

RISTO SAARINEN

Luther and the Gift

Spätmittelalter, Humanismus,

Reformation

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Mohr Siebeck

Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation

Studies in the Late Middle Ages,
Humanism and the Reformation

herausgegeben von Volker Leppin (Tübingen)

in Verbindung mit

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ISBN 978-3-16-154970-0 / eISBN 978-3-16-158638-5 unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019
ISSN 1865-2840 (Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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The book was typeset and printed by Gulde Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

I have greatly benefited from numerous discussions and email exchanges with other scholars. Among them, I want to mention in particular Oswald Bayer, Ingolf U. Dalferth, Berndt Hamm, Marcel Hénaff, Jan-Olav Henriksen, Veronika Hoffmann, Bo Kristian Holm, Pekka Kärkkäinen, Ulrike Link-Wieczorek, Friederike Nüssel, Wolfgang Simon, Philipp Stoellger and Michael Welker. In various conferences with Renaissance and Reformation scholars, systematic theologians, philosophers and historians I have received inspiration and support from many experts.

Volker Leppin and Amy Nelson Burnett recommended the publication of this volume in the present series and gave many helpful comments. Henning Ziebritzki, Klaus Hermannstädter and Philipp Henkys took professional care of the publication process at Mohr Siebeck. Lisa Muszynski and her colleagues in the Language revision services of the University of Helsinki worked hard to improve my English. Mikko Posti compiled the indexes. My colleagues at the Faculty of Theology in Helsinki and in the Academy of Finland's Centre of Excellence "Reason and Religious Recognition" have provided a stimulating academic environment. All remaining errors are my own.

The present volume contains both hitherto unpublished papers and studies that have appeared elsewhere. Some earlier publications have been translated from German into English for the present volume. I thank Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Luther-Agricola Society, E. J. Brill, Springer, Brepols, Cascade Books, Rowman & Littlefield and de Gruyter for due permissions. See acknowledgements at page 299.

The abbreviations are used according to the fourth edition of *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

Helsinki, February 2017

Risto Saarinen

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1. Introduction

In Romans 12:8, Paul exhorts the giver to give generously or, as the Vulgate has it, to give sincerely (in simplicitate). When Martin Luther comes to this exhortation in his early *Lecture on Romans*, he undertakes a classification of various types of giving and receiving gifts and favours. Theologically, both the gifts from the inferior people to the superior and from the superior to the inferior can go wrong. Concerning the first class, Luther claims that we normally give to our superiors in order to receive something better in return. In Luther's German, this class of gifts is called "present" (geschenck) or "honoring" (eer).¹ The biblical advice against this kind of giving is spelled out in Luke 14, in which Jesus says that we should not invite rich people to our parties but rather the poor and the handicapped. Although Luther is critical of giving presents to our superiors, he admits that such giving pleases some people. The retribution they may receive pleases them even more.²

Concerning the second class, rich people obtain great pleasure from giving to their inferiors, as this provides them an occasion to boast and feel like a god. However, such donations manifest arrogance rather than sincerity.³ For Luther, Romans 12:8 speaks of giving as practiced by the teachers of the word and other leaders. Teachers should communicate their gifts generously and without second thoughts. In German, this third class of giving is designated with the words "grace" (gnade) and "friendship" (fruntschafft).⁴ While this is what Luther recommends, he devotes most of his attention to situations in which these gifts also go wrong. He wonders whether the religious donations given to the church really serve as true examples of this class.

In his critical examination of this issue, Luther considers the intention of the giver. Normally, the donors do not give their donation freely but in order to receive something back. While a donor does not directly consider to give temporal goods in order to receive eternal rewards, the obligations imposed on the endowments and the public display of the donor's name in the church witness of the expectation of some honor or reward.⁵ Remarkably, Luther here also consid-

¹ WA 56, 455,19–25.

² WA 56, 456,11–12.

³ WA 56, 456,13–16.

⁴ WA 56, 456,17–26.

