
DICTIONARY *of*
LUTHER
and the Lutheran Traditions



Timothy J. Wengert

GENERAL EDITOR

Mark A. Granquist, Mary Jane Haemig,
Robert Kolb, Mark C. Mattes, and Jonathan Strom

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

B
Baker Academic

a division of Baker Publishing Group
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Timothy J. Wengert, *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions*
Baker Academic, a division of Baker Publishing Group, © 2017. Used by permission.

(Unpublished manuscript—copyright protected Baker Publishing Group)

© 2017 by Baker Publishing Group

Published by Baker Academic
a division of Baker Publishing Group
P.O. Box 6287, Grand Rapids, MI 49516-6287
www.bakeracademic.com

Printed in the United States of America

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means—for example, electronic, photocopy, recording—without the prior written permission of the publisher. The only exception is brief quotations in printed reviews.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Wengert, Timothy J., editor.

Title: Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran traditions / Timothy J. Wengert, general editor ; Mark A.

Granquist, Mary Jane Haemig, Robert Kolb, Mark C. Mattes, and Jonathan Strom, associate editors.

Description: Grand Rapids, MI : Baker Academic, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016058819 | ISBN 9780801049699 (cloth)

Subjects: LCSH: Lutheran Church—Dictionaries. | Luther, Martin, 1483–1546—Dictionaries.

Classification: LCC BX8007 .D53 2017 | DDC 284.103—dc23

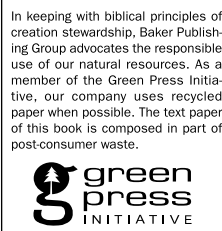
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016058819>

Cover Art: Philip Melanchthon, Martin Luther, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Caspar Cruciger Sr. translating the Bible in 1532. English lithograph by Willian Henry Simmons (1811–82) after a painting by Pierre Antoine Labouchere (1807–73). See Gerhard Schwinge, *Melanchthon in der Druckgraphik* (Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2000), 108.

Unless otherwise indicated, Scripture quotations are from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, copyright © 1989, by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

Scripture quotations labeled NIV are from the Holy Bible, New International Version®. NIV®. Copyright © 1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 by Biblica, Inc.™ Used by permission of Zondervan. All rights reserved worldwide. www.zondervan.com

17 18 19 20 21 22 23 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



Timothy J. Wengert, Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions
Baker Academic, a division of Baker Publishing Group, © 2017. Used by permission.

(Unpublished manuscript—copyright protected Baker Publishing Group)

Contents

Contributors	vii
Abbreviations	xvi
Introduction	xxi
Dictionary Entries	1
List of Entries	817
Name Index	821
Subject Index	839

Contributors

- Albers, James W. ThD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Professor Emeritus of Theology, Valparaiso University. **American Lutheranism Controversy; Fritschel, Sigmund and Gottfried; Lutheran Social Services; Sieveking, Amalie Wilhelmina**
- Albertsen, Andrés Roberto. PhD candidate, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Argentina; Bolivia; Chile; Colombia; Ecuador; Peru**
- Albrecht, Ruth. DHabil, University of Hamburg. Professor, University of Hamburg. **Petersen, Johanna Eleonora; Petersen, Johann Wilhelm**
- Alfsvåg, Knut. DTheol, Asian Graduate School of Theology, Kobe, Japan. Professor, School of Missions and Theology, Stavanger, Norway. **God and Trinity**
- Anderson, Mary E. PhD, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Integrated Learning Librarian, Central College. **Lundensian School**
- Appold, Kenneth G. PhD, Yale University. Professor, Princeton Theological Seminary. **Lutheran Orthodoxy**
- Arand, Charles P. ThD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Professor, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. **Creeeds, Ecumenical; Ecology**
- Atwood, Craig D. PhD, Princeton Theological Seminary. Associate Professor, Moravian Theological Seminary. **Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum); Spangenberg, August Gottlieb; Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von**
- Austad, Torleiv. DTheol, University of Oslo. Professor, Norwegian School of Theology. **Norway**
- Bacon, Paul M. PhD, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Lecturer, Dominican University. **Art; Cranach, Lucas, the Elder; Cranach, Lucas, the Younger; Holbein, Hans (the Younger)**
- Baer, H. David. PhD, University of Notre Dame. Professor, Texas Lutheran University. **Just-War Theory; Ordass, Lajos**
- Baglyos, Paul A. PhD, University of Chicago. Coordinator for Missional Leadership, Region 3, ELCA. **American Lutheran Church (1930–60); Reu, Johann Michael**
- Barnett, Victoria J. PhD, George Mason University. Director, Program on Ethics, Religion, and the Holocaust, United States Holocaust Museum. **Altona Confession; Ansbach Memorandum (Ansbacher Ratschlag); Barmen Confession; Confessing Church; German Christians (Deutsche Christen)**
- Becker, Matthew L. PhD, University of Chicago. Associate Professor, Valparaiso University. **Bonhoeffer, Dietrich; Elert, Werner; Erlangen; Harnack, Theodosius Andreas; Hoffmann, Johannes Christian Konrad von; Pelikan, Jaroslav; Piepkorn, Arthur Carl; Preus, Jacob; Schlink, Edmund; Troeltsch, Ernst**
- Benne, Robert. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor Emeritus, Roanoke College. **Economic Issues: Capitalism and Socialism; Economic Life and Lutheranism; Priesthood of All Believers; State**
- Bielfeldt, Dennis. PhD, University of Iowa. President, Institute for Lutheran Theology. **Theological Prolegomena**
- Blank, Rudolph. Missionary to Venezuela, retired. **Venezuela**
- Bode, Gerhard. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Associate Professor, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. **Chytraeus, David; Eber, Paul; Mörlin, Joachim; Pfeffinger, Johann; Selnecker, Nikolaus; Strigel, Viktorin; Synergistic Controversy; Westphal, Joachim; Wigand, Johann**
- Braaten, Carl E. ThD, Harvard University. Professor Emeritus, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. **Tillich, Paul J.**
- Braun, Mark E. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Professor, Wisconsin Lutheran College. **Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod**

Contributors

- Brosseder, Claudia R. DHabil, Munich University. Professor, Heidelberg University. **Astrology**
- Brown, Christopher Boyd. PhD, Harvard University. Professor, Boston University School of Theology. **Gerhardt, Paul; Household, Children, Parents**
- Buggeln, Gretchen T. PhD, Yale University. Associate Professor, Valparaiso University. **Architecture**
- Burnett, Amy Nelson. PhD, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Professor, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. **Bucer, Martin; Karlstadt, Andreas Bodenstein von; Oecolampadius, Johannes; Strasbourg; Switzerland; Wittenberg Unrest; Zwingli, Ulrich**
- Burnett, Stephen G. PhD, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Professor, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. **Jews; Reuchlin, Johannes**
- Burreson, Kent J. PhD, University of Notre Dame. Associate Professor, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. **Lectionary**
- Buss, Paulo Wille. ThD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Professor, Seminário Concórdia/Universidade Luterana Do Brasil. **Brakemeier, Gottfried; Brazil; Dohms, Hermann Gottlieb; Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (IECLB) (Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil); Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil (IELB) (Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil); Kuhr, Karl Otto; Mahler, Carl Wilhelm Gustav; Rotermund, Wilhelm; Schlieper, Ernesto Theophilo; Universidade Luterana do Brasil (ULBRA)**
- Carlsson, Eric. PhD, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Lecturer, University of Wisconsin, Madison. **Eighteenth Century; Enlightenment; Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von; Rationalism; Semler, Johann Salomo**
- Christman, Robert J. PhD, University of Arizona. Associate Professor, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. **Papacy**
- Christudas, Damodher. PhD, Gurukul Lutheran Theological College, Chennai. Professor, Concordia Theological Seminary, Nagercoil, India. **Kumari Samuel, Prasanna**
- Cook, Timios. PhD candidate, Concordia Seminary. **Mecklenburg**
- Cummings, Orin W. PhD, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Pastor, Blue Ridge Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, Raytown, Missouri. **El Salvador; Guatemala; Honduras; Mexico; Nicaragua**
- Daniel, David P. PhD, Pennsylvania State University. Dozent of Church History Emeritus, Jan Comenius University, Bratislava. **Hurban, Jozef Miloslav; Krman, Daniel, Jr.; Kuzmány, Karol; Slovak Confessions of the Faith; Slovakia; Stöckel, Leonard**
- Daniels, Paul A. MA, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Head of Arts and Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Kurds**
- Daugirdas, Kęstutis. DTheol habil, University of Tübingen. Privat Dozent, University of Tübingen; Research Fellow, Leibnitz–Institute for European History, Mainz. **Antitrinitarians; Campanus, Johannes; Servetus, Michael**
- Deffenbaugh, Ralston. JD, Harvard Law School. Assistant General Secretary for International Affairs and Human Rights, Lutheran World Federation. **Refugees**
- DeMeuse, Eric J. PhD candidate, Marquette University. **Cajetan (Thomaso de Vio); Cochlaeus, Johannes; Eck, John; Emser, Jerome; Luther’s Roman Catholic Opponents; Prierias, Sylvester; Tetzl, Johann**
- Eom, Jin-Seop. ThD, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Associate Professor, Luther University/Seminary, Korea. **Ji Brothers; Korea**
- Erling, Maria. ThD, Harvard University. Professor, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg. **Aulén, Gustaf; Knubel, Frederick Hermann; Nygren, Anders; Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity; Söderblom, Nathan; Wingren, Gustaf**
- Erwin, R. Guy. PhD, Yale University. Bishop, Southwest California Synod, ELCA. **Wittenberg, City of**
- Estes, James M. PhD, Ohio State University. Professor Emeritus, University of Toronto. **Brenz, Johannes; Erasmus of Rotterdam (Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus); Württemberg**
- Gehrt, Daniel. DPhil, Friedrich-Schiller University, Jena. Gotha Research Library. **Electors of Saxony; Georg, Duke of Saxony; Saxonies**

