

Luther and Romans: *Five Hundred Years Later* | BY SIGVE TONSTAD

Clinton Emerson Annual Address

Five Hundred Years Ago (1517)

We do not need the Ninety-Five Theses that Martin Luther posted on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, on All Saints Day in 1517, to impress on us the potential of *words* to create waves in the world. For that, we have our own living mentors, whether in the form of an early morning tweet, fake news, or the soaring “I Have a Dream” speech of another Martin Luther in the not-too-distant past. But we need the original Martin Luther to tell us the importance of words more *eloquently* than anyone else. This year, five hundred years after the Reformation, we will pay Luther our respects for a host of reasons. One reason might be to instill in us a renewed respect for words—words in general, and the Word in particular. In a sermon preached in Wittenberg on March 10, 1522, five years after the Wittenberg posting and one year after the confrontation with the emperor in Worms, Luther’s tribute to words stands out.

For the Word created heaven and earth and all things; the Word must do this thing, and not we poor sinners. In short, preach it I will, teach it I will, write it I will, but I will constrain no man by force, for faith must come freely without compulsion. Take myself as an example. I opposed indulgences and all the papists, but never with force. I simply taught, preached, and wrote God’s Word; otherwise I did nothing. And while I slept, or drank Wittenberg beer with my friends Philip and Amsdorf, the Word so greatly weakened the papacy that no prince or emperor ever inflicted such losses upon it. I did nothing; the Word did everything. Had I desired to foment trouble, I could have brought great bloodshed upon Germany; indeed, I could have started such a game that even the emperor would not have been safe. But what would it have been? Mere fool’s play. I did nothing; I let the Word do its work . . . For it is almighty, and takes captive the hearts, and when the hearts are captured the work will fall of itself.¹

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DANIELLE TAYLOR

In his statement, Luther's compares words to other means of persuasion. In particular, he contrasts it to the use of coercion. This is not a small matter, given that he was an Augustinian monk by vocation, in his way of thinking, and in his love for Romans. Augustine bequeathed to the church the policy that when persuasion fails, coercion is legitimate.² Luther, at least the young Luther, repudiates it.³ Words, he says, have to do it. And the Word will do it because it has the capacity to take the heart captive.

Words started the Reformation, beginning with the Ninety-Five Theses. Words carried it forward, thinking now of Luther's amazing translation of the Bible into German. *Sola Scriptura* may be an ideological and doctrinal slogan, but it is also a tribute to words—and to words *alone*—to make the difference in what we think and how we conduct our lives. Words carved out space for the rights of individual conscience, impressing on Luther the necessity of defending the encounter between the individual and the Word over any other authority, secular or ecclesial.⁴ Democracy and the notion of the consent of the governed owe more than a little to the Protestant Reformation.⁵

We hardly remember the Ninety-Five Theses. I will read a line, just in case. "1. When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, 'Repent,' he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance."⁶ This is a blunt corrective to the controversy over indulgences, but it also works as a mature statement of Lutheran theology. Luther's theology is introspective and self-critical, perhaps to excess. The notion that Luther, not the apostle Paul, is the founding father of "the introspective conscience of the West" has drawn many prominent thinkers to the table, and the discussion is ongoing.⁷

Given that few can recall the content of the Ninety-Five Theses, we can fast-forward to what we do remember. We remember Romans; we are not ignorant of the role of Romans in Luther's experience. We know that Paul's letter marked the turning point in his life story. We

know that Romans became the cornerstone in his theology and legacy. Most of us have heard the story, even though the timeline might be fuzzier than those who tell the story make it seem.⁸ Luther takes from Romans what has been called "the material principle of the Reformation," the doctrine of justification by faith.

