

Luther in Norway*

By Kenneth Hagen

One of the fruits of the Luther Renaissance of our century has been the Lutherforschungsberichte. Since the Second World War, Luther research has become more extensive and varied. Likewise, reports on Luther research have become more concentrated and specialized. Together with the claim that Luther research says as much about the Sitz-im-Leben of the researcher as it does about the subject under investigation, one can also claim that reports on Luther research have an importance beyond asserting who said what about Luther. My purpose in this article is to do for Norway what has been done for Sweden, Germany, and the United States.¹

This project has a contemporary context. One reason for this project is that, as Luther scholars heard in Lund, August of 1977, Luther and Scandinavia have yet

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1 For Sweden, see Edgar CARLSON: The reinterpretation of Luther. *Phil* 1958; Hjalmar LINDROTH: Luther-renässansen i nyare svensk teologi. *SH* 1941; Heinz-Horst SCHREY: Die Luther-Renaissance in der neueren schwedischen Theologie. *ThLZ* 74 (1949), 513-528. The entire issue of the *Lutheran world* 13 (Genève 1966) no. 3, is devoted to Luther research reports. *LUTHERFORSCHUNG HEUTE = REFERATE UND BERICHT DES 1. INTERNATIONALEN LUTHERFORSCHUNGSKONGRESSES, AARHUS, 18.-23. AUGUST 1956* (ed. by Vilmos Vajta. B 1958, is also devoted to Luther research reports. See also Steffen KJELDGAARD-PEDERSEN: Die Lutherforschung in Skandinavien seit 1966. *LuJ* 44 (1977), 57-70. For America, see Kenneth HAGEN: Changes in the understanding of Luther: the development of the young Luther. *Theological studies* 29 (Woodstock, Md. 1968), 472-496, which lists most of the Luther research reports on America, to which should be added Lowell C. GREEN: Luther research in English-speaking countries since 1971. *LuJ* 44 (1977), 105-126; Scott H. HENDRIX: Martin Luther und die »Confessio Augustana« in der englischsprachigen Forschung seit 1977. *LuJ* 50 (1983), 166-180; Lewis W. SPITZ; Morimichi WATANABE: Luther research in America and Japan. *Concordia theological quarterly* 48 (Fort Wayne, Ind. 1984) no. 1, 39-54.

to meet.² Lutheranism in Scandinavia developed more from Luther's associates, who were not carbon copies of Luther. Luther has been filtered through these followers. One small way to facilitate the meeting of Luther and Lutheranism in Norway is to bring to light the consciousness of what has been translated and said about Luther here. This is especially appropriate now that the Seventh International Congress for Luther Research will take place in Oslo on 14 to 20 August 1988.

A second reason for this report is that Norway supposedly lacks a distinctive approach to Luther. Swedish scholarship is famous for its Lundensian »motif research«. There may be a distinctive Danish method.³ There are, of course, various German methodologies. In Norwegian literature, there is an absence of discussion of a Norwegian approach to Luther. In fact, there are very few references in the Norwegian literature on Luther to other Norwegian works! One could easily get the impression that what is described as a characteristic of Luther research in Scandinavia (»independent«, »individual«, »isolated«, and perhaps »stamped by a certain provincialism«) is certainly true within Norway itself.⁴ I think many Norwegians have the impression that it is all unrelated. I hope to indicate what I think to be a possible distinctive Norwegian approach to Luther.

A third context is in the Lutherforschungsberichte for Scandinavia. Thestrup Pedersen's report at the First International Congress for Luther Research at Aarhus, 1956, lists only Swedish, Finnish, and Danish works in the bibliography and dedicates his article to Lundensian problems of atonement, creation, and sanctification.⁵ Regin Prenter's report on »Luther-Research in Scandinavia since 1945« covers 1945-1966 and the work of Norwegians Ole Modalsli, Carl Fr. Wisløff, and Ivar Asheim.⁶ Prenter feels that of the three emphases noted by

2 So Poul Georg LINDHARDT: Luther und Skandinavien. In: Luther und die Theologie der Gegenwart = Referate und Berichte des Fünften Internationalen Kongresses für Lutherforschung, Lund, Schweden, 14.-20. August 1977/ ed. by Leif Grane and Bernhard Lohse. GÖ 1980, 134-144.

3 Cf. Leif GRANE: *Modus loquendi theologicus: Luthers Kampf um die Erneuerung der Theologie* (1515-1518). Leiden 1975.

4 Regin PRENTER: Luther research in Scandinavia since 1945. *Lutheran world* 13 (Genève 1966), 272.

5 Ebbe THESTRUP PEDERSEN: Lutherforschung in Skandinavien im wesentlichen 1939-1956. In: *Lutherforschung heute*, 127f.

6 Ole MODALSLI: Das Gericht nach den Werken: ein Beitrag zu Luthers Lehre vom Gesetz. GÖ

Pedersen, the themes of creation and sanctification continue to be researched after 1956, while there is a decline of interest in the atonement and a rise of interest in a new theme, Luther's hermeneutics.⁷ In his report of 1977 on »Die Lutherforschung in Scandinavien seit 1966«, Steffen Kjeldgaard-Pedersen covers the work of Inge Lønning and Bjarne Hareide.⁸ He notes the continuance of the new interest in hermeneutics in the work of Lønning, a work also included in a survey of »the most important« Luther monographs from the Nordic countries from the 1970s to 1983.⁹ I think more can be said about the six books and several articles on Luther, of Norwegian origin after 1945, and will do so as this report unfolds.

This article is not about the reception of Luther in the church, the various »Lutheran« institutions, and/or the people as a whole. This is not about a Norwegian Luther milieu.

My perspective, then, is threefold: (1) what are the Luther publications in Norway? (2) in light of the Luther scholarship done elsewhere, particularly in Sweden and Germany, what can be said about the work done in Norway? and (3) what kind of bibliographic report (on items printed in Norway) can be provided that will have a utility of its own?

In order to develop an understanding of the Norwegian Luther, I will first deal with translations of Luther into Norwegian. Secondly, I will treat Norwegian interpretations of Luther. Finally, I will summarize Norwegian scholarship in terms of what I will call the »independent Luther«.

I Luther in Norwegian

Luther in translation tends to come in three forms. The main forms are the catechism, especially the Small catechism, and the Sermons. Then there are the

1963; Carl Fr. WISLØFF: *Nattverd og messe: en studie i Luthers teologi*. Oslo 1957; Ivar ASHEIM: *Glaube und Erziehung bei Luther: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Theologie und Pädagogik*. HD 1961.

7 Prenter: *Luther research ...*, 276.

8 Inge LØNNING: *Kanon im Kanon: zum dogmatischen Grundlagenproblem des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. M 1972; Bjarne HAREIDE: *Konfirmasjonen i reformasjonstiden: en undersøkelse av den lutherske konfirmasjon i Tyskland 1520-1585*. Lund 1966.

9 Kjeldgaard-Pedersen: *Op. cit.*, 66-68; Bernt T. OFTESTAD: *Noen nordiske Luther-avhandlinger fra de siste år*. TTK 54 (1983), 27-33.

volumes of »selected writings« often connected to a festive date. Finally, there is the variety of tracts and treatises, the majority of which are very small.

1. Luther's Large catechism went through multiple editions and issues. Frederik Wilhelm Bugge's edition of 1860 went through eight issues until 1899, and then it was further revised.¹⁰ Carl Paul Caspari and Gisle Johnson's edition from 1881 went through three issues until 1894.¹¹ Wilhelm Andreas Wexels' translation witnessed six issues between 1828 and 1857.¹² In addition, Hans Mossin in 1774 and Wilhelm Christie in 1910 edited the Large catechism.¹³

The »Concordia« was translated by the mid-19th century pair, Caspari and Johnson, who were famous for being »Lutheran«.¹⁴ They also published »The Confessional Writings of the Church of Norway«, which includes Luther's Small catechism along with the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds and the »Augsburg Confession« (Norwegian law since 1687).¹⁵ The same collection was published before the War by Sigurd Normann, who will be treated in a special category below (Section II.4) and after the War, in each of the official languages, by Arve Brunvoll.¹⁶ Both Luther's catechisms have been issued recently by Carl Fredrik Wisløff.¹⁷ So there have been about two dozen Large catechisms since last century and a hundred and two dozen Small catechisms—»without personal editor or translator« indicated.¹⁸ The Small catechism is commonly praised as the most important of Luther's writings.¹⁹

10 LUTHERS STORE KATEKISMUS/ ed. by F[rederik] W[ilhelm] Bugge. Christiania 1860; 8th issue. Drammen 1899; new version. Oslo 1952, 1968.