- Gordon, Bruce. PhD, University of St. Andrews. Professor, Yale University. **Bullinger, Heinrich; Zurich**
- Granquist, Mark A. PhD, University of Chicago. Associate Professor, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Augustana Synod; Evangelical Lutheran Church in America; Finnish-American Lutheranism; Giertz, Bo Harald; Kingo, Thomas Hansen; Laestadius, Lars Levi; Lutheran Denominations in America, Minor; Marty, Martin Emil; Migration; Passavant, William Alfred; Paulsen, Bertha; Petri (Nericus), Laurentius; Petri, Olavus; Predestination (Election) Controversy; Rudbeckius, Johannes; Seminex and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches; Sunday and Sabbatarianism; Sweden; Temperance and Prohibition; Theological Education; Tolstadius, Erik; United States of America; Walther, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm**
- Grindal, Gracia. MFA, University of Arkansas. Professor Emeritus, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Hauge, Hans Nielson; Hymnody; Literature; Rosenius, Carl Olof; Sandell-Berg, Karolina Wilhelmina (Lina); Wallin, Johan Olof**
- Grundmann, Christoffer H. DHabil, University of Hamburg. Professor, Valparaiso University. **Bultmann, Rudolf (Karl)**
- Haemig, Mary Jane. ThD, Harvard University. Professor, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Catechisms; Corvinus, Antonius; Cruciger, Elisabeth; Franconia; Prayer**
- Hafermann, Herbert J. STM, Wartburg Seminary. Pastor and Missionary, retired. **Greiner, Johann Jakob; Morogoro, Lutheran Junior Seminary; Moshi, Stefano Ruben; Reusch, Richard Gustavovich; Tanzania**
- Haga, Joar. PhD, Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology. Assistant Professor, NLA University College. **Natural Theology**
- Hall, H. Ashley. PhD, Fordham University. Associate Professor, Creighton University. **Catholicism**
- Halvorson, Michael J. PhD, University of Washington. Associate Professor, Pacific Lutheran University. **Charles V; Georg, Margrave of Brandenburg-Asbach; Hesshus, Tilemann (Heshusens, Heshusius); Holy Roman Empire; Iconoclasm; Joachim II Hector; Peace of Augsburg; Philip of Hesse; Smalcald War; Thirty Years' War; Vasa, Gustav**
- Harrisville, Roy A. ThD, Princeton Seminary. Professor Emeritus, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Adiaphora; Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Baur, Ferdinand Christian; Bible Interpretation; Gospels; Harnack, Adolf von; Hell; Wellhausen, Julius**
- Heen, Erik M. PhD, Columbia University. Professor, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Canon; Paul; Scripture; Word of God**
- Heininen, Simo. DTheol, University of Helsinki. Professor Emeritus, University of Helsinki. **Finland; Seamen's Missions**
- Heise, Matthew. PhD candidate, Concordia Seminary. Executive Director, Lutheran Heritage Foundation. **Dieckhoff, Heinrich Wilhelm; Gregorius, Johann Gottfried; Kalnins, Harald; Kretschmar, Georg; Meier, Theophil; Muss, Kurt; Russia**
- Hequet, Suzanne S. PhD, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Term Professor, Concordia University, St. Paul. **Regensburg Colloquy**
- Herrmann, Erik. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Associate Professor, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. **Augustine of Hippo; Humanism and the Reformation; Lord's Supper**
- Hiebsch, Sabine. DPhil, University of Amsterdam. Professor, VU University Amsterdam. **Netherlands, The**
- Hinlicky, Paul R. PhD, Union Seminary, New York. Professor, Roanoke College. **Anthropology; Exorcism; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Prophecy**
- Hoffmeyer, John F. PhD, Boston College. Associate Professor, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich**
- Holm, Bo Kristian. PhD, Aarhus University. Associate Professor, Aarhus University. **Beck, Vilhelm; Grundtvig, Nikolai Frederik Severin; Munk, Kaj**
- Hopman, Nicholas. MDiv, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Pastor, Peace Lutheran Church, Nevis, Minnesota. **Atonement; Free Will**

- Huggins, Marvin A. MDiv, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Associate Director (retired), Concordia Historical Institute. **Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod; Pieper, Francis**
- Humann, Joel. PhD, University of Durham. Preceptor, Westfield House, Cambridge. **England**
- Hunsinger, George. PhD, Yale University. Professor, Princeton Seminary. **Barth, Karl**
- Ilić, Luka. PhD, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. Pastor, Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Württemberg. **Balkan Lands; Flacius, Matthias Illyricus, and the Flacians; Schwenckfeld, Caspar von**
- Jacobson, Kevin L. MDiv, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Pastor and Missionary, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Suriname. **Suriname**
- Jaynes, Jeffrey. PhD, Ohio State University. Professor, Methodist Theological School in Ohio. **Church Law; Kirchenordnungen; Palatinate, The**
- Jensen, Gordon A. PhD, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto. Professor, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon. **Augsburg Confession; Baptism; Colloquy; Marburg Colloquy; Wittenberg Concord**
- Jetter-Staib, Christina. PhD, University of Tübingen. Catholic Deanery of Göppingen-Geislingen. **Ziegenhagen, Friedrich Michael**
- Jeyaraj, Daniel. DHabil, University of Halle. Professor, Liverpool Hope University. **Ziegenbalg, Bartholomäus**
- Jodock, Darrell. PhD, Yale University. Professor Emeritus, Gustavus Adolphus College. **Holocaust; Imperialism; Ritchl, Albrecht; Tumsa, Gudina**
- Johnson, Anna Marie. PhD, Princeton Seminary. Assistant Professor, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary. **Jonas, Justus; Myconius, Friedrich; Rhegius, Urbanus; Spalatin, Georg**
- Johnson, Kathryn L. PhD, Yale University. Director of Ecumenical and Inter-Religious Relations, Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. **Lutheran World Federation**
- Johnson, Richard O. PhD, Graduate Theological Union. Affiliated Associate Professor, Fuller Theological Seminary. **American Lutheran Church (1960–88); Berggrav, Eivind; Boe, Paul A.; Fliedner, Theodore; General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America; Krauth, Charles Porterfield; Lenski, Gerhard Emmanuel; Lenski, Richard Charles Henry; Lutheran Council in the United States of America; Ohio/Buffalo/Iowa Synods; Schmucker, Samuel Simon; Tappert, Theodore Gerhardt; United Lutheran Church in America; World Wars I and II; Youth Work**
- Jones, Ken Sundet. PhD, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Professor, Grand View University. **Death and Dying**
- Jürgens, Henning P. PhD, University of Göttingen. Senior Research Fellow, Leibniz-Institute for European History, Mainz. **Printing in Sixteenth-Century Lutheranism**
- Kääriäinen, Jukka A. PhD, Fordham University. Professor, China Lutheran Seminary, Taiwan. **Taiwan; Yu, Thomas (Yu Qi-bing)**
- Kalme, Guntis. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Instructor, Luther Academy, Riga. **Courland (Kurland); Feldmanis, Roberts Emīls; Grīnbergs, Teodors; Irbe, Kārlis; Latvia; Livonia; Rumba, Edgars; Turss, Gustavs (Tūrs)**
- Kilcrease, Jack D. PhD, Marquette University. Adjunct Professor, Institute of Lutheran Theology. **Mystical Union**
- Kjeldgaard-Pedersen, Steffen. DTheol, University of Copenhagen. Professor, University of Copenhagen. **Luther Congresses**
- Klän, Werner. DTheol habil, University of Münster. Professor of Systematic Theology, Lutherische Theologische Hochschule, Oberursel. **Apartheid**
- Kleckley, Russell C. DTheol, University of Munich. Associate Professor, Augsburg College. **Boltzius, Johann Martin; Ebenezer Community**
- Klotz, D. Jerome. MDiv, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. Pastor, St. Timothy Lutheran Church, Charleston, West Virginia. **Predestination**
- Koch, Paul. MDiv, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. Pastor, St. John's Lutheran Church, Howard Lake, Minnesota. **Sanctification**
- Kolb, Robert. PhD, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Professor Emeritus, Concordia Seminary,