⁵ WA 56, 457,1–7.

ers the practice of anonymous donations. Even in such a case, the givers are not free of egoistic expectations, as they do not focus on God's glory but think of some future remuneration.⁶ For this reason, their gifts also go wrong. Luther concludes that most religious donations resemble commercial exchange rather than genuinely pious gift-giving.⁷

While this passage is typical of the young Luther's teaching of humility and self-denial, it also elucidates his awareness of gifts as social phenomena. Luther sees clearly how power relations and human expectations shape the practices of giving. The passage also resembles some classical and contemporary discussions on the so-called "free gift". From the Roman philosopher Seneca to the post-structuralist thinking of Jacques Derrida, philosophers have taught that the giver's intention defines the act of giving and that this intention normally includes some self-interest.⁸

The passage also shows the classical complexity of the biblical term "grace" (*charis, gratia, Gnade*). In some sense, grace is not merely a favour or a beneficial intention but also a gift. Paul employs both aspects in Romans 12:6–8: "We have gifts (*charismata, donationes*) that differ according to the grace (*charin, gratiam*) given to us: prophecy, in proportion to faith; ministry, in ministering; the teacher, in teaching; the exhorter, in exhortation; the giver, in generosity." The giver's generosity or sincerity is a specific grace but it is also a gift. Moreover, as Luther here reserves the word "present" (*Geschenck*) to conventional social gifts, "grace" depicts one aspect of the overall "gift of God" (*donum Dei*).⁹

Another classical issue of gift-giving in the *Lecture on Romans* is that of self-giving or self-donation. Luther holds that the presence of the giver completes the gift.¹⁰ This claim connects Luther with the ancient view of Seneca as well as with the twentieth-century anthropological views of Marcel Mauss and Marcel Hénaff.¹¹

⁶ WA 56, 457,6–11.

⁷ WA 56, 457,11–458,3.

⁸ SENECA, *De beneficiis* (On benefits, ed. and transl. M. Griffin & B. Inwood, Chicago 2011). For a new historical and philosophical introduction to this classic work, see MIRIAM GRIFFIN, *Seneca on Society: A Guide to De beneficiis*, Oxford 2013; JACQUES DERRIDA, *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*, Chicago 1994.

⁹ WA 56, 455,19–20.

¹⁰ WA 56, 308,26–28: "... non satis est habere donum, nisi sit et donator presens."

¹¹ MARCEL MAUSS, *The Gift*, London 1990, 11–12; MARCEL HÉNAFF, *The Price of Truth: Gift, Money, and Philosophy*, Stanford 2010, 124–129. In ben 1, 8–9, Seneca tells of Aelchines giving himself to Socrates, who considers this an exemplary gift, as the real beneficium is the giver's mind or mentality behind things exchanged (cf. ben 1, 6).

The Aim

This book studies Martin Luther's understanding of the gift and related issues, such as favours and benefits, faith and justification, virtues and merits, ethics and doctrine, law and Christ. The historical motivation behind this focus consists in the insight that Luther both continues and criticizes the classical, medieval, and Humanist discussions regarding gifts and sales. Many other scholars, to whom I return below, have recently underlined the importance of the gift and giving in Luther.

There is also a systematic-theological interest that has contributed to this book. Recent anthropological, linguistic and philosophical publications have significantly increased our understanding of the gift and related phenomena. While their results can only very carefully be applied to historical theological sources, they do resemble classical theological discussions on, for instance, neighbourly love, the administration of sacraments, the handing over of traditions, free will and God's mercy. From Max Weber to Marcel Hénaff, Luther's sharp distinction between "gifts" and "sales" has been connected with the emergence of early capitalism with its different benefits and problems.¹² This discussion has not, however, paid much attention to the striking variety of gift discourses in Luther and early Lutheranism.

Most of the studies collected in this volume have emerged between 2005 and 2015, that is, after my small textbook *God and the Gift* and before the publication of John Barclay's monumental *Paul and the Gift*.¹³ I have included one very early article and some hitherto unpublished papers. While I have updated the bibliographic accounts and created some interconnections between the chapters of the present book, the actual contents of the studies have not been altered.

