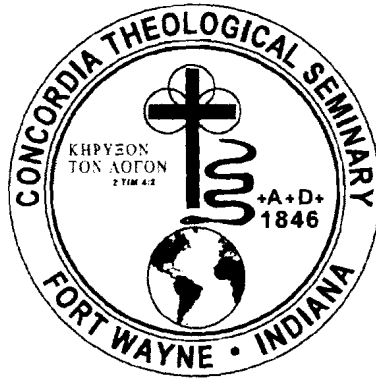


CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY



Volume 72:4

October 2008

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More on the Death of Jesus and Its Meaning

For Paul, Christ did not merely die but died *for sins*. His death determines the value of his life and, in turn, determines our relationship to God. Christ's death comes under the topic of atonement; its benefits come under the topic of justification. Since the apostolic period both doctrines have been interpreted differently. One understanding of Christ's death as atonement has been more prominent than others at different times in history. By concentrating on one understanding and not giving sufficient attention to others, the church falls into error. The same is also true for justification. In this issue, we continue the discussion on the atonement that began in the July 2008 issue (CTQ 72:3) and expand it to include justification. William C. Weinrich shows that Adam's transgression was not just another sin among others: the fall corrupted our human nature and thus immortality was replaced with death. According to Athanasius this could only be resolved by the divine Word assuming human nature and dying to offer atonement. Naomichi Masaki shows that many contemporary views fit under "Christ died for sins." Some develop previously undeveloped aspects. Other understandings are so false that the totality of Christianity is corrupted. Prominent in Luther studies is Tuomo Mannermaa, who holds that for the Reformer justification takes place by the indwelling of the deity in the believer. Timo Laato correlates the doctrine of justification as held by Mannermaa and his Finnish Luther School with the views of the Reformation-era theologian Andreas Osiander and traditional Roman Catholicism. Jonathan Edwards brings to mind an early colonial American theologian who outdid John Calvin in his sermon on sinners in the hands of an angry God. Lawrence R. Rast Jr. traces how Edwards, in attempting to ameliorate a severe doctrine of predestination by allowing faith to be the individual's voluntary response, introduced Arminianism into the core of his theology. We hope these articles enrich your understanding of Jesus' death and its benefits.

For those who enjoy early Missouri Synod history, a contribution in the Theological Observer section discusses an event among our spiritual ancestors that has been often passed over, maybe with good reason.

David P. Scaer
Editor

Justification: The Stumbling Block of the Finnish Luther School¹

Timo Laato

At various times Tuomo Mannermaa has called attention to the significance of his studies on Luther in ecumenical doctrinal discussions between Lutherans and Roman Catholics.² In his opinion, the *unio* concept clarifies the relationship between being declared and made righteous, which remains unclear in the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* adopted by the Lutheran World Federation and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity (to be precise, in the first version).³ Mannermaa also made similar claims when he examined the *unio* concept as a solution to the deadlocked Evangelical-Catholic dialogue.⁴

Undoubtedly Mannermaa has made a significant contribution to the revival of Luther scholarship in Finland and world-wide. He has found elements in the Reformer's theology that are suited to forming the basis for dialogue with both the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics. His groundbreaking work *In ipsa fide Christus adest* was already published in

¹ This is an edited version of a Finnish study translated into English by Tapani Simojoki. The titles of articles originally in Finnish are translated below with brackets. The Finnish originals behind this article are Timo Laato, "Luther-tutkimuksemme epäselvyys vanhurskauttamisopin ytimessä. Luther Latomusta vastaan. Laato Mannermaata vastaan" ["The Confusion of Our Luther Research at the Heart of the Doctrine of the Justification. Luther Against Latomus. Laato Against Mannermaa"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 101 (Helsinki, 1996): 166-172, and "Yksimielisyyden Ohjeen oppi vanhurskauttamisesta: Luther-tutkimuksemme kompastuskivi" ["The Doctrine of Justification in the Formula of Concord. The Stumbling Block of Our Luther Research"], in *Turhentuuko uskonpuhdistus? Rooman kirkon ja Luterilaisen Maailmanliiton uusi selitys vanhurskauttamisopista*, Suomen kirkollisten herätysliikkeiden puheenvuoroja, ed. Simo Kiviranta and Timo Laato (Vantaa: Perussanoma, 1997/1998), 170-183 (first edition) and 181-194 (second edition).

² See below. For example, in an interview aimed at the laity in *Sanansaattaja* 24 (Helsinki, 14 June 1995), 4. Contrary to good journalistic manners, however, *Sanansaattaja* failed to publish the text approved by Mannermaa himself, so one can only refer to it with reservations in a scholarly article. Later additions published by the paper (27 July 1995) did not correct the problem.

³ *Sanansaattaja* 24 (14 June 1995), 4. Later, the declaration was corrected at this point precisely in the way Mannermaa wished.

⁴ Tuomo Mannermaa, "Evankelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa" ["Evangelical-Catholic Dialogue in a Dead-End"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 95 (Helsinki, 1990): 425-429.

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1980 (second edition 1981).⁵ He later dealt with the same topic several times.⁶ Mannermaa's insights have since been developed in a number of doctoral dissertations (e.g., Risto Saarinen,⁷ Simo Peura,⁸ Antti Raunio⁹) and in other academic studies (e.g., Eero Huovinen¹⁰). He is justifiably regarded as the founder of the Finnish Luther School in Helsinki.

My task in this article is to examine critically Mannermaa's interpretation of the relationship between righteousness and union, first in Luther's theology and then in Lutheran theology, especially in the Formula of Concord. I will summarize the main points of Mannermaa's interpretation and then deal in more detail with Luther's teaching on justification before comparing it with Article III of the Formula of Concord. In particular, my study is directed at Mannermaa's claim that there is an outright contradiction between Luther and later Lutheranism. Because the Formula of Concord as a whole, and especially Article III, was largely the work of Martin Chemnitz, I will also make use of his *Loci Theologici* and other writings. Particular attention will be given to Luther's *Lectures on Galatians* (1536) and *Against Latomus*. Finally, I will also give an example

⁵ The full title is *In ipsa fide Christus adest: Luterilaisen ja ortodoksisen kristinuskokäsitteiden leikkauspiste* [*In ipsa fide Christus adest: The Point of Contact between the Lutheran and Orthodox Understanding of the Christian Faith*], 2nd ed. (Helsinki: Missiologian ja Ekumeniikan Seura, 1981). [In 1989 it was published in German as *Der im Glauben gegenwärtige Christus: Rechtfertigung und Vergottung zum Ökumenischen Dialog, Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums*, n.F., Bd. 8 (Hannover: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1989), 11–93. The first main section was translated into English as "The Doctrine of Justification and Christology: Chapter A, Section One of *The Christ Present in Faith*," *CTQ* 64 (2000): 206–239. The page numbers below are from the Finnish second edition, with the corresponding page numbers in the German edition and *CTQ* given in square brackets, where possible. The translation follows the Finnish original.] It is an ecumenical contribution to the doctrinal discussions between the Finnish Lutheran and Russian Orthodox churches (cf. its preface). It was only later that the central ideas of the book came to be applied to the discussions between Lutherans and Roman Catholics. This was due to Mannermaa's initiative (see below).