- St. Louis. Albrecht of Mainz; Amsdorf, Nikolaus von; Andreae, Jakob; Augsburg Interim; Augustinianism; Austria; Book of Concord; Chemnitz, Martin; Cologne; Confessionalization, Confessional Age; Confession of Faith; Dannhauer, Johann Konrad; Estonia; Exile; Formula of Concord; Hermann, Nikolaus; Leipzig Proposal (Interim); Luther Interpretation and Reception; Luther's Works; Magdeburg; Mathesius, Johannes; Mau, Carl Henning, Jr.; Mission and Evangelism; Mömpelgaard/Montbéliard Colloquy; Musculus, Andreas; Namibia; Noko, Ishmael; Peucer, Caspar; Quenstedt, Johann Andreas; Reformation and Luther Jubilees, Anniversaries; Spangenberg, Johann and Cyriacus; Staupitz, Johann von; *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope*; Twofold Righteousness; Two Realms; Wittenberg Circle; Wittenberg Circle, Parties within
- Korcok, Thomas. PhD, Free University, Amsterdam. Associate Professor, Concordia University, Chicago. **Lutheran Education**
- Krentz, Michael E. DMusic, Northwestern University. Director of Music Ministries, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Crüger, Johann; Praetorius, Michael; Rinckart, Martin**
- Krēsliņš, Jānis. DD, University of Stockholm. Senior Academic Librarian for Research Affairs, National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, Sweden. **Glück, Johann Ernst; Mancelius, Georgius**
- Krey, Philip D. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor Emeritus, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Nicholas of Lyra**
- Krueger, Karl. PhD, University of Michigan. Professor and Library Director, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Bible Translations; Mühlenberg, Heinrich (Henry) Melchior**
- Kühnel, Martin. PhD, University of Halle. Lecturer, University of Halle. **Pufendorf, Samuel; Thomasius, Christian**
- Lagerquist, L. DeAne. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor, St. Olaf College. **Danish-American Lutheranism; Fedde, Elizabeth Tonette; Kugler, Anna Sarah; Norwegian-American Lutheranism; Women's Movement**
- Lange, Dirk G. PhD, Emory University. Associate Professor, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Liturgy and Worship; Monasteries, Evangelical**
- Leroux, Neil. PhD, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. Professor Emeritus, University of Minnesota, Morris. **Rhetoric**
- Limthongviratn, Pongsak. Program Director, Asian and Pacific Islander Ministries for the ELCA. **Thailand**
- Lindberg, Carter. PhD, University of Iowa. Professor Emeritus, Boston University. **Luther, Martin; Luther's Breakthrough; Orphanages; Salvation; Social Ministry, Community Chest, Poor Relief**
- Lohrmann, Martin J. PhD, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. Assistant Professor, Wartburg Seminary. **Bugenhagen, Johannes; Prussian Union**
- Ludwig, Frieder. DHabil, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität–Munich. Professor, Fachhochschule for Intercultural Theology, Hermannsburg. **Angola; Botswana; Congo, Democratic Republic of the; Desta, Kentiba Gebru (Gobaw); Dlamini, Paulina; Eritrea; Ethiopia; Fathme, Pauline; Ghana; Jammo, Daffa; Liberia; Malawi; Mission Societies and Academies; Mozambique; Nesib, Onesimos; Nigeria; Sewushane, Martinus; Sierra Leone; Slavery and Colonialism; South Africa; Tikhuie, Vehettge Lena; Zambia; Zimbabwe**
- Lund, Eric. PhD, Yale University. Professor Emeritus, St. Olaf College. **Arndt, Johann; Calov, Abraham; Denmark; Devotional Literature; Hemmingsen, Niels; Iceland; Nicolai, Philipp; Tausen, Hans**
- Maag, Karin. PhD, University of St. Andrews. Professor, Calvin College. **Geneva**
- Maas, Corey D. DPhil, University of Oxford. Assistant Professor, Hillsdale College. **Alesius, Alexander; Barnes, Robert; Cranmer, Thomas; Elizabeth I; England; Hamilton, Patrick; Henry VIII; Tyndale, William; Wyclif, John**
- MacDonald, Gerald. ThD, University of Marburg. Independent scholar. **Walch, Johann Georg**
- Mäkinen, Virpi. DTheol, University of Helsinki. Professor, University of Helsinki. **Jurisprudence**

- Malcolm, Lois. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Holy Spirit**
- Manetsch, Scott M. PhD, University of Arizona. Professor, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. **Beza, Theodore; Calvin, John; Musculus, Wolfgang**
- Martinson, Paul Varo. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor Emeritus, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **China**
- Masaki, Makito. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. President, Kobe Lutheran Seminary, Kobe. **Japan; Kitamori, Kazoh; Nabetani, Gyoji; Tokuzen, Kazuyoshi**
- Maschke, Timothy. PhD, Marquette University. Professor, Concordia University, Wisconsin. **Luther's Bible**
- Mattes, Mark C. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor, Grand View University. **Bayer, Oswald; Braaten, Carl; Forde, Gerhard; Hamann, Johann Georg; Justification; Lindbeck, George; Philosophy; Theology of the Cross**
- Matthews, Rex D. ThD, Harvard University. Professor, Emory University. **Methodism; Wesley, John and Charles**
- Maxfield, John A. PhD, Princeton Seminary. Associate Professor, Concordia University, College of Alberta. **Good Works; History; University of Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century**
- Mayes, Benjamin T. G. PhD, Calvin Seminary. Associate Professor of Church History, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne. **Calixt, Georg; Gerhard, Johann; Patristics**
- McArver, Susan Wilds. PhD, Duke University. Professor, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary. **American Civil War; General Synod South; Jacobs, Henry Eyster**
- McMullen, Dianne M. PhD, University of Michigan. Professor, Union College. **Freylinghausen, Johann Anastasius; Telemann, Georg Philipp**
- Mejrup, Kristian. DPhil, University of Copenhagen. Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Copenhagen. **Holberg, Ludvig; Pontoppidan, Erik Ludvigsen**
- Menacher, Mark D. PhD, University of Manchester. Senior Pastor, St. Luke's Lutheran Church, Costa Mesa, California. **Ebeling, Gerhard; Independent Lutheran Organizations; Inner-Lutheran Ecumenism; Ministry**
- Meshack, Samuel W. PhD, University of Leicester. Director, Hindustan Bible Institute and College. **Aaron, S.; Manikam, Rajah Bushanam; Rajaratnam, Kunchala**
- Miller, Gregory. PhD, Boston University. Professor, Malone University. **Islam**
- Morton, Peter A. PhD, University of Western Ontario. Professor, Mount Royal University. **Witchcraft and Magic**
- Müller-Bahlke, Thomas. DPhil, Georg-August-University, Göttingen. Director, Francke Foundations, Halle. **Francke Foundations**
- Nafzger, Samuel H. ThD, Harvard University. Director Emeritus, Commission on Theology and Church Relations, LCMS. **International Lutheran Council**
- Nelson, R. David. PhD, University of Aberdeen. Acquisitions Editor, Baker Academic and Brazos Press. **Jenson, Robert W.; Jüngel, Eberhard; Pannenberg, Wolfhart**
- Nygard, Mark. PhD, Luther Seminary. Pastor, Bowman Lutheran Church, Bowman, North Dakota. **Cameroon; Darman, Paul; Gunderson, Adolphus; Middle East; Sudan Mission**
- Olson, Jeannine. PhD, Stanford University. Professor, Rhode Island College. **France**
- Omolo, Joseph T. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Professor, Neema Lutheran College, Matongo. **Kenya**
- Orde, Klaus vom. DTheol, Phillips-University of Marburg. Senior Researcher, Spener-Forschungsstelle, Leipzig. **Spener, Philipp Jakob**
- Panchu, Olav. PhD candidate, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Pastor in Saratov and assistant to the bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ingria. **Kugappi, Aari; Volga Germans**
- Paulson, Steven D. PhD, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. Professor, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Atonement; Christology; Free Will; Law and Gospel; Predestination; Sanctification**
- Persaud, Winston D. PhD, University of St. Andrews. Professor, Wartburg Seminary. **Guyana**

- Peters, Ted. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor Emeritus, Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary. **Evolution; Natural Science**
- Peterson, Cheryl M. PhD, Marquette University. Associate Professor, Trinity Lutheran Seminary. **Church**
- Pettke, Sabine. DHabil, University of Rostock. Professor Emeritus, University of Rostock. **Oltendorp, Johannes**
- Pless, John T. MDiv, Trinity Lutheran Seminary. Assistant Professor, Concordia Seminary, Fort Wayne. **Althaus, Paul; Apologetics; Bodelschwingh, Friedrich (the Elder) and Friedrich (the Younger) von; Lilje, Hanns; Loehe, Wilhelm Konrad; Niemoeller, Martin; Repristination Theology; Sacraments; Sasse, Hermann; Spitta, Karl Johann Philipp; Ten Commandments; Thielicke, Helmut; Three Estates**
- Plummer, Marjorie Elizabeth. PhD, University of Virginia. Associate Professor, Western Kentucky University. **Augsburg; Convents; Marriage and Divorce**
- Praszyński, Maciej. PhD, University of Warsaw. Professor, University of Warsaw. **Poland; Pomerania; Prussia**
- Rajashekar, J. Paul. PhD, University of Iowa. Professor, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **India**
- Říčan, Marek. ThD, Charles University, Prague. Assistant to the bishop, Silesian Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. **Czech Republic**
- Riches, Daniel. PhD, University of Chicago. Associate Professor, University of Alabama. **Gustavus Adolphus; Thomas Aquinas**
- Rittgers, Ronald K. PhD, Harvard University. Professor, Valparaiso University. **Confession (Private) and the Confessional; Dietrich, Veit; Nuremberg; Penance, Penitence, Repentance; Sachs, Hans**
- Rivera, Nelson. PhD, Temple University. Associate Professor, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Liberation Theology and Marxism**
- Robinson, Paul W. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. **Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux; Biel, Gabriel; German Mysticism; Hus, Jan; Ockham, William of; Scholasticism, Late Medieval; Thomas Aquinas; Valla, Lorenzo**
- Roth, John D. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor, Goshen College. **Anabaptists/Spiritualists; Hoffmann, Melchior**
- Russell, William R. PhD, University of Iowa. Pastor, Augustana Lutheran Church, Minneapolis. **Smalcald Articles**
- Salvadori, Stefania. DPhil, University of Venice and University of Zürich. Research Scholar, Academy of Sciences, Göttingen. **Andreae, Johann Valentin**
- Schmit, Clayton J. PhD, Graduate Theological Union. Provost, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary. **Preaching**
- Schnurr, Jan Carsten. DPhil, University of Tübingen. Lecturer, Freie Theologische Hochschule, Gießen. **Revivals, Erweckungsbewegung**
- Schuler, Rhoda Grever. ThD, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Professor, Concordia University. **Confirmation**
- Schulz, Klaus D. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Professor of Missiology, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne. **Gossner, Johannes Evangelista**
- Schuurman, Douglas J. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor, St. Olaf College. **Vocation**
- Schwarz, Hans. DTheol, University of Erlangen. Professor, University of Regensburg. **Creation; Eschatology (Apocalypticism, Chiliasm, Millennialism, Millenarianism); Heim, Karl**
- Serina, Richard J. PhD, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Guest Lecturer, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. **Conciliarism**
- Shantz, Douglas H. PhD, University of Waterloo. Professor, University of Calgary. **Arnold, Gottfried; Bengel, Johann Albrecht; Oetinger, Friedrich Christoph**
- Stayer, James M. PhD, Cornell University. Professor Emeritus, Queens University. **Luther Renaissance; Müntzer, Thomas; Peasants' War**
- Stewart, Richard N. DMin, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. Associate Professor, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Race/Minorities**