My own interest in this topic started around 2003–2004 when I realized that Luther's views of *donum*, or the gift, do not merely illustrate effective justification with its "ontological" underpinnings. The gift is for the reformers a multi-dimensional concept that needs to be understood in many different contexts of the verb "give". Because this verb assumes both a personal giver and a living recipient in German and Latin, the theological uses of "gift" and "giving" entail a view of the recipient who is not "merely passive" or whose passivity is of a special kind. This inevitable semantic feature leads to complexities with regard to *sola gratia* and some other doctrines of the Lutheran Reformation.

This insight, presented in a textbook fashion in *God and the Gift*, prompted me to do more historical and theological scholarship on the gift and related issues on Luther and the Reformation. While I consider myself a member of the

¹² MAX WEBER, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, Tübingen 1934; HÉNAFF, *Price* (as note 11).

¹³ RISTO SAARINEN, *God and the Gift: An Ecumenical Theology of Giving*, Collegeville 2005; JOHN BARCLAY, *Paul and the Gift*, Grand Rapids 2015.

so-called “Finnish school of Luther interpretation” established by Tuomo Mannermaa,¹⁴ this new work on the social, anthropological and linguistic dimensions of the gift has led me to positions that are sometimes at variance with the views of Mannermaa. At the same time, the proper way to serve the Finnish “school” does not consist in repeating old results but in presenting new avenues of theological thinking.

The present book does not, however, lay out a systematic theology of the gift. For the most part, it gathers historical evidence from various theological discussions. While some taxonomies are presented in the last chapters, I do not deal with all theological topics that can be discussed under the aegis of “the gift”. This volume offers historical explorations and theological interpretations that neither historically exhaust nor systematically settle the details of this rich and often paradox phenomenon.

I have consistently excluded my ecumenical papers from the present volume, mainly because the historical and theological problems are already complex enough in themselves.¹⁵ It may be premature to present definite ecumenical conclusions on the basis of our current historical and theological knowledge. As I point out in *God and the Gift*, uncritical ecumenical use of the phrase “gift exchange” should generally be avoided.¹⁶ Likewise, I have left out my various entries on related topics in encyclopaedias and handbooks.¹⁷ They often contain basic common knowledge rather than my own scholarly position on the subject. Such articles serve their purpose better in their original context.

Earlier Scholarship

Before describing the individual chapters of this book, it is useful to outline some scholarly views of the gift in (i) cultural anthropology and history, (ii) biblical studies and the study of Greco-Roman antiquity, and (iii) Luther studies. The following survey is by no means comprehensive. It only highlights

¹⁴ Especially in MANNERMAA, *Der im Glauben gegenwärtige Christus*, Hannover 1989 and the programmatic collective volume C. Braaten & R. Jenson (ed.), *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*, Grand Rapids 1998.

¹⁵ For some ecumenical issues, see RISTO SAARINEN, *Liebe, Anerkennung und die Bibel: Die Gabetheorien der heutigen Theologie*, in: *JBTh* 29 (2014), 321–338, and SAARINEN, *Klostertheologie auf dem Weg der Ökumene: Wille und Konkupiszenz*, in: C. Bultmann et al. (ed.), *Luther und das monastische Erbe*, Tübingen 2007 (SMHR 39), 269–290.

¹⁶ SAARINEN, *God* (as note 13), 133–147.

¹⁷ Among the most relevant ones are: RISTO SAARINEN, *Glaube*, in: V. Leppin & G. Schneider-Ludorff (ed.), *Das Luther-Lexikon*, Regensburg 2014, 259–261; SAARINEN, *Justification by Faith: the View of the Mannermaa School*, in: L. Batka et al. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, Oxford 2014, 254–263; SAARINEN, *Forensic Justification and Mysticism*, in: U. Lehner (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology*, Oxford 2016, 311–325.

some trends, listing significant contributions that have influenced my own work on the topic.