⁶ See, e.g., Tuomo Mannermaa, *Kaksi Rakkautta: Johdatus Lutherin uskonmaailmaan*. [*Two Loves: An Introduction to Luther's World of Faith*] (Juva: Söderström, 1983).

⁷ Risto Saarinen, *Gottes Wirken auf uns. Die transzendente Deutung des Gegenwart-Christi-Motivs in der Lutherforschung* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989), and *God and the Gift: An Ecumenical Theology of Giving* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2005).

⁸ Simo Peura, *Mehr als ein Mensch? Die Vergöttlichung als Thema der Theologie Martin Luthers von 1513 bis 1519* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994).

⁹ Antti Raunio, *Summe des christlichen Lebens: Die "Golden Regel" als Gesetz der Liebe in der Theologie Martin Luthers von 1510 bis 1527* (Helsinki: [Universität Helsinki], 1993).

¹⁰ Eero Huovinen, *Fides Infantium: Martin Luthers Lehre vom Kinderglauben* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997).

showing how the doctrine of justification affects the whole of Christian doctrine.¹¹

I. Mannermaa's Interpretation of Luther's Doctrine of Justification and Its Relationship to the Formula of Concord

Mannermaa's main thesis is that in Luther's theology Christ is "simultaneously both God's favor (*favor*) and gift (*donum*)."¹² He defines these terms in this way:

"Favor" means the taking away of God's wrath and his forgiveness. In other words, the question concerns the attitude in God's "subject" towards man. Christ as a "gift," on the other hand, means that God gives himself really to man. In faith, Christ is really present with all his characteristics—such as righteousness, blessing, life, power, peace, etc. Hence, the concept of Christ as a "gift" means that the believing subject becomes a partaker of the "divine nature."¹³

Mannermaa claims that Luther developed his concept "especially in his famous writing against Latomus."¹⁴ Nonetheless, Mannermaa does not deal with that work in detail; he does not even quote it. His attention shifts quickly to Luther's *Lectures on Galatians*, although it "does not deal thematically with the difference between 'gift' and 'favor.'"¹⁵

In 1990 Mannermaa focused more thoroughly on *Against Latomus*, which he harmonized with his earlier research.¹⁶ Christ is simultaneously both grace (*favor*) and a gift (*donum*), and in him justification and sanctification belong together in Luther's theology. They must not be separated.¹⁷ In his view the Formula of Concord differs from Luther in separating them: "In the Formula of Concord, as is well known, justification is *only* 'favor' (*favor*) or 'grace', that is receiving the forgiveness of sins on account of Christ. The 'gift' (*donum*), that is God's essential

¹¹ It is not possible, therefore, to delve more extensively into the arguments of the Finnish Luther School. Although my critical evaluation is focused on Tuomo Mannermaa's arguments, it is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to the whole school.

¹² Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 24 [*Der im Glauben*, 30; "Justification and Christology," 213]. He teaches the same in "Evangelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 425–429.

¹³ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 24–25 [*Der im Glauben*, 30; "Justification and Christology," 213–214]; see also 53–54 [*Der im Glauben*, 64].

¹⁴ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 25 [*Der im Glauben*, 30; "Justification and Christology," 214].

¹⁵ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 25 [*Der im Glauben*, 30; "Justification and Christology," 214].

¹⁶ Mannermaa, "Evangelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 425–429.

¹⁷ Mannermaa, "Evangelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 427.

presence or sanctification, is defined as an independent quantity, which only follows logically from the forgiveness of sins."¹⁸

Already in 1980-1981 Mannermaa had claimed that the Formula of Concord differed from Luther.¹⁹ In an interview aimed at the laity, however, he did not make his view clear.²⁰ He apparently wanted to ensure as positive a response from readers as possible.

II. *Favor* and *donum* in Luther's Doctrine of Justification

In interpreting Luther's *Against Latomus*, Mannermaa specifically rejects the priority of grace (*favor*) over the gift (*donum*).²¹ Rather, he reverses their relationship, so that the gift is the "basis and prerequisite" of grace.²² Faith and righteousness are a gift, and "this gift also then mediates or effects grace,"²³ though in Christ both grace and the gift are still one.

In *Against Latomus*, however, Luther takes the opposite view. Grace comes before the gift. This becomes apparent when he explains what the gospel contains.²⁴ Mannermaa quotes the same passage to support his interpretation, though he abridges the text.²⁵ What follows is the selection from Luther; in his work, Mannermaa quotes only the parts in italics and omits what does not serve his argument. Thus, he misconstrues Luther:

For the gospel, too, preaches and teaches two things, God's righteousness and grace. By righteousness he mends the corruption of nature – namely, by the righteousness that is God's gift, that is faith in Christ [references: Rom 3:21; 5:1 and 3:28]. And this righteousness, which is the opposite of sin, is usually understood in the Bible as the innermost root [of righteousness], whose

¹⁸ Mannermaa, "Evankelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 427.

¹⁹ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 12-14, 22, 42-43 [*Der im Glauben*, 14-17, 26, 51-52; "Justification and Christology," 210, 235]. The same emphasis still appears in his article "Santiago de Compostela 1993 ja me" ["Santiago de Compostela 1993 and us"], *Reseptio* (1994): 9-10.

²⁰ "For the time being, I have not arrived at a final definition of the relationship between Luther and the Formula of Concord on this matter. Luther does express more clearly than the Formula, however, that the forensic aspect—the forgiveness of sins—and habitation are united in the person of Christ." *Sanansaattaja* 24 (14 June 1995), 4.

²¹ Mannermaa, "Evankelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 427-428.

²² Mannermaa, "Evankelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 428.

²³ Mannermaa, "Evankelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 427-428.

²⁴ Martin Luther, *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe [Schriften]*, 65 vols. (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883-1993 [hereafter WA]), 8:105,39-106,28; Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 55 vols., ed. Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-1986 [hereafter LW]), 32:227-228.