- Stjerna, Kirsi. PhD, Boston University. Professor, Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary. **Agricola, Mikael; Bora, Katharina von; Finnish Interpretation of Luther; Gender: Men and Women; Manermaa, Tuomo; Sexuality**
- Strandquist, Jason L. PhD, Pennsylvania State University. Independent scholar. **Bremen; Hamburg; Lübeck**
- Strauch, Solveig. DPhil, University of Cologne. Instructor, Anna Herrmann Schule, Kerpen, Germany. **Seckendorff, Veit Ludwig von**
- Strom, Jonathan. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor, Emory University. **Boehm, Anthony William; Conventicles; Conversion and Regeneration; Deaconesses; Pietism; Scriver, Christian; Welz, Justinian von**
- Sundberg, Walter. PhD, Princeton Seminary. Professor Emeritus, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Harms, Claus; Harms, Ludwig; Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm; Vilmar, August Friedrich Christian**
- Threinen, Norman J. DTheol, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Professor Emeritus, Concordia Seminary, Edmonton. **Canada**
- Tinambunan, Victor. DTheol, Trinity Theological College, Singapore. Professor, HKBP Theological Seminary. **Batak Church; Batak Confession; Nommensen, Ludwig Ingwer**
- Trueman, Carl. PhD, University of Aberdeen. Professor of Church History, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Calvinism as a Second Reformation**
- Valčo, Michal. DHabil, University of Prešov, Slovakia. Associate Professor, University of Žilina. **Kierkegaard, Søren Aabye**
- Venables, Mary Noll. PhD, Yale University. Independent scholar. **Ernst the Pious of Saxe-Gotha, Duke**
- Vethanayagamony, Peter. PhD, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. Associate Professor, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. **Fabricius, Johann Philipp; Fry, Franklin Clark; General Synod; Heyer, Johann Friedrich Christian; Lutheran Church in America; Petersen, Anne Marie; Schultze, Benjamin; Schwartz, Christian Friedrich**
- Vigen, James B. PhD, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. Pastor, Orangeburg Lutheran Church. **Fifohazana Movement; Madagascar**
- Walter, Gregory. PhD, Princeton Seminary. Associate Professor, St. Olaf College. **Existentialism; Holl, Karl; Iwand, Hans Joachim; Liberalism**
- Wendebourg, Dorothea. DHabil, Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich. Professor, Humboldt University, Berlin. **Eastern Orthodoxy; Germany since 1870**
- Wengert, Timothy J. PhD, Duke University. Professor Emeritus, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. **Agricola, Johann; Antinomianism/Antinomian Controversies; Apology of the Augsburg Confession; Cruciger, Caspar, Sr.; Major, Georg; Melancthon, Philip; Ninety-Five Theses; Ninety-Five Theses, Posting of the; Osiander, Andreas**
- Westermeyer, Paul. PhD, University of Chicago. Professor Emeritus, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. **Bach, Johann Sebastian; Buxtehude, Dietrich; Music; Schütz, Heinrich**
- Westhelle, Vitor. PhD, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. Professor, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. **Gómez, Medardo Ernesto; Nihilism and Postmodernism**
- Whitmer, Kelly J. PhD, University of British Columbia. Associate Professor, University of the South. **Brahe, Tycho; Kepler, Johannes; Rheticus, Georg Joachim**
- Wiersma, Hans. PhD, Luther Seminary, St. Paul. Associate Professor, Augsburg College. **Law, Uses of the; Martyrdom and Persecution**
- Williams, Kim-Eric. DMin, Graduate Theological Foundation. Lecturer, University of Pennsylvania. **Campanius, Johan; Falckner, Justus; Ministerium of Pennsylvania; New Sweden**
- Williams, Louise. DD, Wartburg Seminary. Executive Director Emeritus, Lutheran Deaconess Association. **Deaconesses**
- Wilson, Andrew L. PhD, Princeton Seminary. Independent scholar. **Spain**
- Wilson, Sarah Hinlicky. PhD, Princeton University. Researcher, Institute for Ecumenical Research, Strasbourg. **Authority; Ecumenical Dialogues;**

Grumbach, Argula von; Hammarskjöld, Dag; Honterus, Johannes; Original Sin; Revelation; Tradition

Wu, Albert. PhD, University of California, Berkeley. Assistant Professor, American University of Paris. **Inner Mission; Wichern, Johann Hinrich**

Yoder, Peter James. PhD, University of Iowa. Assistant Professor, Berry College. **Böhme, Jacob; Francke, August Hermann; Francke, Gotthilf August; Hildebrand, Carl (Baron von Canstein);**

Löscher, Valentin Ernst; Meyfart, Johann Matthäus

Zászkaliczky, Márton. PhD, Central European University. Faculty member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Literary Studies. **Hungary**

Zweck, Dean. ThD, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. Professor, Australian Lutheran College. **Australia; Australian Aboriginal People; Fli-erl, Johann; Fritzsche, Gotthard Daniel; Kavel, August Ludwig Christian; Papua New Guinea**

Introduction

Today Lutherans form a worldwide movement within the church catholic. This dictionary demonstrates that thesis at every turn. Not only did Martin Luther and his colleagues in Wittenberg and beyond insist on their continuity with the witness of the early church and even of certain medieval thinkers, but also from the very inception of the Reformation the Reformers influenced church life and proclamation for a much wider audience than simply German-speaking Christians within the Holy Roman Empire. Students from all over Europe came to study in Wittenberg. German writings of Luther and others and those already available in the academic lingua franca of Latin were quickly translated into a variety of languages. Reformers indebted to Luther and what grew to be the Lutheran traditions spread many of these ideas throughout Western Europe, Scandinavia, Finland, parts of the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary, and beyond.

But the movement that grew out of the Reformation did not stop in the sixteenth century. As important as the persons and events of that time were for shaping the Lutheran traditions, the new social, political, and theological contexts of the ensuing centuries provided Lutheran churches with opportunities for continued growth and development. The evolution of Lutheran orthodoxy in the seventeenth century, with its creative approaches to theological debate and lively church life—during which many cherished Lutheran hymns and chorales were written—enlivened the second century of the Lutheran traditions at the same time that the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) nearly destroyed central Europe.

If the periods often labeled Pietism and the Enlightenment shaped the broader church and intellectual life in the eighteenth century, they also did not hinder the continued growth of

Lutheran traditions. One of the most important aspects of that development was the training of pastors and missionaries for other lands—especially characteristic of the Franckean form of Lutheran piety centered in Halle, which sponsored, among others, the work of Ziegenbalg in India and Henry Melchior Mühlberg in the British colonies of North America.

The nineteenth century saw an explosion of mission work, as new churches were founded in the wake of European expansion throughout Asia and Africa, and immigrant churches served new European arrivals settling especially in North and South America and Australia. At the same time, a variety of theological movements—ranging from the very different pieties of Grundvig in Denmark and Hauge in Norway to the reprobation theology championed at the University of Erlangen and, in a different way, the liberalism of Albrecht Ritschl—continued to enrich the Lutheran conversation.

In 1883, at the four-hundredth anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, a monumental project to publish his complete works began in Weimar and resulted, over the next century, in producing over one hundred volumes of the Reformer's works. It fed into the so-called Luther Renaissance, sparked above all by the work of church historian Karl Holl, a movement that sought to understand Luther from his own writings and in his own context. But the twentieth century also saw the development of several important new movements. The deep commitment of Lutherans to the social welfare of the neighbor, already a hallmark of the Reformation and continued by such venerable institutions as the Franckean Foundations in Halle and the "Inner Mission" of nineteenth-century Germany and parts of Scandinavia (especially Denmark), came to special fruition after World War II in the Lutheran Immigration

and Refugee Service and in Lutheran World Relief. The interest in concord among Lutherans, which in the sixteenth century gave rise to the Formula of Concord, now came to new expression in the Lutheran World Federation and, in a different way, in the International Lutheran Council. At the same time, what had sometimes been viewed as mission outposts of North American and European churches quickly evolved into churches in their own right, with indigenous pastors and leaders, while continuing to maintain relationships with their founding churches.

It would be easy to say that it all simply began with Martin Luther, but this would be incorrect on two levels. For one thing, Luther himself was dependent on the witness of past Christians (for example, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Johann von Staupitz). For another, his special brand of theology arose out of the renewed interest in history and biblical studies in the Renaissance. This interest in returning to the sources (*ad fontes*) drove Luther to reassess canon law and later medieval theology and, more important, to learn anew the central biblical message of justification by faith alone. Thus, other witnesses in the church's history have also found a place in this dictionary.

Of course, Martin Luther himself plays a special role in this work. By his careful reading of the Psalms and Paul's Letters (often aided by the very latest interpretive tools, such as Erasmus's Greek text of and annotations on the New Testament), Luther came to a renewed appreciation for God's mercy and unmerited gifts in Christ. He also discovered a way of approaching God's Word that carefully distinguished God's condemning word, which terrifies the sinner, from God's justifying word, which comforts the terrified. In part due to his Ockhamist training and to his absorption of certain elements of the monastic piety fostered by Johannes Tauler and his circle, Luther also came to emphasize the scandal of the cross and the way it overturned human reason, leading the way to trust in God as revealed in Christ.

