concordia Journal* 4 (1978), 58–67.
- ¹³ *Drey vnd dreissig Predigten*, 4:201–202.
- ¹⁴ Nicolaus Selnecker, *Daß ander teil Der Propheten . . .* (Leipzig, 1579), 116a, 113a–116a.
- ¹⁵ Saint Louis: Concordia, 2003.
- ¹⁶ Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther and the Enduring Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016), 1–6, 35–97.
- ¹⁷ *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–1993 [henceforth WA]), 42:37,4–6, *Luther’s Works* (Saint Louis/Philadelphia: Concordia/Fortress, 1958–1986 [henceforth LW]), 1:49.
- ¹⁸ Genesis lectures, 1535, WA42:35, 38–40, LW1:47.
- ¹⁹ WA42:23,5–13, LW1:30; cf. his lecture on Psalm 2, 1532, WA40, 2:230, 20–32, LW12:32.
- ²⁰ WATischreden1:69–70, §148.
- ²¹ “Lecture on Psalm 2,” 1532, WA40, 2:230, 20–25, 231, 28; LW12:32–33.
- ²² WA 10,1:412–414; “Luther’s Church Postil, Sermon on Matthew 9:1–8,” 1526, *Sermons of Martin Luther*, ed. John Nicholas Lenker 5 (1905; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983 [henceforth CP]), 209.
- ²³ Large Catechism, 1529, Confession 13–14, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelische-Lutherischen Kirche*, ed. Irene Dingel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 1159, line 34–1160, line 4, *The Book of Concord*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 477–478.
- ²⁴ “Sermons on John 14,” 1537, WA 45:540, 14–23, LW 24:87–88. Cf. “The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics,” 1526, WA 19:482–523, LW 36:359.

- ²⁵ “Sermons on Matthew 18-24,” 1539–1540, WA 47:297, 36–298, 14.
- ²⁶ WA12:318, 25–318, 6, as translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 20.
- ²⁷ WA 11:411, 31–413, 6; LW 39:309–310.
- ²⁸ *A Simple Way to Pray*, 1535, WA 38:360, 29–361, 5; LW 43:195.
- ²⁹ WA 10,3:139,17-140,6, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 24–25; on Titus 2:11, WA 10, 1:21, 3–23, 14, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 98–99; on Isaiah 60, WA 10,1:541, 4–555, 15, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 91–95.
- ³⁰ 3:202.
- ³¹ WA 17,1:257–258, and 442, 31–443, 9; WA 37, 1:77–78, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*; sermon on Matthew 24:8ff., WA 47:565, 11–566, 3, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 82–83.
- ³² WA 31, 1:228, 20–233, 8, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 100–102.
- ³³ CP 3:234.
- ³⁴ “Admonition to Prayer Against the Turks,” 1541, WA 51:621, 5ff., LW 43:239; “A Military Sermon against the Turks,” 1529, WA 30, 2:185, 18–195, 6, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 71–73.
- ³⁵ “That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew,” WA 11:314, 26–316, 2, 336, 22–36, LW 45:200–201, 229.
- ³⁶ In a sermon on Matthew 4, February 14, 1524, WA 15:447, 11–22, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 60; sermon on Jeremiah 23:6–8, November 25, 1526, WA 20:569, 25–570, 12, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 61; letter to Heinrich Genesisius, pastor in Ichtershausen, July 9, 1530, on how to instruct a prospective Jewish convert, WA Br 5:452, 1–28, translated in Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*, 63–64.
- ³⁷ Michael P. DeJonge and Christiane Tietz, eds. *Translating Religion. What Is Lost and Gained?* (New York/Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), see esp. the editors’ introduction and conclusion, 1–12 and 169–173.
- ³⁸ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message. The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2009).
- ³⁹ “Luther’s Cultural Translation of the Catechism,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 15 (2001), 440–452.
- ⁴⁰ CP 3:222.
- ⁴¹ CP 3:235.
- ⁴² Peter Fraenkel, “Revelation and Tradition. Notes on Some Aspects of Doctrinal Continuity in the Theology of Philip Melancthon,” *Studia Theologica* 13 (1959): 97–133.
- ⁴³ Robert Kolb, *Confessing the Faith, Reformers Define the Church, 1530–1580* (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1991), 138–140.
- ⁴⁴ Charles P. Arand, Robert Kolb, and James A. Nestingen, *The Lutheran Confessions, History and Theology of the Book of Concord* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 9–11.