²⁵ Mannermaa, "Evankelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 428.

fruits are good works. *The companion of this faith and righteousness is grace or mercy, God's favor against the wrath that is the companion of sin, so that everyone who believes in Christ has a favorable God. For we would not rejoice enough in the good brought about by righteousness, nor praise this his gift, if it remained alone and did not bring to us the grace of God. I take grace here to mean properly [proprie: also 'solely'] God's favor, which is how it must be understood, rather than some kind of quality of the soul, as our more recent theologians have taught; and this grace really produces true peace of heart so that a man who is healed from his corruption also feels that he has a gracious God [atque haec gratia tandem vere pacem cordis operatur, ut homo a corruptione sua sanatus, etiam propitium decum habere se sentia]. It is precisely this that strengthens one and makes the conscience joyful, secure and fearless, so that it dares all, can do all, mocks even death when it thus trusts in God's grace. Therefore, just as wrath is a greater evil than the corruption of nature, likewise also grace is a greater good than the healing [sanitas] brought about by righteousness, which we have said comes from faith. For there is no one who—if it were possible—would not rather be without the healing [sanitas] brought about by righteousness than without God's grace. For the forgiveness of sins and peace are properly attributed to the grace of God, but to faith is attributed the healing from corruption [nam remissio peccatorum et pax proprie tribuitur gratia dei, sed fidei tribuitur sanitas corruptionis]. For faith is a gift and the inner good in opposition to sin, which it cleanses, and it is the yeast of the gospel, which is hidden in three measures of flour. But God's grace is an external good, God's favor as the opposite of his wrath. [Ref. Rom 5:27]. He calls faith in Christ (which he also frequently calls a gift) "the gift of grace through one man," which is given to us by the grace of Christ, namely because he alone of all people was favored and beloved and had a gracious and merciful God, so that he earned for us this gift and also this grace.²⁶*

By looking at the entire section, we see that Luther says just the opposite of what Mannermaa claims. Union (*unio*) with Christ is not enough to calm the heart. Not the gift (*donum*) but grace (*favor*) "really produces true peace of heart." Grace is "a greater good than the healing brought about by righteousness, which we have said comes from faith." A Christian would "rather—if it were possible—want to be without the healing brought about by righteousness than without God's grace." The reason is that the gift is only an inner good whereas grace is an external good. The gift of faith "is given to us by the grace of Christ." On behalf of all people "he earned for us . . . also this grace."

²⁶ The citations from *Against Latomus* here and below follow the translation either of Mannermaa (see previous comment) or M. E. Lehtonen, or both, but with some of my own preferences and clarifications. The English translation is made from the Finnish; references to *Luther's Works* are also given. For Lehtonen's translation, see M. Luther, *Valitut teokset III*, ed. L. Pinomaa, trans. M. E. Lehtonen (Juva: WSOY, 1983), 253-369.

The Luther passage Mannermaa quotes does not prove the priority of the gift over grace. The effectiveness of the gift against sin is due only to the reality of grace. The gift would not benefit the recipient at all if its giver were not fully serious about his grace; however, because the gift brings the grace, there is no room for doubting. Luther takes "the proper meaning of grace to be God's favor." For a gift is a sign of someone's favor. The favor comes first. Only in the sense that the gift is a sign of God's favor does the gift convey God's grace.

To state it in a phrase favored by Mannermaa and taken from the Reformer himself: Christ as he is present in faith justifies, for faith takes refuge in Christ, who gained perfect righteousness on behalf of the whole world. The Christ who dwells in the heart (*donum*) is none other than the Christ who died on the cross (*favor*). The former lives because the latter was raised up, not *vice versa*! Christ as *favor* gives birth to himself as *donum*. The "umbilical cord" is faith, which "brings" from the outside, from himself, life for himself. The one giving birth and the one being born are in fact one and the same person.

Thus we can understand Mannermaa's other citation from *Against Latomus*:²⁷ "For grace there is no sin because the whole person is pleasing to God – but for the gift there is sin, which it is driving and forcing out. But the whole person neither is pleasing to God nor has grace, except for the gift, which is thus driving out sin." Grace is indisputably "superior" to the gift. No sin is present in grace, since Christ (*favor*) made the one perfect atonement on the cross. The gift contains no sin, but sin exists alongside the gift, since Christ (*donum*) has not yet fully cleansed the heart. Yet no one has grace except for the gift, because without the gift of faith no one becomes personally a partaker of grace.

As a logical conclusion from above, Luther makes repeated warnings against putting one's trust in oneself or even in God's gifts. From his personal experience, he advises:

For although he has justified us by the gift of faith and in his grace has become favorable to us, nonetheless his will is that *we would not waver by trusting ourselves or these gifts*. Instead, we should trust Christ, *in order that we would not be satisfied with this righteousness that has been begun, but that our righteousness would cling to Christ's righteousness and would flow from him*. This is so that no ignoramus, having once received the gift, would consider himself satisfied and safe. He wants us daily to cleave to him more and *not remain counting the gifts that have been received, but be*

²⁷ WA 8:107,32–35; LW 32:229.

fully transformed²⁸ into Christ [*in Christum plane transformari*]. . . . That uncertain faith of the sophists is not enough, which having received the gift is supposed to work. But only that is faith which makes you a chick and Christ a hen, under whose wings you have hope. For Mal. 4:2 says, "healing in its wings," so that you would not trust in the faith received, for that is fornication, but you must know: it is faith that you cling to him and hope that he will be holy and just to you. See, this faith is a gift of God, which preserves for us God's grace and cleanses that sin, makes us saved and certain, not on the basis of our works but of those of Christ, so that we can stand and remain forever²⁹

He continues a little later:

. . . that they could have their security in his grace, not because they believe and because they have faith or the gift, but because they have these by the grace of Christ. For no one's faith will endure if he does not rely on Christ's own [*propria*: also "constant, continual, perpetual"] righteousness and if he is not protected in his care. For this (as has been said) is real faith, not that absolute—in fact obsolete [*non absoluta immo obsoleta*]-quality of the soul, as they imagine, but rather such faith as does not allow itself to be torn away from the grace of Christ, nor relies on anything other than knowing that he (i.e., Christ) is in the grace of God and cannot come under judgment. Nor will anyone else come under judgment who has taken refuge in him. For such a great matter is this remaining sin, so intolerable God's judgment, that you cannot endure it unless you place against it him whom you know to be without any sin; and that is what true faith does . . . in order to force and compel all people to Christ, to hide themselves in the shadow of his wings, trembling, desperate and sighing. But those deniers of this sin lead people to depend drowsily and in false confidence on the gift already received and hence make void the grace of Christ and the mercy of God; from which it will inevitably follow that love will grow cold, praise become lukewarm, and gratitude grow slack.³⁰

Luther is clear. No further proof is required. Believers are not to depend on the gift within them.

After completing *Against Latomus*, Luther immediately began to write the Church Postil. Its exemplary sermons come from the same period. His sermon on Titus 3:4-7 for Christmas 1522 warns:

Guard, then, against false preachers and also against false faith. Rely not upon yourself, nor upon your faith. Flee to Christ; keep under his wings; remain under his shelter. Let his righteousness and grace, not yours, be your refuge. *You are to be made an heir of eternal life, not by the grace you have*

²⁸ In the Finnish original, the term here was "assimilated" [*Translator*].

²⁹ WA 8:111,29-112,15; LW 32:235-236 (emphasis mine).