(i) The small book of Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, remains the classic against which all later studies are measured.¹⁸ In his anthropological study, Mauss shows how Native Americans employ complex forms of reciprocity in giving and receiving gifts and services. Mauss can be read in many ways. One reading stresses that all gifts are reciprocal and assume some activity and self-interest from all parties. Another reading focuses on the opposition between gifts and sales. While early societies allegedly employed one overall societal circulation of things and services, later cultural developments led to a division of labour, separating the events of (a) buying and selling, (b) altruistic helping, and (c) paying taxes.¹⁹

For the purposes of the present book, it is noteworthy that the so-called Maussian sociology does not aim to be utilitarian or to reduce all gifts to economy. Such later Maussians as Jacques Godbout and Marcel Hénaff²⁰ are rather anti-utilitarians, that is, they hold that gift exchange and commercial exchange remain two different things. While gifts also assume reciprocity, this mutuality is different from buying and selling. An anti-utilitarian sociologist could thus say, for instance, that gifts are often altruistic and create strong bonds between the parties. Commercial exchange, on the other hand, aims to optimize the utility of both parties and can easily be detached from the personal bond between the parties.²¹

More importantly, historians have applied Maussian and other anthropological ideas to the historical evidence. For the Reformation, Natalie Zemon Davis's study of gift exchange in sixteenth-century France is particularly important.²² With solid historical research, Zemon Davis points out that both forms of exchange, gifts and sales, co-existed in early modern Europe and that ordinary people were astonishingly well aware of the difference between the two forms. Simple things, like buying bread, often contained both aspects, as the baker often gave an extra bread "for free". On the other hand, the consumer knew when and how much she ought to pay. Poor people exchanged services in a gift-like fashion since they had no money, but also the upper-class people exchanged gifts among themselves, as this practice was considered more noble than commerce. Within this complexity, however, people of different classes knew very well when to give a gift and when to pay a price.²³

¹⁸ MAUSS, *Gift* (as note 11).

¹⁹ See MARY DOUGLAS, *No Free Gifts*, in: MAUSS, *Gift* (as note 11), ix-xxiii, and JACQUES GODBOUT, *The World of the Gift*, Montreal 2000.

²⁰ HÉNAFF, *Price* (as note 11); GODBOUT, *World* (as note 19).

²¹ Cf. GODBOUT, *World* (as note 19).

²² NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, Oxford 2000.

²³ ZEMON DAVIS, *Gift* (as note 22), 73–109.

In Reformation history, Berndt Hamm considers that the practice of giving donations was so widespread in late medieval Europe that it can be understood in Maussian terms as a “total social phenomenon”.²⁴ While it was possible to make a legal difference between targeted long-term endowments (Stiftungen) and singular gifts, Hamm thinks that the religious difference between the two was not significant. Even in giving singular gifts, for instance, donating a picture to the church, the giver thought of the benefit that this donation can have in the eyes of God. In this sense, both endowments and singular donations belonged to the late medieval circle of self-interested reciprocity.²⁵ The Reformation changed the theology of religious donations. At the same time, the practice of endowments continued in Protestantism. According to Gury Schneider-Ludorff, the theological thinking behind early Protestant endowments emphasizes Christian witness and gratitude, thus giving the old donative practice a new meaning.²⁶

The historical picture gets more complicated if scholars begin to apply big narratives to explain long-term historical changes. Among such big narratives, Max Weber’s views of the rise of capitalism and the disenchantment of the modern world still enjoy astonishing popularity. Marcel Hénaff has recently employed Maussian anthropology and Weber’s social theory to explain the gift discourses of the Reformation. For Hénaff, anthropological gift exchange expresses mutual recognition. Gift exchange is a method of getting to know strangers and building a trustworthy relationship between different parties. Gifts are the material vehicle that produces a mutual recognition of persons. Gifts thus serve social bonding and smooth communication among the members of society.²⁷