11 LUTHERS STORE KATEKISMUS/ ed. by C[arl] P[aul] Caspari and Gisle Johnson. Christiania 1881; 3rd issue. Christiania, 1894.

12 LUTHERS STORE KATEKISMUS/ ed. by W[ilhelm] A[ndreas] Wexels. Christiania 1828; 6th issue. Christiania 1857.

13 LUTHERS STORE KATEKISMUS/ ed. by Hans Mossin. Bergen 1774; LUTHERS STORE KATEKISMUS/ ed. by W[ilhelm] Christie. Christiania 1910.

14 KONKORDIEBOGEN ELLER DEN EVANGELISK-LUTHERSKE KIRKES BEKJENDELSESSKRIFTER (Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche: deutsch und lateinisch (norw.)) ed. by C[arl] P[aul] Caspari and Gisle Johnson. Christiania 1866; 2nd issue. Christiania 1882.

15 DEN NORSKE KIRKES BEKJENNELSESSKRIFTER/ ed. by C[arl] P[aul] Caspari and Gisle Johnson. Christiania 1872; 4th issue. Christiania 1908.

16 DEN NORSKE KIRKES BEKJENNELSESSKRIFTER/ ed. by Sigurd Normann. Oslo 1930; ed. by Arve Brunvoll. Oslo 1972 (bokmål); VEDKJENNINGSSKRIFTERE ÅT DEN NORSKE KYRKJA/ ed. by Brunvoll. Bergen 1970; 2nd issue. Bergen 1979 (nynorsk).

17 LUTHERS KATEKISMER/ ed. by Carl Fr. Wisløff. Oslo 1979.

18 Kenneth HAGEN: Av og om Luther på norsk. NTT 82 (1981), 92f.

The Small catechism of Martin Luther naturally then has seen extensive editing and printing. The Norwegian Section (NA) at the Universitetsbiblioteket (UB) catalogues these in two categories: editions printed without personal editorship designated and editions printed with the editor's name. Of the latter, the Anton Christian Bang edition is the most extensive and famous.²⁰

About 60 issues of the Small catechism were printed without personal editorship between 1741 and 1856. There are again as many issues until the end of the nineteenth century. According to the NA, the number of catechisms issued without personal editorship diminished in our century to about a dozen.

Quarto editions of the Church and House Postilla began in the 1820s. In Christiania (Oslo), most of the postilla were published in the 1830-1850s, and then again in the 1880s.²¹

2. Most of the »selected writings« (NA) also were published in the 1830-1850s and again in the 1880s. Bugge prepared two large volumes of Luther's »Genesis lectures« and one of the »Large Galatians«. ²² Jacob K. Kornbrække and Anton F. W. J. Prytz selected from Luther's comments on the Psalms.²³ The publishers Svendsen and Hangeraas issued a collection of Luther's writings on the sacra-

19 Oddvar J. JENSEN: Zur Bedeutung Luthers in Norwegen. *Der Ginko Baum* 2 (Helsinki 1983), 91.

20 LUTHERS LILLE KATEKISMUS/ ed. by A[nton] Chr[istian] Bang. Christiania 1890; 38th issue. Oslo 1976, and at least two other series: nynorsk. 5th issue. Oslo 1964. On his own resources Jensen: *Op. cit.*, 91, counts 87 different issues of the Bang catechism in 4 series, and 10 issues published recently by Harald Kaasa Hammer. Other editions of »Luthers lille katekismus« that went through multiple issues include the following: ed. by Eivind Berggrav. Oslo 1938; 9th issue. Oslo 1963; 10./ ed. by E[lias] Blix. Christiania 1891; 14th issue. Oslo 1960; 10./ ed. by A[ndreas] M[artin] Corneliussen and Olaf Ellefsen. Kristiania 1917; 10th issue. Oslo 1955; 10./ ed. by Knud Gislesen. Christiania 1844; 4th issue. Christiania 1855; 10./ ed. by Th[or] G[eorg] B[ernhard] Odland. Christiania 1886; 26th issue with Sven Svensen. Oslo 1935; 10. 2nd ed./ by Svensen. Drammen 1931; 5th issue. Drammen 1940.

21 The NA registers 15 publications between 1828 and 1910. The others in our century are an issue of 1949 (of a 1858 edition), which Jensen: *Op. cit.*, 92, cites as still the most used, and the recent publication of the Gospels, 1968, and the Epistles, 1971.

22 Martin LUTHER: Udførlige udlæggelse af først Mosebog/ transl. by F[rederik] W[ilhelm] Bugge. 2 vols. Christiania 1863-1864; DR. MARTIN LUTHERS UDFØRLIGE FORKLARING OVER PAULUS'S BREV TIL GALATERNE: oversat efter den tyske tekst i J[ohann] G[eorg] Walchs udgave/ transl. by Bugge. Kristiania 1897.

23 Martin LUTHER: Udvalgte skrifter/ transl. by J[acob] K[nudsen] Kornbrække and A[nton] F[rederik] W[inter] J[akob] Prytz. 4 vols. Christiania 1883-1893.

ments and resurrection.²⁴ Kristian Olsen translated an edition of selected writings for the »Library for every home«.²⁵ Hermann Norendal edited Luther on education.²⁶ Johann Jakob Rambach's German edition was also translated into Norwegian in 1848.²⁷

Then there are smaller selections: Luther's »Treasure Chest«,²⁸ his last sermon,²⁹ the »Smalcald articles«.³⁰ There were two different editions of Luther's »Confession concerning Jesus Christ«.³¹ There were four single volumes of the Table talk, consisting of approximately 400 pages (1849) to 95 pages (1917).³²

In our century there was a bright spot for Luther in the 1930s (Normann) and then after 1966. Normann was the only Luther scholar before 1945. The fruits of his work on the primary sources were issued first as the Luther volume in the series of »Christian classics«³³ and then as the seven volumes of »Norges Lutherlags Skrifter«.³⁴

24 MARTIN LUTHER: Udvalgte skrifter ... om sakramenterne og de dødes opstandelse/ transl. by [ven] Svendsen and Hangeraa. Kristiansund 1881.

25 MARTIN LUTHER: Udvalgte skrifter/ transl. by Kristian Olsen. 3 vols. Christiania 1887.

26 BARNET FOR GUDS RIKE: Martin Luther tanker om opdragelse og undervisning/ ed. by Hermann Norendal. Oslo 1937.

27 DOCT. MART. LUTHERS TRE OPBYGGELIGE SKRIFTER (M. Luthers kleine Schriften, ... [Auswahl] <norw.>)/ ed. by Johann Jakob Rambach. Det 1ste: Om de Christnes harnisk og vaaben ... Det 2dte: Om sande Christnes salige haab ... Det 3die: Raad og trøst mod døden. Kristiansand 1848.

28 UDTOG AF LUTHERS SKATKISTE OG UDDRAG AF DET EVANGELISKE MAGAZIN samt Den hellige krig af Johannes Bunian. Christiania 1848.

29 DOC. M. LUTHERS AFSKEDSORD ELLER SIDSTE PRÆDIKEN/ transl. by Olaus Nielsen. Frederikshald [Halden] 1852.

30 MARTIN LUTHER: De schmalkaldiske artikler/ ed. by J[ohan Cordt Harmens] Storjohann. Christiania 1877.

31 MARTIN LUTHER: Bekjendelse om Jesu Christo (Von Jesu Christo eine Predigt <norw.>)/ ed. by W[ilhelm] A[ndreas] Wexels. Christiania 1829; LUTHERS BEKJENDELSE OM JESU CHRISTO/ ed. by Benj[amin] Lindner. Trondhjem 1837.

32 MARTIN LUTHER: Bordtaler eller fortrolige underholdning med sine omgangsvener/ ed. by J[ohannes] Belsheim. Christiania 1849; 2nd issue. Kristiania 1881; LUTHER: Bordtaler: et lidet udvalg/ ed. by A[ndreas] M[artin] Corneliussen. Kristiania 1889; LUTHER: Bordtaler i udvalg/ ed. by Ivar Welle. Kristiania 1917.