³⁰ WA 8:114,19-115,1; LW 32:239-240 (emphasis mine).

yourself received, but, as Paul says here, by Christ's grace. Again, it is said in Psalm 91, 4, "He will cover thee with his pinions, and under his wings shalt thou take refuge." And in the Song of Solomon 2, 14, "O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the covert of the steep place." That is, in the wounds of Christ the soul is preserved. Observe, true Christian faith does not take refuge in itself, as the sophists dream, but flees to Christ and is preserved under him and in him.³¹

His accusations against Latomus are similar.³² *Favor* is God's giving grace, the forgiveness earned in Christ. *Donum*, on the other hand, is the grace received by man, the forgiveness received in faith. A sure hope of salvation is not built on the gift received. Since his wrath has been appeased because of Christ's innocent suffering and shedding of blood, God saves by his pure grace. Wrath has been changed into favor towards humans.

Mannermaa himself quotes Luther's sermon for Pentecost 1544 on John 14:23-31:³³

This is one of those striking and beautiful as well as precious and greatest of promises (as St. Peter says in the first chapter of his second letter) given to us poor and miserable sinners. We become partakers of the divine nature and receive such a high rank of nobility that we not only become beloved of God through Christ *and not only receive his favor [Gunst und Gnad] as our highest and most precious sanctuary*, but that we receive him, the Lord himself, to dwell in us completely. It is as if he was saying, "God is not only limited to love, namely to taking his wrath away from us and bearing in his breast a gracious father's heart towards us, but we are also to enjoy this love (otherwise it would be for us empty, lost love, as the proverb says, to love and not to enjoy . . .) and we are to gain from this love a great benefit and treasure." [Untranslated: *und sol solcher nachdruck sein, das*] God's love proves itself in deed and by the great gift.³⁴

This passage clearly shows that Luther considers God's favor the "highest and most precious sanctuary." Nevertheless, he also puts the emphasis on enjoying this love with Christ—to complement the Reformer's thinking with his own phrase—"in the secret wedding chamber of the heart."

³¹ Martin Luther, "Second Christmas Sermon," in *The Complete Sermons of Martin Luther*, trans. J. N. Lenker et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000), 3.II:164-165; WA 10.1.1:126,13-127,6 (emphasis mine).

³² See above, particularly Luther's advice against trusting in gifts once received.

³³ WA 21:458,11-22.

³⁴ From Mannermaa's Finnish translation, *In ipsa*, 25-26 [see "Justification and Christology," 215 and note] (emphasis mine).

It is true that in his *Lectures on Galatians* Luther does not discuss the distinction between “favor” and “gift,” but he nonetheless assumes it.³⁵ Because Mannermaa constructs his research primarily on passages from this work, he has to develop his arguments from indirect references; hence, the probability of false interpretations increases. Mannermaa has been unable to avoid them. I shall choose as an example just one passage in Luther to which Mannermaa repeatedly refers.³⁶ To clarify the point, I shall illustrate the key ideas by numbering (*favor* = 1; *donum* = 2):

In the place of that love we put faith. Whereas they [the Sophists] call faith a monogram and love its living colors and fullness, we, on the contrary, say that faith takes hold [*apprehendit*] of Christ, who is *forma*, which shapes and in-forms faith, like color does a wall. The Christian faith, therefore, is not an idle quality or an empty husk in the heart, which can exist in a state of mortal sin, until love is added and quickens it. If, instead, faith is true faith, it is a *firm trust and strong consent of the heart, by which Christ is taken hold of [apprehenditur]*. [1] For Christ is the object of faith, but not only its object but, as it were, [2] in faith itself Christ is present. For faith is such knowledge, i.e., darkness, that sees nothing. Yet in this darkness sits enthroned Christ, whom faith holds within itself [*apprehensus*; should be “possesses”].³⁷ In the same way, God dwelt on Sinai and in the Temple in the midst of darkness. Our formal righteousness, therefore, is not a love that gives form to faith, but instead it is faith itself and a cloud in the heart, that is, [1] trust in something we do not see, in Christ, who is completely beyond the reach of the sight [of reason], but [2] who nevertheless is present. So faith justifies because it [1] holds within itself [*apprehendit*]³⁸ and possesses that treasure, namely [2] the present Christ. The way in which Christ is present, though, is beyond comprehension because on this point, as I have said, there is darkness. Wherever [1] true confidence of the heart exists, there [2] Christ himself is present in that darkness and faith. This is the formal righteousness, on account of which man is justified; he is not justified because of faith, as the Sophists claim. All in all: whereas the Sophists say that love gives faith its

³⁵ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 25 [*Der im Glauben*, 30; “Justification and Christology,” 214].

³⁶ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 3, 30–32, 54, 74 [*Der im Glauben*, 36–38, 91; “Justification and Christology,” 220–223]. The reference is to WA 40.I:228,27–229,32; LW 26:129–130.

³⁷ Mannermaa translates the Latin word *apprehendere* in three different ways: (1) to possess or hold as one’s own, (2) to take hold of, and (3) to contain or hold within oneself. See the clarifications I have added to the quotations. The latter translation (which in any case is inaccurate) dissolves the meaning of the original text, that faith takes ownership of Christ, who then is present in that faith. To be accurate, we could also number this sentence thus: “Yet in this darkness [2] sits enthroned Christ, whom [1] faith owns!” Logically, 2 follows 1. See also the previous sentence, which defines faith as knowledge (focused on Christ).

³⁸ It should be “possesses,” or (to avoid tautology) “takes hold of.”

form and penetrates it, we say that Christ gives faith its form and penetrates it; that is, we say that Christ is the form of faith. It follows, then, that Christ [1] is taken possession of [*apprehensus*] in faith, and [2] dwelling in the heart, is that Christian righteousness for the sake of which God accounts us as righteous and gives to us eternal life. This certainly is no work of the law, no love, but entirely different righteousness and, as it were, another world above and outside the law. For Christ and faith are neither law nor the work of the law.³⁹

This passage defines faith as a firm trust and a strong consent that takes hold of Christ. As the object of faith, he is, therefore, *favor*. Being present in faith, he is also *donum*. Throughout the passage, *favor* (1) and *donum* (2) alternate. Luther expresses the priority of *favor* over *donum* by consistently mentioning the former before the latter.

In making *favor* and *donum* of equal value or, worse, giving priority to *donum* over *favor*, Mannermaa partly misconstrues the *total* aspect of righteousness for the sake of Christ. Quite correctly he first explains it from the point of view of being accounted righteous: "God does not account the sins remaining in the Christian as guilt, but forgives them for the sake of Christ."⁴⁰ The emphasis of this quotation is exactly where it should be, on Christ as *favor*, but Mannermaa then expands his explanation and begins to speak of Christ as *donum*. He bases this on one Luther citation,⁴¹ into which, however, he reads his own interpretation.⁴² As shown above, the concept of Christ as a gift explains only a *partial* aspect of righteousness: he has not yet completed the cleansing of all sin from the human heart.⁴³ Only because Christ, given as a gift, has already earned a perfect righteousness on the cross, does a Christian receive that gift in whom he is fully righteous. The priority of *favor* over the *donum* must be maintained.⁴⁴

³⁹ From Mannermaa's translation, *In ipsa*, 31-32 [*Der im Glauben*, 47-48; "Justification and Christology," 221-223], some added clarifications from the original Latin are omitted.