With the publication of the Latin Ninety-Five Theses in 1517 and the German *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace* in early 1518, Luther suddenly became a household name and was at the same time suspected of heresy by his archbishop, Albrecht of Mainz, to whom Luther had sent his theses on October 31, 1517. Thus began Luther's legal case with Rome, culminating in his being declared a heretic of the church by Pope Leo X in early 1521 and an outlaw of the Holy Roman Empire in April of the same year. By this time, Luther's theological development led him to question the seven sacraments by reducing the number to two or three (baptism, the Lord's Supper, and, sometimes, absolution), to appeal to the empire's princes for help in reforming church life, and to explain the nature of faith and good works (in the *Treatise on Good Works* and *Freedom of a Christian*). Whisked off to protective custody in the Wartburg, Luther continued his literary output with his *Judgment on Monastic Vows*, his exposition of the Sunday texts for Advent and Christmas, and, above all, his translation of the New Testament into German from the original Greek. Returning to Wittenberg in 1522, Luther faced down colleagues who in his opinion insisted that the reform of practice could best precede the proclamation of Wittenberg's gospel. In the face of uncertainty about the Christian's place in the world, he wrote *On Temporal Authority: The Extent to Which It Should Be Obeyed*. But practical reform did come: for liturgy (1523/1526), for catechesis (1522/1529), for the university (1524/1527), and, finally, for forms of ecclesial oversight, launched through an official visitation of Saxony's churches in 1527. Throughout this period, Luther's and Wittenberg's polemical output continued, now aimed not only at his Roman opponents but also at Reformers who denied Christ's real presence in the Eucharist (1524–29) or the efficacy of infant baptism (1528) and at Erasmus over free will (1524–29). In contrast, this period also saw Luther's production of the less explicitly polemical catechisms of 1529—works that, alongside his commentary on the texts from

the standard one-year lectionary (the *Kirchenpostil*), had some of the greatest impact on succeeding generations.

In 1530 the imperial diet held in Augsburg and presided over by Emperor Charles V himself marked a turning point in the history of the Lutheran movement with the presentation to the diet on June 25 of what became known as the Augsburg Confession, which was subsequently rejected by the opponents in their Confutation. With Luther unable to attend the diet, the drafting of the document fell to his colleague in Wittenberg, Philip Melancthon, who was aided by other Evangelical theologians (including Justus Jonas, Andreas Osiander, and Johannes Brenz). The Confession's twenty-eight articles confessed the signers' fidelity to the catholic faith grounded in justification "by grace through faith on account of Christ" (Augsburg Confession, IV) in the first twenty-one articles and provided grounds for changes in practice in the final seven.

After 1530 the pace of the Reformation movement did not slacken, as more cities and territories joined forces with the Saxon theologians, adding to the original signers of the Augsburg Confession (Saxony, Hessen, Brandenburg-Ansbach, Braunschweig-Lüneberg, Anhalt, Nuremberg, and Reutlingen) a host of others, including Denmark, Mecklenburg, Württemberg, Pomerania, and cities like Braunschweig, Lübeck, and Hamburg. Desire for unity among Protestants issued in the Wittenberg Concord between Martin Bucer's party (representing southern German cities such as Augsburg and Strasbourg) and the Wittenberg theologians, including Luther and Melancthon. Even conversations with the Roman party continued with colloquies in Worms (1540) and Regensburg (1541, 1546). With the death of Luther's sworn enemy George of Saxony, the nearby duchy of Saxony also became Evangelical. Universities also joined the movement, including institutions in Frankfurt/Oder, Leipzig, Rostock, and Tübingen. In this same era, the University of Wittenberg began ordaining pastors for

a host of churches and awarding doctorates in theology for their leaders. The papal call for a general council in 1536 (which eventually led to the Council of Trent [1545–63]) led Luther's prince, Elector John Frederick, to ask of Luther a confession (the Smalcald Articles, 1536–37 [published in 1538]) and led both Luther and Melancthon to write tracts on ecclesiology in 1539.

Luther's death in 1546 did not end the Lutheran movement, but, coupled with the disastrous defeat of Evangelical princes in the Smalcald War and the accompanying harsh measures effected in the 1547–48 Diet of Augsburg, it did cause severe difficulties in leadership, theology, and practice. While Charles V's attempts to assert direct control over the religious life of the empire finally failed, leading to the Peace of Augsburg (1555), theological struggles erupted among Lutherans over questions related among other things to adiaphora, original sin, free will, justification by faith, the role of good works in salvation, and the relation of law and gospel (antinomianism). At the same time, the period experienced what many viewed as the defection of some theologians and territories from the Wittenberg Concord, renewing struggles over the Lord's Supper. By 1580, twenty years after the death of Philip Melancthon, the Formula of Concord and its accompanying body of Lutheran confessional documents (the ecumenical creeds, the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the Smalcald Articles, Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope, and Luther's catechisms) were published, bringing approximately two-thirds of the empire's Lutherans into its fold. Meanwhile, the Lutheran movement continued to spread into the Nordic and Baltic lands and into parts of Poland and the Slovakian parts of the kingdom of Hungary, while Reformed churches came to dominate England, France, and the Netherlands. The Roman Catholic Church, revitalized especially by the Council of Trent and the new order of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), began to reclaim Evangelical territories in Austria, Poland, and Germany.

The entries in this dictionary trace the remarkable growth and development of the Lutheran traditions, focusing on Luther and including not simply well-known, influential names and movements from Germany and Scandinavia but also lesser-known but nonetheless crucial figures who founded and preserved a Lutheran witness to the gospel throughout the world. Brief sketches of Lutheran churches throughout Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Australia provide the reader with a view into the rich diversity of cultures in which the Lutheran witness to the gospel has flourished over the centuries. What better way to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation than to document its historical, theological, and cultural impact around the world!

This dictionary also stands in the shadow of several earlier English-language reference works, which paved the way for this present, more modest effort. Henry Eyster Jacobs and John A. W. Haas, in cooperation with Otto Zöckler of the University of Greifswald, published *The Lutheran Cyclopaedia* (Scribner's Sons, 1899), providing the English-speaking world with a one-volume overview of many major figures and topics in Lutheran history and its ongoing life. Another book with almost the same name (*Lutheran Cyclopaedia*)—but arising out of an earlier *Concordia Cyclopaedia* (Concordia, 1927) and edited this time by Erwin L. Lueker—appeared in 1954, published by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis. Scarcely a decade later, Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, and Fortress Press, Philadelphia, published in 1965 an even more ambitious three-volume work, *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, edited for the Lutheran World Federation by Julius Bodensieck and counting over seven hundred contributors among its authors. (Since then, smaller works have appeared, including *Historical Dictionary of Lutheranism* [Scarecrow, 2001; 2nd ed., 2011], edited by Günther Gassmann, Duane H. Larson, and Mark W. Oldenburg.) This current volume presents the scholarship of Lutherans from around the world and especially

the United States, and once again attempts to capture the lively movement that began with Martin Luther and continues unabated in a variety of traditions today, thus offering the reader a wide variety of articles on the theology, practice, and history of Luther and Lutheranism worldwide.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, several editors of this volume had already begun serious discussions about the possibilities of a reference work on Lutheran history, theology, and practice. In the fall of 2012, Dave Nelson, acquisitions editor at Baker Academic, approached us about just such a project. In anticipation of the 2017 anniversary year, the publisher had envisioned a single-volume reference work on Martin Luther and the traditions of Lutheran thought and practice. We are pleased to present this volume as a contribution to Baker Academic's list of theological dictionaries, which also includes the award-winning volumes *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible* (2005) and *Dictionary of Scripture and Ethics* (2011). The editors wish to express their deepest appreciation to the entire editorial staff at Baker Academic and most especially to Dave Nelson, whose indefatigable efforts and overall vision have made this long-time dream a reality. But thanks are also due to Rachel Klompmaker, Brandy Scritchfield, and Brian Bolger for their painstaking work of turning over six hundred submitted articles into a readable, usable reference work.

The editors and authors represent a broad sweep of scholarship on different aspects of the Lutheran traditions. Timothy J. Wengert is the general editor for this project. He is Ministerium of Pennsylvania emeritus professor of church history at The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, having received his PhD at Duke University. He is well known for his work on Philip Melancthon (for which he received the Melancthon Prize from the city of Bretten, Germany, in 2000), on several of the Lutheran confessional documents (the Formula of Concord and Martin Luther's catechisms), and on Martin Luther, and for

his collaboration, with Robert Kolb, on editing the English translation of *The Book of Concord* (Fortress, 2000). He also edited two volumes of the translation of Henry Melchior Mühlberg's correspondence and is associate editor of *Lutheran Quarterly*.

Mark A. Granquist, the managing editor of this project, is associate professor of the history of Christianity at Luther Seminary, specializing in the history of Lutherans in America. He serves as editor of *Word & World* and of the *Journal of the Lutheran Historical Conference*. His publications include *Lutherans in America: A New History* (Fortress, 2014); *Scandinavian Pietists: Spiritual Writings from 19th-century Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland* (Paulist, 2015); and with Maria Erling, *The Augustana Story: Shaping Lutheran Identity in North America* (Fortress, 2008).

The associate editors are Mark Mattes, Robert Kolb, Mary Jane Haemig, and Jonathan Strom. Mark Mattes serves as chair of the department of theology at Grand View University in Des Moines, Iowa. He holds a PhD from the University of Chicago and has authored several books, including *Martin Luther's Theology of Beauty* (Baker Academic, 2017) and *The Role of Justification in Contemporary Theology* (Eerdmans, 2004). He has also coedited Gerhard Forde's theological essays, *A More Radical Gospel* and *The Preached God*, and has cotranslated works of Oswald Bayer and Klaus Schwarzwäller. Additionally, he serves as an associate editor for *Lutheran Quarterly*.

Robert Kolb is emeritus missions professor of systematic theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. He was granted a PhD from the University of Wisconsin and did early work on Jakob Andreae and Nicholas von Amsdorf. Among his recent books are *Martin Luther, Confessor of the Faith* (Oxford, 2009), *Martin Luther and the Enduring Word of God* (Baker Academic, 2016), and *Luther and the Stories of God* (Baker Academic, 2012). He coauthored with Charles Arand *The Genius of Luther's Theology* (Baker Academic, 2008) and is coeditor of *The Oxford Handbook of Martin*

Luther's Theology (Oxford, 2014) and of the *Book of Concord* (Fortress, 2000).