Like Zemon Davis, Hénaff considers that late medieval and early modern Europeans were well aware of how commercial exchange and gift exchange complement one another. With commercial exchange, you practice economic justice, define fair prices and enable effective trade. With gift exchange, you build trust, alleviate unexpected misfortunes and create a society in which people recognize each other in friendly and peaceful terms. This synthesis breaks down, however, in the Reformation. When Luther and other Reformers preach a complete separation between gift-like religion and commercial everyday life, people start to lose this sense of complementarity. Due to the exclusive assignment of altruistic gifts to religion, the Reformation creates a secular realm in which capitalism begins to develop.²⁸

²⁴ BERNDT HAMM, “Zeitliche Güter gegen himmlische eintauschen”. Vom Sinn spätmittelalterlicher Stiftungen, in: U. Hahn et al. (ed.), *Geben und Gestalten*, Münster 2008, 51–65, here: 63.

²⁵ HAMM, *Zeitliche* (as note 24), 57.

²⁶ GURY SCHNEIDER-LUDORFF, *Der neue Sinn der Gabe. Stiftungen im Luthertum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *JBTh* 27 (2012), 277–291.

²⁷ HÉNAFF, *Price* (as note 11), 129–148.

²⁸ HÉNAFF, *Price* (as note 11), 268–290.

In this manner, Hénaff joins other contemporary Catholic scholars, for instance, Charles Taylor and Brad Gregory, who assume a cultural disintegration that is due to the Reformation, causing secularization and individualist capitalism.²⁹ Hénaff's work has become popular especially after its results were adopted by Paul Ricoeur in his late work on peaceful recognition.³⁰ Hénaff's idea of gift exchange as a vehicle that produces trust and mutual recognition can also be discussed without adopting the underlying Weberian or Catholic big narratives. What Luther says above of the so-called "presents" already witnesses to the human need to seek good relations and advantages by means of gift exchange.

(ii) In biblical scholarship, John Barclay has recently presented an elaborate study, which aims at showing the relevance of social and philosophical gift discourses for Pauline theology. According to Barclay, "both Paul and his contemporaries used the normal vocabulary of gift, favour, and benefaction in speaking of (what we call) 'grace'". For this reason, their discourse on this topic can be located "within the social domain that anthropologists label 'gift'".³¹ This is a huge exegetical claim which cannot be discussed here. The first thing to note is that Barclay focuses on *charis* and related terms. My own studies assume the Latin words *dare* and *donum* and their vernacular equivalents as their starting-point.

Obviously, Barclay's study evokes the issue in which sense the Greek and the Latin vocabularies mean the same and whether the Vulgate usage of *gratia* and *donum* adds some new qualities to New Testament texts. After Barclay's exegetical claims, Luther scholars should in any case consider the eventual anthropological underpinnings of *gratia* and terms like *favor*. The present volume investigates Seneca's term *beneficium* to an extent and pays attention to Luther's views on a merciful God. Many other dimensions of the theology of grace are not, however, studied in the manner they deserve in the light of Barclay's claims. Somewhat similar to Barclay, Hénaff pays considerable attention to the gift-like forms of *charis* in Christian theology.³²

Barclay treats Luther's theology of grace in some detail. For him, Luther did not discover grace in any fundamentally new fashion. Rather, Luther "configured" grace in a distinctive manner. In this configuration, believers are constituted "outside of themselves", that is, in Christ. Luther defends a strict "incongruity" of grace, meaning that God's grace is vastly different from any human analogies. For Barclay, there can nevertheless be some reciprocity between humans and God in the sense that the believers act out of love for God, not from

²⁹ CHARLES TAYLOR, *A Secular Age*, Cambridge, Mass. 2007; BRAD GREGORY, *The Unintended Reformation*, Cambridge, Mass. 2012.

³⁰ PAUL RICOEUR, *The Course of Recognition*, Cambridge, Mass. 2005.

³¹ BARCLAY, Paul (as note 13), 562.