We shall fall back on the most familiar version, as told by Luther in 1545, shortly before his death. In his retrospect, he spells out what Gerhard Ebeling calls "the fundamental theological perception of the Reformation."⁹

A strange burning desire had seized me to understand Paul in the Epistle to the Romans; it was not coldness of heart which had stood in my way until then, but a single phrase in chapter 1: 'For in it the righteousness of God is revealed' (Rom. 1.17). For I hated this phrase, 'the righteousness of God', which I had been taught to understand philosophically, from its normal usage by all who teach doctrine, as referring to the so-called formal or active righteousness, by means of which God is righteous and punishes sinners and the unrighteous . . . Was it not enough that poor sinners, eternally lost as the result of original sin, should be cast down in pure wickedness through the law of the Decalogue, but that God should add one torment to the other through the gospel, and even through the gospel should threaten us with his righteousness and his anger? So I returned time and again to this very passage in Paul, burning with thirst to know what St. Paul meant. Finally, thanks to the mercy of God, and thinking ceaselessly of this matter one night, I recalled the context in which the words occur, namely: 'In it the righteousness of God is revealed . . . as it is written, 'The righteous shall live by faith'. Then I began to understand that this is the meaning of the passage: through the gospel the righteousness of God is revealed, that is, passive righteousness through faith, as it is written: 'The righteous shall live by faith'. Then I had the feeling that straight away I was born again, and had entered through open doors into paradise itself. . . .'¹⁰

This is the Luther we know. This is also the Romans we know and the Paul we know, translated and interpreted for us by Luther. And

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this is Paul and Romans as they *should* be understood, the *Gospel* with a capital G. Paul and Luther together—or Paul and Augustine and Luther and John Wesley and Karl Barth—this towering fivesome agreeing on the most important doctrine in Protestant Christianity.¹¹

One year later, in the year of his death in 1546, Luther gave Romans one last boost to ensure for this letter the position of pre-eminence in the Protestant tradition.

*This letter is truly the most important piece in the New Testament. It is purest Gospel. It is well worth a Christian's while not only to memorize it word for word but also to occupy himself with it daily, as though it were the daily bread of the soul. It is impossible to read or to meditate on this letter too much or too well.*¹²

Five Hundred Years Later (2017)

What is left of this five hundred years later? Is our task to revisit, reaffirm, and recommit to the tenets of the Protestant Reformation and to Luther's reading of Paul's most important letter? Not a few will respond affirmatively. Among Seventh-day Adventists, too, many will respond affirmatively, even though the Seventh-day Adventist experience has had an uneasy relationship with Romans.¹³ Adventist identity is rooted in Daniel and Revelation, not in Romans. Romans has represented a challenge to key Adventist beliefs, almost as though it is a letter from which we need to defend ourselves instead of a message on which to build our identity. I will ask the question again: Is the task today to revisit, reaffirm, and recommit to Luther's reading of Paul's most important letter? Or—without intending to diminish the importance of Romans one iota—is our task to *revise, rethink, and commit* to a different reading of Paul's letter? If the second option describes our task, as I believe it does, why should we do it, and what will the result look like?

To the “why” question, I will offer two main reasons, one exegetical and the other situational and historical. The exegetical part re-examines Luther's reading of Romans. It is no joke to challenge Luther at the level of exegesis, but this

is precisely what many scholars have been doing for the past thirty years.¹⁴ Scholars who are “Lutheran,” broadly speaking, have been doing it, too.¹⁵

Let us join the conversation at the flash point, Romans 1:16–17, the text that serves as the battle cry for Protestant theology. Let us do it in slow motion, playing by the accepted rules of exegesis. What does the text say? What is the context? Which variables must the interpreter take into consideration? Luther's German translation does not differ much from the one we have in the NRSV.

For I am not ashamed of the gospel; it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, “The one who is righteous will live by faith” (Rom 1:16–17).

“Faith” is the theme word in this translation. There is an Old Testament proof text to drive it home: “As it is written: ‘The righteous will live by his faith.’” The case for this reading is so entrenched that the only thing that is left is to memorize it, as many of us have done.