33 MARTIN LUTHER/ ed. by Sigurd Normann. Oslo 1931. (Hovedverker av den kristne litteratur fra kirkefedrene til nutiden; 3).

34 NORGES LUTHERLAGS SKRIFTER published Luther translations in vol 1: VIDNESBYRD AV DEN UNGE

After 1966 the editing and publishing of Luther selections revived. On the 450th anniversary of the Theses, Inge Lønning's »Living Luther« appeared³⁵ as did a handsome edition of Karl Witte's *Hausandachtsbuch*.³⁶ Five editions of the small, 1917 edition of the Table talk were issued between 1968 and 1978.³⁷ Kurt Aland's *Lutherlexikon* was translated.³⁸ Luther's »Explanation of Ps 51« and the treatise on Christian freedom were reprinted.³⁹ Svend Lerfeldt's »Luther-book« was translated from Danish.⁴⁰ Most recent is the highly praised, six-volume edition of Inge Lønning and Tarald Rasmussen.⁴¹

LUTHER. [Reprint of »Martin Luther«/ ed. by Normann]. Oslo 1931; in vol. 5: LUTHERS SKRIFT. Oslo 1936; and in vol. 10: LUTHERS RØST. Oslo 1946.

35 LEVENDE LUTHER/ ed. by Inge Lønning. Oslo 1967.

36 GLED DEG, GUDS MENIGHET: husandaktsbok (Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein: Luthers Wort in täglichen Andachten/ ed. by Karl Witte (norw.))/ transl. by Rolf Lein and Ole Modalsli. Oslo 1967.

37 LUTHERS BORDTALER I UDVALG/ ed. by Ivar Welle. 5th issue. Oslo 1978; see footnote 32.

38 KURT ALAND: Hva sier Luther?: et Luther-leksikon (Lutherlexikon (norw.))/ transl. by Tormod Engelsviken. Oslo 1974.

39 DR. MARTIN LUTHERS YPPERLIGE FORKLARING OVER DEN 51. DAVIDS SALME (Enarratio Psalmorum LI »Miserere mei Deus« ... (norw.))/ ed. by friends of Hans N. Hauge. Oslo 1948; reprint in 1975; LUTHER: En kristens frihet (Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen (norw.))/ ed. by Sigmund Mowinckel. Reprint of the edition Kristiania, 1917. Stavanger 1979.

40 SVEND LERFELDT: Lutherboken (Lutherbogen (norw.))/ transl. by Egil Sjaastad. Oslo 1977.

41 MARTIN LUTHER: Verker i utvalg/ ed. by Inge Lønning and Tarald Rasmussen. 6 vols. Oslo 1979-1983. Vol. 1 (1979): Første salmeforelesning (Dictata super Psalterium); Annen salmeforelesning (Operationes in psalmos); Romerbrevsforelesningen (Vorlesung über den Römerbrief); Texter fra avlatsstriden (Ein Sermon von Ablass und Gnade. Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute); Disputasjonen i Heidelberg (Disputatio Heidelbergae habita); To sermones fra 1519 (Ein Sermon von der Bereitung zum Sterben. Ein Sermon von dem heiligen hochwürdigen Sakrament der Taufe). Vol. 2 (1979): Skriftet til den kristne adel (An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung); Skriftet om kirkens babylonske fangerskap (De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium); Martin Luthers traktat om den kristne frihet (Epistola Lutheriana ad Leonem X. summum pontificem. Tractatus de libertate christiana). Vol. 3 (1980): Skriftet mot Ambrosius Catharinus (Ad librum eximii magistri nostri Mag. Ambrosii Catharini, ...); En velment formanig til alle kristne om å vokte seg for opprør og uro (Eine treue Vermahnung M. Luthers zu allen Christen, sich zu hüten vor Aufruhr und Empörung); Skriftet om den verdslige øvrighet (Von weltlicher Oberkeit, ...); Et skrift om menighetens rett til å bedømme lærespørsmål og kalle prester (Daß eine christliche Versammlung oder Gemeine Recht und Macht habe, alle Lehre zu urteilen und Lehrer zu berufen, ein- und abzusetzen. ...); Et brev til de kristne i Strasbourg fra Martin Luther (Ein Brief an die Christen zu Straßburg wider den Schwärmergeist); Mot de himmelske

From 1979 to the 500th anniversary, Norway witnessed an unprecedented Luther event: the Lønning-Rasmussen »Martin Luther: Verker i utvalg«, over 2000 pages of Luther in modern, scholarly form. It is the largest edition in any Scandinavian language.⁴² There was little precedent elsewhere in the Nordic countries. In Swedish there had been seven volumes from 1857-1859 (a 10-part edition of 1828-1831 preceded), and more recently five works of Luther from the 1520s were printed in a four-volume set (1957-1964). In Danish there had been four volumes of selected writings (1962-1964; reprint 1980); a fifth volume came out in 1983 (*De servo arbitrio*). All the reviews of the Norwegian edition I have read, even those Norwegians who are concerned about the appropriateness of items in Vol. 3 for Norway,⁴³ agree that the edition accomplished its main goal to present Luther as a man as his contemporaries heard and read him. It is generally conceded that the attempt to present all sides of Luther's work has been successful. Some would have more sermons and less polemics. Whether all sides of Luther, including the »*Dictata super Psalterium*«, are desirable in a country where Luther is read so little is an internal matter.⁴⁴

My own perspective is that the six volumes are both practical from a user point of view and solid from a scientific point of view. Further, any differences within the country about Luther and thus the Bible are of post-Luther origin, basically hermeneutical and basically endless. Finally, I am glad that »*De servo arbitrio*« appeared in Norway before it did in Denmark.

profetene om bildene og sakramentet (Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament); Oppfordring til fred (Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die zwölf Artikel der Bauernschaft in Schwaben). Vol. 4 (1981): Jesus Christus – en jøde av fødsel (Daß Jesus Christus ein geborener Jude sei); Skriften til rådsherrene i alle Tysklands byer (An die Rättherren aller Städte deutschen Lands, daß sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen); Om handel og åger (Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher); Om den trellbundne viljen (*De servo arbitrio*). Vol. 5 (1982): Den tyske messen (Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts); Om Kristi nattverd (Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis); Den tyske katekisme (Deutsch [Großer] Katechismus). Vol. 6 (1983): Den store Galaterbrevkommentaren (In epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas commentarius, ...); Den store Genesiskommentaren ([I. Mose] Genesis-Vorlesung); Om mennesket (Disputatio de homine); Mot sabbatarierne (Wider die Sabbather an einen guten Freund). – Reviews: Gustaf Wingren: Kirke og kultur 84 (Oslo 1979), 558-561; Leif Grane: NTT 81 (1980), 105-119; 84 (1983), 186-188.

42 Review by Th[orkild] Lyby Christensen: DTT 45 (1982), 146-149.

43 Åge HOLTER: Halveis med Luther. TTK 52 (1981), 305-308; Ivar Asheim: Ung teologi 14 (Oslo 1981), 107-109. Both are quite positive regarding the whole edition.

44 Asheim: Ung teologi 14 (Oslo 1981), 108; 15 (1982), 94; 16 (1983), 97f.

Statistically, the above catechisms, postilla, and selections account for most of the pages of Luther in translation. But there is more.

3. More difficult to classify, except as miscellanea, are the shorter tracts and treatises, single titles of 25-75 pages. A sample of titles: »Foundations of pure and apostolic dogma« (1846), Luther's »German mass« (1863), »Concerning the suffering of Christ«, »Concerning secular authority« (1882), »Two hundred pearls« (1883).⁴⁵

One volume of this category stands out not only because it is attractive but also because it is indicative of the Luther in Norway. It is Sigmund Mowinckel's edition of »The freedom of the Christian man«.⁴⁶ Note the theme – freedom of the Lutheran, freedom of the Norwegian. It was a popular text – edited twice before and twice in 1917.⁴⁷ The year commemorated the Theses, a dozen years after the dissolution of the union with Sweden; Norway was independent and neutral. The format of the Mowinckel edition was decorative and festive. A Luther translation by an Old Testament scholar means that Luther is for everyone, and a small faculty must cover many areas. Luther is cause for celebration. Mowinckel himself concluded that the spirit of freedom – the essence of religion – expressed in the treatise is a matter of necessity for the Norwegian church now.⁴⁸

II Interpretations of Luther

In treating interpretations of Luther by Norwegians, a classification of the material will help. I will not cover here the literature where Luther is used in theological argument. Elsewhere I have offered a thesis about the place of Luther in 19th century theology, where I concluded that Luther had a kind of »breakthrough« in the leading theologian of the century, Gisle Johnson, filtered

45 For others cf. Hagen: *Av og om Luther* . . . , 94-96.

46 *Om et kristenmenneskes frihet*/ transl. by Sigmund Mowinckel. Kristiania 1917; reprint see footnote 39.