⁴⁰ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 57 [*Der im Glauben*, 68].

⁴¹ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 58 [*Der im Glauben*, 69-70].

⁴² In the quoted passage, Luther does not speak of the total aspect of righteousness. Quite the opposite, he teaches that the Christian's lack of complete righteousness will only be remedied in heaven.

⁴³ In fact, Mannermaa states in this context: "Christ's work of 'leavening' begun in faith is the work of the Christ really present in faith and will remain such. Christ, however, cleanses the Christian more and more by means of the forgiveness of sins and the knowledge of Christ based on it"; see *In ipsa*, 57 [*Der im Glauben*, 69].

⁴⁴ This, by the way, is precisely what Luther teaches on his 1521 sermon "On Two Kinds of Righteousness"; see LW 31:297-306. In it he distinguishes between Christ's alien righteousness (*iustitia aliena*) and the Christian's own righteousness (*iustitia*

Worthy of special note, Mannermaa mistakenly considers faith the basis of justification, because "faith signifies the real presence of the person of Christ—that is God's favor and the gift."⁴⁵ The Luther quotations he cites, however, do not make faith the basis of justification. For the Reformer, Christ alone is the basis for justification; but of course Christ is indeed present in faith.⁴⁶ On the whole, it seems worthless to cite isolated linguistic expressions for views that are otherwise totally alien to Luther. For him, justification is completely based on the merit of Christ, who suffered and was crucified (*favor*). At the most fundamental level, the hope of eternal life is not based even on Christ as he is present in faith (*donum*), let alone on faith.

The Luther passages cited by Mannermaa reveal a grave error in his interpretation. Mannermaa is right in emphasizing the significance and centrality of the *unio* concept in Luther's theology. After all the philosophical speculations and modern interpretations,⁴⁷ there are new winds blowing. Mannermaa, however, is badly mistaken on this one significant point: he does not confess that salvation depends on Christ as *favor*, not as *donum*. The salvation-historical dimension of justification is inevitably pushed aside. The center of gravity moves from the historical event of the cross to the here and now, where the believer is united with the divine person through faith.⁴⁸ Finnish Luther research should now

propria); see WA 2:145–147. Faith focuses (outside itself) on Christ and hence takes hold of him and his alien righteousness. Life, on the other hand, is directed to mortifying the desires of the flesh, to loving the neighbor and the virtues of humility and the fear of God, all of which are part of one's (right kind of) own righteousness. Immediately before, this sermon refers to the indwelling Christ as the explanation, on the one hand, of the connection between faith and life and, on the other hand, to the incompleteness of the Christian struggle against sin. Mannermaa, too, quotes Luther's sermon "On Two Kinds of Righteousness," although his translation is rather poor; see "Evangeliskatolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 428.

⁴⁵ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 54 [*Der im Glauben*, 64].

⁴⁶ See Mannermaa's quotations, *In ipsa*, 53–55 [*Der im Glauben*, 63–66]. The final quotation concludes with a remark that is extremely clear: "And so God accepts you, that is, reckons you righteous, solely because of Christ, in whom you believe"; see *In ipsa*, 55 [*Der im Glauben*, 66].

⁴⁷ See, e.g., Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 9–11 [cf. *Der im Glauben*, 12].

⁴⁸ That salvation history has little, or no, significance for Mannermaa becomes apparent again in a tangible way in his special christological emphasis. He says that when Christ was born a man, he "did not, according to Luther, take on just a 'neutral' human nature as such but [we are to believe] a specifically *sinful* human nature"; see *In ipsa*, 19 [*Der im Glauben*, 22; following the German, the translation in "Justification and Christology," 206, is misleading]. It then follows logically that "the victory over the might of sin and corruption takes place . . . in Christ's own person. He won 'in himself'

direct its efforts to what Christ has done on the cross for all of humanity (*favor*) before studying his presence in and through faith (*donum*). Salvation history comes before faith. Then it will be clear that salvation does not depend on Christ as present in faith but on Christ who atoned for the sins of the world by his blood.

III. The Formula of Concord on Justification

In defining the doctrine of justification, the Formula of Concord rejected many errors, including the decrees of the Council of Trent and the serious one put forward by Luther's colleague, Andreas Osiander. According to Bengt Hägglund, Osiander held that a righteousness that is acceptable before God: (1) is not based on Christ's vicarious satisfaction (*satisfactio*), that is, on the sacrifice he made on the basis of his own, perfect obedience for the sins of the whole world on the cross of Golgotha; (2) thereby it requires that Christ's divine nature comes to dwell in the sinner through faith; (3) therefore righteousness is inner renewal, the ability to do good.⁴⁹ By contrast, the Formula of Concord makes it clear that the righteousness which avails before God: (1) is based on Christ's vicarious satisfaction; (2) requires possessing of the whole person of Christ, both his divine and his human nature, in faith; (3) means the imputing of Christ's perfect obedience to the sinner by pure grace through faith, not inner renewal (which is part of sanctification).

The differences between the two positions become apparent in Article III. Although it is not made explicit to whom it refers, there is no doubt that the false teacher is Osiander, among others.

The one party contended that the righteousness of faith, which St. Paul calls the righteousness of God, is the essential righteousness of God (namely, that Christ himself as the true, natural, essential Son of God, who

(*triumphans in se ipso*) the battle between righteousness and sin. Sin, damnation and death are vanquished . . . first in Christ's person and 'thereafter' the whole world must change through his person"; see *In ipsa*, 21 [*Der im Glauben*, 25-26; "Justification and Christology," 209]. Christ's salvation-historical work on the cross is lost completely in the personal change in himself. Moreover, this view assumes the idea (which was completely alien to the Reformer) that his human nature was essentially sinful.

⁴⁹ Bengt Hägglund, s.v. "Gerechtigkeit: VI. Reformations- und Neuzeit," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 12:434-435. See also S. Peura, "Gott und Mensch in der Unio: Die Unterschiede im Rechtfertigungsverständnis bei Osiander und Luther," in *Unio: Gott und Mensch in der nachreformatorischen Theologie: Referate des Symposiums der Finnischen Theologischen Literaturgesellschaft in Helsinki 15.-16. November 1994*, ed. Matti Repo and Rainer Vinke (Helsinki: Suomalainen teologinen kirjallisuusseura; Luther-Agriola-Gesellschaft, 1996), 46-59.

through faith dwells in the elect, impels them to do what is right) Against both parties [those who claim that Christ is our righteousness either only according to his divine nature or only according to his human nature] the other teachers of the Augsburg Confession held unanimously that Christ is our righteousness, not according to the divine nature alone or according to the human nature alone but according to both natures; as God and man he has by his perfect obedience redeemed us from our sins, justified and saved us. Therefore, they maintained that the righteousness of faith is forgiveness of sins, reconciliation with God, and the fact that we are adopted as God's children solely on account of the obedience of Christ, which, through faith alone, is reckoned by pure grace to all true believers as righteousness, and that they are absolved from all their unrighteousness because of this obedience. (FC SD III, 2, 4)⁵⁰

In light of the points made by Hägglund, the Formula of Concord correctly characterizes Osiander's main heresy.