³² HÉNAFF, Price (as note 11), 242–268.

self-concern.³³ Referring to Tuomo Mannermaa and Oswald Bayer, Barclay admits the possibility of a fairly unconditional “counter-gift of the creature” in Luther’s theology.³⁴

As Seneca’s *De beneficiis* is our main source concerning the Greco-Roman discussion on gift-giving and as this work was well-known in the Reformation, it needs to be asked whether Seneca comes close to the Maussian anthropological discussion on gift exchange. While different opinions have been presented in recent scholarship, Miriam Griffin argues in great detail that Seneca’s views display important similarities with the anthropological paradigm. Griffin considers that the institutions of friendship or patronage do not adequately explain the phenomenon of giving and receiving “benefits”. Seneca’s discussion is not concerned with an already existing institutional relationship but the giver creates and establishes this relationship with his benefits.³⁵

Moreover, Seneca aims at showing in which ways the voluntary granting of favours differs from monetary exchange. Obviously, both are reciprocal and they therefore display similarities. In both gifts and sales, the recipient is in some way obliged. The granting of a favour or benefit is, however, very different from selling, as it is voluntary and does not expect any proportional counter-act. Griffin considers that Seneca’s benefits resemble anthropological gift exchange because of these features that are different from buying and selling.³⁶ Griffin’s view cannot be discussed here in more detail. I have highlighted this view to show that historical scholarship can still today read Seneca in terms that resemble Maussian anthropology.

(iii) In Luther studies, Martin Seils and Oswald Bayer paid attention to the prominence of the gift and giving already in the 1980s. While they are aware of the anthropological discussion, they do not want to interpret Luther in that fashion but consider the gift rather as a theological concept in justification and the new life of believers. Wolfgang Simon has investigated the complex acts of giving and receiving in the context of Luther’s eucharistic theology.³⁷

Bo Holm is the first scholar to undertake a consistent comparison between cultural anthropology and Luther’s theology. Holm claims that there are structures of reciprocity in Luther’s thinking that resemble the ideas of reciprocity available in post-Maussian anthropology.³⁸ This view has created some debate in the scholarship, especially as it seems to go against the received view of mere passive, that is, the passivity of human person in matters of salvation. Especially

³³ BARCLAY, Paul (as note 13), 109–116.

³⁴ BARCLAY, Paul (as note 13), 114.

³⁵ GRIFFIN, Seneca (as note 8), 31–36.

³⁶ GRIFFIN, Seneca (as note 8), 36–45.

³⁷ MARTIN SEILS, *Die Sache Luthers*, in: *LuJ* 52 (1985), 64–80; OSWALD BAYER, *Schöpfung als Anrede*, Tübingen 1990, 89–108; WOLFGANG SIMON, *Luthers Messopfertheologie*, Tübingen 2003 (SMHR 22).

³⁸ BO HOLM, *Gabe und Geben bei Luther*, Berlin 2006 (TBT 134).

Ingolf Dalferth has argued how Luther's view of such passivity is compatible with the view that the Christian is a person whose receptive capacity differs from other creatures and things.³⁹

The comprehensive study of Philipp Stoellger solves many issues of this debate through focusing on the intellectual history of passivity and Luther's position in this history.⁴⁰ Stoellger gives textual support to Dalferth's position, showing how Luther in fact considers the "passive life" of Christians to emerge through justification. At the same time, Stoellger points out that Luther speaks of such soteriological life that is different from ethical life. Passivity in soteriological life does not mean ethical quietism but it is joyful life with good conscience. Stoellger even remarks that it may be inadequate to define such a life in terms of "passivity".⁴¹ In this manner, Holm's claims of reciprocity also receive some support in Stoellger's analysis.

Chapter 15 of the present book contributes to the discussion initiated by Holm. In terms of content, my own position is close to that of Stoellger. However, I do not employ mystical traditions of passivity but rather aim at showing that the linguistic resources of "giving" and "gift" are already sufficient in themselves to produce the asymmetric reciprocity found in Luther. While cultural anthropology and mysticism may lend some additional plausibility to Holm's findings, they need not be seen as the constitutive historical background of Luther's theology. Simple linguistic resources are sufficient to undertake a historically and theologically solid interpretation.