47 *Sermon om Et kristenmenneskes frihed*/ transl. by [Johan C. H.] Storjohann. Christiania 1876; *Om et kristen-menneskes frihed*/ transl. by Kristian Olsen. Kristiania 1887; *Om en kristens frihet*/ transl. by D[aniel] A[ndreas] Frøvig. Kristiania 1917.

48 Sigmund MOWINCKEL: *Et tænkt forord til en oversættelse av Luthers »Et kristenmenneskes frihet«*. For kirke og kultur 24 (Kristiania 1917), 502-511.

through confessional orthodoxy.⁴⁹ Nor will I cover the literature where Luther is treated as a part of a larger whole, as in Reformation histories or in accounts of systematic positions.⁵⁰ I wish to cover articles, chapters, and books where Luther is the main subject. There are no bibliographic aids to assist us in this coverage. The categories I will use are: (1) translations of other secondary material, (2) biographies of both the more popular and more academic type, (3) *Festskrifter*, which I find quite indicative of the Norwegian Luther, (4) Sigurd Normann, who is in a category of his own for the pre-1945 time, (5) journal articles, (6) »the real Luther«, (7) dissertations by Norwegians after 1945, and (8) *Luther and Scripture*: 1983.

1. Translations have been made of primarily German, English, and American works. Ole Hallesby's translation of Wilhelm Walther's lecture appeared in 1917.⁵¹ Both the festive date and the topic, I think, are typical of Luther here: 1917, Luther and the Holy Scriptures. Luther is used against contemporary (liberal) Protestant theology. In addition, it is pointed out that a dictation understanding of inspiration was advocated by the Nominalists Gabriel Biel and Pierre D'Ailly.⁵² Works by three other Germans, Gerhard Ebeling, Hanns Lilje,

49 Kenneth HAGEN: *Gjennomslag for Luther i Norge*. Kirke og kultur 88 (Oslo 1983), 601-612. Jensen: *Op. cit.*, 89-96, reports that the significance of Luther is in the (important) use of the »Little catechism« and postilla.

50 See e.g. Stener Johannes STENERSEN: *Udsigt over den Lutherske Reformation*. 2 vols. Christiania 1818-1819; Leiv AALEN: *Ord og sakrament: bidrag til dogmatikken*. [Oslo] 1966; Per LØNNING: *The dilemma of contemporary theology: prefigured in Luther, Pascal, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche*. Oslo 1962; Nils BLOCH-HOELL: *Hva tror de andre?* Oslo 1979; Carl Fr. WISLØFF: *Den lutherske bekjennelse og katolisisme 1530 og 1580*. Oslo 1980.

51 Wilh[elm] WALTHER: *Luther og Den hellige skrift* [Luther und die Heilige Schrift]/ transl. by O[le] Hallesby. Christiania 1917. For the 1917 jubilee and others before, see Arne Bugge AMUNDSEN: *Luther og kirken: kirkelige jubileer i Norge 1817-1917*. TTK 54 (1983), 241-257, where it is reported that Walther's contribution was a lecture at the separate celebration of the Menighetsfakultet (Free faculty); cf. footnote 77.

52 Walther: *Luther* . . . , 33. Another work of Walther's was translated for 1917: Wilhelm WALTHER: *Luthers personlighed: en karakterskildring* (Luthers Charakter (norw.))/ transl. by A[lfred] S[veistrup] Poulsen. Kristiania 1917. An »anniversary edition« of Julius Köstlin's biography, first transl. in 1883, was issued in 1917: Julius KÖSTLIN: *Bogen om Luther: Martin Luthers liv fra vuggen til graven* (Martin Luther (norw.))/ transl. by H[alvard] G[unleikson] Heggteit. Kristiania 1917. Also: Hjalmar HOLMQUIST: *Martin Luther* (Martin Luther: minnesskrift till reformationsjubileet (norw.))/ transl. by Sigmund Mowinckel. Kristiania 1917.

and Dietrich Steinwede, have been translated since the War.⁵³ Three American works have been translated, one in the category of hero worship (Frederick Nohl), one a solid popular type (Gerhard O. Forde), and one in a class of its own (Erik H. Erikson).⁵⁴ The books of Ebeling, Erikson, Forde, and a popular English biography by Cyril James Davey⁵⁵ were all published in the 1970s.

2. There have been short, popular biographies of Norwegian origin designed to be school manuals.⁵⁶ There was, however, a Norwegian biography of Luther aimed at a serious historical overview. In 1837, the Society for Christian Education issued this biography in commemoration of the Reformation in Norway (in 1537).⁵⁷ Next there was Andreas Olsen's »Luther«, patterned after the French historian Merle d'Aubigne.⁵⁸ In 1917 there were several biographies including that of the literary historian, Fredrik Paasche, and the church historian, Edvard Sverdrup.⁵⁹ Paasche's perspective was Luther's psychologically deep experience; his experience of a gracious God determined his thought. He attempted to

53 Gerhard EBELING: *Luther: en innføring i hans tenkning* (Luther: Einführung in sein Denken <norw.>)/ transl. by Svein Aage Christoffersen. Oslo 1978; Hanns LILJE: *Luther: den nyere tids gjennombrudd og krise* (Luther: Anbruch und Krise der Neuzeit <norw.>)/ transl. by Finn Jor. Oslo 1953; LILJE: *Martin Luther: en billedmonografi* (Martin Luther: eine Bildmonographie <norw.>)/ transl. by Ove Hestvold. Oslo 1967; Dietrich STEINWEDE: *Martin Luther og hans samtid: bilder fra kirkehistorien* (Reformation – Martin Luther: ein Sachbilderbuch zur Kirchengeschichte <norw.>)/ transl. by Ingrid Rolland Johnstad and Gunnar Johnstad. Oslo 1983.

54 Frederick NOHL: *Martin Luther* (Martin Luther: hero of faith <norw.>)/ transl. by Odd Kvaal Pedersen. Stavanger 1963; reprint Oslo 1983 [with the subtitle: mannen og verket]; Gerhard O. FORDE: »Så og på jorden . . .«: om Luthers evangelieforståelse (Where God meets man: Luther's down-to-earth approach to the Gospel <norw.>)/ transl. by Halvor Moxnes. Oslo 1978; Erik H. ERIKSON: *Martin Luther som ung mann: en studie i psykoanalyse og historie* (Young man Luther <norw.>)/ transl. by Daisy Schjelderup. Oslo 1970.

55 Cyril James DAVEY: *I fokus: Martin Luther* (The monk who shook the world <norw.>)/ transl. by Inger Lange. Oslo 1976.

56 Matias SKARD: *Luther*. Svorkmo 1918; Olav UGLEM: *Martin Luther: munken som trosse pavekirken*. Bergen 1970; P[er] K[olbjørn] BAKKEN: *Martin Luther*. Oslo 1978.

57 SELSKABET FOR CHRISTELIGE UNDERVISNINGS- OG ANDAGTS-BØGERS UTGIVELSE I NORGE: *kort udsigt over Dr. M. Luthers liv og virksomhed*. Christiania 1837.

58 Andreas OLSEN: *Martin Luther: nærmest efter Merle d'Aubigne's reformationshistorie*. Bergen 1863.

59 B[ernt] Th[eodor] ANKER: *Martin Luther*. Oslo 1917; Sven SVENSEN: *Martin Luther og hans livsverk*. Kristiania 1917; Fredrik PAASCHE: *Christiania* 1917; Edvard SVERDRUP: *Hvorledes Luther blev reformator*. 2nd ed. Christiania 1917.