Not so fast, however, and not so certain! “It is written,” Paul says. What, exactly, “is written”?

Paul's source is Habakkuk in the Old Testament. Did Habakkuk write, “The righteous shall live by faith,” as translations of Romans make it seem?

The answer is “no,” he didn't. We need a little context to understand what he did write.

First, what is the problem in Habakkuk?

*O LORD, how long shall I cry for help,
and you will not listen?
Or cry to you “Violence!”
and you will not save?*

*Why do you make me see wrongdoing
and look at trouble?*

*Destruction and violence are before me;
strife and contention arise (Hab 1:2–3).*

Is the problem in Habakkuk human sin, or is it

divine absence? That is to say, is the problem the bad things humans do, or is it the good things God fails to do? Is the problem that humans fall short of the norm, or is it that God's actions fall short of expectations? Readers of this text, scholars and lay-readers alike, agree that Habakkuk's chief concern is failure on God's part.¹⁶

Second, will God respond to Habakkuk's complaint? I have devoted a whole book to this subject—whether God cares about our questions—in *God of Sense and Traditions of Non-Sense*.¹⁷ Now, we can narrow the subject to ask whether God cares about Habakkuk's question. Does Habakkuk expect an answer—yes or no?

*I will stand at my watchpost,
and station myself on the rampart;
I will keep watch to see what he will say to me,
and what he will answer concerning my complaint
(Hab 2:1).*

Does Habakkuk get an answer—yes or no? If the answer is yes, what is God's answer? Before we read it, let us put two options on the table. Is God's answer to Habakkuk to live by faith no matter how bleak things may look? That is option number one. Option number two is this: Will God address the critical concern in his question, God's seeming failure to make good on God's promises? Is God's answer found in the realm of *faith*—in here, in our heads—or is it found out there, in the world, in the form of a demonstration of God's faithfulness?

*Then the Lord answered me and said:
Write the vision [Hebr. ḥazon, Gr. horasis];
make it [the vision] plain on tablets,
so that a runner may read it [the vision].
For there is still a vision [Hebr. ḥazon, Gr. horasis] for the
appointed time;
it [the vision] speaks of the end,
and [it] does not lie.
If it [the vision] seems to tarry,
wait for it [the vision];
it [the vision] will surely come,
it [the vision] will not delay (Hab 2:2–3).*

Option Two wins this one. God's primary answer is *not* found in the realm of faith. God's answer is found in the promise that God will do something; it is found in the realm of *faithfulness*. "Wait for it, it will surely come," God tells Habakkuk. This is the promise.

And now to the text that Paul will quote in Romans. I say in my Romans commentary that the line in Habakkuk runs from *problem* to *promise* to *summons*. What is the summons?

In the Hebrew text, it is this: "the Righteous One by *his faithfulness* shall live" (Hab 2:4).

In the Greek translation that Paul most likely used, the text in Habakkuk reads like this: "but the righteous one by *my faithfulness* shall live" (Hab 2:4, LXX).

There are minor issues in the text that deserve further discussion, but you have heard enough to be able to answer my test question. In the summons to Habakkuk, did you hear the word "faith"? In the summons to Habakkuk, whether in Hebrew or Greek, did you hear the word "faithfulness"? On what basis, now, shall the righteous one live?

By way of summary, the *problem* for Habakkuk is God's apparent absence. The *promise* to Habakkuk is that something will happen to put God's faithfulness on display. The *summons* to Habakkuk, in a (non-Messianic) translation of the LXX, is that "the righteous will live by my faithfulness."¹⁸ This is what is written, in the context within which it is written. When we go back to Romans with this understanding, what is written?

*I am not ashamed of the gospel.
For in it the right-making of God is revealed
from faithfulness for faithfulness,
as it is written,
"The righteous shall live by [my] faithfulness"
(Rom 1:16–17, trans. mine).*

This is not only different from the Lutheran reading. It is different in a consequential way. How can I be saved? Luther's faith message answers *that* question. Can God be trusted?