Mary Jane Haemig is professor of church history at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, where she is also director of the Reformation Research Program. She joined the faculty in 1999 after teaching five years at Pacific Lutheran University. She received her ThD from Harvard University, writing on Lutheran catechetical preaching. Her scholarly articles have appeared, among other places, in *Lutheran Quarterly*, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, *Church History*, and *Word & World*. She has been associate editor and book review editor of the *Lutheran Quarterly* and is, with Robert Kolb and Mark Mattes, a member of the continuation committee for the International Luther Research Congress.

Jonathan Strom is associate professor of church history and associate dean at the Candler School of Theology, Emory University, in Atlanta, Georgia. He received his PhD from the University of Chicago. He is author of *Orthodoxy and Reform: The Clergy of Seventeenth-Century Rostock* (Mohr Siebeck, 1999), editor of *Pietism and Community in Europe and North America* (Brill, 2010), and coeditor of *Pietism in Germany and North America: 1680–1820* (Ashgate, 2009).

In his introduction to the *Lutheran Encyclopedia*, dated February 1, 1954, Erwin Lueker outlined his editorial principles as follows: (1) Unless otherwise required, treating topics factually and/or historically, and (2) avoid statements that “could be regarded as polemical and propagandic” (p. vii). The same has been asked of our contributors, namely, a fair-mindedness that tries accurately to present the many topics in this book. It is our fervent hope that this work measures up favorably to Lueker's lofty goals and well serves twenty-first-century readers.

Timothy J. Wengert, general editor
Riverton, New Jersey
February 18, 2016, Commemoration
of Martin Luther,
renewer of the church (1546)

Aaron, S.

The first Protestant Indian ordained pastor, S. Aaron (1698–1745), was born into a Shivite family at Cuddalore, Tamilnadu, and named C. Arumugam (meaning “six-faces,” representing the Hindu god Murugan). He was baptized in Tranquebar in 1718 by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, who christened him S. Aaron. He served as a catechist from 1719 to 1733. As a catechist, Aaron performed the duties of communicating the gospel of Jesus Christ, instructing the catechumens and preparing them for baptism, and other pastoral tasks. The request of the people for an indigenous pastor led the Danish mission board in Copenhagen to authorize its missionaries in Tranquebar “to ordain an able person of Indian nation for the office of a pastor.” Aaron was chosen and was ordained as the first Indian pastor on December 28, 1733. He married Rachel and, after her early death, Anandaj. He himself died in 1745 of a pneumatocele, leaving behind his third wife when she was pregnant.

See also India; Ziegenbalg, Bartholomäus

Bibliography

Jeyaraj, D. *Ordination of the First Protestant Indian Pastor Aaron*. Lutheran Heritage Archives, 1998; Koschorke, K., F. Ludwig, and M. Delgado. *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450–1990: A Documentary Sourcebook*. Eerdmans, 2007.

SAMUEL W. MESHACK

Adiaphora

The term “adiaphora” is a transliteration of the Greek term (Latin: *indifferentia*; undifferentiated matters) meaning “indifferent things.” Historically, the Stoics were first to inquire after things that existed outside moral law, which were thus morally neutral as such but became morally relevant by their use.

The New Testament knows of nothing outside God’s purpose, will, and activity and so has no concept of adiaphora. The Pauline passages cited in support of such a view (1 Cor. 6:12; 8:8–9; cf. Col. 3:17) make clear that freedom in the use of things or in action does not allow for arbitrariness or license, but is a freedom birthed by love. Within this freedom the Christian acts without determining by way of a legal, external norm *how* to act. In this sense there are no “indifferent things.” Only when freedom sprung from love is replaced with orientation to external norms does the concept of adiaphora emerge.

In general, early Christian authors rejected the concept of adiaphora, insofar as all created things were good by nature and only in their use were good or evil. In particular, they rejected adiaphora when opposing philosophical opinion, or allowed them in opposition to ceremonial rules and local liturgical customs. Thomas Aquinas also argued that adiaphora was possible only theoretically but not in practice, where the church’s authority holds sway.

Martin Luther regarded all the phenomena of life and its norms as human activities, to be evaluated respecting their utility in light of faith and its exercise of freedom oriented to God’s will. His position was similar to that of Augustine, who allowed for adiaphora *within* the state of grace. From faith oriented to God’s will, such things or acts were to be tested for their usefulness, thus leaving no room for adiaphora conceived as external, or morally undifferentiated. Luther accordingly rejected and condemned human ordinances when regarded as a service to God, when forced on congregations, or when conceded to enemies in time of persecution. Article 7 of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 reads that “It is not

necessary for the true unity of the Christian church that uniform ceremonies, instituted by human beings, be observed everywhere.”

Twice in the history of the Evangelical church disputes arose over adiaphora. The first occurred in 1548, when Charles V attempted to unite Catholics and Protestants under the so-called Augsburg Interim. For either side the point at issue was whether, under the duress of the emperor’s edict following the Smalcald War, elements that were neither commanded nor forbidden by God’s Word could be retained or taken up again. Melancthon rejected the Interim, though he later worked on an alternative, nicknamed the Leipzig Interim, which defined practices unrelated to justification as adiaphora. Matthias Flacius and others attacked this Leipzig Interim, expanding Luther’s position to read that “in the matter of confession or offense nothing is an adiaphoron” (*nihil est adiaphoron in casu confessionis et scandali*).

In the second dispute Lutheran and Reformed churches came into conflict. The issue was whether types of behavior per se are neither good nor evil, but become so in the individual instance. Luther had maintained the right to a temperate enjoyment of secular amusements, but Calvin enforced the so-called Genevan code outlawing the notion of adiaphora. In the eighteenth century, when some Pietists contended that the pursuit of corporal, social, and aesthetic goods was sinful, while some Orthodox Lutheran theologians insisted that there was no explicit divine prohibition against their pursuit, the biblical and Reformation understanding often faded into the background.

By 1576 both extremes were rejected in the Formula of Concord. In article 10 of the Solid Declaration, the Formula noted the controversy among theologians of the Augsburg Confession respecting ceremonies and rites neither commanded nor forbidden; it declared that when, under the pretext of external adiaphora, such rites were proposed as were in principle contrary to God’s Word, they were

not indifferent. Nor were those rites to be reckoned as adiaphora that were designed to indicate that the religion of the theologians of the Augsburg Confession did not differ greatly from that of the papists. On the other hand, the Christian community had the right to change, diminish, or increase “genuine” adiaphora if unrelated to the worship of God. The Formula went on to state that in time of confession, there was to be no yielding to adversaries who tried to force adiaphora on the community of God. The renowned freedom of the Formula—summarized in the sentence *in statu confessionis nihil adiaphoron* (in the instance of confession nothing is an adiaphoron), that is, wherever the gospel is endangered, freedom is suspended, and wherever it is not at risk, freedom may be exercised—cannot be applied in a legalistic way; yet the theological issue denoted by the sentence stands and is echoed in other persuasions, as in the familiar line of Moravians: “In necessary things unity, in doubtful things liberty, in all things charity.”

In the centuries following, the concept of adiaphora came into discredit, principally in philosophical circles. The following dictum of Immanuel Kant may have contributed to its demise: “The doctrine of morals is chiefly concerned with allowing no room for morally indifferent things, neither in acts (*adiaphora*), nor in human characters, so long as it is possible; for with regard to such ambiguity all maxims run the danger of losing their determinacy and solidity.” Following Kant, Friedrich Schleiermacher contended that no sphere of existence per se could occur outside life under the ethical alternative. Many later Evangelical authorities have been in substantial agreement with this position.

See also Andreae, Jakob; Augsburg Interim; Iconoclasm; Kant, Immanuel; Leipzig Interim; Wittenberg Circle, Parties within

Bibliography

“Adiaphora.” RAC 1:85–86. Hiersemann, 1950; “Adiaphora.” RGG 1:94–96, 119. Mohr, 1957; “Adiaphora.” RGG. 1:116–19. Mohr Siebeck, 1998; “Adiaphora.” RPP 1:54–56. Brill, 2007; Article 10. In Ep/SD; Kant, I. *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*. Ed.

K. Vorländer. Para. 9, p. 21. Felix Meiner, 1956; Schleiermacher, F. "Grundlinien einer Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre." In *Sämmtliche Werke: Dritte Abtheilung, zur Philosophie*, vol. 1. G. Reimer, 1846.

ROY A. HARRISVILLE

Agricola, Johann

Johann Agricola (1494–1566) was a reformer, teacher in Eisleben, professor in Wittenberg, and court preacher and general superintendent in Berlin. Born Johann Schneider in Eisleben as the son of a master carver and hence often referred to as "Eisleben," Agricola received his bachelor's degree at the University of Leipzig, came to Wittenberg as a student in 1516, heard Luther's lectures on Romans, and received his master of arts degree there in 1518 and a bachelor of Bible degree alongside Melanchthon in 1519. He married Else Mohauer in 1520 and, after brief study in medicine, returned to theology; in 1525 he moved to his hometown of Eisleben, where he became rector of the Latin school and preacher at St. Nicholas Church. In the 1520s he published commentaries on Luke and Colossians and several catechisms. Agricola was involved in several controversies, the first arising in 1527, when he and Philip Melanchthon fought over the nature of repentance and whether it originated in the law and fear (Melanchthon) or the gospel and love (Agricola), in what is sometimes labeled the prelude to the antinomian controversy.