»explain Luther through his faith«. ⁶⁰ Sverdrup's perspective is the historical developments of Luther against Rome, first to 1517, then to Worms, as it is understood via modern German scholarship. ⁶¹

Finally, in Ivar Welle's biography two things caught my attention. ⁶² The first was his claim that Luther was clear on justification from 1517 onwards. We will have occasion later to give attention to the young Luther. The second is his praise of Luther's treatise on Christian liberty (the Mowinckel edition), concerning which he says that anyone interested in Luther should read it and that it is found on the bookshelf of every Norwegian pastor!

None of these biographies is scholarly in the sense of primary source work but then neither do they pretend to be. That work has been rightfully left to the Germans.

3. As we have seen, 1837, 1883, and 1917 have been festive dates for Luther publications in Norway. The Reformation was »introduced« in Norway in 1537 ('83 for the birth and '17 for the Theses). Here I want to pay particular attention to the *Festskrift* edited by Sigurd Normann in 1937, »Vår lutherske arv«. ⁶³ Before doing so, let us examine a variety of others.

Einar Molland mentions two different Luther interpretations from the 400th commemoration of Luther's birth. One was printed in »Verdens gang«. »The liberal party and Luther's mind«, in which the former is claimed to be a result of the latter. At the other end of the political spectrum was the speech by Gisle Johnson at the University. ⁶⁴ Also in 1883, »til hans 400 aarige Fødselsdag«, was Jens Blom's »Luther«, issued for a second time. ⁶⁵

The clergy of Bergen and the surrounding area issued a *Festskrift* for the 400 year celebration of the Reformation. ⁶⁶ A festive volume, it contains 25 articles (343 pp.) with the reinforcement of several pictures. Highlighted are 1517 as the beginning of the Reformation and Luther's treatise on Christian liberty, »which

60 Paasche: *Op. cit.*, 100.

61 Sverdrup: *Hvorledes Luther ...*; Edvard SVERDRUP: *Luthers kamp med Rom*. Kristiania 1922.

62 Ivar WELLE: *Luthers liv og Luthers tro*. Bergen 1946.

63 VÅR LUTHERSKE ARV = ET FESTSKRIFT TILL 400 ÅRSJUBILEET FOR REFORMASJONENS INNFØRELSE I NORGE/ ed. by Sigurd Normann. Oslo 1937.

64 Einar MOLLAND: *Norges kirkehistorie i det 19. århundre*. Vol. 1. Oslo 1979, 366.

65 J[ens] G[unvald] BLOM: *Dr. Martin Luther: hans liv og gjerning; et festskrift til hans 400 aarige fødselsdag*. 2nd ed. Christiania 1883.

66 LUTHER = ET FESTSKRIFT I ANLEDNING AV REFORMATIONENS 400 AARS JUBILÆUM/ ed. by prester i Bergen og omegns presteforening. Bergen 1917.

should be read in every Lutheran home even today«. It is also claimed that the Middle Ages lost the gospel and that Luther represented freedom from medieval Catholicism.⁶⁷

If I were to pick one volume that gives the best indication of how Luther is handled in Norway, it would be »Vår lutherske arv« (Our Lutheran heritage). The brief series, *Arv*, is important in itself and as a continuation of the »Norges Lutherlags Skrifter«, which will be discussed later. I regard this collection of essays as quite typical of Norwegian scholarship because it is both medium popular and festive and contains a number of important themes: Luther's personality, sin, grace, the sacraments and the church, plus »Luther and ...« such concerns as home mission and foreign mission. Finally, the authors represent pre-War Luther scholarship. Only Normann would qualify as a Luther specialist. The other authors range from professors of Old and New Testaments and Systematic Theology, to priests and bishops. Thus I say the level of scholarship, including Normann's here, is medium popular in the sense of mediating. There are very few footnotes.

Bishop Normann's lead article is on Martin Luther, reformer of the church.⁶⁸ He feels there is a good deal of truth in the old adage: »lutherdommen – det er Martin Luther«. ⁶⁹ Normann's question is, what fruits did Luther's faith bear in his personal life? ⁷⁰ He says here that the young Luther's solid footing on the certitude of God, grace, justification, and faith (the tower experience) took place during the winter of 1512/13. The fruits of Luther's life were love, humility, witness to the truth, and freedom from fear.

The article by Andreas Seierstad attempts to determine when the Reformation came to Norway.⁷¹ Seierstad and his article are regarded as very important for Norwegian Reformation historiography. In a recent article, Kenneth Christopherson praises Seierstad and Wisløff for continuing the trend of Anton Bang and Yngvar Nielsen that the Reformation in Norway took about a century: »This emphasis is a new and unique Norwegian contribution to Reformation historiography.«⁷²

67 Ibid., 53. 214-217.

68 Sigurd NORMANN: Martin Luther: kirkens reformator. In: *Vår lutherske arv*, 11-29.

69 Ibid., 11.

70 Ibid., 15.

71 And[reas] SEIERSTAD: Da reformasjonen kom til Noreg. In: *Vår lutherske arv*, 30-47.

72 K[enneth] E[ugene] CHRISTOPHERSON: Hallelujahs, damnations, or Norway's Reformation as lengthy process. *ChH* 48 (1979), 287-289.

The next article is by Christian Ihlen.⁷³ His emphasis is that Luther's Reformation was not a revolution but a positive reformation for the one, holy, catholic church. It represented not just an ethical critique, which was done before, but a new religious well-spring.

The articles by Olav Valen-Senstad⁷⁴ and Leiv Aalen⁷⁵ emphasize that salvation for Luther comes from God's electing grace in Jesus Christ. Valen-Senstad is very strong against both free will and free reason. Grace is election.⁷⁶ For Aalen, Luther's position is predestination unto salvation, John Calvin's position is double predestination, Phillip Melanchthon deviated from Luther, but the »Formula of Concord« brought us back to Luther.⁷⁷ The concluding article in the *Festskrift* is by Kristen Valkner, »Lutherdom i 400 år«.⁷⁸

4. The bishop, church historian, and son of a farmer, Sigurd Johan Normann (1879-1939) stands in a class of his own in terms of publications and activities related to Luther, the majority of which was written in the last decade of his life. His first book was on Luther's struggle on behalf of the church.⁷⁹ Being for the church, Luther found himself in two struggles. Living in the late medieval situation and experiencing the need for salvation, Luther found that he had to be against the Roman Catholic church in order to build up the church.⁸⁰ He also had to do battle with the radicals. Because he was for the early catholic church, Luther had to be against the medieval church.⁸¹

Normann published two smaller books in 1921 and 1923. The first was on the need for pastors and the difficulties for pastors both in Luther's time and now.⁸² A particular problem in Luther's time was the problem of pastoral vacancies. The second book was entitled »Skal daapen gives fri?«⁸³ The answer is »no« to the giving of baptism wherever and whenever one wishes. In 1928 Normann

73 Chr[istian] IHLEN: Evangelisk-luthersk og katolsk. In: *Vår lutherske arv*, 48-64.

74 Olav VALEN-SENDSTAD: Luthers syn på mennesket. In: *Vår lutherske arv*, 81-95.

75 Leiv AALEN: Den lutherske lære om nådevalget. In: *Vår lutherske arv*, 96-111.

76 Valen-Senstad: *Op. cit.*, 88.

77 Aalen: *Den lutherske lære ...*, 96-101.

78 Kristen VALKNER: *Lutherdom i 400 år*. In: *Vår lutherske arv*, 384-399.

79 Sigurd NORMANN: *Luther i kamp for kirken: til reformationsjubilæet 1917*. Christiania 1917.

80 *Ibid.*, 3. 15. 33.

81 *Ibid.*, 156f.

82 Sigurd NORMANN: *Prestenøden paa Luthers tid*. Christiania 1921.

83 Sigurd NORMANN: *Skal daapen gives fri?* Christiania 1923.

was connected with the founding of the Norges Lutherlag. In 1930 he edited a volume of the Lutheran Confessions.⁸⁴ The publication of his Luther translations began in 1931. He edited a volume on Luther's writings between 1519 and 1522,⁸⁵ which was later reedited as the first volume of the »Norges Lutherlags Skrifter«.⁸⁶ He sees the years 1519 and those immediately following as the time of the Reformation's »breakthrough«. Normann then began work on what was to become his doctoral dissertation, which we will look at before returning to the other Luther writings.