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The line that runs from Habakkuk to Romans answers *that* question.¹⁹ The exegetical arguments tilt inexorably toward the second of these options. Faith has not disappeared, but God's faithfulness occupies the theological center—here in Romans 1; in the great exposition in Chapter 3:21–26; in chapter 5; in Chapter 8; in the difficult Chapters 9–11, where Luther's exposition must be said to fail dismally; and in Chapter 15, the chapter that confirms that we were not taking things out of thin air in our exposition of Chapter 1. We could say with equal validity that God's *compassion* occupies the center in these chapters, with tremendous and under-appreciated consequences for how we read the wrath-passages in Romans 1 (1:18–32), the groaning of creation in Romans 8 (8:18–23), and the much-misunderstood story of Israel and the Gentile world in Chapters 9–11. I have laid this out in my commentary on Romans. I hope you will devote time to study these things more in-depth, with or without the help of my book.

Before I go on to the second reason why a different reading of Romans is due, let me mention briefly supporting perspectives that have emerged during the past forty years that bear on our understanding of Paul. To Luther, good theology begins with doctrine.²⁰ To many leading scholars on Paul, the tenor of his thought is *story*, not doctrine. To Luther, Judaism is a religion of works. To the New Perspective on Paul, Judaism is a religion of grace.²¹ To many recent New Testament scholars, there is the recognition that the New Testament in general, and Paul in particular, are steeped in apocalyptic conceptions.²² Neither Luther nor the Protestant tradition has had much appreciation for apocalyptic. To Luther, Paul's use of the Old Testament is opportunistic. To Richard Hays and other NT scholars, Paul's use of the OT is sensitive to context. To Luther, divine sovereignty and arbitrary election are key teachings in Romans. To me—and I mean me—the key message in Romans is divine compassion, and there is no

arbitrariness. I say this for much of the Protestant reading of Romans: it fails the compassion test laid down by Paul in Romans. This is the textual case, if only a glimpse.

Reading Romans in Context (1543 and 1943)

The second reason for reading Romans different from the way Luther read it is historical and contextual. It, too, begins with Luther.

In 1543, Luther wrote a booklet that in English bears the title, *On the Jews and Their Lies*.²³ If you have not heard of this book before, you have now, and if you have not read it, this could be one of the things to do before going to bed tonight. Luther devotes a big part to alleged mistakes in Jewish readings of the Bible. Seventh-day Adventists will applaud his lengthy exposition of Daniel 9, especially his defense of a timeline that fits our messianic understanding of Daniel 9:24–27. We have to bypass that, skipping ahead to Luther's prescription for how Christians in Germany should relate to Jews. He asks: "What shall we Christians do with this rejected and condemned people, the Jews?"²⁴

His answer has seven points.

First, to set fire to their synagogues or schools and to bury and cover with dirt whatever will not burn, so that no man will ever again see a stone or cinder of them. This is to be done in honor of our Lord and of Christendom, so that God might see that we are Christians, and do not condone or knowingly tolerate such public lying, cursing, and blaspheming of his Son and of his Christians.

Luther says that our civilization is incompatible with Jewish houses of worship. And I ask you: Does Luther's recommendation pass the compassion test and the vision of inclusion that we find in Romans?

Second, I advise that their houses also be razed and destroyed. For they pursue in them the same aims as in their synagogues. Instead they might be lodged under a roof or in a barn, like the gypsies.

Luther says that we don't want Jews to live in our neighborhoods. Does this pass the compassion test, no room in the inn for the Jews?

Third, I advise that all their prayer books and Talmudic writings, in which such idolatry, lies, cursing, and blasphemy are taught, be taken from them.

Luther says that the sacred books of the Jews should not be circulated or read. They should be confiscated, by force, if necessary. Does he not realize that the very existence and identity of a people to a large extent depend on their books?