The Formula protects the doctrinal heritage of the Reformation in its battle against new errors. *Favor* is prior to *donum*. One citation proves this:

On the one hand, it is true indeed that God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who is the eternal and essential righteousness, dwells by faith in the elect who have been justified through Christ and reconciled with God, since all Christians are temples of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who impels them to do rightly. But, on the other hand, this indwelling of God is not the righteousness of faith [*iustitia Dei*] of which St. Paul speaks and which he calls the righteousness of God, on account of which we are declared just before God. This indwelling follows the preceding righteousness of faith, which is precisely the forgiveness of sins and the gracious acceptance of poor sinners on account of the obedience and merit of Christ. (FC SD III, 54)⁵¹

To be precise, this passage rejects the equating of *inhabitatio Dei* (which belongs to *sanctification*) and *iustitia Dei* (which belongs to *justification*). This is what the battle against Osiander and Trent was all about. What, if anything, is the gift given to a poor sinner in justification? According to this passage, the answer is the forgiveness of sins for the sake of Christ's obedience and merit! But can the same thing be expressed differently?

I have referred to the Formula's definition of faith, "whereby we obtain [Latin: *apprehendimus*; German: *ergreifen*] Christ and hence in Christ

⁵⁰ Theodore G. Tappert et al., trans. and ed., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 539-540.

⁵¹ Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, 548-549. See also above, 335-337.

the 'righteousness which avails before God'" (FC Ep III, 5).⁵² Likewise, Luther speaks of faith in connection with justification. He goes on to add that in faith, Christ is present (*in ipsa fide Christus adest*). This is exactly how faith is defined by Luther in his *Lectures on Galatians* when he attacks the Roman Catholic view of faith formed by love (*fides charitate formata*).⁵³

As one of his main points, Mannermaa contends that although the Formula of Concord does not define faith as Christ's real presence, it nevertheless supports the nature of faith as "real-ontic" by referring to Luther's "marvellous and incomparable" *Lectures on Galatians* (FC SD III, 28-29, 67). Hence, when the Formula defines faith solely as reliance on righteousness imputed on the basis of Christ's perfect obedience to the law, it actually understands—unawares or in self-contradiction—faith as Christ's real presence and as the giver of righteousness.⁵⁴

Mannermaa's claim that Luther and the Formula do not agree should be supported by Chemnitz's writings on justification, which lie behind Article III of the Formula. The chapter on justification in his *Loci Theologici* (*De Justificatione*) deserves close attention.⁵⁵ Here Chemnitz quotes repeatedly from the church fathers and Luther. They all agree that in justification Christ's obedience is imputed to the sinner.⁵⁶ Moreover, Chemnitz follows, and perhaps even copies, Luther's *Lectures on Galatians* on the central points and in some unusual connections.⁵⁷ Clearly, Luther's

⁵² See also *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 5th ed. (Berlin: 1960), 782-783. The translation here is from the Finnish. Unlike the Finnish, the translation in Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, 473, deviates from the German original.

⁵³ See above, 334-336 and n. 39.

⁵⁴ Mannermaa, *In ipsa*, 12-14, 22, 42-43 [*Der im Glauben*, 14-17, 26, 51-52; "Justification and Christology," 210, 235]; see also "Evankelis-katolinen dialogi umpikujassa," 427.

⁵⁵ Martin Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici* (1653; repr., Sterling Heights, MI: Lutheran Heritage Foundation, 2000), 2:200-299. The English translation is Martin Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1989), 2:443-557. The Latin original will be cited first, followed by the English translation.

⁵⁶ On Luther's part, see, e.g., *Lectures on Galatians*, WA 40.1:40,15-51, 34; 217,26-308,30; 359,15-373,17; LW 26:4-12; 122-185; 226-236.

⁵⁷ For example, Luther interprets "rightly dividing the word of truth" (2 Tim 2:15 KJV) as making the right distinction between the law and the gospel; see WA 40.1:44,14-17; LW 26:6-7. Likewise, he takes the account of the appearance of the Lord to the Israelites on Sinai (Exodus 19-20) as a description of the function of the law; see WA 40.1:259,12-25; LW 26,149-150. The commandments that belong to the gospel are appendices to it; see WA 40.1:259,33-260,14; LW 26:150. It is probably not a coincidence that we find the same explanations in Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici* (2000), 2:208, 214, 219, 260; *Loci Theologici* (1989), 2:452, 458, 464, 512. On the similarities, also see below.

Lectures on Galatians have influenced his thinking to a large degree, just as the Formula of Concord implies.

Chemnitz states repeatedly that in justification Christ's perfect obedience to the law is imputed to the sinner through faith. Suddenly he breaks his line of thought and like Luther criticizes the Roman Catholic idea of faith formed by love (*fides charitate formata*):

If the question is in what respect or by what power and strength faith justifies, then the scholastics reply that faith obtains this power and efficacy to justify from love, and this they call "the faith formed by love" (*fides formata*). But Scripture affirms that faith justifies because it lays hold on [or obtains; *apprehendit*] Christ and applies to itself Him "whom God made our . . . righteousness," 1 Cor. 1:30 [RSV].⁵⁸

The similarity between Chemnitz and Luther is striking, as is also the Formula of Concord's definition of faith as that which takes hold of Christ. It looks like Chemnitz's divergent emphasis comes from Luther's arguments in his *Lectures on Galatians*. By all accounts, Chemnitz had read Luther very carefully! He was not merely polite when he praised it as a marvelous work. Nevertheless, neither this passage, nor any other, stands in the way of Mannermaa. He insists that the Formula has corrupted the Reformation heritage. We agree that there seems to be a difference in emphasis between Chemnitz and Luther. Uncovering the weakness of Mannermaa's argument requires more evidence.

After concluding his main presentation on justification, Chemnitz outlines the doctrine in light of the testimonies of Scripture.⁵⁹ He discusses the *causa formalis* (formal cause) of righteousness and then contrasts the Roman Catholic view (love, or its equivalent) and his own understanding (the obedience of Christ). After defending his view, he continues:

I approve of this simple statement of the case, because many disputes can be settled on the basis of it. Some suggest that the formal cause is faith, some Christ, others the mercy of God, others forgiveness of sins or acceptance. These ideas are often held by inexperienced people as if these points were in conflict with one another and different. This, of course, is exaggerated by our adversaries.⁶⁰

In order to straighten things out among Lutherans and at the same time to refute the mockery by Roman Catholics, Chemnitz emphasizes Christ's

⁵⁸ Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici* (2000), 2:253; *Loci Theologici* (1989), 2:504.