The largest pre-War study of Luther, Normann's »Free will and predestination in the Lutheran Reformation until 1525« was issued in the year of the 450th celebration of Luther's birth (1933).⁸⁷ The study is a textual analysis of various works of Luther, from the 1509 Marginals until 1525, as background to the »De servo arbitrio«. As it turns out, Normann concentrates on the »Dictata super Psalterium« and especially Luther's Romans commentary and then on various writings between 1519 and 1521/22. Fredrik Brosché recently issued a study of Luther on predestination and in several references to Normann in his footnotes basically agrees with Normann's analyses.⁸⁸ It is known that Normann took theological exception to the particularism of Luther's doctrine – this at the very end of the work. Unfortunately, Brosché regards Normann as »too critical« and »negative«. Nor do I see as Brosché does where Einar Erikstein's dissertation is an improvement over Normann's work.⁸⁹

Normann's textual analysis is set within the context of the thesis that Luther can only be understood against his medieval background. Luther's Reformation work developed in opposition to this background. In its most essential points Luther's theology of free will and predestination went »its own way« in relation to medieval thinking.⁹⁰ Thus Normann begins with an overview of the Middle

84 See footnote 16.

85 See footnote 33.

86 See footnote 34.

87 Sigurd NORMANN: Viljefrihet og forutbestemmelse i den lutherske reformasjon inntill 1525. Oslo 1933.

88 Fredrik BROSCHE: Luther on predestination: the antinomy and the unity between love and wrath in Luther's concept of God. Uppsala 1978.

89 Ibid., 14; Einar ERIKSTEIN: Luthers Praedestinationslehre geschichtlich dargestellt bis einschliesslich De servo arbitrio. Oslo 1957. – GÖ, theol. diss., 1957.

90 Normann: Viljefrihet ..., II. 507.

Ages, holding that it ended where it started – with the controversy between St. Augustine and Pelagius.

Also in 1933 the second volume *Lutherlagets Skrifter* appeared. A speech by Normann appears in it connecting Luther and Scripture on faith alone and love of Christ.⁹¹ In other entries a variety of subjects are touched on: »Luther som salmedikter«, where it is asserted that to come from »the right side« to Luther is not from modern times but from the Middle Ages.⁹² Other topics treated are contemporary »antroposofi, teosofi . . .«, Luther and economics, and a piece on the »Augsburg Confession«.⁹³ Normann's thesis is that the »Augsburg Confession«, citing Article IV (justification) as the main example, reflects Luther both directly and indirectly.

Volume 3 of *Lutherlagets Skrifter* continues with some non-Luther subjects. Normann's article, commemorating the 450th anniversary (1933), includes a little history of Luther interpretation.⁹⁴ All of Volume 4 is on the Oxford Movement, written by Normann. Volume 5 returns to Luther, where Normann edits his 1520 »Treatise on good works«. Volume 6 is a mixture. Volume 7, published posthumously, begins with Normann and the question of what tasks we have as Lutheran Christians. Priesthood of all believers is central and Normann connects it to freedom and responsibility.⁹⁵ Luther's life, said Normann, showed a balance between the two. Einar Amdahl has an article on the »simul iustus et peccator«, in which he distinguishes Luther from Rome.⁹⁶ While Rome seeks to harmonize distinctions between God and man, and law and gospel, Luther was a biblical realist. He lived and preached the facts, the distinction between sin and grace, and damnation and salvation. The question is raised whether Luther's distinctive doctrine agrees with New Testament

91 Sigurd NORMANN: Åpningstale ved Norges Lutherslags 2. hovedmøte i Oslo i Oktober 1932. In: *Luther og vi*/ ed. by Normann. Oslo 1933.

92 Karen Kampmann BOTHNER: Luther som salmedikter. In: *Luther og vi*, 20.

93 Sigurd NORMANN: Den augsburgske trosbekjennelse og dens grunntanker. In: *Luther og vi*, 90-128.

94 Sigurd NORMANN: Luther 450 år. In: *Luther 450 år*/ ed. by Normann. Oslo 1934, 7-31.

95 Sigurd NORMANN: Hvilke opgaver har vi som evangelisk-lutherske kristne? In: *Luther i dag*/ ed. by Sigurd Normann. Oslo 1942, 5-44.

96 Einar AMDAHL: Den kristnes hellighet og syndighet hos Luther. In: *Luther i dag* 45-73. His course-book was issued as »Luthers teologi i dens hovedpunkter«, Stavanger 1935.

teaching. After both sides of the issue are discussed, the author asserts that Luther's simul is indeed biblical.⁹⁷

From the beginning of theological education in Norway to the end of the War (1811-1945), I know of no one so occupied and so impressed with Luther as Normann was, no one who did a major scientific study of Luther (which earned him a doctorate in 1935), and no one who so longed for a breakthrough of Luther in the present church of Norway.⁹⁸ Altogether there were ten volumes in the series of »Norges Lutherlags Skrifter« (1931-1946).⁹⁹ Normann's short life (by Norwegian standards) and the War perhaps ended this press of Luther, distinguished from both Erasmian-Melanchthonian and contemporary errors. He pleaded for a return of Luther's »pessimism« about human nature and »optimism« about grace alone.¹⁰⁰

5. Two theological journals dominate the Norwegian scene: the »Norsk teologisk tidsskrift« (NTT), published by the Theological Faculty of the University of Oslo, and the »Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke« (TTK), published by the Menighetsfakultet (Free Faculty) in Oslo. Journal articles reflect some of the emphases and trends noted so far. For example, Volume 19 of NTT (1918) could only consist of 16½ sheets because of the terrible rising costs of paper and printing and because of the important extraordinary addition to the 1917 volume. This 368-page »extraordinary addition« was the »Norsk teologi til Reformationsjubilæet 1917«.¹⁰¹ In this Oluf Kolsrud had a long article on the Reformation jubilee in 1817.¹⁰² The Reformation then was seen as an advance from darkness to light and as freedom from medieval tyranny.¹⁰³ Johannes Ording's article on »Luther and experience« also sets Luther over medieval currents (mysticism, Augustinianism).¹⁰⁴ The Reformation celebration at the University of Oslo included two speeches. Andreas Brandrud set Luther in his medieval context, Luther the prophet over against the medieval papacy.¹⁰⁵

97 Amdahl: Den kristnes hellighet ..., 70.

98 Hagen: Gjennomslag for Luther ..., 601-612.

99 NORGES LUTHERLAGS SKRIFTER continued as VÅR LUTHERSKE ARV; 8-10 (Oslo 1943; 1944; 1946).

100 Hagen: Gjennomslag for Luther ..., 608.

101 NTT 18 (1917).

102 Oluf KOLSRUD: Reformationsjubilæet i Norge. NTT 18 (1917), 250-368.

103 Ibid., 293 f.

104 Johannes ORDING: Reformationen og det religiøse erfaringsprincip. NTT 18 (1917), 171-192.

105 PROF. BRANDRUDS TALE. In: Det Kongelige Frederiks Universitet, Kristiania: Reformationsfest 31. Oktober 1917. Kristiania 1918, 9-21.

The University's fest on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the Reformation's »innførelse« into Norway was printed in the NTT's 1937 volume.¹⁰⁶ The TTK also paid attention to the year.¹⁰⁷ TTK paid a great deal of attention to the 1967 anniversary, publishing in two numbers theological contributions also from the University's fest.¹⁰⁸ TTK also published review articles in 1983. Of course, Luther and the Reformation have not only been celebrated. In the NTT there have been 18 other articles on Luther (1900-1983).¹⁰⁹ The main themes have been liturgy, hymns, and hermeneutics. In the TTK there were 17 other

106 VED UNIVERSITETETS FEST FOR REFORMASJONENS INFØRELSE I NORGE. NTT 38 (1937), 257-276.

107 Alfred Th. JØRGENSEN: Reformationens sociale betydning. TTK 8 (1937), 14-25; Olaf MOE: Foran reformasjonsjubileet. Ibid., 120-123; Andreas SEIERSTAD: Den norske reformasjons struktur. Ibid., 193-215.

108 Einar MOLLAND: Reformasjonen – sett på 450 års avstand. TTK 38 (1967), 163-173; Regin PRENTER: Luthers reformatoriske opdagelse. Ibid., 174-191; Anders NYGREN: Predikan hos Luther och i dag. Ibid., 192-203; Regin PRENTER: Skriften og samvittigheten. Ibid., 204-220; Per LØNNING: Politikk og kristendom hos Martin Luther. Ibid., 221-233; Hans MARTENSEN: Reformationens økumeniske betydning. Ibid., 234-251; Ivar ASHEIM: Hva har reformasjonen betydd for kulturlivet. Ibid., 252-271; Gottfried HORNIG: Lutherforskning i Tyskland. Ibid., 272-288.