He was preacher for Elector John of Saxony at the imperial diets in Speyer (1526 and 1529) and in Augsburg (1530). After a quarrel with Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, he left Eisleben and started teaching and preaching in Wittenberg by 1538. It was then that he became embroiled in a controversy with Martin Luther over the role of the law in theology, which resulted in unrest in Wittenberg over preaching the law (under the slogan: "The law belongs in city hall") and in Luther's penning *Against the Antinomians* (LW 47:99–119). After several attempts had been made at reconciliation between the two men, Agricola fled to Berlin in 1540 under the threat of house arrest. In Berlin he immediately became the court preacher for Elector Joachim II

of Brandenburg and in 1543 the general superintendent. As Joachim's theological representative at the 1547–48 imperial diet in Augsburg, he assisted in the drafting of the Augsburg Interim. His collaboration on this document resulted in attacks from several quarters, including Philip Melanchthon (who broke off all correspondence with him), his good friend Caspar Aquila (pastor in Saalfeld), and his Berlin colleague Georg Buchholzer. Despite these attacks, his support for the so-called Leipzig Interim, and subsequent fights over the law with Buchholzer and other "Philippists" in 1563, he remained in Berlin until his death from the plague in 1566. Apart from his theological work, Agricola was also known for his collection of German adages, first published in 1529. Andreas Musculus, his brother-in-law and professor at the University of Frankfurt/Oder, was instrumental in inserting something of Agricola's lively sense of Christian freedom from the law into the final drafts of the Formula of Concord.

See also Antinomianism/Antinomian Controversies; Augsburg Interim; Formula of Concord; Leipzig Proposal (Interim); Melanchthon, Philip; Musculus, Andreas

Bibliography

Rogge, J. *Johann Agricolas Lutherverständnis: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Antinomismus*. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960; Wengert, T. J. *Law and Gospel: Philip Melanchthon's Debate with John Agricola of Eisleben over "Poenitentia."* Baker, 1997.

TIMOTHY J. WENGERT

Agricola, Mikael

Architect of the Reformation in Finland and father of the Finnish language, Mikael Agricola (ca. 1507–57) was a peasant's son and was educated in Vyborg (Viipuri) in the 1520s, where he was exposed to humanist and Reformation influences. He attended Wittenberg University in 1536–39 and earned his master's degree under the tutelage of Luther and Melanchthon. In Finland he became a pioneering educator, administrator, church leader, translator, diplomat, and prolific writer.

Agricola created written Finnish. Before producing the first Finnish translation of the

New Testament (*Se Wsi Testamenti*) in 1548, Agricola's ABC-book (*ABC-kiria*) from 1543 offered basic catechetical teaching influenced by Luther's, Melancthon's, and Andreas Osiander's catechetical texts—with instruction on Finnish spelling, pronouncing the Finnish alphabet, and numbers. After serving in 1539–48 as schoolmaster at the Cathedral School in Turku (Åbo), Agricola was installed as the first Lutheran bishop of Turku (1554). He supplied the principal manuals for the new Lutheran worship life and pastoral office (*Käsikiria*, *Messu*, and *Piina*) by 1549, followed by translations of parts of the Old Testament, including the Psalms (*Dauidin Psalttari*, 1551), Hymns and Prophecies (*Weisut ia Ennustoxet*, 1551), and the Prophets (*Ne Prophetat*, 1552). Agricola's original Prayer Book (*Rucouskiria*) from 1544 included forty psalms, over five hundred prayers, and other materials; it was widely used in church life and private devotion.

He was married to Birgitta Olav's daughter; their only son, Christian, became the bishop of Tallinn. While in Russia as one of Gustav Vasa's peace negotiators, Agricola died suddenly on September 4, 1557, and was buried in Vyborg. Agricola made lasting contributions to Finnish language, identity, culture, and church life.

See also Catechisms; Finland; Petri, Olavus; Sweden

Bibliography

Agricola, M. *Se Usi Testamenti*. 1548. Facsimile at <http://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/43367>; Gummerus, J. *Michael Agricola, der Reformator Finnlands: Sein Leben und sein Werk*. Luther-Agricola Seura, 1941; Heininen, S. *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja Teokset*. Edita, 2007.

KIRSI STJERNA

Albrecht of Mainz

This archbishop of Mainz was a younger brother of Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg. As scion of the Hohenzollern family, Albrecht of Mainz (1490–1545) strove with success to advance Hohenzollern interests against those of the Wettin family of Elector Frederick the Wise, as he became archbishop of Magdeburg (1513) and then of Mainz (1514), assuming

two important offices formerly held by two of Frederick's brothers. He had also become administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt (1513). The archbishopric of Mainz brought him the positions of “primate of Germany” and “arch-chancellor of the German empire,” but his young age and acceptance of plural ecclesiastical offices required substantial payments to the papacy. Pope Leo X (1475–1521) granted him the right to sell indulgences for the building of St. Peter's cathedral in Rome to help alleviate the debt. This sale provoked Luther's Ninety-Five Theses on Indulgences in October 1517. Albrecht did not react to Luther's letter accompanying the theses when it reached him in December but, suspecting heresy, referred the matter to his university theologians and jurists and to Rome.

In contrast to his strong-willed brother, Albrecht is described as gentle, indecisive, and interested in the arts and learning. His patronage supported a spectrum of scholars and artists, and he counts as one of the founders (with his brother) of the University of Frankfurt/Oder. His piety led him to practice his priestly office with some rigor. He attempted some reform measures in the archdiocese of Mainz, though he could not implement his plans because of the opposition of his clergy.

Albrecht's relationship with Luther was ambiguous. Luther's initial deference and respectful tone in late 1517 turned to fervent appeals for reform in Albrecht's lands; criticism of his failure to reform; accusations of involvement in the 1527 assassination of Georg Winckler, a citizen of Halle, under Albrecht's jurisdiction; and rebuke for the archbishop's role in the execution of one of his courtiers, the Evangelical Hans von Schnitz, in 1535. Hopes for Albrecht's playing a decisive mediating role at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, voiced particularly by Melancthon, proved groundless. On the other hand, communication between Albrecht and the Wittenberg theologians continued; Albrecht gave Luther and his wife a generous wedding gift in 1525. Luther urged Albrecht to go through with thoughts of marrying and

secularizing his lands. But toward the end of his life, the Jesuit Peter Faber encouraged him in persecuting adherents of the Wittenberg Reformation.

Though he occupied very powerful positions, Albrecht ended up playing a relatively minor role in his time and in the Reformation.

See also *Ninety-Five Theses*; *Ninety-Five Theses*, Posting of the

Bibliography

Hendrix, S. H. "Martin Luther und Albrecht von Mainz: Aspekte von Luthers reformatorischem Selbstbewußtsein." *Lutherjahrbuch* 49 (1982): 96–114; Jürgensmeier, F., ed. *Erzbischof Albrecht von Brandenburg (1490–1545): Ein Kirchen- und Reichsfürst der Frühen Neuzeit*. Knecht, 1991; Krodell, G. G. "Wider den Abgott zu Halle." *Lutherjahrbuch* 33 (1966): 9–87.

ROBERT KOLB

Alesius, Alexander

Born Alexander Allane (or Alan) in Edinburgh and educated at St. Andrews (BA, 1515), the Scottish Lutheran theologian and polemicist Alexander Alesius (1500–1565) publicly opposed Luther's theology in the mid-1520s. In 1528 his views began to change when he was called on to confute suspected Lutheran Patrick Hamilton. After Hamilton's execution, Alesius fled Scotland. Matriculating at Wittenberg in 1532, he began lecturing there in the following year while continuing to encourage reform in Britain. In 1533 he published an appeal to James V to allow vernacular Scripture in Scotland; in 1535 he delivered copies of Melancthon's *Loci Communes* to Henry VIII (to whom it was dedicated) and Thomas Cranmer, remaining in England both to teach at Cambridge and to participate in ongoing Anglo-Smalcaldic negotiations. When parliament's passage of the Act of Six Articles in 1539 prevented further advocacy of Lutheran theology in England, he returned to Germany and received, upon Melancthon's recommendation, a Frankfurt professorship. In 1542 he moved again to Leipzig University, where before his death on March 17, 1565, he published widely in exegetical, dogmatic, and polemical theology.

See also Cranmer, Thomas; England; Hamilton, Patrick; Henry VIII

Bibliography

McNeill, J. T. "Alexander Alesius: Scottish Lutheran (1500–1565)." *ARG* 55 (1964): 161–91; Wiedermann, G. "Martin Luther versus John Fisher: Some Ideas concerning the Debate on Lutheran Theology at the University of St. Andrews, 1525–30." *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 22 (1984–86): 13–34; Wiedermann, G. "Der Reformator Alexander Alesius als Ausleger der Psalmen." PhD diss., Erlangen University, 1988.

KOREY D. MAAS

Althaus, Paul

The German systematic theologian and Lutheran scholar Paul Althaus (1888–1966) was born into a family of theologians. His interest in Luther and the Lutheran confessions was influenced by his father, Paul Althaus Sr. (1861–1925). At Tübingen he learned from New Testament scholar Adolf Schlatter (1852–1938) to hold exegesis and dogmatics together. Althaus also studied with Karl Holl (1866–1926), whose pioneering Luther research opened the way for his own scholarship. He completed his university studies at Göttingen, where the work of Carl Stange (1870–1959), Martin Kähler (1835–1912), and Karl Heim (1874–1958) further defined his approach to the theological task. Althaus was the defining figure for Erlangen theology in the mid-twentieth century.

After serving as a chaplain in World War I, Althaus returned to teach at Göttingen before accepting a call to Rostock in 1919. In 1925 Althaus moved to Erlangen, where he remained for the rest of his life and established himself as a careful scholar, articulate teacher, and eloquent preacher. He signed the Ansbacher Ratschlag (Ansbach Memorandum, 1934), a document that theologically endorsed the so-called Aryan clause in the German church constitution claiming that due to the orders of creation, nations are assigned distinct callings by their Creator.

Even though Althaus would distance himself from the anti-Semitic ideology of National Socialism, never speaking positively of the party

after 1938, his earlier endorsement of the party caused him to be viewed with suspicion and criticism.