Fourth, I advise that their rabbis be forbidden to teach henceforth on pain of loss of life and limb.

If Luther has a "free exercise clause," as we find it in the US constitution, it will not apply to Jews. We hear him say that we don't want a religion in our midst that is incompatible with our values. He advocates the death penalty for those found to violate the ban. I am not making this up.

Fifth, I advise that safe-conduct on the highways be abolished completely for the Jews. For they have no business in the countryside, since they are not lords, officials, tradesmen, or the like. Let them stay at home.

Luther advocates a travel ban for all Jews, whether we see them as an ethnic group or as a faith community. Ordinary rights and civil protections do not apply to this group.

Sixth, I advise that usury be prohibited to them, and that all cash and treasure of silver and gold be taken from them and put aside for safekeeping.

Luther proposes an economic boycott of the Jews (in Seventh-day Adventist terminology) advocating that they will neither buy nor sell.

Seventh, I recommend putting a flail, an ax, a hoe, a spade, a distaff, or a spindle into the hands of young, strong Jews and Jewesses and letting them earn their bread in the sweat of their brow,

as was imposed on the children of Adam (Gen. 3 [:19]).

Luther does not say it quite this way, but the remaining option for the Jews, the career choice open to their young, is forced labor. This is not a return to Adam but to slavery in Egypt. From that slavery, as we know, from that state of being unwanted and oppressed resident aliens, God intervened to set them free.

Luther's conclusion is of one piece with the foregoing.

But if the authorities are reluctant to use force and restrain the Jews' devilish wantonness, the latter should, as we said, be expelled from the country and be told to return to their land and their possessions in Jerusalem, where they may lie, curse, blaspheme, defame, murder, steal, rob, practice usury, mock, and indulge in all those infamous abominations which they practice among us, and leave us our government, our country, our life, and our property, much more leave our Lord the Messiah, our faith, and our church undefiled and uncontaminated with their devilish tyranny and malice.

Do we have a situational and historical reason for reading Romans in a different way, assuming that the exegetical case has been successful? We do—not only a case, half-heartedly pursued, but an obligation; not only an academic exercise left to a few, but a communal enterprise obligating and consuming the many. Luther's reading of Romans is inadequate exegetically and theologically, and his legacy has an enormous compassion deficit. If the two are linked—and they may be linked more than marginally—shall we be at risk, too, of a similar compassion deficit?

Allow me to read the words of Chaim Rumkowski, the chairman of the Jewish Council in the Polish city Lodz, spoken to an assembly of thousands of Jews who have just been informed that they have to surrender their children under the age of ten that day. I have taken the excerpt from the book, *A Brief Stop on*

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the Road from Auschwitz, published in English in 2015. The book tells the story of a Jewish citizen of Lodz who survived the war and found refuge in Sweden where, sadly, burdened by his memories, he committed suicide. We owe the story to his son, Göran Rosenberg. The date is September 4, 1942.

*I understand you, mothers, I see the tears in your eyes; I feel what you feel in your hearts, you fathers who are obliged to go to your work even on the morning after your children have been taken from you, your darling little ones whom you were playing with only yesterday. All this I know and feel. Since four o'clock yesterday, when the order was first conveyed to me, I have been prostrate; I share your pain, I suffer your anguish, and I do not know how I shall survive this—where I shall find the strength to do it. I must let you into a secret: they demanded 24,000 sacrifices, 3,000 a day for eight days. I was able to reduce that to 20,000, but only on condition that all children under ten be included. Children ten and older are safe. Since the children and old people together amount to only 13,000 souls, the gap must be filled with the sick.*²⁵

“Wait for it,

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I said at the beginning that there are two reasons for reading Romans differently five hundred years after Luther: one exegetical, the other situational and historical. Our exegetical warrant relies on the line that runs from Habakkuk to Romans. Habakkuk is a post-Holocaust heard in pre-Holocaust times.