In a recent programmatic study, Berndt Hamm claims that the Reformation formulates the idea of pure gift which has no counter-gift. For Hamm this means nothing less than a "revolution in the history of religions".⁴² Hamm's claim is remarkable already in itself. While "the gift" has not traditionally been included in such main topics of Protestant theology that would have their own entry in theological dictionaries,⁴³ Hamm as a leading scholar now claims that precisely this Reformation idea is revolutionary in the entire history of religions.

Hamm's conceptual definition of this idea is close to that of Dalferth and Barclay. Luther teaches a consistent or pure passivity (mere passive) of the believer so that he also affirms the Christian freedom and the capacity to produce good works spontaneously. The ground of this possibility lies in the divine promise that is entirely outside of the believer. The passive reception is continued in the activity based on faith and promise.⁴⁴ As a historian Hamm does not

³⁹ INGOLF DALFERTH, *Mere Passive. Die Passivität der Gabe bei Luther*, in: B. Holm & P. Widmann (ed.), *Word-Gift-Being*, Tübingen 2009 (RPT 37), 43–72.

⁴⁰ PHILIPP STOELLGER, *Passivität aus Passion*, Tübingen 2010 (HUTh 56).

⁴¹ STOELLGER, *Passivität* (as note 40), 302–303.

⁴² BERNDT HAMM, *Pure Gabe ohne Gegengabe – die religionsgeschichtliche Revolution der Reformation*, in: *JBTh* 27 (2012), 241–276.

⁴³ One exception is: HEINZ MÜRMELE & OSWALD BAYER, *Gabe*, *RGG*4, 3 (2000), 445–446.

⁴⁴ HAMM, *Pure Gabe* (as note 42), 261–64.

discuss the philosophical consistency of these claims. He is rather engaged in showing that Luther's insight breaks down that archaic "Maussian" logic of gift and counter-gift which is prominent in late medieval theology.⁴⁵

For Hamm, the Lutheran Reformation thus means a historical and theological farewell to the laws of anthropological reciprocity. In terms of methodology, however, Hamm is among the first church historians to pay consistent attention to the rise and fall of anthropological ideas in the Reformation. Historically, I think that the evidence presented by Hamm and others, including the Catholic critics of the Reformation, is convincing. Something like a revolution in gift-giving takes place in the Reformation. Theologically, however, I am persuaded by Holm and Stoellger, who focus on the conceptual complexities of this view. It is not obvious how pure passivity can be theologically combined with spontaneous altruism.

As the event of receiving gifts is something "less" than earning a merit and, at the same time, something "more" than a merely physical transfer of materials, the language of giving and the gift is proper to elucidate theological passivity. On the other hand, the gift is an elusive concept precisely because it can be employed both to increase and to decrease our personal involvement. The root of such elusiveness is found, I think, neither in cultural anthropology nor in philosophical sophistication. Rather, the complex simultaneity of these features is an inherent linguistic property of the words "give" and "the gift". However, anthropological reflection and philosophical analysis are nevertheless helpful. They can complement the historical work with texts.

The relationship between God's grace (*favor, gratia*) and gift (*donum*) is a classical problem of Luther studies. In Chapters 12 and 15 of the present book, I adhere to the view that both aspects are simultaneously present in justification. However, grace has a logical priority over the gift. This view differs from some earlier positions of Finnish Luther research. It needs careful attention and further elaboration regarding the logic of the gift. Wilhelm Christe has recently studied this relationship in great detail, coming to the conclusion that Luther's texts include a variety of different accounts, which cannot be entirely harmonized.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ HAMM, *Pure Gabe* (as note 42), 244–45; HAMM, *Abläss und Reformation: Erstaunliche Kohärenzen*, Tübingen 2016, discusses the problem of indulgences in fascinating ways. While I consider this study important, I do not treat indulgences in the present volume.

⁴⁶ WILHELM CHRISTE, *Gerechte Sünder. Eine Untersuchung zu Martin Luthers „simul iustus et peccator“*, Leipzig 2014 (ASTh 6), 271–283.

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