Like other Erlangen theologians such as Werner Elert (1885–1954) and Hermann Sasse (1895–1976), Althaus rejected the Barmen Declaration as a confusion of law and gospel, resulting in a “Christomonism” that dismissed general revelation. In 1952 Althaus published a monograph titled *The Divine Command*. Seeking to avoid a “third use” of the law and yet critical of Barth’s collapse of the law into the gospel, Althaus asserted that God’s commandments, heard by the Christian, are not legal demands but words of personal address received in faith, revealing God’s will for the new life.

While Althaus is best remembered for his Luther scholarship, his theological career was multidimensional, embracing systematic theology and New Testament studies. While at Rostock, Althaus completed a book on eschatology. This book, *Die letzten Dinge* (The last things), is perhaps the most comprehensive Lutheran treatment of the topic in the twentieth century. Eschatology grounded in the resurrection of Jesus, with hope directed toward the fulfillment of all things yet experienced now in time by faith, characterizes Althaus’s approach. During this period he and Carl Strange founded the *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* in 1923. His massive book on dogmatics, *Die christliche Wahrheit*, was published in 1947. His approach to systematic theology bears some similarity to Paul Tillich’s notion of a method of correlation in that Althaus seeks to engage culture and science theologically. There is knowledge of God apart from Christ (Rom. 1), but salvation is only in Christ. The doctrine of the Trinity is not a foreword to Christian theology but its doxological conclusion. Althaus was at home in New Testament studies, writing commentaries on Galatians, Romans, and 1 and 2 Corinthians. His work on Jesus challenged Bultmann’s divorce of history and faith as Althaus affirmed the necessity of the resurrection for Christian faith. In this

sense, Althaus demonstrated apologetic acumen in both academy and church, influencing one of his most well-known students, Helmut Thielicke (1908–86). His work on the doctrine of God became important for Paul Knitter and others working with questions raised by world religions and interfaith dialogues.

Althaus’s best-known Luther studies are his two volumes on Luther’s theology and ethics. Convinced that Luther’s theology continued to be relevant for the church, Althaus sought to provide a vivid and accurate description of Luther’s thought, distinguishing Luther from Lutheran orthodoxy but also from liberal Protestantism.

See also Ansbach Memorandum (Ansbacher Ratschlag); Barmen Confession; Barth, Karl; Bultmann, Rudolf (Karl); Elert, Werner; Erlangen; Eschatology (Apocalypticism, Chiliasm, Millennialism, Millenarianism); Heim, Karl; Holl, Karl; Law, Uses of the; Luther Interpretation and Reception; Thielicke, Helmut; Tillich, Paul J.

Bibliography

Althaus, P. *The Ethics of Martin Luther*. Trans. R. Schultz. Fortress, 1972; Althaus, P. *Fact and Faith in the Kerygma of Today*. German, 1957. Trans. D. Cairns. Muhlenberg, 1959; Althaus, P. *The Theology of Martin Luther*. Trans. R. Schultz. Fortress, 1966; Green, L. “Paul Althaus: The Meditator.” In *The Erlangen School of Theology*, 265–87. Lutheran Legacy, 2010; Jasper, G. *Paul Althaus (1888–1966): Professor, Pre diger und Patriot in seiner Zeit*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

JOHN T. PLESS

Altona Confession

The Altona Confession was written by a group of Lutheran pastors in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hamburg; the document was named for the Hamburg district of Altona, where the group had convened. Titled *The Dangers and Disruptions of Public Life*, it was issued on January 11, 1933, shortly before Adolf Hitler was named chancellor and the Nazis came to power. As its title indicates, the focus of the Altona Confession is the widespread political extremism, uncertainty, and turbulence of the time. It was an attempt to express a Christian response to the political atmosphere that could guide church members

and leaders. While much of the document focuses on the church-state relationship and the responsibilities of Christians as citizens, its central message is that Christians should focus on the teachings of the Gospels and their own consciences in determining how to respond to the challenges that faced them. The authors of the Altona Confession carefully avoided aligning the church with any political movement, but the message is clear, particularly with respect to the ethno-nationalism that was already being expressed by the pro-Nazi German Christians. The Altona Confession was widely distributed throughout Germany; in the winter semester of 1933, Dietrich Bonhoeffer discussed it with his students and contrasted the document with pro-nationalist tracts such as Wilhelm Stapel's *The Christian Statesman: A Theology of Nationalism*. As the earliest such statement, the Altona Confession subsequently became a point of reference for confessional statements by the Confessing Church, including the Bethel Confession (September 1933), and the Barmen and Dahlem statements (1934).

See also Barmen Confession; Bonhoeffer, Dietrich

Bibliography

Bethge, E. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography*. Rev. ed. Fortress, 2000; Helmreich, E. C. *The German Churches under Hitler*. Wayne State University Press, 1979.

VICTORIA J. BARNETT

American Civil War

The major conflict between the Northern and Southern states in the United States of America in 1861–65, the American Civil War, culminated a lengthy period of tension emerging between states in the North and the South from the time of the founding of the nation until the middle of the nineteenth century. The complex and varied causes of the war included unresolved issues related to the relative rights of the federal government versus the rights of individual states, the emergence of different cultures and economies in different regions of the country, and the strong desire of some to preserve the Union at all costs standing against

the equally strong desire of others to form their own independent governments. Yet the specific cause of the war, underlying all these factors, was the institution of slavery.

As Lutherans came to the New World during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they found slavery already established throughout the Western Hemisphere. Danish Lutherans imported slaves into the Danish West Indies (now the US Virgin Islands), as early as the mid-seventeenth century. However, in the early days of settlement on the mainland, many Lutherans opposed slavery, even in the Southern colonies. Over time, however, Lutherans increasingly began to adopt a position on slavery that reflected the surrounding cultural context of which they became a part. While slavery began to decline in the northern states, slavery increased dramatically in both economic and cultural importance in the South, and it became contested in the newer states forming in the West.

The General Synod, composed of individual member synods in both Northern and Southern states, wrestled most directly with the issue. The most well-known leader of the General Synod, Samuel Simon Schmucker, stood as an outspoken abolitionist. Another prominent leader of the General Synod, however, the Rev. John Bachman of Charleston, defended the institution. Some Northern constituent synods of the General Synod, such as Wittenberg and Pittsburgh, published antislavery sentiments, and in 1837 a group of abolitionist Lutherans in upstate New York formed an explicitly abolitionist body, the Franckean Synod. Such actions led to bitter responses from the Southern synods; as tensions and rhetoric mounted, the General Synod struggled to avoid division at all costs by agreeing to consider slavery a political issue, with no place in ecclesiastical discussions.

The midwestern synods proved less directly affected by the issue, but C. F. W. Walther of the Missouri Synod ignited controversy when he refused to condemn slavery as a sin, since slavery could be found in the Bible. He

enjoined slave owners to treat their slaves humanely, but other midwestern Lutherans, including many Germans and the majority of Norwegians, believed that slavery itself could not be defended, and a rift developed between the conservative Norwegians and Germans over the issue.

As in other Southern denominations, slaves regularly attended the Lutheran churches of their masters, although white Lutherans debated over their exact membership status and confined them to separate galleries, the rear pews of the church, or separate services. By 1860, slaves and “free persons of color” constituted almost one-quarter of the South Carolina Synod’s entire membership.

Once war came in April 1861, Lutherans, like other mainline Protestants before them, separated along regional lines. While the Texas Synod remained aligned with the General Synod throughout the war, Lutherans in North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Western Virginia, and Georgia withdrew, beginning in the fall of 1861, to form the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America (the General Synod South). Both Northern and Southern synods went on record supporting their individual regions and causes with zeal and passion, creating bitter wounds that would not be healed for many years.

Driven by a strong desire to secede both ecclesiastically and politically, the General Synod South strove to remove all previous reliance on Northern Lutheran institutions and forms and called for the creation of its own separate hymnal, liturgy, and literature. To counter the strong pro-Union and antislavery stance of the General Synod’s *Lutheran Observer*, published in Baltimore, in August 1861 Southern Lutherans also began publication of a rival paper, *The Southern Lutheran*, which was published until invasion by Northern forces and economic collapse ended it in January 1865.

Both sides interpreted the war in theological terms. Each believed that God fought on their side, and they scrutinized the ebb and flow of

victories and losses as signs of either God’s favor or God’s judgment. Pastors on both sides enlisted in military service, and attendance at local synodical gatherings often depended on the military situation in the area. Church bodies tried to care for their soldiers through chaplaincy and the distribution of religious tracts and newspapers. Lutheran women in both regions served in hospitals, supported their troops with letters and supplies, and increasingly constituted the majority of the church population as the war progressed.

In July 1863, Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary stood squarely in the middle of the three-day Battle of Gettysburg, and its buildings became both headquarters and hospital as townspeople struggled to care for the thousands of Union and Confederate casualties. Skirmishes in and around St. Louis, and rumors that Concordia Seminary there had flown the Confederate flag from its main building, reflected the tensions and dangers experienced in the border states. Union cavalry ranged throughout the Shenandoah Valley throughout the war, causing extensive damage to homes, churches, colleges, farms, and livelihood. Constant bombardment reduced Charleston to rubble, and General William T. Sherman’s march through Georgia and the Carolinas destroyed not only the matériel of war but homes and major churches as well. Economic ruin, physical destruction, and the heavy losses sustained by a generation would cripple Southern Lutherans, and the entire South, for decades.

At the conclusion of hostilities in April 1865, Southern Lutherans did not return to the General Synod and voted instead to maintain the regional separation of their church bodies. White Southern Lutheran churches did little to welcome or retain the now-freed African American members of their congregations. While North Carolina did create a separate “Alpha Synod” for African American Lutheran pastors and congregations in 1889 at their request, it did not support it, and after 1891, African American Lutherans sought and received help from the midwestern Missouri Synod instead.