109 In addition to those already listed, Jonas HANSSEN: Luthers Salme »Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott« i den danske og norske kirke. NTT 8 (1907), 363-372; 9 (1908), 57-83. 148-160; Christen BRUN: Luthers lære om daaben. NTT 9 (1908), 29-56. 97-116; BRUN: Luthers lære om nadveren. NTT 11 (1910), 1-32. 289-332; Olaf MOE: Luthers undlingsord i Romerbrevet, kap. 1: 17. NTT 18 (1917), 129-147; Ernst von DOBSCHÜTZ: Luthers dokortitel og doktored. NTT 19 (1918), 39-46; Jens GLEDITSCH: Deus absconditus hos Luther. NTT 25 (1924), 44-53; Th[eodor] DAHL: Studier i Luthers kirkenpostille. NTT 27 (1926), 227-281; Einar MOLLAND: Luthers liturgiske intensjoner. NTT 39 (1938), 120-135; Dagfinn ZWILGMAYER: Systematisk fortegnelse over samtlige Luthers salmer. Ibid., 136-148; Oluf KOLSRUD: A-teksten eller B-teksten av Luthers lille Katekisme. NTT 45 (1944), 306-308; Einar ERIKSTEIN: Predestinasjonen i Luthers Romerbrevsforelesning. NTT 55 (1954), 16-31; Oskar GARSTEIN: Forholdet mellom det alminnelige prestedømme og det kirkelige embete i Luthers teologi. Ibid., 65-83; Einar ERIKSTEIN: Humiliatiomotivet i De servo arbitrio. NTT 56 (1955), 220-240; Inge LØNNING: Evangelium og apostolat: om motivene for Luthers bibelkritikk i fortalene til Det Nye Testamente. NTT 65 (1964), 217-238; LØNNING: Til forståelse og fremstilling av »Luthers skriftsyn«. NTT 67 (1966), 196-227; Tarald RASMUSSEN: »Ad librum ... Ambrosii Catharini« (1521) som korrektiv til forestillingen om Luthers »dualistiske« / »antagonistiske« grunnsyn. NTT 77 (1976), 129-146; RASMUSSEN: Luther om Jakobs kamp ved Jabbok. NTT 79 (1978), 151-170; Kenneth HAGEN: En metemarks testamente: Luther om »testament« og »pakt« inntil 1525. NTT 80 (1979), 239-251.

articles between 1930 and 1983, half on Luther's exegesis, some on *Anfechtung*.¹¹⁰

6. »The real Luther«. In 1967 a prominent Lutheran theologian (Inge Lønning) and a prominent Dominican, literary scholar (Finn Thorn) coauthored a book on the state of their church today from »two points of view«, each representing their own.¹¹¹

In 1917 a book was entitled »Luthers statements about the Catholic church's teachings (taken from his own writings): five dialogues between a Lutheran and a Catholic theologian«. The dialogues are between »Olav« and »Martin«. The author was Ole Offerdahl, »a Catholic priest, formerly a Lutheran«.¹¹² The point was polemical. The »dialogue« was designed to discredit the Lutheran church by showing it knows only »a legendary Luther«, not »the real Luther«.¹¹³ The »real« Luther, on the issues discussed, is »genuinely Catholic«.¹¹⁴

In 1937 Fr. Ambrosius Lutz, O.P., continues to attack Luther legends, both

110 In addition to those already listed, Olaf MOE: *Luthers forelæsninger over Hebræerbrevet* fra 1517-18. TTK 1 (1930), 253-256; Sigurd NORMANN: *Determinisme og predestinasjonsideer i Luthers Romerbrevkommentar*. TTK 2 (1931), 65-84. 137-162. 193-207; Werner ELERT: *Luthers stilling det sociale og økonomiske spørsmål*. TTK 4 (1933), 16-32; Alfred Th. JØRGENSEN: *Luthers oversættelse af det Nye Testamente*. TTK 12 (1941), 70-79; Bjarne HAREIDE: *Arvesynd og oppseding i Luthers teologi*. TTK 21 (1950), 123-134; Gunnar TRANA: *Den kristnes kamp etter Luther*. TTK 22 (1951), 29-38; Laszlo TERRAY: »Konflikten mellom Øst og Vest« hos Luther. TTK 25 (1954), 152-162; Nils EIDE: *Noen lutherske skrift-tanker i Rationis Latomianae confutatio*. TTK 26 (1955), 83-95; EIDE: *Claritas scripturae i De servo arbitrio*. TTK 27 (1956), 1-10; Leif AALEN: *Romerkirken og den »katolske« Luther*. TTK 33 (1962), 193-207; Ole MODALSLI: *Luthers opprinnelige og hans nye forståelse av Rom. 1*, 16-17. TTK 39 (1968), 1-9; Torbjørn RIISE-HANSSEN: *Jule-motiver fra Luther-tekster*. TTK 44 (1973), 279-296; Ivar ASHEIM: *Det alminnelige prestedømme og den kirkelige autoritet hos Luther*. TTK 47 (1976), 1-19; Erling MELBERG: *Anfektelse i Luthers teologi*. Ibid., 241-260; Oddvar JENSEN: *Til spørsmålet om evangelium, apostolat og embete hos Luther*. TTK 50 (1979), 5-21; Geir GUNDERSEN: *Experientia contra experientiam: til emnet tru og erfaring hos Luther*. TTK 52 (1981), 11-25; GUNDERSEN: *Anfektinga-erfaring mot erfaring*. Ibid., 177-187. Oddvar JENSEN: »Christum treyben« i Luthers fortaler til Det Nye Testamente i 1522. TTK 53 (1982), 37-52.

111 Inge LØNNING; Finn THORN: *Hvor står den lutherske og den katolske kirke i dag?: to synspunkter*. Oslo 1967.

112 O[le] OFFERDAHL: *Luthers uttalelser om den katolske kirkes lærdomme (utdragne av hans egne skrifter): fem samtaler mellom en luthersk og katolsk teolog*. Kristiania 1917.

113 Ibid., 1 f. 24. 33. 63.

114 Ibid., 51. 61.

Roman Catholic and Protestant. »What has Luther to offer us?« Nothing, because Luther equals »The bondage of the will«. ¹¹⁵

Offerdahl tries to show the Catholic elements in Luther. Lutz rejects Luther and blames Nominalism for his errors. Both attack the claim that Luther gave us the Bible.

Finn Thorn, in his 1983 book on »Luther in my life as a Catholic«, ¹¹⁶ traces the shift in the Catholic church's view of Luther before and after Vatican II. He had little contact with confrere Lutz over Luther. Thorn, a convert for over 50 years, has come to see Luther, correctly understood, as standing in the old Catholic tradition and the recent Catholic tradition as again evangelical.

These three Catholics are concerned to join the observance of Luther festivals in Norway. All are concerned about the real Luther. The differences I suppose reflect the differences between 1917, 1937, 1967, and 1983.

7. Norwegian Luther studies have taken a different turn since the Second World War. There have been six doctoral dissertations (two for doctorates outside the country), five of which have been published in German series. The dissertations of Modalsli, Wisløff, Asheim, Lønning, and Hareide (the five published in German) have been covered in reports on Lutherforschung in Scandinavia, ¹¹⁷ and the dissertation of Erikstein cited earlier. The 1983 book of Wisløff will be treated shortly. Norwegians have also joined the mainstream in the production of articles at home and abroad. ¹¹⁸

8. A final way of pulling out and together some of this material is to consider the favorite theme, Luther and Scripture. For 1917 Walther's book was translated (II.1), and Sverdrup did a small study of Luther as translator (reissued in 1983), beginning with editions and German translations of the Bible in the Middle Ages. ¹¹⁹ This was not in time to correct the view of »Martin« in Fr.

115 A[m]brosius] J. LUTZ: *Hvad har Luther å gi oss?* Oslo 1937.

116 Finn THORN: *Luther i mitt liv som katolikk: et økumenisk fremtidshåp*. [Oslo] 1983.

117 Modalsli: *Das Gericht ...*; Carl F. WISLØFF: *Abendmahl und Messe: die Kritik Luthers am Meßopfer*. B 1969; Asheim: *Glaube und Erziehung ...*; Inge Lønning: *Kanon im Kanon ...*; Bjarne HAREIDE: *Die Konfirmation in der Reformationszeit: eine Untersuchung der lutherischen Konfirmation in Deutschland 1520-1585*. GÖ 1971 – see footnote 6. 8.