Romans stays on topic; its main affirmations are the compassion of God and the faithfulness of God, faith or no faith on our part. The situational and historical warrant is found in the Holocaust and in the mind-numbing absence of compassion in the world. Words are powerful weapons. Words sometimes assert themselves late, as did Luther's words when the Nazis launched the Kristallnacht in 1938, on Luther's birthday.²⁶ In the light of history, the words of 1543 may count for more than the word of 1517 or the word of 1522.

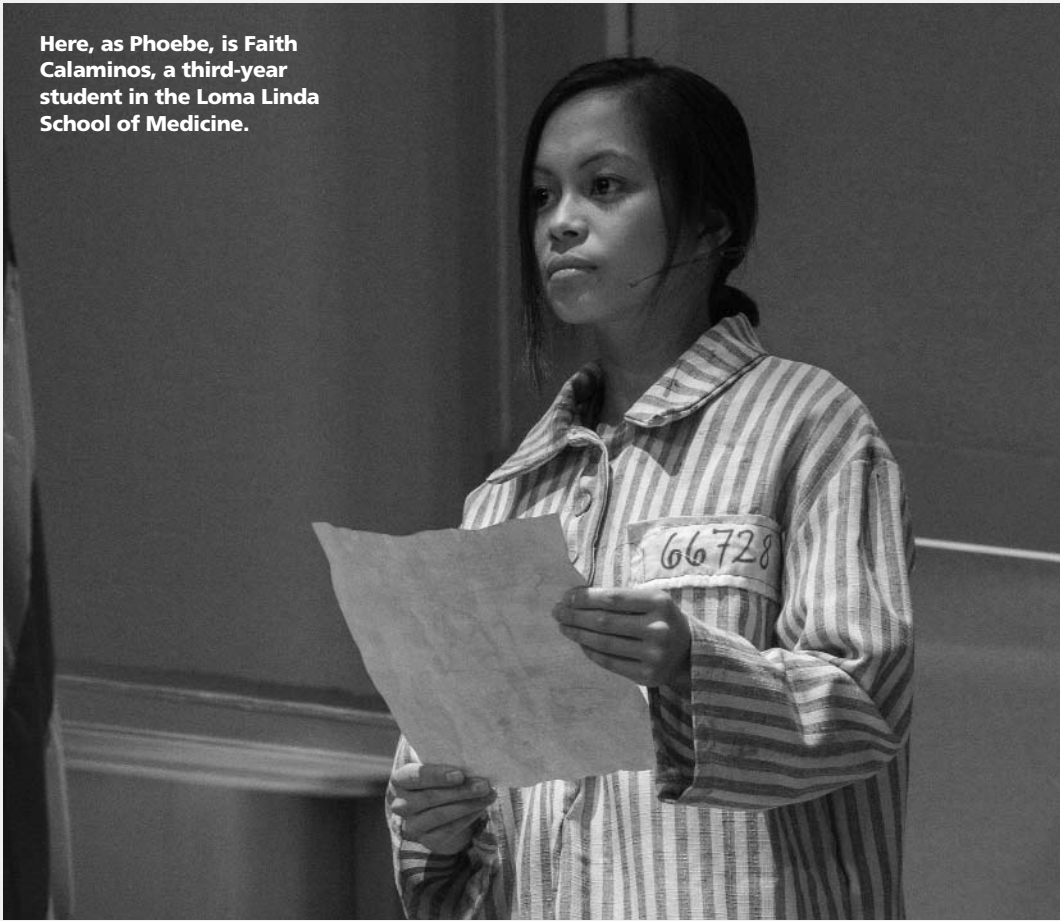
As we are about to close, I'd like you to meet Phoebe. She was a deacon in the Church in

Cenchreae, mentioned first in the greeting section in Romans 16. Scholars agree that she carried the letter to Rome. At the first ever reading of the letter, she read it out loud in house churches in Rome, in 56 AD, during the reign of Nero. It has nourished my reading of Romans richly to imagine that Phoebe mastered the rhetorical twists and turns of the letter that will often be lost on us. Our Phoebe comes to us in 2017, almost 2,000 years after the letter was first read, five hundred years after Luther, and seventy years after the Holocaust. She will read two excerpts from Romans: Romans 1:16–17 and 3:21–26, in my translation.