⁵⁹ Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici* (2000), 2:288–299; *Loci Theologici* (1989), 2:545–557.

⁶⁰ Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici* (2000), 2:296; *Loci Theologici* (1989), 2:554.

obedience as the *forma* of righteousness.⁶¹ Nevertheless, he acknowledges that the right doctrine of justification can be, and has been, expressed in other ways. Among the different options, one stands out. Some considered the *forma* of righteousness to be Christ. Chemnitz mentions no names, but there can be no doubt that it was Luther.⁶² He remarks sharply that there is no contradiction between the different alternatives:

But the matter is clear. Faith in itself, as a quality, without Christ, is not our formal righteousness. And Christ, unless He is apprehended by faith, is not your [*tua*] righteousness. But if faith lays hold on Christ, but does not in Him also lay hold on the grace and mercy of God, it does not thereby establish that it will receive forgiveness of sins or acceptance, and it is certainly lacking the form of righteousness before God. For justification is absolution or acceptance.⁶³

Christ's presence in justification means nothing else than the imputation of his obedience, suffering, and death to the sinner. He is, as the crucified Savior, in his own person "the Lord, our righteousness" (Jer 23:6; 33:16).⁶⁴ A faith that does not put its trust in Christ, and through him in God's grace and mercy, justifies no one. On this account, Osiander was in error. He bypassed the gift of righteousness (vicarious atonement) earned by Christ and, instead, stressed the dwelling of Christ's divine nature in the sinner (inner renewal leading to good works) through faith. Osiander's view is reminiscent of the Roman Catholic model, that only a faith formed by love justifies.⁶⁵

When correctly understood, justification can be viewed from different perspectives: the sinner is accounted as righteous through faith, Christ present in faith is the righteousness of the sinner, the sinner has his sins forgiven by the grace of God, and the like. Even Chemnitz lists the different alternatives.⁶⁶ Still, in Lutheranism there is and will remain unchanged one doctrine of justification. If someone imagines otherwise, he is a theological novice. The serious accusation, first aimed at the Roman

⁶¹ This same emphasis is found at the same point in Chemnitz's argument as in the Formula of Concord; see, for example, 339 n. 50 above.

⁶² At the same time, Luther emphasised faith as the *forma* of righteousness, because it possesses Christ. For example, see WA 40.I:232,23–26 [LW 26:132].

⁶³ Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici* (2000), 2:296; *Loci Theologici* (1989), 2:554.

⁶⁴ Chemnitz himself refers to these prophecies of the prophet Jeremiah concerning the (suffering) Messiah; see *Loci Theologici* (2000), 2:215, 298, cf. 275; *Loci Theologici* (1989), 2:459, 557, cf. 530. So also does FC Ep III, 1; Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, 472.

⁶⁵ See Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici* (2000), 2:295; *Loci Theologici* (1989), 2:553.

⁶⁶ See 341 n. 60 above.

Catholic adversaries and Osiander, now applies *mutatis mutandis* to the adherents of the Finnish Luther School.

For the sake of clarity, let it be repeated that the *Loci Theologici* follows very closely the train of thought of the Formula of Concord, rejecting as false doctrine “that faith does not look alone to Christ’s obedience, but also to his divine nature (in so far as it dwells and works within us), and that by such indwelling our sins are covered up” (FC Ep III, 16).⁶⁷ Osiander’s error is here rejected for three weighty reasons. He pushed aside Christ’s obedience as the only basis of justification, taught that Christ dwells in the sinner through faith in his divine nature alone, and stressed the effectiveness of that indwelling for good works. Thus, justification and sanctification were confused and then also mixed with a false Christology.⁶⁸ Despite condemning this particular error, Chemnitz affirms that the indwelling Christ can be regarded as the *forma* of righteousness precisely on account of his perfect obedience and innocent suffering. Therefore, faith finds in him alone the “righteousness that avails before God” (FC SD III, 5). Because of the Formula of Concord, Lutherans can be comfortable with the many lovely metaphors and images with which Luther adorns the doctrine of justification (e.g., Christ’s gracious presence, the wedding chamber of the heart, the blessed exchange, and the like).⁶⁹

To repeat once again: salvation is not based on Christ dwelling in the sinner through faith (*donum*) but only on Christ who died for the sins of all

⁶⁷ Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, 475. See also FC SD III, 63; Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, 550.

⁶⁸ Like Osiander, Mannermaa first confuses justification and sanctification and, therefore, offers a distorted Christology. See H. Lehtonen, “Mannermaa—luterilaisuuden pelastaja” [“Mannermaa—the Savior of Lutheranism?”], *Concordia* (Helsinki, 4/1995), 8–12. The same was argued by T. G. A. Hardt in his paper at a theological conference in Karkku, Finland, 16 July 1995.

⁶⁹ Hägglund argues that because of Lutheran orthodoxy’s opposition to Osiander, the meaning of *iustitia Christi* was narrowed to refer only to Christ’s obedience until death. He argues that Luther, by contrast, understood it to include, e.g., Christ’s resurrection and ascension to heaven; see “Gerechtigkeith: VI. Reformations- und Neuzeit,” 435. Although the Formula, of course, emphasizes Christ’s obedience as the basis of justification against Osiander, the alleged antithesis does not exist. For example: “A poor sinner is justified before God [. . .] solely through the merit of the total obedience, the bitter passion, the death, and the resurrection of Christ, our Lord, whose obedience is reckoned to us as righteousness” (FC SD III, 9); “Therefore, the righteousness which by grace is reckoned to faith or to the believers is the obedience, the passion, and the resurrection of Christ [. . .]” (FC SD III, 14); “Faith thus looks at the person of Christ, how this person was placed under the law for us, bore our sin, and in his path to the Father rendered to the Father entire, perfect obedience from his holy birth to his death [. . .]” (FC SD III, 58).

on the cross (*favor*). In other words, what saves is, fundamentally, God's grace that gives rather than God's giving of that grace. Otherwise, no terrified and doubting soul will ever find lasting comfort. For by constantly scrutinizing oneself, the torments of the conscience are awakened and one will never have the absolute certainty that Christ lives in one's heart through faith or that faith exists in one's heart which is accounted as righteousness and receives the forgiveness of sins. Our gaze must always be directed towards the cross of Golgotha where blood was shed for the atonement of the whole world. Golgotha occurred even before there is forgiveness of sins through faith, before faith is accounted as righteousness, and before Christ's presence in faith. The only true certainty is in this.⁷⁰

Ultimately, Mannermaa commits two main mistakes in his interpretation of the doctrine of justification. First, he does not emphasize the priority of *favor* in relation to *donum*; that is, he pushes to the side, almost entirely, Christ's *salvation-historical* significance in justification. Second, he shuns the forensic aspect of the Formula of Concord, showing that he does not fully realize the *juridical* character of justification.