118 Current Luther scholars, Asheim, Jensen, Inge Lønning, Modalsli, Rasmussen, Wisløff, have published articles on Luther in German.

119 Edvard SVERDRUP: *Luther som bibeloversætter*. Christiania 1917; id./ ed. by Oddvar Johan Jensen. In: *Martin Luther: Guds ord, menneskers språk*. Oslo 1983, 19-47.

Offerdahl's »dialogue« between »Martin« and »Olav«, ¹²⁰ the view that Luther was the first to render the Bible in the vernacular.

In the »Young people's journal«, Yngve Sagedal surveys the use of Luther in theological debates about Scripture from ca. 1920-1970. ¹²¹ He finds the predictable differences in a »moderate conservative« (Hallesby), on »orthodox« (Wisløff), a »confessionalist« (Sverre Aalen), a »university theologian« (Ragnar Leivestad), and an »existential theologian« (Lønning). ¹²²

Also in that time frame and one I would highlight was the article by Olaf Moe in »Vår lutherske arv«, 1944, on Luther as interpreter of the Bible. ¹²³ He works with primary sources and is probably dependent on Karl Holl (regarding the senses of Scripture and the development of Luther), with the result that it is textual and could be beneficial to some contemporary hermeneutical difficulties.

Articles in the main theological journals are often on the theme. The two »young« Luther scholars, Tarald Rasmussen and Oddvar Jensen, often write on hermeneutics.

Rasmussen wrote the introduction to Luther's exegesis for the six-volume edition, with a historical approach (Middle Ages) to the young Luther (ending with James S. Preus' orientation). The editors are Rasmussen and the author of »Kanon im Kanon«. They planned that Luther's exegesis would receive a large place, because that is the way it was with Luther, whether at desk, pulpit, or lectern. Two of the »older« Luther scholars, Lønning and Wisløff, are famous for their positions on Scripture.

A look at 1983 gives an indication of lively interest in Luther. Some feel the Scandivanian spotlight is now on Norway. The annual institute for pastors heard lectures on »the living Luther« in August (printed in »Kirke og kulture«). The sixth volume of »Martin Luther: Verker i utvalg«, completed the set. Luther's »Treatise on Christian freedom« and »God's word, man's language«, the two most popular themes, were published again. The Dominican Thorn published his book on »Luther in my life as a Catholic«. The balance is filled out

¹²⁰ Offerdahl: Op. cit., 6-12.

¹²¹ Yngve Jørgen SAGEDAL: Luther i norsk skriftsynsdebatt. Ung teologi 12 (1979), 13-25.

¹²² Ibid., 13.

¹²³ Olaf MOE: Luther som bibelfortolker. In: Vår lutherske arv 9 (1944), 53-64.

with two biographies,¹²⁴ and a treatment of Luther's theology by Wisløff.¹²⁵ What is »new« in Luther's theology for Wisløff is very old. It is biblical, i.e. God's word: »the material principle«.¹²⁶

III The Independent Luther

In the foregoing, I have not covered everything – not even everything I know about. While not complete, it is more than a sample. Having, then, a fair idea of what has been done in Norway, does the translating, editing, and interpreting of Luther by Norwegians indicate anything of a unique approach? I think it does and will attempt to advance my thesis, however tentative and open to revision it is.

As this project began, I soon had to set aside subjective judgments about importance and value for the world of Luther scholarship. Most of the time was spent examining the material in translations and interpretations. The effort to determine if a distinctive approach exists in Norway was not uppermost in my mind. Yet as the work progressed, certain ideas did surface; and I found it necessary to keep a kind of idea-travelogue as I followed my itinerary of sounding the waters with lecture, discussion, and research.

On the basis of strong advice from initial Norwegian contacts, I first read Normann's 1933 dissertation. I was struck by his assertion that Luther developed over against the Middle Ages and that to understand him he must be read in that context. Then I rechecked Edgar Carlson and Hjalmar Lindroth on Swedish interpretations and was reminded that the Swedish Reformation was early, and that »the Reformation that came to Sweden and met with such early success was the Reformation as it developed prior to 1518«.¹²⁷ There were two factors in the Swedish Reformation: »The first is the unbroken continuity with the medieval church«, seen in the Swedish retention of the apostolic succession. The second factor was national independence. Continuity between Luther and the Middle Ages was emphasized by Nathan Söderblom and Gustaf Aulén.¹²⁸ If Sweden emphasized continuity, what about Danish interpretations

124 Nohl: *Op. cit.*, reprint Oslo 1983; Steinwede: *Op. cit.*

125 Carl Fredrik WISLØFF: *Martin Luthers teologi: en innføring*. Oslo 1983.

126 *Ibid.*, 40. 228.

127 Carlson: *Op. cit.*, 16.

128 *Ibid.*, 152f.

around the turn of the century? Here I drew a blank. What about Germany? The situation in Germany at the turn of the century was that the »Luther Renaissance« developed in a strong way against those, such as Adolph von Harnack, Wilhelm Dilthey, and Ernst Troeltsch, who were emphasizing that Luther belonged to the Middle Ages and not to modern history. One of the efforts of Karl Holl, a single most important impetus to the Luther Renaissance, was to show that Luther was unique and contemporary.

As my work on Norwegian sources continued, some things converged and a further idea emerged. One Norwegian held that Luther was against even St. Augustine regarding original sin, and another that Luther is to be seen against Scholastic theology. What was happening broadly in Norwegian life and culture around the turn of the century? *Nationalism*. Another Norwegian asserted vis-à-vis the ecumenical movement: here we stand. Then, too, there was strong interest in Luther's »Treatise on Christian freedom« (1520). The net result of this was some simple arithmetic. Luther against the Middle Ages plus Nationalism equals the Independent Luther. So far this makes Luther different from Sweden and similar to Germany.

What about interest here in the young Luther? One of the early and continuing features of the Luther Renaissance in Germany was interest in *initia Lutheri*, *Der junge Luther*, *Turmerlebnis*, *Die Anfänge* ..., *Luthers erste* ..., in other words, the development of the young Luther. While reading Wisløff, I realized that there was no real interest in Norway for the young Luther. Except for his 1933 dissertation, Normann does not work with the pre-1519 Luther; and in that dissertation he dealt mostly with Romans (1515/16), no doubt because of its subject matter. What about post-War studies? Wisløff says he is not interested in the young Luther except as that material casts light on the Mass and particularly the »messeofferet«, and for that Wisløff begins with the 1520 literature. Asheim does not use Luther material before 1518 because of the »Anfänge Luthers« question and the nature of the material. In his book, *Modalsli* works mostly with the 1530s, some »20s«, plus the »Small Galatians« and »Romans«. Modalsli has an article on »Luthers Turmerlebnis 1515«, which is thus an exception to a lack of interest in the young Luther.¹²⁹ Inge Lønning's book deals mostly with the 1520s. The first volume of the Luther edition now

129 Ole MODALSLI: *Luthers Turmerlebnis 1515*. *Studia theologica* 22 (Oslo 1968), 51-91.

offers a modest amount of the young Luther,¹³⁰ but Asheim objects to the inclusion of the »Dictata super Psalterium« because it contains so much from the Middle Ages.¹³¹

Peter Wilhelm Bøckman says that concentration on the young Luther gives »an amputated picture of Luther«. The modification that takes place in the older Luther means that he is no longer the young Luther – »takk for det«.¹³²

So perhaps an »anomaly« thought I: Luther against the Middle Ages but not via the young Luther. Well it is irregular by German standards, as well as American interests in the 1950s and 1960s.

So my thesis has emerged. Norwegian work on Luther is medium popular and festive; Luther is read against the Middle Ages but not via the young Luther, and certainly not in continuity with the Middle Ages. For now, this seems to add up to the Independent Luther.

130 Ps 2. 5. 13. 71. 118; Rm 1, 1–3, 12; 322 pages in vol. I.

131 Asheim: Ung teologi 14 (1981), 108.

132 Peter Wilhelm BØCKMAN: Hammerslagene – og hva så. Kirke og kultur 84 (1979), 159–173.