*For I am not ashamed of the gospel,
for it is the power of God for salvation
to everyone who trusts,
to the Jews first and also to the Greek.
For God's right-making is revealed in it
from faithfulness for faithfulness,
as it is written,
The righteous shall live by [my] faithfulness.
(Rom. 1.16–17, translation mine).*

*But now apart from law
the right-making of God
has been disclosed,
witnessed by the law and by the prophets,
the right-making of God
through the faithfulness of Jesus Christ
to all who believe.
For there is no difference,
for all have missed the mark
and lack the glory of God.
They have been set right freely by his grace
through the liberation which is in Christ Jesus.
God set him forth publicly
as a means of reconciliation
through the faithfulness of his bloody death.
He did this in order to show his right-making
in view of the fact
that he had passed over the sins previously committed
in the forbearance of God;
that is,
in order to demonstrate his right-making*

Here, as Phoebe, is Faith Calaminos, a third-year student in the Loma Linda School of Medicine.



Responsive Reading (Rom 8:31–39):

Phoebe: He who did not withhold his own Son, but gave him up for all of us, will he not with him also give us everything else?

Congregation: He will! Everything!

Phoebe: Who will bring any charge against God's elect?

Congregation: We know who, the one who brought charges against God! We know who, but the charges are null and void! We know who, but the charges are false and baseless.

Phoebe: God is the right-maker, who consigns to destruction and doom?

Congregation: Right on, sister! Right on! God is the right-maker! And we know who

consigns to destruction because we have been un-deceived by the revelation of God in Jesus.

Phoebe: Who will separate us from the love of Christ?

Congregation: Nothing! No-one!

Phoebe: Will hardship, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?

Congregation: No! No! No! None of the above!

Phoebe: In all these things, we are more than victors through him who loved us.

Congregation: Yes, overwhelming victors—super-victors—through him who loved us!

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the one who lives
on the basis of the faithfulness of Jesus
(Rom 3:21–26, translation mine) ■

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Traditions of Non-Sense and *Letter to the Romans: Paul among the Ecologists*.

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1. Martin Luther, Sermon preached on March 10, 1522, in *Luther's Works* 51, ed. J. J. Pelikan, H. C. Oswald and H. T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 77–78.

2. Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 235. See also Sigve K. Tonstad, *The Letter to the Romans: Paul among the Ecologists* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2016), 28–30.

3. When the Reformation turned political, Luther abandoned his earlier conviction. See Lord (Sir John) Acton, “The Protestant Theory of Persecution,” in Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1972), 113–40.

4. Daniel Olivier, *The Trial of Luther*, trans. John Tonkin (St. Louis: Concordia, 1978), 166.

5. This is a large and complex subject. Luther was neither a political philosopher nor a political reformer, but his writings have political implications. See Martin Luther, “Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed” (1523), trans. J. J. Schindel, in *Luther's Works* 45: *The Christian and Society* II (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1962); see also Markus Wriedt, “Luthers Verhältnis zu Demokratie und individueller Freiheit,” *Luther* 85 (2014), 149–63. According to Roland Bainton (*The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1952], 228–43), the religious controversy of the sixteenth century contributes to democracy by denying state absolutism.

6. Martin Luther, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 31: *Career of the Reformer I.*, ed. J. J. Pelikan, H. C. Oswald, & H. T. Lehmann

(Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1999), 25–26.