IV. Justification and the Totality of Dogma: One Cautionary Example

In this context, I recollect an accusation Mannermaa made long ago, that "those who reject the ordination of women, rarely and feebly—if at all—express their concern about the real issue, which is that the doctrine of justification has been obscured in the [Evangelical Lutheran] church [of Finland]."⁷¹ In retrospect, his evaluation of the situation seems rather ironic. I would dare to claim that Mannermaa's defection on the issue of the ministry in the mid-1980s was fundamentally due to his faulty doctrine of justification.⁷² This affirms the Reformer's experience that in the doctrine of justification "are included all the other doctrines of our faith; and if it is

⁷⁰ Especially in *Against Latomus*, Luther does not tire of repeating and emphasizing the priority of *favor* to *donum*. See above, 328–333. *Favor*, God's favor is directed towards sinful humanity through the (universal) atonement brought about by Christ. To be accurate, the two sides of justification (being accounted as righteous and Christ's presence in faith) are different aspects of *donum*.

⁷¹ Tuomo Mannermaa, "Keskustelu naisesta ja kirkon virasta jatkuu" ["The Dialogue on Women and the Ministry of the Church Continues"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 90 (1985): 133.

⁷² Mannermaa was one of the front-line theologians of St. Paul's Synod in opposing the ordination of women. St. Paul's Synod is an organization of Finnish confessional Lutheran pastors and lay people that was formed in 1975 to campaign against the ordination of women and other deviations from biblical doctrine and practice in the Church of Finland.

sound, all the others are sound as well."⁷³ The next few lines aim at proving the case.

Mannermaa attempted to justify the opening of the office of the ministry to women by confining himself to the distinction of the law and the gospel.⁷⁴ Concisely put, he argued that the law belongs in the domain of love and, thus, is mutable. The gospel, on the other hand, belongs in the domain of faith and is immutable. Paul's commands and prohibitions concerning the pastoral office (especially 1 Cor 14:33–38 and 1 Tim 2:11–15) do not convey the gospel, hence they belong to the law. As such, laws prohibiting women from the pastoral office can still be changed, if and when they no longer serve the principle of love. Considering current circumstances, opening the office of the ministry to women becomes necessary, if we are to obey the principle of love.

At that time, Anssi Simojoki replied to Mannermaa. While their long discussion cannot be discussed in detail, I will draw some relevant conclusions. In searching for reasons why Mannermaa changed his position, Simojoki contends that they both agree on the divine institution of the office of the ministry passed in the so-called Ilkko I seminar.⁷⁵ The opening of the pastoral ministry to women indicates, however, that the ministry lacks the salvation-historical form it has in the word.⁷⁶ In addition, the juridical aspect of the ministry is disregarded.⁷⁷

The same shortcomings emerge in Mannermaa's doctrine on justification. He pushes to the side Christ's salvation-historical significance and shuns the juridical character of justification.⁷⁸ From hindsight, it appears that Mannermaa's gradual move towards the ordination of women began with his doctrine of justification. Docent Eeva Martikainen

⁷³ WA 40.I:441,30–31; LW 26:283.

⁷⁴ The summary that follows is based upon Tuomo Mannermaa, "Nykyinen vaihe keskustelussa pappisviran avaamisesta naisille" ["The Current State of the Discussion concerning Opening the Pastoral Office to Women"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 90 (1985): 46–49.

⁷⁵ This was one in a series of theological discussions held in the early 1980s to discuss the office of the ministry and the ordination of women. They were organized by the Church of Finland and included representatives from both sides of the debate.

⁷⁶ Anssi Simojoki, "Distinktiot, teksti ja empiirinen Luther: Vastaus prof. Tuomo Mannermaalle" ["Distinctions, the Text and the Empirical Luther: A Reply to Prof. Tuomo Mannermaa"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 90 (1985): 298.

⁷⁷ Anssi Simojoki, "Evankeliumi ja oikeus? Vastaus prof. Tuomo Mannermaalle" ["The Gospel and Jurisdiction? A Reply to Prof. Tuomo Mannermaa"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 90 (1985): 478.

⁷⁸ See above, 344.

apparently convinced Mannermaa to join her in supporting women's ordination by concurring with his interpretation of the doctrine of justification.⁷⁹ By then, nothing could be done. Waterloo had already been fought and lost. Mannermaa's attempts to defend his position indicate the enormity of the defeat.⁸⁰ This discussion about the opening of the pastoral office to women concluded ironically with Simojoki praising Mannermaa for *In ipsa fide Christus adest*.⁸¹ Yet this book sealed the fate of the Lutheran Church of Finland's unapostolic decision to ordain women into the ministry.⁸²

V. Conclusion

Thus we see that in the doctrine of justification "are included all the other doctrines of our faith." In ecumenical dialogues, Lutherans never have been able to afford to compromise on the doctrine of justification even a little, for it is *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae* and will remain so. Therefore, the *unio* concept, as interpreted by Mannermaa, cannot and must not be considered the solution to the dead-end to which the Lutheran-Catholic dialogue came, despite its many undeniable merits. In the name of genuine Lutheranism, we must ask whether man's salvation depends wholly and solely on the full righteousness gained by Christ, which is given as a gift to the sinner only through faith. Mannermaa's Luther school should be reformed in accordance with the Formula of Concord. Otherwise, it will be the heir of neither Luther nor Lutheranism.

⁷⁹ See Eeva Martikainen, "Lain ja evankeliumin erottaminen luterilaisen opin ja Raamatun tulkinnan peruskriteerinä" ["The Distinction of the Law and the Gospel as the Basic Criterion of Lutheran Doctrine and Biblical Interpretation"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 88 (1983): 5-16. Her article anticipated Mannermaa's later fall.

⁸⁰ I will limit myself to one example. Simojoki had criticized Mannermaa in applying the distinction of the law and the gospel and, on the other hand, faith and love specifically to the issue of ordination; see Anssi Simojoki, "Virkakeskustelun nykyinen vaihe: Puheenvuoro prof. Tuomo Mannermaalle" ["The Current State of the Discussion Concerning the Ministry: An Address to Prof. Tuomo Mannermaa"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 90 (1985): 128-129. Mannermaa, on his part, replied to Simojoki by proving triumphantly that the law and the gospel, faith and love, can be distinguished in general; see Mannermaa, "Keskustelu naisesta ja kirkon virasta jatkuu," 130-133. It seems to me that the whole discussion was deliberately spoiled from the beginning.

⁸¹ Anssi Simojoki, "Kumpi olikaan vastauksen velkaa? Vastaus prof. Tuomo Mannermaalle" ["So Who Owes Whom a Reply? A Reply to Prof. Tuomo Mannermaa"], *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 91 (1986): 286. Nevertheless, one need not dispute the claim that "in the book [with the above reservations] the alleged antithesis between Lutheranism and Lutheran Pietism, which has been maintained in theology since Ritschl's studies, is genuinely resolved."

⁸² The Synod of the Church of Finland approved the ordination of women in 1986, and the first ordinations of women took place in 1988.