7. Kirster Stendahl, “The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West,” *HTR* 56 (1963): 199–215; idem., *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

8. Some scholars point out that Luther does not start talking about his “tower experience” until after 1530, and his most complete account dates to 1545. See Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther: An Introduction to His Thought*, trans. R.A. Wilson (London: Collins, 1970), 39–42; William M. Landeen, *Martin Luther's Religious Thought* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1971), 42–51. Roland Bainton (*Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1978], 39–64) smooths out the wrinkles by locating all the most important elements in the story before 1517.

9. Ebeling, *Luther*, 39.

10. Martin Luther, from Preface to *Complete Edition of Luther's Latin Writings*, here as quoted in Ebeling's translation, *Luther*, 39–40.

11. For a brief overview of the subject, see Tonstad, *The Letter to the Romans*, 23–48.

12. Martin Luther, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. J. Theodore Mueller (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1976), xiii.

13. Seventh-day Adventist works on Romans are few and far between, and none has had a truly formative influence on Adventist thought. A. Graham Maxwell's comments on Romans in the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* might be seen as a slight exception—and not because Maxwell took a Lutheran reading to heart. John Brunt's book, *Romans: Mercy for All* (Bible Amplifier; Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1996), is out of print but available in Kindle.

14. Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11* (SBLDS, 56; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983. Reprinted Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). This is the seminal work on the topic.

15. For the historical perspective, see Sigve K. Tonstad, “*pi, stj Cristoul* : Reading Paul in A New Paradigm,” *AUSS* 40 (2002): 37–59. More recently, views pro and con are represented in *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical and Theological Studies*, ed. Michael F. Bird and Preston M. Sprinkle (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009).

16. To Francis I. Andersen (*Habakkuk: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB, 25; New York: Doubleday, 2001], 123, 125) Habakkuk's outcry is “the passion-

Augustine

bequeathed

to the

church the

policy

that when

persuasion

fails,

coercion is

legitimate.

ate prayer of a desperate man," a person who is anguished by "moral outrage and perplexity."

17. Sigve K. Tonstad, *God of Sense and Traditions of Non-Sense* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2016).

18. For help to nuance this text, see Richard B. Hays, "'The Righteous One' as Eschatological Deliverer: A Case Study in Paul's Apocalyptic Hermeneutics", in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards (JSNTSup, 24; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 191–215.

19. Thus Richard Hays (*Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 53), "The driving question in Romans is not 'How can I find a gracious God?' but 'How can I trust in this allegedly gracious God if he abandons his promises to Israel?'"

20. Martin Luther, *Lectures on Galatians, 1535, Chapters 1–4*, in *Luther's Works* 26, ed. and trans. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia, 1999). The doctrine to be mastered is the distinction between law and gospel. To Luther, "whoever knows well how to distinguish the Gospel from the Law should give thanks to God and know that he is a real theologian" (115).

21. E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1979); see also, James Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

22. To me, the reappraisal of apocalyptic is the most important "new perspective" on Paul. See J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980); J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1997). Martyn's commentary has the best grasp of the apocalyptic tenor in Galatians and is one of the best commentaries in print.

23. Martin Luther, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, in *Luther's works*, vol. 47: *The Christian in Society IV*, ed. J. J. Pelikan, H. C. Oswald, & H. T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1999), 123–306.

24. Luther, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, 268. The seven points listed here are found in pages 268–76.

25. Göran Rosenberg, *A Brief Stop on the Road from Auschwitz*, trans. Sarah Death (New York: Other Press, 2015), 57.

26. The line from Luther to Hitler is tenuous and possibly non-existent, but the anti-Semitism of Luther's later years can in no way be denied or explained away. What also cannot be explained away, is the effect of toxic speech, even if the toxic speech was not intended to be used a certain way.

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*How will the world end?
Where will the Antichrist
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**"And he shall plant the tabernacles
of his palace between the seas in the
glorious holy mountain; yet he shall
come to his end, and none shall help
him." (Daniel 11:45)**

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